

COMPLEXITIES OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION, FALL 2016

Dr. Jason Eichorst
eichorst@uni-mannheim.de
Universität Mannheim
School of Social Sciences

Class Information: A5, 6 Bauteil B. B 243 Hörsaal. Monday, 8:30 - 10:00
Office Hours: L13, 17. Room 520. Wednesday 14:00-15:30 (or by appointment)

COURSE OVERVIEW

A complicated link exists between the represented and those delegated authority to act in the interests of the represented. This course is designed to clarify that link and reveal diverse behaviors associated with political representation. To do so, we explore cross-national literature in industrialized and less-industrialized regions—including Latin America, North America, and Europe—using quantitative and qualitative research methods. We evaluate how different institutional environments structure politicians' responsiveness to the interests of the represented. Our primary concern is to understand the concept of political representation, broad theoretical explanations for elite behavior, and political responsiveness to group interests—women, race & ethnicity, and LGBT communities. The course concludes with a focus on the effects of successful and failed political representation on democratic governance.

COURSE EXPECTATIONS

This course is designed to encourage analytical, independent, and critical thinking. You will strengthen your awareness of one important feature of democratic governance: political representation. I expect students to develop a deeper understanding of the nuances associated with elite political behavior across a diverse sample of countries. We will directly engage some of the more advanced (and accessible) literature in political science on this topic. I want to help you engage different types of literature in a way that makes it possible to acquire information. At the end of the semester you will be able to efficiently acquire, synthesize and evaluate political information. Students should read the material before attending class and they should actively participate in classroom discussion. *Students (and the professor) will be tolerant of diverse views and intellectual curiosity.*

ASSIGNMENT

There is one final exam in this course. You should expect the final exam to assess your comprehensive understanding of the material. This means you should not only be able to answer questions associated with a specific topic, but you should be able to coherently integrate the themes developed throughout the course. The final exam will include multiple choice questions and short answers. The course lectures are designed to synthesize and integrate the material for exam preparation.

Academic Dishonesty. Academic dishonesty (plagiarism) will not be tolerated and will be handled by the administration. Extensions will not be provided under normal circumstances.

CLASSROOM PROCEDURES

Class will include lecture and discussion elements. We will often incorporate class activities that help reveal how well the students follow the material and the extent that students are prepared for the final exam.

Material. All reading assignments will be electronically available on the course page at ilias.uni-mannheim.de.

Class Participation. I suggest that all students compose their own overview of the material (see “Article Overview” suggestions below) to prepare for the class. You DO NOT need to be an expert on all topics of the assigned material, but you should come to class with questions that clarify at least one aspect of the material. We should be able to rely on our colleagues to develop a collective understanding of the assigned material. For each article, you should know the purpose, the contribution, the argument, the analysis, and the conclusions.

Article Overview. Below is a suggestion of items to know for each article. This is not an exhaustive list nor will all items be applicable to every article. Items marked with an asterisk, however, are particularly useful. Be concise.

- Full Citation*: Use the format from the *American Political Science Review*.
- Overview*: Give a brief overview of the article, including your assessment.
- Purpose*: What does the author(s) propose to do?
- Prior Literature*: How did we get to this point in the literature?
- Gap: What is the gap in the prior literature?
- Contribution*: Is the contribution theoretical, empirical, or both? Describe it.
- Argument*: List the assumptions and describe the argument.
- Implications: List the hypotheses.
- Research Methods*: Does the author(s) use quantitative or qualitative evidence?
 - Describe the methods.
- Results*: Describe the results from the analysis.
- Conclusions*: What are the conclusions from the reading? How well does the author contribute to the stated purpose?

Office Hours. Feel free to utilize office hours to discuss the material, applied research, and clarify other research themes from class. Office hours are also appropriate for clarifying any other issues related to class (scheduling, etc.). I request that students use the material (e.g., the syllabus and text) to first clarify confusion before relying on office hours. I understand that office hours can be poorly timed. If that is the case, we can arrange via email an appointment at a more appropriate time that fits both our schedules. I will also be available after class. I may adjust office hours depending on demand.

Class Performance. Speak to me as soon as possible if you are concerned about your grade or performance in the classroom. I will make every reasonable effort to support strong classroom performance. Visiting me during office hours is an appropriate time to address these concerns. We can also discuss minor issues before and after class.

