

Political Science 543

SEMINAR ON POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Autumn 2015

3:00-6:00 p.m. Wednesday

Prof. Marie Hojnacki
Office hours: Monday 3:00-4:00
Tuesday 1:00-3:00

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Course Description

The purpose of this seminar is to investigate significant concepts, ideas, and research questions addressed in recent and classic studies of political representation. Questions pertaining to the representation of citizens' interests and to the responsiveness of government to citizen preferences are central to our understanding of American politics. Indeed, assessments of the nature and quality of democratic governance hinge, at least to some extent, on the degree to which government officials are responsive to citizen concerns and attentive to their interests. With this in mind, we will begin the semester with an examination of different types of political representation, some of which are policy-related and others of which are not. We will also consider how normative considerations shape expectations about representation in practice. We will next take up assessments of the relationship between citizen preferences and public policy (policy responsiveness); biases and inequality in representation; and the role of political intermediaries, namely organized interests and political parties, in facilitating the representation of citizen interests. The seminar will end with our attending to the implications of a more or less representative political system. Note that these topics are not orthogonal. I expect (and hope) that we will draw on material from individual readings across multiple weeks. Throughout the seminar we will be mindful of how political scientists formulate and execute research on political representation, as well as how the design of this research affects what we know about representation. The seminar is designed to meet the needs of graduate students in political science who hope at some time to do original research on, master a doctoral field in, or teach American politics.

Representation is a very broad and heterogeneous topic of study. Consequently, the readings for the course are drawn from several subfields in political science. We will examine research about the behavior of political actors; the operation of different institutions of government at the state and national levels; electoral politics; the roles of political parties and organized interests; as well as how individual citizens form ideas about and respond to government activity and public policy.

Course Requirements

Seminar participants will be required to engage in extensive careful reading and to contribute to weekly discussion. To facilitate both participation in the weekly seminars and critical thinking

about the work we cover, seminar participants will be required to prepare six short written critical responses to the readings. Each seminar participant also will be required to report on a set of recommended reading for a selected week, and to complete an original research project that takes up questions relevant to our understanding of representation. Each of these activities is described in greater detail below.

First, each week we will as a group work through a set of required readings on a scheduled topic. I expect you to read and analyze these selections with care. (You may also wish to review some of the recommended selections but these readings are not typically required for the seminar discussion. I describe the one exception to this rule below.) The readings, especially the articles, are often dense, and require time and patience to assimilate. You should come to each seminar prepared to discuss and debate what you have read, to dissect the arguments and evidence presented in the readings, and to raise and respond to questions about how the readings inform the topics we address. Careful reading of the required material is essential to both the quality of our seminar discussions each week and your grade for participation.

Second, to help you think critically about the work we cover, you will be required to prepare six short (maximum of two pages) written responses to the readings (you will select the weeks when you will prepare these papers). The reading responses are to be posted to ANGEL by 6:00 p.m. on the Tuesday before class. These papers should help you to crystallize your thoughts on the readings and will serve as a basis for at least some of your contribution to the seminar discussion that week. Notice that I am not asking you to summarize the readings each week. Rather, I'm asking you to engage them, to take them up and consider why they are relevant. There is no single formula or approach to writing a response paper. You should always communicate what is important about the material but beyond that your response to the work is likely to vary. For example, in some weeks you may offer suggestions for addressing important empirical or theoretical limitations that you see in the work. In other weeks, the material may raise important unaddressed questions that you might consider how to take up. In addition, you might explore some interesting connections among the readings we cover in a week, such as the way they define or treat differently an important concept. Relatedly, you might explain interesting linkages between the current and a previous week's readings, or between the required and recommended material. I encourage you to draw into your paper any additional reading that you deem relevant. You are expected to read the papers posted by all seminar participants as part of your preparation for the seminar meeting.

The third requirement for the course is that you give a brief presentation about a set of recommended readings associated with a single topic. Each seminar participant will select a set of recommended readings – generally, a book or two or three articles – in consultation with me from any week on or after the fourth week of the semester. The presentation should correspond with a week in which you prepare a reading response. Only one presentation will be scheduled each week. Your presentation should be designed to inform the group about the content of the reading and how it relates to the topic under which it is assigned (as well as to other topics, as relevant). Presentations should run about 20 to 30 minutes. You must meet with me in advance of your presentation to discuss it. The meeting should take place no later than the Monday of the week in which you present.

Finally, you will undertake some original research that addresses questions relevant to our understanding of representation. Research questions are due in class on 30 September; plan to submit them along with a *brief* description of why the questions you pose are important to the study of representation, how your questions relate to existing scholarship (you need not conduct an

extensive literature review by this date but you do need to have some sense of the work that is done on the topic you pose), and how you plan to address your questions (e.g., data you expect to gather, research techniques you plan to use). If you are starting from scratch, I encourage you to consider some type of smallish, pilot study that is doable in a semester rather than a large-scale research project that cannot be completed in that time. Also, I encourage you to speak with me about your paper as questions arise, as you encounter difficulties, and so on. Seminar participants will present their research in our final seminar session on 9 December. Plan your presentation with the goal of educating seminar members about the research you completed, what you uncovered, and what you learned. You will have about 10 to 15 minutes to make your presentation (I will tell you a few weeks in advance about the format for this session). Final papers are due to me by 5:00 p.m. on Monday, 14 December. They should be roughly 25 pages in length (not including tables or references).

