University of Vienna Department of Government



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Political Representation

M7 Seminar Staatstätigkeit, Policy- und Governanceanalysen WS 2024/25

Time: Tuesday, 09:45-11:15

Place: Hörsaal 3 (H3), NIG 2. Stock

Content

This course provides an advanced introduction to theoretical and empirical research on political representation. At its core, representative democracy is about *representatives* as politicians, legislators, members of government, party leaders, heads of state, or "political figures" who act and speak for *constituents* as citizens, voters, or groups. This course offers a holistic view on such relationships of representation: how should we think about the representative-constituent relationship? What constitutes such a relationship? How do representatives represent constituents when speaking in public, taking positions on issues, working in parliament, or passing legislation? Which groups are particularly well or poorly represented in politics? What political institutions facilitate or hamper representation? And, do constituents have different views about how they want to be represented by politicians?

The course provides an overview of various debates on political representation bridging theoretical and empirical perspectives. The first block (4 sessions) will be devoted to theoretical models and conceptions of representation. The remaining two blocks focus on empirical studies of different aspects of representation. The second block (4 sessions) engages with the representation of different constituents: the median voter, women, minorities, the poor. The third block (4 sessions) looks at factors that weaken or strengthen representation as well as at citizens' preferences for representation.

Throughout the course, we will put special emphasis on drawing connections between theoretical models of representation and empirical approaches and studies. We will also regularly consider if and how representation could be improved.

Aims and Learning Outcomes

Upon successful completion of the course, students should be able to:

- Understand and engage with key theoretical conceptions of representation
- Draw connections between theoretical models of representation and empirical studies of representation
- Read and engage with state-of-the-art empirical research on political representation as well as critically assess such work
- Develop their own research questions on political representation
- Answer complex political science questions orally and in writing

Contact

My office hours are on demand. Please just send me an e-mail if you want to book an appointment. I will usually respond within 48 hours and offer you slots for an appointment.

Attendance

You are required to attend classes and be punctual. You should always notify me in advance if you cannot attend a class. If you miss more than two sessions, you will receive a 5 for the course. Attendance in the first session is mandatory and I may deregister students who miss the first session.

Assessment

- Active *participation and contribution in class discussions* (15%). To achieve a high mark it is not key to talk the most, but to contribute to discussions regularly with strong points, ideas, critiques, questions, or suggestions.
- Application of a theoretical conception of representation to a "real-world" example of your choice (20%). This is a 1,500 words assignment (excluding references) to be submitted by 23 November 2024 via Moodle. You will choose among a set of theoretical conceptions of representation, define and explain the chosen conception, discuss an example in the empirical world (e.g. something a government, party, legislator, politician has done) that relates to the conception, and assess whether we can learn anything from this example (e.g. can the

conception be improved in light of the example? Is the conception relevant or insightful to understand the "real world"?).

- Research plan for final assignment and engagement in peer-to-peer feedback (15%). You will outline your plans for your final assignment, including your research question, theory/conceptions, relevant literature, empirical cases/data (if applicable). This is a 1,000 words assignment to be submitted by 23 January 2024 via Moodle. Research plans will be exchanged between pairs of students and you have to provide feedback to the other student on their research plan at the last session of the seminar.
- *Final assignment* (50%). This can take the form of a seminar paper or a long essay. You develop a research question on an aspect of political representation that is of scholarly relevance and importance, and answer it. The question can have a focus on either theory or empirics, but <u>you must engage with both in your assignment</u>. If you choose a primarily theoretical question, you should always also discuss empirical cases or existing empirical studies. If you choose an empirical question, you should always also discuss to which theoretical conception(s) of representation your question relates. For theoretical questions, you are expected to make an original argument that is not contained in the literature. For empirical questions, you must engage with and analyze some data (but you do not have to use advanced statistical techniques). This is a 5,000 words assignment to be submitted by <u>28 February 2024</u> via Moodle.