UB Mannheim Learning Center. It is critical that you understand and can present information in a coherent and concise manner. The Universitätsbibliothek Mannheim Learning Center provides educational assistance to students for writing and studying. Click [here](#) for additional information.

Technology Policy. The class is structured to promote discussion. Cell phones and computers can have a tendency to obstruct classroom discussion when used irresponsibly. Technology, however, can also be useful to engage the material. I suggest using technology in a responsible way while in the class and, therefore, delegate discretion to the student in how zem uses technology. Irresponsible use of technology is just cause for removal from the classroom, especially if these tools are a distraction to your colleagues.

Email Policy. Please follow these instructions for email correspondence. The subject line should read: PRep, [subject]. Replace [subject] with the subject of the email. This means no brackets, but include the comma. This will increase the likelihood that I respond in a timely fashion (48 hours or less) and that I appropriately address your concerns. I reserve the right to ignore emails that are disrespectful. I expect students to compose emails using professional etiquette, this includes: a greeting, a purpose, a salutation, and your full name. You should expect the same from me.

Students with Disabilities or Chronic Illness. Contact Studienbüros (phone: 0621/181-1180; email: fettig@verwaltung.uni-mannheim.de) if you need special assistance because of disabilities or chronic illness. Please pursue this avenue early in the semester so we can immediately make the appropriate accommodations. Click [here](#) for more details.

Student Services. Student Services is your critical source for academic advising and student assistance. You can also speak to me directly or communicate with your department administration. Student Services can help you with administrative matters, exams, counseling, and contact persons. Click [here](#) for the homepage and [here](#) for the counseling center.

COURSE SCHEDULE

*SECTION I: Conceptual Development***Week 1: Introduction**

- Maps as Frameworks

Week 2: Concepts

- Madison, James. 1992 [1787]. Federalist 10. in *The Federalist Papers*. New York: Buccaneer Books.
- Mansbridge, Jane. 2003. "Rethinking Representation." *American Political Science Review*. 97(4): 515-528.
- Rehfeld, Andrew. 2009. "Representation Rethought: On Trustees, Delegates, and Gyroscopes in the Study of Political Representation and Democracy." *American Political Science Review*. 103(2): 214-230.
- Mansbridge, Jane. 2011. "Clarifying the Concept of Representation". *American Political Science Review*. 105(3): 621-630.

additional material

- Pitkin, Hanna. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. University of California Press.
- Rehfeld, Andrew. 2011. "The Concepts of Representation". *American Political Science Review*. 105(3): 631-641.
- Lapinski, John et al. 2016. "What Do Citizens Want from Their Member of Congress?" *Political Research Quarterly*. 69(3): 535-545.
- Mansbridge, Jane. 2009. "A 'Selection Model' of Political Representation." *The Journal of Political Philosophy*. 17(4): 369-398.
- Dahl, Robert. 2005. "James Madison: Republican or Democrat?" *Perspectives on Politics*. 3(3): 439-448.

Week 3: Institutions

- Huber, John & G. Bingham Powell. 1994. "Congruence Between Citizens and Policymakers in Two Visions of Liberal Democracy." *World Politics*. 46(3): 291-326.
- Carey, John & Matthew Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies*. 14(4): 417-439.

additional material

- Manin, Bernard et al. 1999. "Elections and Representation" in *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Adam Przeworski, Susan Stokes, & Bernard Manin (eds.). Cambridge University Press. 29-54.
- Carroll, Royce & Matthew Shugart. 2006. "Neo-Madisonian Theory and Latin American Institutions." in *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America. Vol I: Theories and Agendas*. Gerardo Munck (ed.) Oxford University Press.
- Carey, John. 2000. "Parchment, Equilibria, and Institutions." *Comparative Political Studies*. 33(6/7): 735-761.
- Powell, G. Bingham. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. Yale University Press.

