

## POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Fall 2011  
 Thurs. 1:10-4:00 p.m.  
 Room 104 PAC

Office: 310 PAC, x 2489  
 Hours: Mon. 3-4 p.m., Tues. 1:30-2:00 p.m.,  
 Thurs. 4-5 p.m., & by appointment

Why do we have political representation? Is it inferior to direct democracy? Is a representative supposed to stand and act for the people who elected him, or for the party platform, or the entire constituency, or her own conscience about what is right? We will read theoretical and empirical works on America and other countries, and study political parties as key mediating institutions. We'll be asking how representation connects the individual to governing, and to sovereignty, citizenship, identity, and community.

Texts: The following books are available for purchase:

Larry Bartels, Unequal Democracy (Princeton University Press)  
 Jeffrey Green, The Eyes of the People (Oxford University Press)  
 Jouvenel, Bertrand de, The Pure Theory of Politics (Liberty Fund)  
 Bernard Manin, Principles of Representative Government (Cambridge University Press)  
 Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, The Concept of Representation (University of California)  
 Carol Swain, Black Faces, Black Interests (University Press of America)

Readings on Reserve:

Assignments will also be made to works ranging from a "Manifesto of the Sixty" French workers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to an article on representation of women in the 21<sup>st</sup>. Some articles by Heinz Eulau and others are optional. Books that may be of further help include Richard Fenno, Home Style, John Stuart Mill, Considerations on Representative Government, and John Aldrich, Why Parties? The Almanac of American Politics is also useful.

Articles and some book chapters are available on-line through ERes, electronic reserve. Copies of books and some articles are available on 4-hour reserve at the library. Readings listed are required except for those in parentheses, which are optional.

Requirements:

I will lecture for background and setting frameworks -- presenting themes and posing questions. Readings should be completed by the date for which they are assigned, so we can have good discussions.

Written work: One essay, one class presentation, and one paper. A short (2 to 3 page) essay due Friday, October 7. A 5-page class presentation due one of the days of the course, addressing a key theme in the reading for that session, to be worked out with me beforehand. A paper (5 pp.) due November 11.

Hannah Berkman will serve as Teaching Apprentice and is available to help with the assignments, as am I.

Syllabus

Introduction, and the role of representatives in the recent debt ceiling debate

Sept. 8

<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/23/us/politics/23fiscal.html?pagewanted=all>

<http://www.christianpost.com/news/obama-and-boehner-end-private-negotiations-on-debt-limit-52732/>

<http://www.unionleader.com/article/20110723/NEWS06/110729962/0/opinion>

<http://articles.latimes.com/2011/jul/28/nation/la-na-0729-debt-talks-20110729>

<http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0811/60463.html>

<http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2011/08/01/us/politics/how-different-groups-voted-on-debt-compromise-bill.html>

Representation

Sept. 15

Pitkin, Concept of Representation, Chs. 1, 7, & 8, “Introduction,” “The Mandate-Independence Controversy,” and “Representing Unattached Interests: Burke,” pp. 1-13, 144-67, 168-89

(Heinz Eulau, J. Wahlke, W. Buchanan and L. Ferguson, “The Role of the Representative: Some Empirical Observations on the Theory of Edmund Burke,” American Political Science Review 53:3 (September 1959), 742-56)

(Helen Cam, “The Theory and Practice of Representation in Medieval England,” History 38 (February 1953), 11-26)

Sept. 22

Pitkin, Chs. 2, 9, & 3 (omit pp. 49-54), “The Problem of Thomas Hobbes,” “Representing People Who Have Interests: Liberalism,” and “Formalistic Views of Representation,” pp. 14-37, 190-208, 38-49, 55-59

Swain, Black Faces, Black Interests, Preface and Ch. 1, pp. ix-xi, 3-19

(Heinz Eulau and P. Karps, “The Puzzle of Representation: Specifying Components of Responsiveness,” Legislative Studies Quarterly 2:3 (August 1977), 233-53)

(Charles Beard and John D. Lewis, “Representative Government in Evolution,” APSR 26:2 (April 1932) 223-40)

- Oct. 6 “Manifesto of Sixty Workers from the Seine Department,” in Daniel Guerin, ed., No Gods, No Masters, Bk. I, pp. 86-92 (nb listed on ERes under Proudhon)
- Pitkin, Chs. 4 & 6, “Standing for: Descriptive Representation” and “Representing as ‘Acting For’: The Analogies,” pp. 60-91, 112-43
- Mona Lena Krook, “Candidate Gender Quotas: A Framework for Analysis,” European Journal of Political Research, 46 (2007), 367 up to 379
- Oct. 7 ESSAY DUE
- Politics
- Oct. 13 Jouvenel, The Pure Theory of Politics, Pts. II & III, pp. 55-125
- Oct. 20 Jouvenel, Pts. IV-VI, pp. 127-264
- Swain, Ch. 2, pp. 20-44
- Party systems and electoral laws
- Oct. 27 Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, Ch. 5, “Party Systems: Two-Party and Multiparty Patterns,” pp. 62-4, 78-87; Ch. 8, “Electoral Systems: Majority and Plurality Methods Versus Proportional Representation,” pp. 143-70
- Nancy Schwartz, “Representation and Territory: The Israeli Experience,” Political Science Quarterly 109:4 (Fall 1994), 615-45
- Partisan ideology
- Nov. 3 Bartels, Unequal Democracy, Chs. 1-2, 6-9, pp. 1-97, 162-282
- Nov. 10 Swain, Chs. 3, 8, 9-11, pp. 47-73, 170-243
- Nov. 11 PAPER DUE
- Democracy and Democratic Aristocracy
- Nov. 17 Manin, Principles of Representative Government, Introduction, pp. 1-7, Ch. 1, “Direct democracy and representation: selection of officials at Athens,” pp. 8-41, and Ch. 2, “The triumph of election,” pp. 42-93
- Dec. 1 Manin, Ch. 3, “The principle of distinction,” pp. 94-131, Ch. 4, “A democratic aristocracy,” pp. 132-160, & Ch. 5, “The verdict of the people,” pp. 161-192

- Dec. 8      Manin, Ch. 6, “Metamorphoses of representative government,” pp. 193-235, and  
                 Conclusion, pp. 236-38
- Green, The Eyes of the People, Chs. 2, 4, 6
- Pitkin, Ch. 5, “ ‘Standing For’: Symbolic Representation,” pp. 92-111
- Nadia Urbinati, Representative Democracy, Introduction, pp. 1-16 ( and Ch. 1,  
                 pp. 17-59)
- (Eulau, “Changing Views of Representation,” in Ithiel de Sola Pool, ed.,  
                 Contemporary Political Science (New York: 1967), pp. 53-85)