## The Optimal Length of Political Terms

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#### ASSA Meeting San Diego, January 2020

## Research question(s)

- How frequently should there be elections? On what does the optimal length of a political term (executive office, lower and upper chamber, judiciary, etc) depend?
- Institutional/Constitutional design is important in democracy. Can we improve upon the current design?
- Polarization is commonplace in contemporary politics. What is the effect of polarization in elections and policies (and on the optimal term length)?
- We focus on policies that are *costly* to change
- Term length  $\neq$  term limit

#### Concerns in the US Constitutional Convention

#### The Federalist Papers No. 52

"As it is essential to liberty that the government in general should have a common interest with the people, so it is particularly essential that the branch of it under consideration should have an immediate dependence on. and an intimate sympathy with, the people. Frequent elections are unquestionably the only policy by which this dependence and sympathy can be effectually secured. But what particular degree of frequency may be absolutely necessary for the purpose, does not appear to be susceptible of any precise calculation, and must depend on a variety of circumstances with which it may be connected."

## **US** Constitution

- The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years [...] [U.S. Constitution, Art. II, Sec. 2]
- The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years. [U.S. Constitution, Art. I, Sec. 3]
- Members of the House of Representatives serve two-year terms and are considered for reelection every even year.
- There is lifetime tenure for the Supreme Court
- (No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice [...] [U.S. Constitution, Amendment XXIII])

- Regarding state legislatures in the US.
  - Lower house: 2-year term (44 states) and 4-year term (5 states).
  - Upper house: 2-year term (12 states) and 4-year term (37 states).

### The world (dal Bo and Rossi, 2011)

TABLE 1 Duration of terms in selected legislatures

Term duration (years)	Countries and states in the U.S.
2	U.S. House of Representatives U.S. states: Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Indinan, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wissonisn, and Wyoming
3	Australia, Bhutan, El Salvador, Mexico, Nauru, New Zealand, and Philippines
4	Albania, Andorra, Angola, Armenia, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kiribati, Lebanon, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Macedonia, Madagascar, Mauritus, Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Netherlands, Nigeria, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Solomon Islands, South Korea, Spain, Syria, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu US states: Alabama, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Nebraska, and North Dakota
5	Afghanistan, Antigua and Barbuda, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Benin, Bolivia, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Canada, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, China, Comoros, Cuba, Cypruz, Czech Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Dominica, Egypt, Ethiopia, Fiji, France, Gabon, Gambia, Grenada, Guinea, Guyana, India, IvoryCoast, Jamaica, Kyrgyzstan, Laos, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Monaco, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nicaragua, Niger, North Korca, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Republic of the Congo, Saint Lucia, Samoa, San Marino, Snegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, South Africa, Suriname, Tajikistan, Tamzania, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Vietama, Zambia, and Zimbabwe
6	Liberia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, and Yemen

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Note: When the legislature consists of a lower and an upper house, we consider the lower house. Source: Online portals of each country or state legislature.

# The world (ConstitutionMaking.org Option Reports, 2009)

Figure 1. Percent of Constitutions that Provide for a 4 - year Term Length for the Head of State by Year (N= 570)



#### The Optimal Length of Political Terms

# The world (ConstitutionMaking.org Option Reports, 2009)

Figure 2. Percent of Constitutions that Provide for a 5 - year Term Length for the Head of State by Year (N= 570)



#### The Optimal Length of Political Terms

## A model for investigating term length

- We focus on two dimensions: a common-value component (valence) and a private-value component (ideology)
- We assume
  - ideological polarization (in a salient issue),
  - policy changes are costly
  - politicians cannot commit to policies (neither can voters)
  - median voter fluctuates
  - no asymmetry of information (neither adverse selection nor moral hazard)
- Two trade-offs:
  - costly changes vs. low valence
  - costly changes vs. adapting preference
- Other trade-offs: shirking vs. pandering, learning vs. insulation/aristocracy

## Costs of change

- Large policy changes are associated with costs:
  - Original investments become obsolete (nuclear phase-out)
  - Expenditures to smooth transition
  - Resources to engineer transition
  - Information, communication and lobbying costs
  - Psychological costs (aversion to change or to uncertainty)
  - Checks and Balances (in the political process)
- Examples of costly policy changes:
  - Health care reform ("Obamacare")
  - Brexit
  - Independence of Catalonia
- Costs due to policy shift are "costs of change".