Note: All submitted work must remain within 10% of the word count (e.g. 5,000 \rightarrow 4,500 to 5,500). Any form of plagiarism in submitted work will lead to you failing this course and the case will be handled within university guidelines. Very minor, unintended cases of plagiarism may be handled with warning and the deduction of points (see below).

Grading Scheme

You can obtain up to 100 points on this course. Hence, one point corresponds to 1% of your grade. For instance, for "participation and contribution in class discussions" you can get up to 15 points, for the "final assignment" up to 50. You must obtain at least half of the points on each assessment component listed above to pass the course (e.g. 8 points on "participation and contribution in class discussions"). Depending on your total number of points, your final grade is determined as follows:

Very good: 88-100 points

Good: 75-87 points

Satisfactory: 62-74 points Sufficient: 50-61 points Insufficient/fail: 0-49 points

Schedule

Date	Topic
15 October	Introduction
22 October	"Early" Conceptions of Political Representation
29 October	"New Wave" Conceptions of Political Representation
5 November	The Constructivist Turn in Representation
12 November	From Theory to Empirics
19 November	Representation of the Median Voter
26 November	Representation of Women
3 December	Representation of Minority Groups
10 December	Representation of the Poor
17 December	Representation and Issue Salience
7 January	Representation and the Electoral Cycle
14 January	Representation and Political Institutions
21 January	Citizens' Preferences for Representation
28 January	Peer-to-Peer Feedback on Research Plans

General Outline of Classes

The required readings for each session are essential to understanding the concepts and topics we will cover in class. You must <u>complete all required readings prior to the seminar</u>. I am aware that many of the texts are quite advanced. But the upside of this is that you will really know the most exciting and important literature on representation after this course. I do <u>not</u> expect you to understand every text (or even most) in full, but I expect you to deduce the main points and/or be able to ask questions about the readings (e.g. spell out exactly what was hard for you to understand). In addition to the required readings, I also list further readings, which are complementary and particularly important if you write an assessment that relates to the topic of class.

Each seminar will start with a small reading comprehension exercise, where I will ask everyone to answer basic questions about the readings. This is <u>not</u> assessed but simply for you to see how well you understand the readings and for me to see which points we have to discuss in more depth. We will then share our knowledge and understanding of the readings in a class discussion, deduce key concepts and findings from the texts, and use some interactive exercises (e.g. group discussions, peer-to-peer exchange) to deepen our learning.

Readings and Key Discussion Questions

Date	Topic
15 October	Introduction
	What is "political representation"? What is the "chain of responsiveness"? What role do elections play for political representation? What are key factors that influence political representation?
	Required readings:
	Manin, Bernard, Adam Przeworski, and Susan C. Stokes. 1999. "Elections and Representation." In <i>Democracy, Accountability, and Representation</i> , eds. Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, and Bernard Manin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 29–54.
	Dovi, Suzanne. 2018. "Political Representation." Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.
	Powell, G. Bingham. 2004. "The Chain of Responsiveness." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 15(4): 91–105.
	Further readings:
	Wlezien, Christopher, and Stuart N. Soroka. 2007. "The Relationship between Public Opinion and Policy." In <i>The Oxford Handbook of Political Behaviour</i> , eds. Russel J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 799–817.
	Powell, G. Bingham. 2004. "Political Representation in Comparative Politics." <i>Annual Review of Political Science</i> 7(1): 273–296.
22 October	"Early" Conceptions of Representation
	How can we define and distinguish the concepts of "formalistic", "symbolic", "descriptive", and "substantive" representation? What are "real-world" examples of these forms of representation?
	Required readings:
	Chapters 4, 5 & 6: Pitkin, Hanna. 1967. <i>The Concept of Representation</i> . Berkeley: University of California Press.
	Further readings:
	Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes.'" The Journal of Politics 61(3): 628–657.