Grading

I will base your final grade on the extent and quality of your participation in class (20 percent), the quality and coherence of your reading response papers (25 percent), your presentation of recommended reading (20 percent), and your final research paper (35 percent). As is appropriate in a graduate seminar, I expect you to attend and be well prepared for each and every session, and to submit all assignments on time.

Required Books

Butler, Daniel M. 2014. *Representing the Advantaged: How Politicians Reinforce Inequality*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fenno, Richard F. [1978] 2003. *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts* (Longman Classics Series). New York: Pearson Longman.

Frymer, Paul. [1999] 2010. *Uneasy Alliances: Race and Party Competition in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Grimmer, Justin. 2013. *Representational Style in Congress: What Legislators Say and Why It Matters*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Minta, Michael. 2011. *Oversight: Representing the Interests of Blacks and Latinos in Congress*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady. 2012. *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Course Schedule

Required books are available for purchase from the bookstore. Required journal articles are available electronically through JSTOR or through another link in e-journals on the library's website. One exception is Lowery & Gray's article, entitled "On the Political Origins of Bias in the Heavenly Chorus" in *Interest Groups and Advocacy*. I will distribute a copy of the article.

Week 1 (26 August): Introduction to the Course

Week 2, part 1 (2 September): Fundamental Issues in the Study of Political Representation

What is political representation? What issues – in theory or in practice – complicate our understanding of representation? To what extent (and how) do normative considerations drive our expectations about representation?

Required

Urbinati, Nadia and Mark E. Warren. 2008. "The Concept of Representation in Contemporary Democratic Theory." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 11:387-412.

Mansbridge, Jane. 2011. "Clarifying the Concept of Representation." *American Political Science Review*. 105(3):621-30.

Montanaro, Laura. 2012. "The Democratic Legitimacy of Self-Appointed Representatives." *Journal of Politics*. 74(4): 1094-1107.

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

Recommended

Sabl, Andrew. 2015. "The Two Cultures of Democratic Theory: Responsiveness, Democratic Quality, and the Empirical-Normative Divide." *Perspectives on Politics*. 13(2):345-365.

James, Michael Rabinder. 2015. "Constituency Deliberation." *Political Research Quarterly*, doi: 10.1177/1065912915596619.

James, Michael Rabinder. 2015. "Two Concepts of Constituency." *Journal of Politics*. 77(2): 381-393.

Tausanovitch, Chris and Christopher Warshaw. 2013. "Measuring Constituent Policy Preferences in Congress, State Legislatures, and Cities." *Journal of Politics*. 75(2): 330-342.

Neblo, Michael A., Kevin M. Esterling, Ryan P. Kennedy, David M.J. Lazer, and Anand E. Sokhey. 2010. "Who Wants to Deliberate – And Why?" *American Political Science Review*. 104(3):566-83.

Rehfeld, Andrew. 2009. "Representation Rethought: On Trustees, Delegates, and Gyroscopes in the Study of Political Representation and Democracy." *American Political Science Review*. 103:214-30.

Rehfeld, Andrew. 2005. *The Concept of Constituency: Political Representation, Democratic Legitimacy, and Institutional Design*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Mansbridge, Jane. 2003. "Rethinking Representation." *American Political Science Review*. 97:515-528.

Herbst, Susan. 1993. *Numbered Voices: How Polling Has Shaped American Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pitkin, Hanna F. [1967] 1972. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Pitkin, Hanna F., ed. 1969. *Representation*. New York: Atherton Press.

Dahl, Robert A. 1956. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Week 2, part 2 (2 September) & Week 3 (9 September): Policy Congruence and the Representative-Constituency Linkage *To what extent do elected representatives reflect and act upon the policy preferences and interests of their constituents? How can (and do) representatives know the policy preferences of their constituents? Is it possible for elected officials to represent the interests of a diverse constituency, and if so, how? How can we assess accurately the representative-constituency linkage?*

Required

Miller, Warren E. and Donald E. Stokes. 1963. "Constituency Influence in Congress." *American Political Science Review*. 57: 45-56.

Cnudde, Charles, and Donald McCrone. 1966. "The Linkage Between Constituency Attitudes and Congressional Voting Behavior: A Causal Model." *American Political Science Review*. 60:66-72.

McCrone, Donald and James Kuklinski. 1979. "The Delegate Theory of Representation." *American Journal of Political Science*. 23:278-300.

Jackson, John E. and David C. King. 1989. "Public Goods, Private Interests, and Representation." *American Political Science Review*. 83: 1143-1164.

