

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Fall 2005  
Mon., Wed. 1:10 – 2:40 p.m.  
Room 104 PAC

Office: 310 PAC, x 2489  
Hours: Mon. 3 – 4 p.m., (Tues. 1:15 - 2:00),  
Thurs. 4:00 – 4:30, & 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:

Lani Guinier, Tyranny of the Majority (Free Press)  
Theodore Lowi and Joseph Romance, A Republic of Parties? (Rowman and Littlefield)  
Bernard Manin, Principles of Representative Government (Cambridge University Press)  
Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, The Concept of Representation (University of California)  
Nancy Schwartz, The Blue Guitar. Political Representation and Community (Chicago)

Readings on Reserve:

Assignments will also be made to works ranging from a “Manifesto of the Sixty” French workers in 1864 to an article on representation of women in 2004. Articles by Heinz Eulau et al., and Arend Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy (Yale) are optional.

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

Requirements:

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

Written work: One short paper, class presentation, midterm paper, and final project. One short (3 to 5 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 midterm paper due Tuesday, Nov. 21. A final project due during exam week.

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

Syllabus

- Sept. 7 Introduction
- Manin, Principles of Representative Government, Introduction, pp. 1-7
- Participation
- Sept. 12 Guinier, Tyranny of the Majority, Chs. 1-2, “Tyranny of the Majority” and “Keeping the Faith,” pp. 1-40
- Representation
- Sept. 14 Pitkin, Concept of Representation, Chs. 1 & 7, “Introduction” and “The Mandate-Independence Controversy,” pp. 1-13, 144-67  
(Charles Beard and John D. Lewis, “Representative Government in Evolution,” American Political Science Review 26:2 (April 1932) 223-40)
- Representing Corporate Bodies
- Sept. 19 Pitkin, Ch. 8, “Representing Unattached Interests: Burke,” pp. 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,” APSR 53:3 (September 1959), 742-56)
- Sept. 21 Helen Cam, “The Theory and Practice of Representation in Medieval England,” History 38 (February 1953), 11-26  
Gerald Pomper, “Introduction,” in Lowi and Romance, eds., A Republic of Parties?, pp. vii-xiv
- Representing Individuals
- Sept. 26 Pitkin, Ch. 2, “The Problem of Thomas Hobbes,” pp. 14-37
- Sept. 28 Pitkin, Ch. 9, “Representing People Who Have Interests: Liberalism,” pp. 190-208  
(Heinz Eulau and P. Karps, “The Puzzle of Representation: Specifying Components of Responsiveness,” Legislative Studies Quarterly 2:3 (August 1977), 233-53)
- Formal Representation
- Oct. 3 Pitkin, Ch.3, “Formalistic Views of Representation,” pp. 38-59

Substantive Representation  
 “Standing for: Descriptive”

- Oct. 5 Guinier, Ch.3, “The Triumph of Tokenism,” pp. 41-70
- Oct. 7 ESSAY DUE
- Oct. 10 “Manifesto of Sixty Workers from the Seine Department,” in Daniel Guerin, ed.,  
No Gods, No Masters, Bk. I, pp. 86-92  
 Pitkin, Ch. 4, “Standing for: Descriptive Representation”
- Oct. 12 Judith Squires, “Representation,” in Gender and Political Theory, Ch. 7, pp. 194-225  
 Mala Htun, “Is Gender Like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity  
 Groups,” Perspectives on Politics 2:3 (September 2004), 439-58
- “Acting For”
- Oct. 19 Pitkin, Ch. 6, “Representing as ‘Acting For’: The Analogies,” pp. 112-43

Political Parties

- Oct. 24 Michael Nelson, “Foreword,” pp. vii-viii,  
 Lowi, Ch. 1, “Toward a Responsible Three-Party System: Prospects and Obstacles,”  
 in Lowi and Romance, pp. 3 up to p. 21  
 (Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, in Ch. 5 “Party Systems: Two-Party and Multiparty  
 Patterns,” pp. 62-4, 78-87)
- Oct. 26 Romance, Ch. 2, “Gridlock and Reform at the Close of the Twentieth Century,” in  
 Lowi and Romance, pp. 31-74  
 (Lijphart, Ch. 8, “Electoral Systems: Majority and Plurality Methods Versus  
 Proportional Representation,” pp. 143-70)

Democratic Aristocracy

- Oct. 31 Manin, Principles of Representative Government, Ch. 1, “Direct democracy and  
 representation: selection of officials at Athens,” pp. 8-41
- Nov. 2 Manin, Ch.2, “The triumph of election,” pp. 42-93
- Nov. 7 Manin, Ch. 3, “The principle of distinction,” pp. 94-131
- Nov. 9 Manin, Ch. 4, “A democratic aristocracy,” pp. 132-160
- Nov. 14 Manin, Ch. 5, “The verdict of the people,” pp. 161-192
- Nov. 16 Manin, Ch. 6, “Metamorphoses of representative government,” pp. 193-235

Constitutive Representation  
“Standing for: Symbolic”

- Nov. 21 Guinier, Chs. 4 & 5, “No Two Seats” and “Groups, Representation and Race Conscious Districting,” pp. 71-156
- Nov. 21 PAPER DUE
- Nov. 28 Brian Seitz, Ch. 5, “Counting Images of the Political Subject,” in The Trace of Political Representation, pp. 117-49
- Nov. 30 Schwartz, Blue Guitar, Chs. 1 & 6, “Introduction” and “Towards a Theory of Political Constituency,” pp. 1-23, 89-103
- Dec. 5 Nancy Schwartz, “Representation and Territory: the Israeli Experience,” Political Science Quarterly 109:4 (Fall 1994), 615-45
- Dec. 7 Schwartz, Chs. 7 & 8, “Sources of a Communitarian Theory of Representation” and “Constitutive Representation,” pp. 105-45
- Dec. 12 Pitkin, Ch. 5, “ ‘Standing For’: Symbolic Representation,” pp. 92-111  
Manin, Conclusion, pp. 236-38  
(Eulau, “Changing Views of Representation,” in Ithiel de Sola Pool, ed., Contemporary Political Science, pp. 53-85)