Week 4: Classification

- Eulau, Heinz & Paul Karps. 1977. "The Puzzle of Representation: Specifying Components of Responsiveness." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 2(3): 233-254.
- Ingall, Rachael & Brian Crisp. 2001. "Determinant of Home Style: The Many Incentives for Going Home in Colombia." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 26(3): 487-512.
- Martin, Lanny & Georg Vanberg. 2008. "Coalition Government and Political Communication." *Political Research Quarterly*. 61(3): 502-516.

additional material

- Mayhew, David. 1974. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. Yale University Press.
- Fenno, Richard. 1978. *Home Style: House Members in Their District*. Little, Brown.
- Koger, Gregory. 2003. "Position Taking and Cosponsorship in the US House." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 28(2): 225-246.
- Taylor-Robinson, Michelle & Sky David. 2002. "Who Participates and Who is Seen and Not Heard? Evidence from the Honduran Congress." *The Journal of Legislative Studies*. 8(1): 10-36.
- Proksch, Sven-Oliver & Jonathan Slapin. "Institutional Foundations of Legislative Speech." *American Journal of Political Science*. 56(3): 520-537.

*SECTION II: Empirical Theories***Week 5: Electoral Systems**

Class Lesson: Simulation Game (Duverger's Law)

- Amorim Neto, Octavio & Gary Cox. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures, and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science*. 41(1): 149-174
- Centellas, Miguel. 2009. "Electoral Reform, Regional Cleavages, and Party System Stability in Bolivia." *Journal of Politics in Latin America*. 1(2): 115-131.

additional material

- Jones, Mark. 1994. "Presidential Election Laws and Multipartyism in Latin America." *Political Research Quarterly*. 47: 41-57.
- Posner, Daniel. 2007. "Regime Change and Ethnic Cleavages in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies*. 40(11): 1302-1327.
- Vann Cott, Donna Lee. 2003. "Institutional Change and Ethnic Parties in South America." *Latin American Politics and Society*. 45(2): 1-39.
- Carey, John & Peter Siavelis. 2005. "Insurance for Good Losers and the Survival of Chile's Concertación." *Latin American Politics and Society*. 47(2): 1-22.
- Hicken, Allen & Heather Stoll. 2011. "Presidents and Parties: How Presidential Elections Shape Coordination in Legislative Elections." *Comparative Political Studies*. 44(7): 854-883.

Week 6: Political Parties

- Lubbers, Marcel et al. 2002. "Extreme Right-Wing Voting in Western Europe." *European Journal of Political Research*. 41: 345-378.

- Seligson, Mitchell. 2007. "The Rise of Populism and the Left in Latin America." *Journal of Democracy*. 18(3): 81-95.
- Zechmeister, Elizabeth & Margarita Corral. 2012. "Individual and Contextual Constraints on Ideological Labels in Latin America." 46(6): 675-701.

additional material

- Albright, Jeremy. 2010. "The Multidimensional Nature of Party Competition." *Party Politics*. 16(6): 699-719.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages Between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities." *Comparative Political Studies*. 33(6/7): 845-879.
- Madrid, Raúl. 2005. "Ethnic Cleavages and Electoral Volatility in Latin America." *Comparative Politics*. 38(1): 1-20.
- Dolezal, Martin et al. 2013. "How Parties Compete for Votes: A Test of Saliency Theory." *European Journal of Political Research*. 1-24.

Week 7: Executive Responsiveness

- Hobolt, Sara Binzer & Robert Klemmensen. 2008. "Government Responsiveness and Political Competition in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Political Studies*. 41(3): 309-337.
- Rottinghaus, Brandon. 2011. "What Predicts Trends in the White House Mail? The Macro Causes of Mass Political Letter Writing to the Chief Executive." *American Politics Research*.
- Park, Jeeyoung & Helmut Norpoth. 2016. "Policy Popularity: The Arizona Immigration Law." *Electoral Studies*.

additional material

- Mainwaring, Scott. 1993. "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination." *Comparative Political Studies*. 26(2): 198-228.
- Canes-Wrone, Brandice & Kenneth Shotts. 2004. "The Conditional Nature of Presidential Responsiveness to Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science*. 48(4): 690-706.
- Raile, Eric et al. 2011. "The Executive Toolbox: Building Legislative Support in a Multiparty Presidential Regime." *Political Research Quarterly*. 64(2): 323-334.
- Rottinghaus, Brandon. 2006. "Rethinking Presidential Responsiveness: The Public Presidency and Rhetorical Congruency, 1953-2001." *The Journal of Politics*. 68(3): 720-732.