Fox, Justin and Kenneth W. Shotts. 2009. "Delegates or Trustees? A Theory of Political Accountability." *Journal of Politics*. 71: 1225-1237.

Ramey, Adam. 2015. "Weighing the Alternatives: Preferences, Parties, and Constituency in Roll-Call Voting." *Journal of Politics*. 77(2):421-432.

Giger, Nathalie and Heike Klüver. 2015. "Voting Against Your Constituents? How Lobbying Affects Representation." *American Journal of Political Science*. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12183

Recommended

Ansolabehere, Stephen. and Philip Edward Jones. 2010. "Constituents' Responses to Congressional Roll-Call Voting." *American Journal of Political Science*. 54:583-597.

Kang, Shin-Goo and G. Bingham Powell. 2010. "Representation and Policy Responsiveness: The Median Voter, Election Rules, and Redistributive Welfare Spending." *Journal of Politics*. 72:1014-1028.

Cho, Seok-ju. 2009. "Retrospective Voting and Political Representation." *American Journal of Political Science*. 53:276-91.

Bartels, Larry M. 1991. "Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Build Up." *American Political Science Review*. 85: 457-474.

Kingdon, John W. 1989. *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*, 3rd edition. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

McCrone, Donald J. and Walter J. Stone. 1986. "The Structure of Constituency Representation: On Theory and Method." *Journal of Politics*. 48:956-75.

Page, Benjamin I. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1983. "Effects of Public Opinion on Policy." *American Political Science Review*. 77:175-90.

Erickson, Robert S. 1978. "Constituency Behavior and Congressional Behavior." *American Journal of Political Science*. 22:511-35.

Achen, Christopher. 1977. "Measuring Representation: Perils of the Correlation Coefficient." *American Journal of Political Science*. 21:805-15.

Fiorina, Morris P. 1974. *Representatives, Roll Calls, and Constituencies*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Turner, Julius. [1951] 1970. *Party and Constituency: Pressures on Congress*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press.

Weeks 4 & 5 (16 & 23 September): Broader Perspectives on Political Representation

What does it mean to have one's interests represented? Through what mechanism other than policy preferences can constituents be served by elected representatives? Do these mechanisms allow citizens to hold their representatives accountable? If so, what is the basis for this accountability? How should (and do) we define constituents' interests? How should (and do) we define the interests of population subgroups, such as women or African Americans? How, if at all, is representation affected when elected representatives exert independence? Are interests and representation best evaluated at the individual level or at the group level? What are the implications of different levels of evaluation?

Required

Eulau, Heinz and Paul D. Karps. 1977. "The Puzzle of Representation: Specifying Components of Responsiveness." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 2:233-54.

Weissberg, Robert. 1978. "Collective vs. Dyadic Representation in Congress." *American Political Science Review*. 72:535-547.

Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *Journal of Politics*. 61:628-57.

Jones, Bryan D., Heather Larsen-Price, and John Wilkerson. 2009. "Representation and American Governing Institutions." *Journal of Politics*. 71:277-90.

Fenno, Richard F. [1978] 2003. *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts*. New York: Pearson Longman.

Grimmer, Justin. 2013. *Representational Style in Congress: What Legislators Say and Why It Matters*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended

Sulkin, Tracy. 2009. "Campaign Appeals and Legislative Action." *Journal of Politics*. 71:1093-1108.

Hill, Kim Quaile and Tetsuya Matsubayashi. 2008. "Church Engagement, Religious Values, and Mass-Elite Policy Agenda Agreement in Local Communities." *American Journal of Political Science*. 52:570-84.

Burden, Barry C. 2007. *Personal Roots of Representation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bickford, Susan. 1999. "Reconfiguring Pluralism: Identity and Institutions in the Inegalitarian Polity." *American Journal of Political Science*. 43:86-108.

Kuklinski, James H. and Gary M. Segura. 1995. "Endogeneity, Exogeneity, Time, and Space in Political Representation." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 20:3-21.

Bianco, William T. 1994. *Trust: Representatives and Constituents*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Hurley, Patricia A. 1982. "Collective Representation Reappraised." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 7:119-36.

Sapiro, Virginia. 1981. "When Are Interests Interesting? The Problem of Political Representation of Women." *American Political Science Review*. 75:701-16. (See also, Diamond, Irene and Nancy Hartsock. 1981. "Beyond Interests in Politics: A Comment on Virginia Sapiro's

'When Are Interests Interesting? The Problem of Political Representation of Women'." *American Political Science Review*. 75:717-21.)

Gaventa, John. 1980. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Prewett, Kenneth, and Heinz Eulau. 1969. "Political Matrix and Political Representation: Prolegomenon to a New Departure from an Old Problem." *American Political Science Review*. 63:427-41.

Week 6 (30 September): Policy Responsiveness to Public Opinion

To what extent is public policy shaped by public opinion? What linkages exist between policy outputs and the priorities and preferences of the public? How do those linkages vary across issues? To what extent does responsiveness vary across groups?