## Costs of Change: Relation to the literature

#### Costly changes:

- Glazer et al. (1998)
- Gersbach and Tejada (2018), Gersbach, Muller and Tejada (2019)
- Gersbach, Jackson, Muller and Tejada (2019), Eraslan and Piazza (2019)

#### Political terms: Relation to the literature

- Term length: Schultz (2008), dal Bo and Rossi (2011)
- Term limits: Smart and Sturm (2013), Duggan (2014), ...
- Judiciary vs Executive: Maskin and Tirole (2004)

#### Further relation to the literature

- Dynamic election models
  - Manipulation for future gains: Persson and Svensson (1989), Alesina and Tabellini (1990), Bouton, Lizzeri and Persico (2016)
  - Policy persistence and alternation: Forand (2014) and Nunnari and Zápal (2014)
  - Legislative bargaining with endogenous status quo: Baron (1996), Zápal (2016)
  - Dynamic links: Bowen, Chen and Eraslan (2014), Chen and Eraslan (2017), Dziuda and Loeper (2016), Callander and Raiha (2017), Buisseret and Bernhardt (2017)

### Outline of the rest of the presentation

- Description of the (basic) model
- The case with no costs
- Equilibrium analysis of the general case
- Optimal length of a political term
- Extensions & Robustness
- Conclusion

#### Model: General set-up

- 1. Discrete time: t = 1, 2, ...
- 2. Two political parties:  $K \in \{R, L\}$
- 3. One representative voter m
- 4. Election at the beginning of each period: Two candidates,  $k \in K$  and  $-k \in -K$

### Model: Agents' characteristics and tasks

- Politician k has valence a<sub>kt</sub> in period t:
  - In his first period *t* in office,  $a_{kt} = 0$
  - At the end of each period *t*: With prob.  $\rho \in [0, 1]$ , incumbent experiences a negative *shock* that reduces his/her ability by A > 0 (for the average voter) and by  $(1 + \chi) \cdot A$  (for the current median voter).
- In each period *t* in office, incumbent *k* chooses *i<sub>kt</sub>* ∈ ℝ (No commitment)

### Model: Agents' characteristics and tasks

- Ideal policies in  $\mathbb{R}$ :
  - $\mu_R = \mu$  and  $\mu_L = -\mu$ , with  $\mu > 0$  the level of *polarization*

• 
$$\mu_m = m_t$$
,

where  $m_t$  is drawn according to some random process  $F_t(\cdot|m_{t-1})$ 

►  $F_t$  uniform in  $[-\beta, \beta]$  with prob.  $1 - \eta$  and  $m_{t-1}$  with prob.  $\eta$ , for all  $t \ge 1$ .

#### Note: Two random processes (downward drift + noise)

#### Model: Sequence of events



⇒ Stage utility in period  $t \in \{1, 2, ...\}$ :

$$U_i(i_{t-1}, i_t, a_t) = a_t - (i_t - \mu_i)^2 - c \cdot |i_{t-1} - i_t|$$
  
$$U_K(i_{t-1}, i_t, a_t, b) = a_t - (i_t - \mu_K)^2 - c \cdot |i_{t-1} - i_t| + b \cdot \mathbb{1}_K(t)$$

▶  $b \gg 0$  are office-rents (for the party and/or the politician)

## Equilibrium concept

A *(Markov) equilibrium* is a triple  $(\sigma_m, \sigma_L, \sigma_R)$  such that: (*i*) for all  $t \in \mathbb{N}$ ,

$$\sigma_{K}(t/T, i_{t-1}, a_{t-1}, m_{t-1}) \in \operatorname*{argmax}_{i_{t} \in \mathbb{R}} \mathbb{E} \left[ V_{K}(i_{t-1}, i_{t}, a_{t}) + \theta \cdot V_{K}(i_{t}, \sigma_{K'}((t+1)/T, i_{t}, a_{t}, m_{t}), a_{t+1}) \right],$$

(ii) if t/T = 0,

$$\begin{aligned} \sigma_m(K, i_{t-1}, a_t, m_t) &= K \Leftrightarrow \mathbb{E} \\ \left[ U_{m_t} \left( i_{t-1}, \sigma_K((t+1)/T, i_{t-1}, a_t, m_t), a_{t+1} \right) \right] \\ &\geq \mathbb{E} \left[ U_{m_t} \left( i_{t-1}, \sigma_{-K}((t+1)/T, i_{t-1}, 0, m_t), a_{t+1} \right) \right], \end{aligned}$$

Agents care about the current period & look one period ahead.