	Vieira, Monica Brito, and David Runciman. 2008. "The Roots of Political Representation." In <i>Representation</i> , Polity Press, p. 11–27.
	Knights, Mark. 2010. "Participation and Representation before Democracy: Petitions and Addresses in premodern Britain." In <i>Political Representation</i> , eds. Ian Shapiro et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 35–58.
29 October	"New Wave" Conceptions of Representation
	What is "promissory", "anticipatory", "gyroscopic", and "surrogate" representation according to Mansbridge? How should we understand Rehfeld's dimensions of representation? Do these conceptions of representation advance on Pitkin's earlier conceptions? Are they useful to understand the "real world"?
	Required readings:
	Mansbridge, Jane. 2003. "Rethinking Representation." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 97(4): 515–528.
	Mansbridge, Jane. 2009. "A 'Selection Model' of Political Representation." Journal of Political Philosophy 17(4): 369–398.
	Rehfeld, Andrew. 2009. "Representation Rethought: On Trustees, Delegates, and Gyroscopes in the Study of Political Representation and Democracy." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 103(2): 214–213.
	Further readings:
	Mansbridge, Jane. 2011. "Clarifying the Concept of Representation." American Political Science Review 105(03): 621–630.
	Rehfeld, Andrew. 2011. "The Concepts of Representation." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 105(03): 631–641.
	Especially chapter 2 in Rehfeld, Andrew. 2005. <i>The Concept of Constituency</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
5 November	The Constructivist Turn in Representation
	What do we mean by the "constructivist turn" in representation? Can we think of representation without elections or formal-political frameworks? Who are empirical examples of representatives that just "claim" to be representatives? Should we be interested and study such forms of representation?
	Required readings:
	Saward, Michael. 2006. "The Representative Claim." Contemporary Political Theory 5: 297–318.

Disch, Lisa. 2015. "The 'Constructivist Turn' in Democratic Representation: A Normative Dead-End?" *Constellations* 22(4): 487–499.

Schweber, Howard. 2016. "The Limits of Political Representation." *American Political Science Review* 110(2): 382–396.

Further readings:

Saward, Michael. 2014. "Shape-Shifting Representation." *American Political Science Review* 108(4): 723–736.

Saward, Michael. 2010. *The Representative Claim*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kinski, Lucy, and Ben Crum. 2020. "Transnational Representation in EU National Parliaments: Concept, Case Study, Research Agenda." *Political Studies* 68(2): 370–388.

12 November

From Theory to Empirics

Which concepts of representation that we have discussed so far can actually be measured empirically? What problems do we encounter when applying these concepts to "real-world" cases? How can we tell in reality whether some politician is engaging in "good" or "bad" representation from a normative perspective? What should be our normative standard?

Required readings:

Sabl, Andrew. 2015. "The Two Cultures of Democratic Theory: Responsiveness, Democratic Quality, and the Empirical-Normative Divide." *Perspectives on Politics* 13(02): 345–365.

Wolkenstein, Fabio, and Christopher Wratil. 2021. "Multidimensional Representation." *American Journal of Political Science*, 65(4): 862-876.

Further readings:

Disch, Lisa. 2011. "Toward A Mobilization Conception of Democratic Representation." *American Political Science Review* 105(1): 100–114.

19 November

Representation of the Median Voter

Why would we expect that the median voter's preferences should be represented in legislators', parties' and governments' behavior? What is "dynamic representation" and how does it relate to the theoretical concepts we have discussed before?

Required readings:

Stimson, James A., Michael B. MacKuen, and Robert S. Erikson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation." *American Political Science Review* 89(3): 543–565.

Hakhverdian, Armen. 2010. "Political Representation and its Mechanisms: A Dynamic Left–Right Approach for the United Kingdom, 1976–2006." *British Journal of Political Science* 40(4): 835–856.

Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2006. "Are Niche Parties Fundamentally Different from Mainstream Parties? The Causes and the Electoral Consequences of Western European Parties' Policy Shifts, 1976–1998." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 513–529.