Required

Stimson, James A., Michael B. MacKuen, and Robert S. Erickson. 1995. "Dynamic Representation." *American Political Science Review*. 89:543-65.

Arceneaux, Kevin, Martin Johnson, René Lindstädt, and Ryan J. Vander Wielen. 2015. "The Influence of News Media on Political Elites: Investigating Strategic Responsiveness in Congress." *American Journal of Political Science*. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12171

Gilens, Martin and Benjamin I. Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest groups, and Average Citizens." *Perspectives on Politics*. 12:564-81.

Page, Benjamin I., Larry M. Bartels and Jason Seawright. 2013. "Democracy and the Policy Preferences of Wealthy Americans." *Perspectives on Politics*. 11(1):51-73.

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

Lax, Jeffrey R. and Justin H. Phillips. 2009. "Gay Rights in the States: Public Opinion and Policy Responsiveness." *American Political Science Review*. 103:367-386.

Recommended

Burstein, Paul. 2014. *American Public Opinion, Advocacy, and Policy in Congress: What the Public Wants and What it Gets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cho, Seok-Ju. 2014. "Voting Equilibria Under Proportional Representation." *American Political Science Review*. 108(2):281-296. doi:10.1017/S0003055414000136.

Tausanovitch, Chris and Christopher Warshaw. 2014 "Representation in Municipal Government." *American Political Science Review*. 108(3):605-641.

Bentele, Keith G. and Erin E. O'Brien. 2013. "Jim Crow 2.0? Why States Consider and Adopt Restrictive Voter Access Policies." *Perspectives on Politics*. 11(4):1088-1116.

Engstrom, Erik J., Jesse R. Hammond, and John T. Scott. 2013. "Capitol Mobility: Madisonian Representation and the Location and Relocation of Capitals in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 225-240.

Grimmer, Justin. 2013. "Appropriators not Position Takers: The Distorting Effects of Electoral Incentives on Congressional Representation." *American Journal of Political Science*. 57(3): 624-642.

Powell, G. Bingham, Jr. 2013. "Representation in Context: Election Laws and Ideological Congruence Between Citizens and Governments." *Perspectives on Politics*. 11(1):9-21.

Bishin, Benjamin G. and Charles Anthony Smith. 2013. "When Do Legislators Defy Popular Sovereignty? Testing Theories of Minority Representation Using DOMA." *Political Research Quarterly*. 66(4): 794-803.

Gilens, Martin. 2012. *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press and The Russell Sage Foundation.

Gilens, Martin. 2011. "Policy Consequences of Representational Inequality." In *Who Gets Represented?*, eds., Peter K. Enns and Christopher Wlezien. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 247-284.

Stimson, James A.. 2011. "Issues in Representation." In *Who Gets Represented?*, eds., Peter K. Enns and Christopher Wlezien. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 347-360.

Bartels, Larry M. 2008. *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press and The Russell Sage Foundation.

Hill, Kim Quaile and Tetsuya Matsubayashi. 2005. "Civic Engagement and Mass-Elite Policy Agenda Agreement in American Communities." *American Political Science Review*. 99: 215-224.

Jacobs, Lawrence R. and Robert Y. Shapiro. 2000. *Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Monroe, Alan. 1998. "Public Opinion and Public Policy: 1980-1993." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 62:6-28.

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

Wright, Gerald C. 1989. "Policy Voting in the U. S. Senate: Who Is Represented?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 14: 465-486.

Weeks 7 & 8 (7 & 14 October): Observing Representation

How is representation manifest in the relationships between elected officials and constituents? What evidence exists to support our expectations about different forms of representation? How do elected officials perceive their representational role(s)? How do constituents evaluate their representation? How, if at all, is representation affected by the nature of elections and the electoral process?

Required

Grose, Christian R., Neil Malhotra, and Robert Parks Van Houweling. 2015. "Explaining Explanations: How Legislators Explain their Policy Positions and How Citizens React." *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(3): 724–743.

Reynolds, Andrew. 2013. "Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review*. 107(2):259-274. Corrigendum. *American Political Science Review*. 107(3):627.

Juenke, Eric Gonzalez and Robert R. Preuhs. 2012. "Irreplaceable Legislators? Rethinking Minority Representatives in the New Century." *American Journal of Political Science*. 56: 705-715.

Bafumi, Joseph and Michael C. Herron. 2010. "Leapfrog Representation and Extremism: A Study of American Voters and their Members in Congress." *American Political Science Review*. 104: 519-542.

Butler, Daniel M. and Adam M. Dynes. 2015. "How Politicians Discount the Opinions of Constituents with Whom They Disagree." *American Journal of Political Science*. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12206

Minta, Michael. 2011. *Oversight: Representing the Interests of Blacks and Latinos in Congress*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bowen, Daniel C. and Christopher J. Clark. 2014. "Revisiting Descriptive Representation in Congress: Assessing the Effect of Race on the Constituent-Legislator Relationship." *Political Research Quarterly*. 67(3):695-707.