#### **Technical assumptions**

Polarization:

$$0 \leq c < \frac{2\mu}{1+\theta}$$

Initial moderation:

$$|i_0| < \mu - \frac{c}{2} \cdot (1+\theta)$$

Theorem Assume c = 0. Then, in the unique equilibrium of  $\mathcal{G}$ , (i) office-holders choose their peak in any period, (ii) incumbent  $k \in K$  re-elected in t iff

$$m_t \geq rac{A \cdot z_t}{4\mu}$$
 (if  $K = R$ )

if K = R, and if and only if

$$m_t \leq -\frac{A \cdot z_t}{4\mu}$$
 (if  $K = L$ ),

where  $z_t$  is the number of valence shocks experienced by the incumbent up to period *t*.

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## Equilibrium behavior with no costs

- Policies are polarized & re-election trade-off between m's biased ideology and ability.
- T = 1 is optimal for a voter with permanent peak at 0.

## Equilibrium behavior with costs

• We now consider costs of change.

### Myopic parties ( $\theta = 0$ ) – no elections



#### Myopic parties ( $\theta = 0$ ) – no elections



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## Equilibrium behavior with costs

Theorem Assume c > 0. Then, in the unique equilibrium, (i)  $k \in R$  chooses  $\Delta$  and  $k \in L$  chooses  $-\Delta$ , (ii) incumbent  $k \in K$  re-elected in t iff

$$m_t \geq -\frac{c}{2} + \frac{A \cdot z_t}{4\Delta}$$
 (if  $K = R$ )

or

$$m_t \leq \frac{c}{2} - \frac{A \cdot z_t}{4\Delta}$$
 (if  $K = L$ ),

where  $z_t$  is the number of valence shocks suffered and

$$\Delta = \mu - \frac{c}{2} \cdot (1 + \theta) \,.$$

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## Equilibrium behavior with costs: comments

- Forces at work:
  - costs of change  $\rightarrow$  incumbency advantage
    - now (first period)
    - tomorrow (later on)
  - re-election concerns  $\sim$  incumbency advantage
  - costs of change & valence and preference shocks

### Optimal term length: More structure

Parametrized stochastic process:

$$m_t = egin{cases} m_{t-1} & ext{with probability } \eta, \ x & ext{with probability } 1 - \eta, \end{cases}$$

where 
$$x \sim U[-\beta, \beta]$$
.

Large shocks:

$$(1 + \chi) \cdot A > 4\Delta \cdot \left(\beta + \frac{c}{2}\right).$$

#### Optimal term length: Two notions of welfare

Ex ante welfare:

$$W^{1}(T) = \mathbb{E}_{T} \left[ -\sum_{t \ge 1} \delta^{t-1} \cdot i_{t}^{2} \right] \\ + \mathbb{E}_{T} \left[ -\sum_{t \ge 1} \delta^{t-1} \cdot c \cdot |i_{t} - i_{t-1}| \right] \\ + \mathbb{E}_{T} \left[ \sum_{t \ge 1} \delta^{t-1} \cdot a_{t} \right].$$

#### Optimal term length: Two notions of welfare

Interim welfare:

$$W^{2}(T) = \mathbb{E}_{T} \left[ -\sum_{t \ge 1} \delta^{t-1} \cdot (i_{t} - m_{t})^{2} \right]$$
$$+ \mathbb{E}_{T} \left[ -\sum_{t \ge 1} \delta^{t-1} \cdot c \cdot |i_{t} - i_{t-1}| \right]$$
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$$+ \mathbb{E}_{T} \left[ \sum_{t \ge 1} \delta^{t-1} \cdot a_{t} \right].$$