Week 8: Legislative Responsiveness

- Taylor, Michelle. 1992. "Formal versus Informal Incentive Structures and Legislator Behavior: Evidence from Costa Rica." *The Journal of Politics*. 54(4): 1055-1073.
- Crisp, Brian et al. 2004. "Vote-Seeking Incentives and Legislative Representation in Six Presidential Democracies." *The Journal of Politics*. 66(3): 823-846.
- Carroll, Royce and Jason Eichorst. 2013. "The Role of Party: The Legislative Consequences of Partisan Electoral Competition." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 38(1): 83-109.

additional material

- Jenkins, Jeffrey. 1999. "Examining the Bonding Effects of Party: A Comparative Analysis of Roll-Call Voting in the US and Confederate Houses." *American Journal of Political Science*. 43(4): 1144-1165.
- Taylor-Robinson. 1999. "Who Gets Legislation Passed in a Marginal Legislature and is the Label Marginal Legislature Still Appropriate? A Study of the Honduran Congress." *Comparative Political Studies*. 32(5): 589-625.
- Carey, John. 2003. "Discipline, Accountability, and Legislative Voting in Latin America." *Comparative Politics*. 35(2): 191-211.
- Carey, John. 2007. "Competing Principals, Political Institutions, and Party Unity in Legislative Voting." *American Journal of Political Science*. 51(1): 92-107.
- Taylor-Robinson, Michelle. 2010. *Do the Poor Count: Democratic Institutions and Accountability in a Context of Poverty*. University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Hix, Simon and Abdul Noury. 2016. "Government-Opposition or Left-Right. The Institutional Determinants of Voting in Legislatures." *Political Science Research and Methods*. 4(2): 249-273.

Week 9: Representative-Constituency Linkage

- Hurley, Patricia & Kim Quaile Hill. 2003. "Beyond the Demand-Input Model: A Theory of Representational Linkages." *The Journal of Politics*. 65(2): 304-326.
- Tavits, Margit. 2007. "Principle vs. Pragmatism: Policy Shifts and Political Competition." *American Journal of Political Science*. 51(1): 151-165.
- Nyhan, Brendan et al. 2012. "One Vote out of Step: The Effects of Salient Roll Call Votes in the 2010 Election." *American Politics Research*.

additional material

- Miller, Warren & Donald Stokes. 1963. "Constituency Influence in Congress." *The American Political Science Review*. 57(1): 45-56.
- Bishin, Ben. 2010. *Tyranny of the Minority: The Subconstituency Politics Theory of Representation*. Temple University Press.
- Carson, Jamie et al. 2010. "The Electoral Costs of Party Loyalty in Congress." *American Journal of Political Science*. 54(3): 598-616.
- Zucco, Cesar. 2013. "When Payouts Pay Off: Conditional Cash Transfers and Voting Behavior in Brazil 2002-10." *American Journal of Political Science*.

*SECTION III: Group Representation***Week 10: Women**

- Pearson, Kathryn and Logan Dancey. 2011. "Elevating Women's Voices in Congress: Speech Participation in the House of Representatives." *Political Research Quarterly*. 1-14.
- Anzia, Sarah & Christopher Berry. 2011. "The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson Effect: Why Do Congresswomen Outperform Congressmen?" *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3): 478-493.
- Kerevel, Yann & Lonna Rae Atkeson. 2013. "Explaining the Marginalization of Women in Legislative Institutions." *The Journal of Politics*. 75(4): 980-992.

additional material

- Escobar-Lemmon, Maria & Michelle Taylor-Robinson. 2005. "Women Ministers in Latin American Government: When, Where, and Why?" *American Journal of Political Science*. 49(4). 829-844.
- Jones, Mark. 2008. "Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Evidence from the Latin American Vanguard." *Comparative Political Studies*. 42(1): 56-81.
- Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie. 2005. "The Incumbency Disadvantage and Women's Election to Legislative Office." *Electoral Studies*. 24: 227-244.
- Fox, Richard & Jennifer Lawless. 2010. "If Only They'd Ask: Gender, Recruitment, and Political Ambition." *The Journal of Politics*. 72(2): 310-326.
- Volden, Craig, Alan Wiseman, & Dana Wittmer. 2013. "When Are Women More Effective Lawmakers Than Men?" *American Journal of Political Science*. 57(2): 327-341.
- Taylor-Robinson, Michelle & Roseanna Heath. 2003. "Do Women Legislators Have Different Policy Priorities than their Male Colleagues?" *Women & Politics*. 24(4): 77-101.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2008. "Representing Women: The Adoption of Family Leave in Comparative Politics." *The Journal of Politics*. 70(2). 323-334.