Recommended

Grossman, Guy, Oren Gazal-Ayal, Samuel D. Pimentel, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2015. "Descriptive Representation and Judicial Outcomes in Multiethnic Societies." *American Journal of Political Science*. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12187

Gilardi, Fabrizio. 2015. "The Temporary Importance of Role Models for Women's Political Representation." *American Journal of Political Science*. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12155.

Juenke, Eric Gonzalez. 2014. "Ignorance Is Bias: The Effect of Latino Losers on Models of Latino Representation." *American Journal of Political Science*. 58(3): 593–603.

Mendelberg, Tali, Christopher F. Karpowitz, and Nicholas Goedert. 2014. "Does Descriptive Representation Facilitate Women's Distinctive Voice? How Gender Composition and Decision Rules Affect Deliberation." *American Journal of Political Science*. 58(2): 291-306.

Mendelberg, Tali, Christopher F. Karpowitz and J. Baxter Oliphant. 2014. "Gender Inequality in Deliberation: Unpacking the Black Box of Interaction." *Perspectives on Politics*. 12(1):18-44.

Shah, Paru R., Melissa J. Marschall and Anirudh V. S. Ruhil. 2013. "Are We There Yet? The Voting Rights Act and Black Representation on City Councils, 1981-2006." *Journal of Politics*. 75(4):993-1008.

Parker, David C. W. and Craig Goodman. 2013. "Our State's Never Had Better Friends: Resource Allocation, Home Styles, and Dual Representation in the Senate." *Political Research Quarterly*. 66(2): 370-384.

Griffin, John D. and Patrick Flavin. 2011. "How Citizens and their Legislators Prioritize Spheres of Representation." *Political Research Quarterly*. 64:520-533.

Preuhs, Robert R. and Rodney E. Hero. 2011. "A Different Kind of Representation: Black and Latino Descriptive Representation and the Role of Ideological Cuing." *Political Research Quarterly*. 64:157-171.

MacDonald, Jason A. and Erin E. O'Brien. 2011. "Quasi-Experimental Design, Constituency, and Advancing Women's Interests: Reexamining the Influence of Gender on Substantive Representation." *Political Research Quarterly*. 64: 472-486.

Miler, Kristina C. 2010. *Constituency Representation in Congress: The View from Capitol Hill*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Reingold, Beth. 2008. "Women as Officeholders: Linking Descriptive and Substantive Representation." In *Political Women and American Democracy*, eds. Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith, and Lisa Baldez. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bratton, Kathleen A. 2006. "The Behavior and Success of Latino Legislators: Evidence from the States." *Social Science Quarterly*. 87: 1136-1157.

Meier, Kenneth J., Eric Gonzalez Juenke, Robert D. Wrinkle, and J. L. Polinard. 2005. "Structural Choices and Representational Biases: The Post-Election Color of Representation." *American Journal of Political Science*. 49: 758-768.

Canon, David. 2005. "The Representation of Racial Interests in the U.S. Congress." In *The Politics of Democratic Inclusion*, eds. Christina Wolbrecht and Rodney E. Hero. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Fenno, Richard F. 2003. *Going Home: Black Representatives and Their Constituents*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Tate, Katherine. 2003. *Black Faces in the Mirror: African Americans and their Representatives in the U.S. Congress*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Whitby, Kenny J. 1997. *The Color of Representation: Congressional Behavior and Black Interests*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Hero, Rodney E. and Carolyn J. Tolbert. 1995. "Latinos and Substantive Representation in the U.S. House of Representatives." *American Journal of Political Science*. 39:640-652.

Swain, Carol M. 1993. *Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African Americans in Congress*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cain, Bruce, John Ferejohn, and Morris Fiorina. 1987. *The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Uslaner, Eric M. and Ronald E. Weber. 1979. "U.S. State Legislators' Opinions and Perceptions of Constituent Attitudes." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 4:563-85.

Week 9 (21 October): Variation in the Quality and Nature of Representation

How well are individual citizens represented? How does the quality and level of representation vary across different subgroups? Are some better represented than others? What do we mean by "equal" or "unequal" representation? Should all citizens and all groups get everything they want from government? What are the implications of a system where certain interests are better represented than others?

Required

Butler, Daniel M. 2014. *Representing the Advantaged: How Politicians Reinforce Inequality*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Broockman, David E. 2014. "Distorted Communication, Unequal Representation: Constituents Communicate Less to Representatives Not of Their Race." *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(2):307-321.

Clifford, Scott. 2012. "Reassessing the Unequal Representation of Latinos and African Americans." *Journal of Politics*. 74: 903-916.

Recommended

Shah, Paru. 2014. "It Takes a Black Candidate: A Supply-Side Theory of Minority Representation." *Political Research Quarterly*. 67(2): 266-279.

Enns, Peter K., Nathan J. Kelly, Jana Morgan, Thomas Volscho and Christopher Witko. 2014. "Conditional Status Quo Bias and Top Income Shares: How U.S. Political Institutions Have Benefited the Rich." *Journal of Politics*. 76(2): 289-303.

