

Table of Contents

List of Figures	11
List of Tables	12
List of Appendix Tables	14
Chapter 1 Thesis Overview	15
1.1 Introduction	15
1.2 Representation of citizens' preferences: a research program	17
1.3 Thesis outline	21
Chapter 2 Using Referenda and Roll Call Votes as a Measure for Representation: Methodological Principles	25
2.1 Introduction	25
2.2 Empirical approach, Swiss institutions, and data	26
2.2.1 Measuring congruence: comparing roll call votes to referenda	26
2.2.2 Institutional background	28
2.2.3 Datasets on parliamentary decisions and referenda	31
2.3 The Downsian world in a nutshell	36
2.3.1 Downs and two-party competition	37
2.3.2 Extensions and alternatives to the median voter model	38
2.4 Conceptualization of representation	43
2.4.1 Whom to represent?	43
2.4.2 The importance of comparable scales for politicians and voters	47
2.5 Congruence measures in the literature	51
2.5.1 Ideology scores by political action committees	52
2.5.2 Scaling methods	54
2.5.3 Survey data	56
2.5.4 Roll call to referendum comparisons	58
2.6 Vote-by-vote comparisons of roll calls and referenda	60
2.6.1 Vote-by-vote comparisons in the literature	60

Table of Contents

2.6.2	Properties of the matching procedure	62
2.6.3	Properties of final votes	63
2.6.4	Properties of referenda and voter majority decisions	65
2.7	Generalizability of results based on direct democratic institutions	70
2.7.1	How direct democracy affects policy outcomes	70
2.7.2	Implications	74
Chapter 3	Evaluating the Median Voter Model's Explanatory Power	79
3.1	Introduction	79
3.2	Matching representatives' roll call votes with median preferences	80
3.3	The quality of the median voter model	81
3.3.1	Baseline results	81
3.3.2	Influence of median preferences on representatives	82
3.4	Conclusion	84
Chapter 4	Voters Elect Politicians Who Closely Matched Their Preference	86
4.1	Introduction	86
4.2	Identification of past congruence and estimation strategy	87
4.3	Empirical evidence for retrospective voting	90
4.4	Conclusion	94
Chapter 5	Quantifying Parliamentary Representation of Constituents' Preferences and Explaining Divergence	96
5.1	Introduction	96
5.2	Institutional setting and methodology	97
5.3	Empirical results	99
5.3.1	Baseline results	99
5.3.2	Responsiveness of representatives to constituency's preferences	102
5.3.3	Explaining divergence	107
5.4	Conclusion	112

Chapter 6	District Magnitude and Representation of the Majority's Preferences: Evidence from Popular and Parliamentary Votes	115
6.1	Introduction	115
6.2	Literature and theory	117
6.2.1	Literature overview	117
6.2.2	Theoretical considerations	119
6.3	Data and estimation strategy	120
6.3.1	Data	120
6.3.2	Estimation equation	121
6.4	Empirical results	126
6.4.1	Baseline results	126
6.4.2	Robustness	131
6.4.3	BMA results	138
6.5	Summary and conclusion	142
6.5.1	Summary	142
6.5.2	Policy conclusions	143
Chapter 7	A Refined View on the Relationship Between District Magnitude and Representation	145
7.1	Introduction	145
7.2	A refined theory on the effects of district magnitude	146
7.2.1	Strategic behavior: The number of politicians, convergence to the median voter, local representation	146
7.2.2	Carey and Hix: Coordination failures and the electoral sweet spot	147
7.3	Data and methodology	148
7.4	Empirical results	150
7.4.1	Non-monotonic estimations for the effects of district magnitude	150
7.4.2	Extended results	153
7.5	Summary and discussion	157
7.5.1	Summary	157
7.5.2	Discussion	157
Chapter 8	Representatives' Majority Decisions: The law of Large Numbers	160
8.1	Introduction	160

Table of Contents

8.2 Individual vs. majority decisions	162
8.3 Data and identification strategy	164
8.4 Evidence for the law of large districts in political representation	166
8.4.1 Individual vs. majority match with constituents' preferences	166
8.4.2 Existence of the law of large districts: Robustness tests	172
8.5 Conclusion	179
 Chapter 9 A Comparative Analysis of the Voting Behavior of Constituents and Their Representatives for Public Debts	 181
9.1 Introduction	181
9.2 Identification of budgetary consequences and constituents' preferences	182
9.3 Empirical analysis	184
9.3.1 Baseline match between constituents and representatives	184
9.3.2 Influence of a constituency's preferences on legislators	186
9.3.3 Empirical results of the logit estimations	187
9.3.4 Interpreting the effects	190
9.4 Conclusion	192
 Chapter 10 Conclusion and Research Perspective	 195
10.1 Summary	195
10.2 Perspective for future research	198
 Appendix	 207
 Bibliography	 217