Week 11: Race & Ethnicity

- Scherer, Nancy & Brett Curry. 2010. "Does Descriptive Race Representation Enhance Institutional Legitimacy? The Case of the US Courts." *The Journal of Politics*. 72(1): 90-104.
- Broockman, David. 2013. "Black Politicians Are More Intrinsically Motivated to Advance Blacks' Interests: A Field Experiment Manipulating Political Incentives." *American Journal of Political Science*. 1-16.
- Hänni, Miriam. 2016. "Presence, Representation, and Impact: How Minority MPs Affect Policy Outcomes." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*.

additional material

- Reynolds, Andrew. 2005. "Reserved Seats in National Legislatures: A Research Note." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 30(2): 301-310.
- Preuhs, Robert & Eric Gonzalez Juenke. 2011. "Latino US State Legislators in the 1990s: Majority-Minority Districts, Minority Incorporation, and Institutional Position." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*. 11(1): 48-75.
- Lublin, David. 1997. *The Paradox of Representation: Racial Gerrymandering and Minority Interests in Congress*. Princeton University Press.
- Minta, Michael. 2009. "Legislative Oversight and the Substantive Representation of Black and Latino Interests in Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 34(2). 193-218.
- Juenke, Eric Gonzalez. 2012. "Irreplaceable Legislators? Rethinking Minority Representatives in the New Century." *American Journal of Political Science*. 56(3): 705-715.
- Gillion, Daniel. 2012. "Protest and Congressional Behavior: Assessing Racial and Ethnic Minority Protests in the District." *The Journal of Politics*. 74(4): 950-962.

Week 12: LGBT

- Schulenberg, Shawn. 2012. "The Construction and Enactment of Same-Sex Marriage in Argentina." *Journal of Human Rights*. 11(1): 106-125.
- Bishin, Benjamin & Charles Anthony Smith. 2013. "When Do Legislators Defy Popular Sovereignty? Testing Theories of Minority Representation using DOMA." *Political Research Quarterly*.
- Bishin, Benjamin et al. 2015. "Opinion Backlash and Public Attitudes: Are Political Advances in Gay Rights Counterproductive?" *American Journal of Political Science*.

additional material

- Lax, Jeffrey & Justin Phillips. 2009. "Gay Rights in the States: Public Opinion and Policy Responsiveness." *American Political Science Review*. 103(3): 367-386.
- Kreitzer, Rebecca et al. 2014. "Does Policy Adoption Change Opinions on Minority Rights? The Effects of Legalizing Same-Sex Marriage." *Political Research Quarterly*. 67(4): 795-808.

*SECTION IV: Consequences***Week 13: Success & Failure**

- Aleman, Eduardo and Sebastian Saiegh. 2014. "Political realignment and democratic breakdown in Argentina, 1916-1930." *Party Politics*. 20(6): 849-863.
- Stecker, Christian & Markus Tausendpfund. 2016. "Multidimensional Government-Citizen Congruence and Satisfaction with Democracy." *European Journal of Political Research*.
- Ezrow, Lawrence & Georgios Xezonakis. 2016. "Satisfaction with Democracy and Voter Turnout: A Temporal Perspective." *Party Politics*. 22(1): 3-14.

additional material

- Mejia Acosta, Andres & John Polga-Hecimovich. 2011. "Coalition Erosion and Presidential Instability in Ecuador". *Latin American Politics and Society*. 53(2): 87-111.
- Cheibub, Jose Antonio. 2002. "Minority Governments, Deadlock Situations, and the Survival of Presidential Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies*. 35(3): 284-312.
- Gates, Scott et al. 2006. "Institutional Inconsistency and Political Instability: Polity Duration, 1800-2000." *American Journal of Political Science*. 50(4): 893-908.
- Svobik, Milan. 2013. "Learning to Love Democracy: Electoral Accountability and the Success of Democracy." *American Journal of Political Science*.

Final Exam: 13 December 2016