Ellis, Christopher. 2013. "Social Context and Economic Biases in Representation." *Journal of Politics*. 75(3):773-786.

Griffin, John D. and Brian Newman. 2013. "Voting Power, Policy Representation, and Disparities in Voting's Rewards." *Journal of Politics*. 75(1): 52-64.

Griffin, John D., Brian Newman, and Christina Wolbrecht. 2012. "A Gender Gap in Policy Representation in the U.S. Congress?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 37:35-66.

Disch, Lisa. 2012. "Democratic Representation and the Constituency Paradox." *Perspectives on Politics*. 10: 599-616.

Ellis, Christopher. 2012. "Understanding Economic Biases in Representation: Income, Resources, and Policy Representation in the 110th House." *Political Research Quarterly*. 65:938-951.

Griffin, John D. and Michael Keane. 2011. "Are African Americans Effectively Represented in Congress?" *Political Research Quarterly*. 64:145-156.

Hajnal, Zoltan L. 2009. "Who Loses in American Democracy? A Count of Votes Demonstrates the Limited Representation of African Americans." *American Political Science Review*. 103:37-57.

Marschall, Melissa J., Anirudh V. S. Ruhil, and Paru R. Shah. 2010. "The New Racial Calculus: Electoral Institutions and Black Representation in Local Legislatures." *American Journal of Political Science*. 54: 107-124.

Griffin, John D. and Brian Newman. 2008. *Minority Report: Evaluating Political Equality in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. "Congressional Enactments of Race-Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced-Gendered Institutions." *American Political Science Review*. 97:529-550.

Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Sidney Verba. 2001. *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.

Williams, Melissa S. 2000. *Voice, Trust, and Memory: Marginalized Groups and the Failings of Liberal Representation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Week 10 (28 October) & Week 11, part 1 (4 November): Interest Groups as Representational Intermediaries

How effective are groups in articulating and offering a voice for various interests? How, if at all, is representation affected by organization? Does organization enhance the representation of citizen interests? Does it distort it? Whose interests are represented before government? Is there bias in the organizational representation of interests? If so, where is the bias manifest – in participation, agenda setting, or policy making?

Required

Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady. 2012. *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 14, and 18.

Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2006. "Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender." *Journal of Politics*. 68:894–910. (Erratum. 2007. *Journal of Politics*. 69:281.)

Baumgartner, Frank R. and Beth L. Leech. 2001. "Interest Niches and Policy Bandwagons: Patterns of Interest Group Involvement in National Politics." *Journal of Politics*. 63:1191-1213.

Kimball, David C., Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, Marie Hojnacki, Beth L. Leech, and Bryce Summary. 2012. "Who Cares About the Lobbying Agenda?" *Interest Groups & Advocacy*. 1(1): 5-25.

Lowery, David and Virginia Gray. 2015. "On the Political Origins of Bias in the Heavenly Chorus." *Interest Groups and Advocacy*, doi:10.1057/iga.2015.5.

Recommended

Hojnacki, Marie, Kathleen M. Marchetti, Frank R. Baumgartner, Jeffrey M. Berry, David C. Kimball, and Beth L. Leech. 2015. "Assessing Business Advantage in Washington Lobbying." *Interest Groups and Advocacy*, doi:10.1057/iga.2015.3.

Hansen, Wendy L., Michael S. Rocca, and Brittany Leigh Ortiz. 2015. "The Effects of Citizens United on Corporate Spending in the 2012 Presidential Election." *Journal of Politics*. 77(2):535-545.

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Bowler, Shaun and Robert Hanneman. 2006. "Just How Pluralist Is Direct Democracy? The Structure of Interest Group Participation in Ballot Proposition Elections." *Political Research Quarterly*. 59:557-68.

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Boehmke, Frederick J. 2005. "Sources of Variation in the Frequency of Statewide Initiatives: The Role of Interest Group Populations." *Political Research Quarterly*. 58:565-75.

Lowery, David, Virginia Gray, Jennifer Anderson, and Adam J. Newmark. 2004. "Collective Action and the Mobilization of Institutions." *Journal of Politics*. 66:684-705.

Gray, Virginia, David Lowery, Matthew Fellowes, and Andrea McAtee. 2004. "Public Opinion, Public Policy, and Organized Interests in the American States." *Political Research Quarterly*. 57:411-20.

Rich, Andrew. 2004. *Think Tanks, Public Policy, and the Politics of Expertise*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Barakso, Maryann. 2004. *Governing NOW: Grassroots Activism in the National Organization for Women*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Berry, Jeffrey M. with David F. Arons. 2003. *A Voice for Nonprofits*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Boehmke, Frederick J. 2002. "The Effect of Direct Democracy on the Size and Diversity of State Interest Group Populations." *Journal of Politics*. 64:827-44.

