

University of Cologne
Faculty of Management, Economics and Social Sciences
Cologne Center for Comparative Politics (CCCP)
Fall Term 2016 / 2017

BA Course: "Political Representation"

Time: 16:00-17:30 on Thursdays, weekly

Room: Lecture room, Gottfried-Keller-Str. 6

Course duration: 20.10.2015 - 09.02.2016

Instructor Valeria Smirnova

Contact details: IBW-Building, Room 1.14a, Herbert-Lewin Str. 2, 50931 Cologne

Office hours: by appointment via e-mail valeria.smirnova@uni-koeln.de

Course policy

This course is of special interest for advanced-level Bachelor students. After a successful accomplishment of the seminar students can get 9 ECTS (for students with a new exam regulation) or 6 ECTS (for students with an old exam regulation). Students will be graded on the quality of their oral presentation and term paper. The texts for oral presentations will be distributed during the first session.

Course outline

The purpose of this seminar is to get students interested in the approaches studying political representation in contemporary democracies, and to explore together the merits and the shortcomings of the methods used. What are the central institutions that guarantee political representation in a constantly diversifying society? How can we measure the quality of political representation and what challenges to political representation we need to account for while studying this phenomenon?

The course consists out of five parts. During the first part of the seminar we will explore theoretical approaches to study political representation (Sessions 1-2). The second part of the seminar is dedicated to the authorization where we will discuss the means by which political representatives get their status in a political system (Sessions 3-4). During the third part of the seminar we will scrutinize the mechanisms of interest promotion, in other words, the substantive part of political representation (Sessions 5-7). The final parts of the seminar unite issues related to the measurement of the quality of political representation (Sessions 8-10) and a complex institutional environment representative mechanisms work in (Sessions 11-13). During the last sessions (14-15) participants have an opportunity to discuss their term papers in class. To make these discussions most useful all the participants are required to prepare a research proposal with the relevant information on their term papers. Throughout the seminar, we will pay attention to the concepts and research designs used in the papers and practice in giving feedback on scientific pieces.

Most of the texts are available on the ILIAS website of the course. The password for this ILIAS-course as well as helpful tools for efficient working with the literature would be provided during the first session.

Course requirements

Reading of the mandatory literature and active participation in the discussions are required for the attendance of the seminar sessions. Also every participant is expected:

- 1) to hold an oral presentation based on one paper from the list with 'recommended' readings within 10 minutes once during the semester;
- 2) to prepare a research proposal (at least 400 words) with the relevant information on the term paper (including a research question, several hypotheses to consider and preliminary ideas for a research design) and upload it to the ILIAS-folder "Your Proposals" before this proposal would be presented in class (at least 24 hours in advance);
- 3) to write a term paper.

Term paper

All students have to write a term paper in English with 5.000-6.000 words (for students with a new exam regulation), or at least with 4.000 words (for students with an old exam regulation, PO 2007). Please, upload your term paper in the folder "Term paper" in the ILIAS course folder **latest March 10, 2017 at 17.59 o'clock** (after that time no download will be possible) and **also submitted in a hard copy to the CCCP-Secretariat**. Please do NOT send your term papers per email. Note that we have to check all papers for plagiarism (<http://www.wiso-it.uni-koeln.de/turnitin.html>).

Introductory readings

- Pitkin, H. F. (1967): The Concept of Representation, University of California Press
- Gallagher, M.; Laver, M.; Mair, P. (2011): Representative government in modern Europe. 5th ed. New York, London: McGraw-Hill.
- Przeworski, A.; Stokes, S. C.; Manin, B. (1999): Democracy, accountability, and representation. Cambridge, U.K., New York: Cambridge University Press.

Syllabus

Session 1 20.10.2016	Introduction Dovi, S. (2016): Political Representation, the Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (Summer 2016 Edition). Accessible at: http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2016/entries/political-representation/
Session 2 27.10.2016	The theoretical concept of political representation Mandatory literature: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Powell, G. B. (2004): Political Representation in Comparative Politics. Annual Review of Political Science 7, 273-296. • Urbinati, N.; Warren, M. E. (2008): The Concept of Representation in Contemporary Democratic Theory. In: Annual Review of Political Science 11 (1), 387–412. Recommended literature: Pitkin, H. F. (1967): The Concept of Representation, University of California Press, 144-167. (Chapter 7 Mandate – Independence Controversy)
Session 3 03.11.2016	Political representation as an outcome of electoral systems: voices to consider Mandatory literature: Suffrage, Turnout <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blais, A.; Massicotte, L.; Yoshinaka, A. (2001): Deciding who has the right to vote. A comparative analysis of election laws. In: Electoral Studies 20 (1), 41–62. • Blais, A.; Singh, Sh.; Dumitrescu, D.: Political Institutions, Perceptions of Representation, and the Turnout Decision. In: Thomassen, J. J. A. (Hg.): Elections and democracy. Representation and accountability. First edition (Comparative study of electoral systems), 99–112.

