

Political Representation

POLS 251

Spring 2015

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Class Meeting Time: T 2:00–4:50 p.m.

Office: 3715 Ellison Hall

Office Hours: W 12:30-2:30 p.m. or by appointment

1 Course Objectives

This course will review the major approaches to political representation: different ways of conceptualizing representation and measuring it, and different mechanisms for delivering it, from political parties to political institutions. It draws upon literature from both the American and comparative sub-fields. Accordingly, the course will help to prepare students for the political parties and representation section of the comparative politics comprehensive exam, as well as for the American politics comprehensive exam. The course also aims to help students further their research interests in the realm of political representation.

2 Course Requirements

First and most obviously, students should come to class prepared to discuss the readings. That means having read the readings both carefully and critically.

Second, students are required to serve as a moderator for two topics (i.e., for two weeks' readings). The moderator's main job is to come to class prepared enough to keep everyone else (including the instructor!) on their toes. That means that moderators are expected to play an active role in leading class discussion. Moreover, with the goal of spurring discussion, moderators will prepare a short (circa 2 page) critical review of the readings that contains some questions for discussion to be shared with the class. To elaborate, these 'critical reviews' might identify (in your opinion) issues for discussion such as the key debates, points of controversy, any perceived theoretical or empirical (methodological) problems, and/or open questions. Critical reviews should be posted on the course Gaucho Space website (under the appropriate forum) by 5:00 p.m. on the Monday before the class meeting so as to allow everyone time to read and reflect upon them prior to class. Additionally, to ensure that we are all on the same page about what makes for a good critical review, everyone will write one for Week 2 (our first real meeting). We will spend some time during that class talking about what people found to be the most useful approaches to the assignment. Please send me your top three choices of topics (ranked from first to third) for Weeks 3 through 10 by the end of the first day of class, and I will assign students to topics, doing my best to take everyone's preferences into account.

Third, students will write a brief (approximately three to four page) research prospectus. The prospectus will identify a research question and *testable hypothesis* drawn from one or more readings for empirical investigation, and then identify a research design for testing this hypothesis. Be creative—this is your chance to draw attention to what you see as an overlooked claim or observable

implication of someone's argument. The best prospectuses will either identify existing data for testing their hypothesis, or make the case that the appropriate data does not exist and describe a methodology for gathering it, from a survey to elite interviews to a comparative case study. Links to data websites, codebooks, and bibliographic resources, etc. are welcome. The goal is to provide students practice with constructing empirical research proposals, a skill that is obviously required of doctoral students. The short prospectus may be turned in any time up to Tuesday, May 19 (our class meeting in Week 8).

Fourth and finally, students may choose either to write a longer (approximately fifteen to twenty page) research prospectus, or to write a conventional seminar paper (approximately fifteen to twenty pages) on an topic related to political representation. For the long research prospectus, you may (and in fact are encouraged) to build upon the short prospectus, taking into account the feedback that you have received from me. The paper or prospectus will be due by 10:00 a.m. on Monday, 15 June. This assignment requires you to go beyond the assigned readings. I strongly recommend that you consult with me about your topic. My hope is that both of these assignments will help you to further develop your own research interests, and perhaps to even start you down the road to a doctoral prospectus. Every week after the first few weeks, we will devote some class time to talking about your ideas for your prospectuses or papers; this time will be a chance for you to brainstorm and to receive feedback from your colleagues and me.

3 Grading

Grades for the course will be calculated as follows.

- Class participation. (20%)
- Service as moderator, including critical response. (20%)
- Short research prospectus. (20%)
- Research paper or long research prospectus. (40%)

4 Required Reading Materials

Readings for the course are available in one of three ways. Books for which we will be reading more than three chapters are available on reserve from the library; these readings are labeled [LIB] in the schedule below. There are only four such books. You are of course also welcome to purchase copies of these books. Because they can be obtained from so many online vendors nowadays, often used (and hence inexpensively), I have not asked the university bookstore to stock them. Accordingly, if you are interested in building your personal library, which I recommend, go shopping with your fingers for these modern classics! Articles available online are labeled [EJ] in the schedule. Note, however, that you will either need to be on a university computer or to have your home computer configured for off campus access to access these readings. I have provided links to these articles on the course Gaucho Space website. Finally, all other readings (such as shorter book excerpts) are available as PDF files from the course Gaucho Space website. These are labeled [GS] in the schedule. Note that all of Week 2's readings will also be available from GauchoSpace, given the library's inability to make those books available via the library reserve system in time.