Gray, Virginia and David Lowery. 2001. "The Institutionalization of State Communities of Organized Interests." *Political Research Quarterly*. 54:265-84.

Berry, Jeffrey M. 1999. *The New Liberalism: The Rising Power of Citizen Groups*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Gray, Virginia and David Lowery. 1998. "The Dominance of Institutions in Interest Representation: A Test of Seven Explanations." *American Journal of Political Science*. 42:231-55.

Nownes, Anthony J. and Patricia K. Freeman. 1998. "Female Lobbyists: Women in the World of 'Good Ol' Boys'." *Journal of Politics*. 60:1181-1201.

Gray, Virginia and David Lowery. 1996. "Environmental Limits on the Diversity of State Interest Organization Systems: A Population Ecology Interpretation." *Political Research Quarterly*. 49:103-18.

Gray, Virginia, and David Lowery. 1995. "Interest Representation and Democratic Gridlock." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. 20:531-52.

Danelian, Lucig M. and Benjamin Page. 1994. "The Heavenly Chorus: Interest Group Voices on TV News." *American Journal of Political Science*. 38:1056-78.

Caldeira, Gregory A., and John R. Wright. 1990. "Amici Curiae before the Supreme Court: Who Participates, When, and How Much?" *Journal of Politics*. 52:781-806.

Denzau, Arthur T. and Michael C. Munger. 1986. "Legislators and Interest Groups: How Unorganized Interests Get Represented." *American Political Science Review*. 80:89-106.

Salisbury, Robert H. 1984. "Interest Representation: The Dominance of Institutions." *American Political Science Review*. 78:64-76.

Lowi, Theodore J. [1969] 1979. *The End of Liberalism: The Second Republic of the United States*, 2nd edition. New York: W.W. Norton.

Key, V. O., Jr. 1942. *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*. New York: Crowell.

Week 11, part 2 (4 November) & Week 12 (11 November): Political Parties as Representational Intermediaries

How effective are political parties in articulating and offering a voice for various interests? Are some interests privileged over others in the major parties? Are there differences across the major parties in the interests that are represented? How does interest representation by the two major parties affect the candidates that run for office under their auspices, the platforms they espouse, and the issues they prioritize in government? Would representation be more effective without political parties (or with parties that differ from the ones we have in the U.S.)?

Required

Rigby, Elizabeth and Gerald C. Wright. 2013. "Political Parties and Representation of the Poor in the American States." *American Journal of Political Science*. 57(3):552-565.

Hayes, Thomas J. 2013. "Responsiveness in an Era of Inequality: The Case of the U.S. Senate." *Political Research Quarterly*. 66(3): 585-599.

Frymer, Paul. [1999] 2010. *Uneasy Alliances: Race and Party Competition in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Recommended

Meier, Kenneth J. and Amanda Rutherford. 2014. "Partisanship, Structure, and Representation: The Puzzle of African American Education Politics." *American Political Science Review*. 108(2):265-280.

Reingold, Beth and Jessica Harrell. 2010. "The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement: Does Party Matter?" *Political Research Quarterly*. 63: 280-294.

Karol, David. 2009. *Party Position Change in American Politics: Coalition Management*. Boston, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Branton, Regina P. 2009. "The Importance of Race and Ethnicity in Congressional Primary Elections." *Political Research Quarterly*. 62:459-473.

Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2006. *Where Women Run: Gender and Party in the American States*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Swers, Michelle L. 2002. "Transforming the Agenda: Analyzing Gender Differences in Women's Issue Bill Sponsorship." In *Women Transforming Congress*, ed. Cindy Simon Rosenthal. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Wolbrecht, Christina. 2000. *The Politics of Women's Rights: Parties, Positions, and Change*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Schattschneider, E.E. 1975 [1960]. *The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.

Dahl, Robert A. 1961. *Who Governs?* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Key, V.O. 1949. *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Week 13 (18 November): Implications of a More or Less Representative Political System

How does the representational character of political institutions affect the policy process and policy outputs? How do citizen attitudes about representation affect their support for candidates and government? Are there electoral implications for officials who do not reflect their constituents' policy preferences? Are representatives who do reflect constituents' preferences electorally safer? How does the presence of minority policymakers affect the actions of their colleagues? How does it affect outcomes? What have been the intended and unintended consequences of efforts to enhance the representation of different groups?

Required

Lawless, Jennifer L. 2004. "Politics of Presence: Women in the House and Symbolic Representation." *Political Research Quarterly*. 53:81-99.

Box-Steffensmeier, Janet, David C. Kimball, Scott R. Meinke, and Katherine Tate. 2003. "The Effects of Political Representation on the Electoral Advantages of House Incumbents." *Political Research Quarterly*. 56:259-270.

Kastellec, Jonathan P. 2013. "Racial Diversity and Judicial Influence on Appellate Courts." *American Journal of Political Science*. 57: 167-83.

Scherer, Nancy and Brett Curry. 2010. "Does Descriptive Race Representation Enhance Institutional Legitimacy? The Case of the U.S. Courts." *Journal of Politics*. 72: 90-104.