Further readings:

Erikson, Robert S., Michael B. MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 2002. *The Macro Polity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Adams, James, Michael Clark, Lawrence Ezrow, and Garrett Glasgow. 2004. "Understanding Change and Stability in Party Ideologies: Do Parties Respond to Public Opinion or to Past Election Results?" *British Journal of Political Science* 34(4): 589–610.

Especially Chapter 4 in Erikson, Robert S., Gerald C. Wright, and John P. McIver. 1993. *Statehouse Democracy. Public Opinion and Policy in the American States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Toshkov, Dimiter. 2011. "Public Opinion and Policy Output in the European Union: A Lost Relationship." *European Union Politics* 12(2): 169–191.

26 November

Representation of Women

How well are women represented as a group on different dimensions of representation and in different countries? How do women represent other women globally? What consequences does the representation of women have for political participation of females?

Required readings:

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A, and William Mishler. 2005. "An Integrated Model of Women's Representation." *The Journal of Politics* 67(2): 407–428.

Angevine, Sara. 2017. "Representing All Women: An Analysis of Congress, Foreign Policy, and the Boundaries of Women's Surrogate Representation." *Political Research Quarterly* 70(1): 98–110.

Dassonneville, Ruth, and Ian McAllister. 2018. "Gender, Political Knowledge, and Descriptive Representation: The Impact of Long-Term Socialization." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(2): 249–265.

Further readings:

Wängnerud, Lena. 2009. "Women in Parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12(1): 51–69.

Campbell, Rosie, Sarah Childs, and Joni Lovenduski. 2010. "Do Women Need Women Representatives?" *British Journal of Political Science* 40(1): 171–194.

Homola, Jonathan. 2019. "Are Parties Equally Responsive to Women and Men?" *British Journal of Political Science* 49(3): 957–975.

Clayton, Amanda, Diana Z. O'Brien, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2019. "All Male Panels? Representation and Democratic Legitimacy." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(1): 113–129.

3 December

Representation of Minority Groups

How should we think of the representation of minorities who (almost) never dominate a constituency? How can they attain representation? What role have "surrogate" and "symbolic" representation to play for them and are these forms of representation normatively sufficient? What are the consequences of a strong representation of minorities?

Required readings:

Broockman, David E. 2013. "Black Politicians Are More Intrinsically Motivated to Advance Backs' Interests: A Field Experiment Manipulating Political Incentives." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(3): 521–536.

Hansen, Eric R., and Sarah A. Treul. 2015. "The Symbolic and Substantive Representation of LGB Americans in the US House." *The Journal of Politics* 77(4): 955–967.

Banducci, Susan A., Todd Donovan, and Jeffrey A. Karp. 2004. "Minority Representation, Empowerment, and Participation." *The Journal of Politics* 66(2): 534–556.

Further readings:

Saalfeld, Thomas. 2011. "Parliamentary Questions as Instruments of Substantive Representation: Visible Minorities in the UK House of Commons, 2005-10." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 17(3): 271–289.

Sobolewska, Maria, Rebecca McKee, and Rosie Campbell. 2018. "Explaining Motivation to Represent: How Does Descriptive Representation Lead to Substantive Representation of Racial and Ethnic Minorities?" West European Politics 41(6): 1237–1261.

Geese, Lucas, and Carsten Schwemmer. 2019. "MPs' Principals and the Substantive Representation of Disadvantaged Immigrant Groups." *West European Politics* 42(4): 681–704.

Clark Wilson, Walter, and William Curtis Ellis. 2014. "Surrogates beyond Borders: Black Members of the United States Congress and the Representation of African Interests on the Congressional Foreign-Policy Agenda." *Polity* 46(2): 255–273.