#### Proposition

Ex ante optimal term length T\* exists, is finite, and maximizes

$$\begin{split} M(T) &:= \frac{\delta^T}{1 - \delta^T} \cdot \left[ T \cdot \frac{A}{2c \cdot \left(\mu - \frac{c}{2} \cdot (1 + \theta)\right)} \cdot \frac{\rho}{1 - \delta} \\ &- \left(1 - (1 - \rho)^T\right) \cdot \frac{1 + \delta^T \eta^T (1 - (1 - \rho)^T)}{1 - \delta^T \eta^T (1 - (1 - \rho)^T)} \\ &- \left(1 - \rho\right)^T \cdot \frac{1}{2\beta} \cdot \max\left\{0, \beta - \frac{c}{2}\right\} \cdot \frac{1 - \delta^T \eta^T (1 - 2(1 - \rho)^T)}{1 - \delta^T \eta^T (1 - (1 - \rho)^T)} \right] \end{split}$$

#### Let

$$\begin{split} H_{I}(T) &:= \frac{\delta^{T}}{1 - \delta^{T}} \cdot T \cdot \frac{A}{2c \cdot \left(\mu - \frac{c}{2} \cdot (1 + \theta)\right)} \cdot \frac{\rho}{1 - \delta}, \\ H_{II}(T) &:= -\frac{\delta^{T}}{1 - \delta^{T}} \cdot \frac{1 + \delta^{T} \eta^{T} (1 - (1 - \rho)^{T})}{1 - \delta^{T} \eta^{T} (1 - (1 - \rho)^{T})}, \\ H_{III}(T) &:= -\frac{\delta^{T}}{1 - \delta^{T}} \cdot \frac{1}{2\beta} \cdot \max\left\{0, \beta - \frac{c}{2}\right\} \cdot \frac{1 - \delta^{T} \eta^{T} (1 - (1 - \rho)^{T})}{1 - \delta^{T} \eta^{T} (1 - (1 - \rho)^{T})}. \end{split}$$

$$M(T) = H_I(T) + (1 - (1 - \rho)^T) \cdot H_{II}(T) + (1 - \rho)^T \cdot H_{III}(T).$$

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$$M(T) = H_I(T) + (1 - (1 - \rho)^T) \cdot H_{II}(T) + (1 - \rho)^T \cdot H_{III}(T).$$

### Optimal term length: generic values



Figure 1: Function M(T) for  $\delta = 0.7$ ,  $\mu = 0.4$ , c = 0.35,  $\theta = 0.8$ ,  $\rho = 0.45$ ,  $\beta = 0.2$ ,  $\eta = 0.1$ ,  $\chi = 6$ , and A = 0.01 (orange line), A = 0.02 (red line) and A = 0.03 (blue line).

## Optimal term length: Comparative statics (I)

#### Corollary

The ex ante optimal term length  $T^*$ 

- decreases  $\iff$  A increases,
- decreases  $\iff \rho$  increases,
- decreases  $\iff \theta$  increases.

## Optimal term length: Comparative statics (II)

#### Corollary

The ex ante optimal term length  $T^*$ 

- increases  $\iff \mu$  increases,
- increases  $\iff \beta$  increases,
- increases  $\iff 1 \eta$  increases,
- increases  $\iff \chi$  increases.

## Optimal term length: Comparative statics (III)

#### Corollary

The ex ante optimal term length  $T^*$ 

- increases  $\iff c$  increases (if  $2\beta < c < \frac{\mu}{1+\theta}$ ),
- decreases  $\iff c$  increases (if  $\frac{\mu}{1+\theta} < c < 2\beta$ ).

Total costs given by the following quadratic function on c:

$$c\cdot\left(\frac{2\mu}{1+\theta}-c\right).$$

## To Tie Their Own Hands: A Rationale

- Endogenizing
  - valence,
  - median voter's peak.
- Inefficient provision of public goods.

### Extensions

- learning-by-doing,
- campaign spending,
- pandering,
- accountability,
- party entry at the median voter's peak,
- several policy dimensions,
- early elections,
- varying costs of change.

- We have identified new trade-offs for the optimal determination of political terms.
- ► Our (simple) model replicates observed policies and it enables comparative statics → different lengths should be observed & testable hypotheses.
- A potential workhorse model.