Recommended literature:

- Bhatti, Y.; Hansen, K. M. (2012): The effect of generation and age on turnout to the European Parliament – How turnout will continue to decline in the future. In: *Electoral Studies* 31 (2), 262–272.
- Karp, J. A.; Banducci, S. A. (2008): Political Efficacy and Participation in Twenty-Seven Democracies. How Electoral Systems Shape Political Behaviour. In: *British Journal of Political Science* 38 (02), 311–334.
- Rottinghaus, B.; Baldwin, G. (2007): Voting behind bars. Explaining variation in international enfranchisement practices. In: *Electoral Studies* 26 (3), 688–698.
- Wagner, M.; Johann, D.; Kritzinger, S. (2012): Voting at 16: Turnout and the quality of vote choice. In: *Electoral Studies* 31 (2), 372–383.
- Rodriguez, C. M. (2010): Noncitizen voting and the extraconstitutional construction of the polity. In: *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 8 (1), 30–49.

Session 4 Political representation as an outcome of electoral systems: mandate allocation

10.11.2016

Mandatory literature:

Norris, P. (2004): *Electoral engineering. Voting rules and political behavior*. Cambridge, UK, New York: Cambridge University Press (Chapter 2 Classifying electoral systems), 39–65.

Recommended literature:

- Shugart, M. S. (1992): Electoral reform in systems of proportional representation. In: *European Journal of Political Research* 21 (3), 207–224.
- Lijphart, Arend (1990): The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws, 1945–85. In: *The American Political Science Review* 84 (2), 481–496.
- Brighouse, H.; Fleurbaey, M. (2010): Democracy and Proportionality. In: *Journal of Political Philosophy* 18 (2), 137–155.

Session 5 Central actors of the representative process: political parties

17.11.2016

Mandatory literature:

- Strøm, K. (2000): Delegation and accountability in parliamentary democracies. In: *European Journal of Political Research* 37: 261–289.
- Thomassen, J.; van Ham, C. (2014): Failing Political Representation or a Change in Kind? Models of Representation and Empirical Trends in Europe. In: *West European Politics* 37 (2), 400–419.

Recommended literature:

- Dawood, Yasmin (2015): Campaign Finance and American Democracy. In: *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (1), 329–348.
- Franzmann, S.; Kaiser, A. (2006): Locating Political Parties in Policy Space. A Reanalysis of Party Manifesto Data. In: *Party Politics* 12 (2), 163–188
- Müller, W. G. (2000): Political parties in parliamentary democracies: Making delegation and accountability work. In: *European Journal of Political Research* 37, 309–333.
- Van Houten, P. (2009): Multi-Level Relations in Political Parties. A Delegation Approach. In *Party Politics* 15 (2), 137–156.

Session 6 Central actors of the representative process: members of parliaments

24.11.2016

Mandatory literature:

- Dudzinska, A.; Poyet, C; Costa, O.; Weßels, B. (2014): Representational Roles. In: Kris Deschouwer and Sam Depauw (Hrg.): *Representing the People: A Survey Among Members of Statewide and Substate Parliaments*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

- Sieberer, U. (2006): Party unity in parliamentary democracies. In: *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 12(2), 150-178.

Recommended literature:

- Spies, D. C.; Kaiser, A. (2014): Does the mode of candidate selection affect the representativeness of parties? In: *Party Politics* 20 (4), 576–590.
- Hazan, R. Y.; Rahat, G. (2006): The influence of candidate selection methods on legislatures and legislators: Theoretical propositions, methodological suggestions and empirical evidence. In: *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 12 (3-4), 366–385.

Session 7
01.12.2016

Representation by group identity and descriptive representation

Mandatory literature:

- Bernauer, J.; Giger, N.; Rosset, J. (2015): Mind the gap. Do proportional electoral systems foster a more equal representation of women and men, poor and rich? In: *International Political Science Review* 36 (1), 78–98.

Recommended literature:

- Togeby, L. (2008): The Political Representation of Ethnic Minorities. Denmark as a Deviant Case. In: *Party Politics* 14 (3), 325–343.
- Reiser, M. (2014): The universe of group representation in Germany: Analysing formal and informal party rules and quotas in the process of candidate selection. In: *International Political Science Review* 35 (1), 55–66.
- Bloemraad, I. (2013) Accessing the Corridors of Power: Puzzles and Pathways to Understanding Minority Representation. In: *West European Politics*, 36:3, 652-670.

Session 8
8.12.2016

Representation by ideology and concept of congruence

Mandatory literature:

- Golder, M.; Stramski, J. (2010): Ideological Congruence and Electoral Institutions. In: *American Journal of Political Science* 54(1): 90-116.
- Önnudottir, E. H. (2014): Policy Congruence and Style of Representation; Party Voters and Political Parties. In: *West European Politics* 37(3): 538-563.

Recommended literature:

- Blais, A.; Bodet, M. A. (2006): Does Proportional Representation Foster Closer Congruence Between Citizens and Policy Makers? In: *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (10), 1243–1262.
- Powell, B. G. (2009): The Ideological Congruence Controversy. The Impact of Alternative Measures, Data, and Time Periods on the Effects of Election Rules. In: *Comparative Political Studies* 42 (12), 1475–1497.