10 December	Representation of the Poor
To December	Are the affluent better represented than the poor? What are the mechanisms that lead to a potential underrepresentation of the poor? How problematic is "coincidental representation" of the poor?
	Required readings:
	Gilens, Martin. 2005. "Inequality and Democratic Responsiveness." <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i> 69(5): 778–796.
	Enns, Peter K. 2015. "Relative Policy Support and Coincidental Representation." <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 13(4): 1053–1064.
	Lupu, Noam, and Zach Warner. 2021. "Affluence and Congruence: Unequal Representation Around the World." <i>The Journal of Politics</i> .
	<u>Further readings:</u>
	Bartels, Larry M. 2016. <i>Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age</i> . Second edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
	Gilens, Martin. 2012. Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America. New York, Princeton and Oxford: Russel Sage Foundation and Princeton University Press.
	Schakel, Wouter. 2019. "Unequal Policy Responsiveness in the Netherlands." <i>Socio-Economic Review</i> , early view.
	Elsässer, Lea, Svenja Hense, and Armin Schäfer. 2020. "Not Just Money: Unequal Responsiveness in Egalitarian Democracies." <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , early view.
	Lax, Jeffrey R., Justin H. Phillips, and Adam Zelizer. 2019. "The Party or the Purse? Unequal Representation in the US Senate." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 113(4): 917–940.
17 December	Representation and Issue Salience
	What role do different issues play for representation? Why is representation stronger on salient than on non-salient issues? How can we measure the salience of issues and how exogenous is it?
	Required readings:
	Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1983. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." <i>American Political Science Review</i> 77(1): 175–190.
	Wlezien, Christopher. 2004. "Patterns of Representation: Dynamics of Public Preferences and Policy." <i>The Journal of Politics</i> 66(1): 1–24.
	Lax, Jeffrey R., and Justin H. Phillips. 2012. "The Democratic Deficit in the States." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 56(1): 148–166.

Further readings:

Hurley, Patricia A., and Kim Quaile Hill. 2003. "Beyond the Demand-Input Model: A Theory of Representational Linkages." *The Journal of Politics* 65(2): 304–326.

Jennings, Will, and Peter John. 2009. "The Dynamics of Political Attention: Public Opinion and the Queen's Speech in the United Kingdom." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(4): 838–854.

Burstein, Paul. 2006. "Why Estimates of the Impact of Public Opinion on Public Policy Are Too High: Empirical and Theoretical Implications." *Social Forces* 84(4): 2273–2289.

7 January

Representation and the Electoral Cycle

What role does "time" play for representation? At what times do what forms of representation become stronger/weaker? Why are representatives more responsive when elections draw close? Should we have elections more frequently to strengthen representation?

Required readings:

Canes-Wrone, Brandice, and Kenneth W. Shotts. 2004. "The Conditional Nature of Presidential Responsiveness to Public Opinion." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(4): 690–706.

Elling, Richard C. 1982. "Ideological Change in the US Senate: Time and Electoral Responsiveness." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 7(1): 75–92.

Healy, Andrew, and Gabriel S. Lenz. 2014. "Substituting the End for the Whole: Why Voters Respond Primarily to the Election-Year Economy." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(1): 31–47.

Further readings:

Lindstädt, René, and Ryan J. Vander Wielen. 2011. "Timely Shirking: Time-Dependent Monitoring and its Effects on Legislative Behavior in the U.S. Senate." *Public Choice* 148(1–2): 119–148.

14 January

Representation and Political Institutions

What political institutions influence representation? Which kinds of electoral systems foster which forms of representation? How does federalism affect political representation? Is there a "perfect" set of institutions that somehow maximizes different forms of representation?

Required readings:

Wlezien, Christopher, and Stuart N. Soroka. 2012. "Political Institutions and the Opinion–Policy Link." *West European Politics* 35(6): 1407–1432.

Rasmussen, Anne, Stefanie Reher, and Dimiter Toshkov. 2019. "The Opinion-Policy Nexus in Europe and the Role of Political Institutions." *European Journal of Political Research* 58(2): 412–434.

