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# Ballot Reform, the Personal Vote, and Political Representation in the United States

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#### Abstract

Theories of electoral accountability emphasize voters' ability to evaluate individual officeholders, which incentivises officials to demonstrate their quality. Before the Australian ballot was introduced in the US at the turn of the twentieth century, however, most ballot designs constrained voters' ability to distinguish individual candidates. Previous scholarship argues that ballot reform led to the rise of candidate-centred politics and the decline in party influence in the twentieth century. We reassess the evidence for this claim and implement the most comprehensive analysis to date on the secret ballot's effects on outcomes related to distributive politics, legislator effort, and party influence. Using an improved research design, we find scant evidence that ballot reform directly affected legislator behaviour, much less that it transformed political representation. While the Australian ballot may have been a necessary condition for the eventual rise of candidate-centred politics, ballot reform did not by itself reshape American politics.

Keywords: Australian ballot; ballot reform; congress; representation; accountability

An incumbent's incentive to develop a personal vote underlies most theories of electoral accountability (Fearon 1999; Ferejohn 1986). In these models, voters observe an incumbent's performance and decide to retain the incumbent or support the challenger. In contrast, incumbents anticipate the electorate's decision and respond to voters' potential sanctions (Ashworth 2012). These accounts suggest the importance of individual officeholders' behaviour for election outcomes and provide insight into constituents' control over their representatives. Accordingly, an extensive literature studies legislators' pursuit of the personal vote through constituency service, distributive outlays, and campaign appeals (Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina 1987; Hirano et al. 2022; Kaslovsky 2022; Maybew 1974).

These models of electoral accountability take as given voters' ability to sanction incumbents in offices up and down the ballot. However, for the first century of American electoral history, most elections were conducted with the party strip, under which the vast majority of voters cast what was, in essence, a straight-party ticket for all offices on the ballot (Allen 1910; Evans 1917; George 1883). With this constraint on voters' ability to distinguish individual candidates on the ballot, it is unclear whether elections provided incentives for officeholders to invest effort in distinguishing themselves to their constituents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Our use of 'personal vote' follows Cain, Ferejohn, and Fiorina (1987, 9): 'that portion of a candidate's electoral support which originates in his or her personal qualities, qualifications, activities, and record.'

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# **Political Reform By The Representation**

**Agnes Blome** 

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The Politics of Work-Family Policy Reforms in **Germany and Italy** Agnes Blome, 2016-11-25 One of the fundamental challenges facing modern welfare states is the question of work family reconciliation An increasing share of mothers work but many European welfare states do not adequately support the dual earner model especially in southern Europe After 2005 German policy makers transformed the nature of Germany's family policy regime through a number of legislative measures whilst Italy a country with many similarities witnessed little change Using a multi methods approach this book addresses the puzzle of why Germany was able

to implement far reaching reforms in this policy area after a long impasse and Italy was not As such it delivers a broad systematic account of these reforms and sheds light on why similar reforms were not also adopted in other similar welfare states at the same time More generally it contributes to understanding the determinants of welfare policy change in modern European welfare states This text will be of key interest to scholars students and professionals working on topics linked to European politics welfare and work family policies comparative politics social policy and more broadly to political science Political Reform in the Ottoman and Russian Empires Adrian Brisku, 2017-09-21 Throughout the long 19th century the Ottoman and Russian empires shared a goal of destroying one another Yet they also shared a similar vision for imperial state renewal with the goal of avoiding revolution decline and isolation within Europe Adrian Brisku explores how this path of renewal and reform manifested itself forging new laws and institutions opening up the economy to the outside world and entering the European political community of imperial states Political Reform in the Ottoman and Russian Empires tackles the dilemma faced by both empires namely how to bring about meaningful change without undermining the legal political and economic status quo The book offers a unique comparison of Ottoman and Russian politics of reform and their connection to the wider European politico economic space John R. Commons: Selected Essays Malcolm Rutherford, Warren Samuels, 2020-03-10 John R Commons is one of the most significant figures in the development of American economics One of the founders of the Institutional school Commons developed theories of the evolution of capitalism and of institutional change which continue to influence modern economics These volumes collect for the first time Improving, Bypassing or Overcoming Representation? Jean-Benoit Pilet, Camille his major essays and articles Bedock, Pierre-Etienne Vandamme, 2021-12-30 The Political Economy of Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka Nikolaos Biziouras, 2014-03-26 At the point of independence in 1948 Sri Lanka was projected to be a success story in the developing world However in July 1983 a violent ethnic conflict which pitted the Sinhalese against the Tamils began and did not come to an end until 2009 This conflict led to nearly 50 000 combatant deaths and approximately 40 000 civilian deaths as well as almost 1 million internally displaced refugees and to the permanent migration abroad of nearly 130 000 civilians With a focus on Sri Lanka this book explores the political economy of ethnic conflict and examines how rival political leaders are able to convince their ethnic group members to follow them into violent conflict Specifically it looks at how political leaders can influence and utilize changes in the level of economic liberalization in order to mobilize members of a certain ethnic group and in the case of Sri Lanka shows how ethnic mobilization drives can turn violent when minority ethnic groups are economically marginalized by the decisions that the majority ethnic group leaders make in order to stay in power Taking a political economy approach to the conflict in Sri Lanka this book is unique in its historical analysis and provides a longitudinal view of the evolution of both Tamil and Sinhalese ethnic drives As such this interdisciplinary study will be of interest to policy makers as well as academics in the field of South Asian studies political science sociology development

studies political economy and security studies Party Institutionalization and Women's Representation in Democratic Brazil Kristin N. Wylie,2018-08-02 Brazil s quality of democracy remains limited by enduring obstacles including the weakness of parties and underrepresentation of marginalized groups Party Institutionalization and Women s Representation in Democratic Brazil theorizes the connections across those problems explaining how weakly institutionalized and male dominant parties interact to undermine descriptive representation in Brazil This book draws on an original multilevel database of 27 653 legislative candidacies spanning six election cycles over 100 interviews and field observations from throughout Brazil Wylie demonstrates that more inclusive participation in candidate centered elections amidst raced gendered structural inequities relies on institutionalized parties with the capacity to support women and the will heralded by party leadership to do so The book illustrates how women leaders in Brazil s more institutionalized parties enable white and Afro descendant female aspirants to navigate the masculinized terrain of formal politics It enhances our understanding of how parties mediate electoral rules as well as institutional and party change in the context of weak but robustly gendered institutions

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