5 Syllabus

Organizational Session (Week 1)

Part I: Representation in Theoretical and Empirical Perspective

What Is Representation? An Overview of the Debates (Week 2)

Pitkin, Hanna. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. Chapters 1, 4, 5, 6, and 10. [LIB/GS]

Dalton, Russell J. 2002. *Citizen Politics*, 3rd ed. Chapter 11. [GS]

Phillips, Anne. 1995. *The Politics of Presence*. Chapter 1, “From a Politics of Ideas to a Politics of Presence.” [LIB/GS]

Models of and Problems with Representation (Week 3)

Achen, Christopher. 1978. “Measuring Representation.” *American Political Science Review* 22: 475–510. [EJ]

Dalton, Russell J. 2002. *Citizen Politics*, 3rd ed. Chapter 2. [GS]

Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. “Linkages Between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities.” *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (6/7): 845–879. [EJ]

Manin, Bernard, Adam Przeworski, and Susan C. Stokes. 1999. “Elections and Representation.” In Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, and Bernard Manin, eds., *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. [GS]

Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. Chapter 1. [GS]

Powell, G. Bingham. 2004. “Political Representation in Comparative Politics.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 7: 273–96. [EJ]

Does Representation Matter? Empirical Evidence (Week 4)

Banducci, Susan A., Todd Donovan, and Jeffrey A. Karp. 2005. “Effects of Minority Representation on Political Attitudes and Participation.” In Gary M. Segura and Shaun Bowler, eds., *Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States*. [GS]

Bird, Karen. 2011. “Representation from a Different Perspective: What Diverse Citizens Think about their Representation in Canadian Politics.” Paper presented at the ECPR General Conference, Reykjavik, Iceland, August 24–27. [GS]

Casellas, Jason P. 2007. “Latino Representation in Congress: To What Extent Are Latinos Substantively Represented? In Rodolfo Sepino, David L. Leal, and Kenneth J. Meier, *Latino Politics: Identity, Mobilization, and Representation*. [GS]

Caul Kittilson, Miki. 2008. “Representing Women: The Adoption of Family Leave in Comparative Perspective.” *Journal of Politics* 70 (2): 323–34. [EJ]

Grose, Christian R. 2011. *Congress in Black and White: Race and Representation in Washington and at Home*. Chapter 1. [EJ]

Lublin, David. 1997. *The Paradox of Representation: Racial Gerrymandering and Minority Interests in Congress*. Chapters 6 (all) and 7 (p. 120-24 and 132-33 only). [GS]

Paxton, Pamela and Melanie M. Hughes. 2007. *Women, Politics, and Power: A Global Perspective*. Chapters 1, "Introduction," and 7, "Do Women Make a Difference?" [GS]

Part II: Delivering Representation

Political Parties (Week 5)

Aldrich, John. 2011. *Why Parties? A Second Look*. Chapter 1, Part Two Prologue, and Chapters 4-6. [LIB]

Duverger, Maurice. 1954. "Caucus and Branch, Cadre Parties and Mass Parties." Excerpt in Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*. [GS]

LaPalombara, Joseph and Myron Weiner. 1966. "The Origin of Political Parties." Excerpt in Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*. [GS]

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments." Abridged in Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*. [GS]

Programmatic and Sectarian Parties: Consequences and Representational Dilemmas (Week 6)

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Introduction, Chapter 5, and Conclusion. [GS]

Kirchheimer, Otto. 1966. "The Catch-All Party." Excerpt in Peter Mair, ed., *The West European Party System*. [GS]

Madrid, Raul. 2005. "Indigenous Parties and Democracy in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 47 (4). [EJ]

Przeworski, Adam and John Sprague. 1986. *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism*. Prologue, Chapters 1 and 2, and Epilogue. [LIB]

Stoll, Heather. 2013. *Changing Societies, Changing Party Systems*. Chapter 8 (p. 239-259 only). [GS]

Strom, Kaare and Wolfgang Muller. 1999. "Political Parties and Hard Choices." In Kaare Strom and Wolfgang Muller, eds., *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*. [GS]

The Declining Party Thesis and Non-Party Channels (Week 7)

Aldrich, John. 2011. *Why Parties? A Second Look*. Chapters 8 and 9. [LIB]