Canes-Wrone, Brandice, David W. Brady and John F. Cogan. 2002. "Out of Step, Out of Office: Electoral Accountability and House Members' Voting." *American Political Science Review*. 96(1): 127-140.

Hollibaugh, Gary E., Lawrence S. Rothenberg, and Kristin K. Rulison. 2013. "Does It Really Hurt to Be Out of Step?" *Political Research Quarterly*. 66: 856-867.

Recommended

Flavin, Patrick. 2015. "Campaign Finance Laws, Policy Outcomes, and Political Equality in the American States." *Political Research Quarterly*. 68(1):77-88.

Minta, Michael D. and Valeria Sinclair-Chapman. 2013. "Diversity in Political Institutions and Congressional Responsiveness to Minority Interests." *Political Research Quarterly*. 66(1): 127-140.

Hacker, Jacob S. and Paul Pierson. 2010. *Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer – And Turned Its Back on the Middle Class*. New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks.

Kanthak, Kristin and George A. Krause. 2010. "Valuing Diversity in Political Organizations: Gender and Token Minorities in the U.S. House of Representatives." *American Journal of Political Science*. 54: 839-854.

McDonagh, Eileen. 2010. "It Takes a State: A Policy Feedback Model of Women's Political Representation." *Perspectives on Politics*. 8: 69-91.

Fiorina, Morris P. and Samuel J. Abrams. 2009. *Disconnect: The Breakdown of Representation in American Politics*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press.

Miller, Lisa L. 2008. *The Perils of Federalism: Race, Poverty, and the Politics of Crime Control*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hogan, Robert E. 2008. "Policy Responsiveness and Incumbent Reelection in State Legislatures." *American Journal of Political Science*. 52:858-73.

Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2008. "Representing Women: The Adoption of Family Leave in a Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Politics*. 70:323-34.

Bratton, Kathleen A., Kerry L. Haynie, and Beth Reingold. 2007. "Agenda Setting and African American Women in State Legislatures." *Women, Politics, and Public Policy*. 28: 71-96.

Barnello, Michelle and Kathleen A. Bratton. 2007. "Bridging the Gender Gap in Bill Sponsorship." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32: 449-474.

Bratton, Kathleen A. 2002. "The Effect of Legislative Diversity on Agenda-Setting: Evidence From Six State Legislatures" *American Politics Research*. 30(2): 115-142.

Gay, Claudine. 2001. "The Effect of Black Congressional Representation on Political Participation." *American Political Science Review*. 95:589-602.

Canon, David T. 1999. *Race, Redistricting, and Representation: The Unintended Consequences of Black Majority Districts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Golden, Marissa Martino. 1998. "Interest Groups in the Rule-Making Process: Who Participates? Whose Voices Get Heard?" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*. 8:245-70.

Lublin, David. 1997. *The Paradox of Representation: Racial Gerrymandering and Minority Interests in Congress*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cameron, Charles, David Epstein, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1996. "Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress?" *American Political Science Review*. 90:794-812.

Paolino, Phillip. 1995. "Group-Salient Issues and Group Representation: Support for Women Candidates in the 1992 Senate Elections." *American Journal of Political Science*. 39:294-313.

Cannon, David T. 1995. "Redistricting and the Congressional Black Caucus." *American Politics Quarterly*, 23: 159-189.

Week 14 (25 November): Thanksgiving Break, no class

Week 15 (2 December): Individual Meetings to Discuss Research Papers, no class

Week 16 (9 December): Paper Presentations and Discussion

Academic Integrity and Academic Dishonesty

Along with the Department of Political Science, the College of the Liberal Arts and the University, I take violations of academic dishonesty seriously. Observing basic honesty in one's work, words, ideas, and actions is a principle to which all members of the community are required to subscribe.

All course work by students is to be done on an individual basis unless an instructor clearly states that an alternative is acceptable. Any reference materials used in the preparation of any assignment must be explicitly cited. Students who are uncertain about proper citation are responsible for checking with their instructor.

Lying to the instructor or purposely misleading any Penn State administrator shall also constitute a violation of academic integrity.

In cases of any violation of academic integrity it is the policy of the Department of Political Science to follow procedures established by the College of the Liberal Arts. More information on academic integrity and procedures followed for violation can be found at: http://www.la.psu.edu/CLA-Academic_Integrity/integrity.shtml.

Disabilities

The Pennsylvania State University encourages qualified people with disabilities to participate in its programs and activities and is committed to the policy that all people shall have equal access to programs, facilities, and admissions without regard to personal characteristics not related to ability, performance, or qualifications as determined by University policy or by state or federal authorities. If you anticipate needing any type of accommodation in this course or have questions about physical access, please tell me as soon as possible. Reasonable accommodations will be made for all students with disabilities, but it is your responsibility to inform me early in the semester. Do not wait until just before an exam to decide you want to inform the instructor of a learning disability; any accommodations for disabilities must be arranged well in advance.