Wratil, Christopher. 2019. "Territorial Representation and the Opinion-Policy Linkage: Evidence from the European Union." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(1): 197–211.

Further readings:

Hobolt, Sara B., and Robert Klemmensen. 2008. "Government Responsiveness and Political Competition in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(3): 309–337.

Rogowski, Ronald, and Mark A. Kayser. 2002. "Majoritarian Electoral Systems and Consumer Power: Price-Level Evidence from the OECD Countries." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3): 526–539.

Rickard, Stephanie J. 2012. "Electoral Systems, Voters' Interests and Geographic Dispersion." *British Journal of Political Science* 42(04): 855–877.

Golder, Matt, and Jacek Stramski. 2010. "Ideological Congruence and Electoral Institutions." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(1): 90–106.

John, Peter, Shaun Bevan, and Will Jennings. 2011. "The Policy-Opinion Link and Institutional Change: the Legislative Agenda of the UK and Scottish Parliaments." *Journal of European Public Policy* 18(7): 1052–1068.

21 January

Citizens' Preferences for Representation

How do citizens want their representatives to represent them? Which of the theoretical dimensions/conceptions we have considered are most important to them? What else would we want to know about citizens' preferences for representation?

Required readings:

Wolak, Jennifer. 2017. "Public Expectations of State Legislators." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 42(2): 175–209.

Costa, Mia. 2020. "Ideology, Not Affect: What Americans Want from Political Representation." *American Journal of Political Science*, early view.

Bowler, Shaun. 2017. "Trustees, Delegates, and Responsiveness in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(6): 766–793.

Further readings:

	Carman, Christopher J. 2006. "Public Preferences for Parliamentary Representation in the UK: An Overlooked Link?" <i>Political Studies</i> 54(1): 103–122.
	Bengtsson, Åsa, and Hanna Wass. 2010. "Styles of Political Representation: What Do Voters Expect?" <i>Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties</i> 20(1): 55–81.
	McMurray, Carl D., and Malcolm B. Parsons. 1965. "Public Attitudes Toward the Representational Roles of Legislators and Judges." <i>Midwest Journal of Political Science</i> 9(2): 167–185.
	Méndez-Lago, Mónica, and Antonia Martínez. 2002. "Political Representation in Spain: An Empirical Analysis of the Perception of Citizens and MPs." <i>The Journal of Legislative Studies</i> 8(1): 63–90.
	Harden, Jeffrey J. 2015. "Citizen Demand for the Dimensions of Representation." In <i>Multidimensional Democracy</i> , p. 50–83.
	Lapinski, John, Matt Levendusky, Ken Winneg, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2016. "What Do Citizens Want from Their Member of Congress?" <i>Political Research Quarterly</i> 69(3): 535–545.
	Campbell, Rosie, Philip Cowley, Nick Vivyan, and Markus Wagner. 2016. "Legislator Dissent as a Valence Signal." <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 49: 105–128.
28 January	Peer-to-Peer Feedback on Research Plans
	You must come prepared with your feedback for your peer!

Accessing Readings via the University of Vienna Library:

- Go to the <u>library website</u>
- Go to <u>u:search</u> (link is on the right)
- To find the readings:
 - o For articles: search the title plus the surname of the author (e.g. "Mutidimensional Representation Wolkenstein Wratil")
 - For books or book chapters: search the book name and the surname of the authors/editors (e.g. "Democracy, Accountability and Representation Bernard Przeworski Stokes")
- Select the correct entry from the results list, click on it, and check the "Online-Zugriff" ("online access") options
- U:search will redirect you to the online resource. <u>Note:</u> You must be logged into <u>u:access</u> with your standard University of Vienna user id and password to be

able to access the resources (u:search might now prompt you to log in if you are not already).

- Download the PDF from the publisher or resource website.
- Please notify me should you have any problems to access any of the readings.