- Cigler, Allan J. and Burdett A. Loomis. 2007. "Organized Interests, Political Parties, and Representation: James Madison, Tom DeLay, and the Soul of American Politics." In Allan J. Cigler and Burdett A. Loomis, eds., *Interest Group Politics*, 7th ed. [GS]
- Dalton, Russell J. 2002. *Citizen Politics*, 3rd ed. Chapter 4. [GS]
- Dalton, Russell J. and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2000. "Partisan Change and the Democratic Process." In Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds., *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. [GS]
- Dalton, Russell J., Paul Allen Beck and Scott C. Flanagan. 1984. "Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies." In Russell J. Dalton, Scott C. Flanagan, and Paul Allen Beck, eds., *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies: Realignment or Dealignment?* [GS]
- Fishkin, James. 2013. "Deliberation by the People Themselves: Entry Points for the Public Voice." *Election Law Journal* 12 (4). [EJ]

Political Institutions I: The Big Picture (Week 8)

- Htun, Mala and G. Bingham Powell, Jr.. 2013. "Between Science and Engineering: Political Science, Electoral Rules, and Democratic Governance." In Mala Htun and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., eds., *Political Science, Electoral Rules, and Democratic Governance: Report of the American Political Science Association Task Force on Electoral Rules and Democratic Governance*. [GS]
- Lijphart, Arend. 2012. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*, 2nd ed. Chapters 8 and 16. [GS]
- Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. Chapters 2 and 10. [GS]
- Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. 2009. "The Ideological Congruence Controversy: The Impact of Alternative Measures, Data, and Time Periods on the Effects of Election Rules." *Comparative Political Studies* 42 (12). [EJ]
- Stasavage, David. 2010. "When Distance Mattered: Geographic Scale and the Development of European Representative Assemblies." *American Political Science Review* 104 (4). [EJ]
- Stoll, Heather. 2013. *Changing Societies, Changing Party Systems*. Chapter 1. [GS]

Political Institutions II: The Devil Is In the Details (Week 9)

- Bowler, Shaun and Todd Donovan. 2005. "Cumulative Voting and Minority Representation: Can It Work?" In Gary M. Segura and Shaun Bowler, eds., *Diversity in Democracy: Minority Representation in the United States*. [GS]
- Ferree, Karen E., G. Bingham Powell, Jr., and Ethan Scheiner. 2013. "How Context Shapes the Effects of Electoral Rules." In Mala Htun and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., eds., *Political Science, Electoral Rules, and Democratic Governance: Report of the American Political Science Association Task Force on Electoral Rules and Democratic Governance*. [GS]

Handley, Lisa and Bernard Grofman, eds. *Redistricting in Comparative Perspective*. Introduction and Chapter 18. [GS]

Phillips, Anne. 1995. *The Politics of Presence*. Chapter 4, "Race-Conscious Districting in the USA." [LIB]

Moser, Robert and Ethan Scheiner. 2012. *Electoral Systems and Political Context: How the Effects of Rules Vary Across New and Established Democracies*. Chapter 1. [GS]

Andrew Reynolds and Ben Reilly, 1997, *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design*, p. 1-2, 7-14, 115-131 [GS]

Shugart, Matthew. 2013. "Why Ballot Structure Matters." In Mala Htun and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., eds., *Political Science, Electoral Rules, and Democratic Governance: Report of the American Political Science Association Task Force on Electoral Rules and Democratic Governance*. [GS]

Political Institutions III: Quotas, Political Party Organization, and Other Institutional and Contextual Mechanisms (Week 10)

Bird, Karen. 2005. "The Political Representation of Visible Minorities in Electoral Democracies: A Comparison of France, Denmark, and Canada." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 11: 425–465. [GS]

Htun, Mala. 2004. "Is Gender Like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (3): 439-58. [EJ]

Jones, Mark P. 2009. "Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Evidence from the Latin American Vanguard." *Comparative Political Studies* 42 (1). [EJ]

Krook, Mona Lena and Robert G. Moser. 2013. "Electoral Rules and Political Inclusion." In Mala Htun and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., eds., *Political Science, Electoral Rules, and Democratic Governance: Report of the American Political Science Association Task Force on Electoral Rules and Democratic Governance*. [GS]

Phillips, Anne. 1995. *The Politics of Presence*. Chapters 3, "Quotas for Women," and 6, "Loose Ends and Larger Ambitions." [LIB]

Rahat, Gideon, Reuven Y. Hazan and Richard S. Katz. 2008. "Democracy and Political Parties: On the Uneasy Relationships between Participation, Competition and Representation." *Party Politics* 14 (6). [EJ]