Session 9
15.12.2016

Responsiveness

Mandatory literature:

- Bowler, S. (2016): Trustees, Delegates, and Responsiveness in Comparative Perspective. In: *Comparative Political Studies*, 1-28.
- Gilens, M.; Page, B. I. (2014): Testing Theories of American Politics. Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens. In *Perspect. polit.* 12 (03), 564–581.

Recommended literature:

- Adams, J.; Clark, M.; Ezrow, L.; Glasgow, G. (2006): Are Niche Parties Fundamentally Different from Mainstream Parties? The Causes and the Electoral Consequences of Western European Parties' Policy Shifts, 1976-1998. In: *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (3), 513–529.

- Ezrow, L.; Vries, C. de; Steenbergen, M.; Edwards, E. (2011): Mean voter representation and partisan constituency representation. Do parties respond to the mean voter position or to their supporters? In: *Party Politics* 17 (3), 275–301.
- Peters, Y. and Ensink, S.J. (2015): Differential Responsiveness in Europe: The Effects of Preference Difference and Electoral Participation. In: *West European Politics*, 38(3), 577-600.

Session 10
22.12.2016

Multi-party governments

Mandatory literature:

- Dalton, R. J.; Farrell, D.; McAllister, I. (2011): *Political Parties and Democratic Linkage: How Parties Organize Democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Published to Oxford Scholarship Online. (Chapter 7: Government Formation and Democratic Representation)
- Lanny M. W.; Vanberg, G. (2014): Parties and Policymaking in Multiparty Governments. The Legislative Median, Ministerial Autonomy, and the Coalition Compromise. In: *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (4), 979–996.

Recommended literature:

- Müller, W. C.; Meyer, T. M. (2010) Meeting the Challenges of Representation and Accountability in Multi-party Governments, *West European Politics* 33(5), 1065-1092.
- Klüver, H.; Spoon, J.-J. (2016): Challenges to multiparty governments. How governing in coalitions affects coalition parties responsiveness to voters. In *Party Politics*.

Session 11
12.01.2017

Multilevel governments: national states

Mandatory literature:

- Russell, M. (2001): What are Second Chambers for? In: *Parliamentary Affairs* 54 (3), 442–458.
- Schakel, A. H. (2013): Congruence Between Regional and National Elections. In: *Comparative Political Studies* 46 (5), 631–662.

Recommended literature:

- Muñoz, J.; Tormos, R. (2015): Economic expectations and support for secession in Catalonia: between causality and rationalization. In: *European Political Science Review* 7 (02), 315–341.
- Erk, J.; Anderson, L. (2009): The Paradox of Federalism: Does Self-Rule Accommodate or Exacerbate Ethnic Divisions? *Regional & Federal Studies* 19(2), 191-202.

Session 12
19.01.2017

Multilevel governments: the EU

Mandatory literature:

- Costello, R.; Thomassen, J.; Rosema, M. (2012): European Parliament Elections and Political Representation: Policy Congruence between Voters and Parties. In: *West European Politics* 35 (6): 1226-1248.
- Hobolt, S. B.; Tilley, J. R. (2014): *Blaming Europe? Responsibility without accountability in the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press: Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: (Chapter 1: Blaming Europe? And Chapter 2: Who is Responsible?)

Recommended literature:

- Kröger, S.; Dawid, F. (ed.) (2012): *The Challenge of Democratic Representation in the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hagemann, S.; Hobolt, S. B.; Wratil, C. (2016): Government Responsiveness in the European Union. Evidence From Council Voting. In: *Comparative Political Studies*.

Session 13 **Challenges to representative democracy**

26.01.2017

Mandatory literature

- Leininger, A. (2015): Direct Democracy in Europe: Potentials and Pitfalls. In: *Global Policy* 6(1), 17-27.
- Schuck, A. R.T.; Vreese, C. H. de (2015): Public support for referendums in Europe. A cross-national comparison in 21 countries. In: *Electoral Studies* 38, 149–158.

Recommended literature

- Dahlberg, S.; Linde, J.; Holmberg, S. (2015): Democratic Discontent in Old and New Democracies. Assessing the Importance of Democratic Input and Governmental Output. In: *Political Studies* 63, 18–37.

Session 14 **Discussion of students' research proposals**

02.02.2017

Mandatory literature:

- Research proposals from the colleagues
- Minkoff, S. L. (2011): A Guide to Developing and Writing Research Papers in Political Science. Accessible at :
http://static1.1.sqspcdn.com/static/f/864938/19785442/1344544487103/minkoff_researchpaper_guide_v4.pdf?token=RM5DhflZ30TYpE4aUu2f2uKjGS0%3D

Session 15 **Discussion of students' research proposals**

09.02.2017

Mandatory literature:

- Research proposals from the colleagues
- Minkoff, S. L. (2011): A Guide to Developing and Writing Research Papers in Political Science. Accessible at :
http://static1.1.sqspcdn.com/static/f/864938/19785442/1344544487103/minkoff_researchpaper_guide_v4.pdf?token=RM5DhflZ30TYpE4aUu2f2uKjGS0%3D