

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION
790:347

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Course Time: Mondays, 2.15-5.15 PM
Office Hours: By Appointment

Course Description

This course explores dynamics of political representation from multiple angles, surveying classic concepts and theories, new directions in research, and empirical studies of political representation. Introducing students to the nuances in these debates, course materials focus on a variety of identity groups, world regions, and time periods.

Learning Objectives

This course seeks to introduce students to the study of political representation, with a particular focus on the political representation of various groups. By the end of this course students should be able to:

- Explain major concepts and theories in the study of political representation;
- Identify dynamics of political representation at work in American and global politics;
- Articulate the role that class, gender, race, sexual orientation and gender identity, age, and disability play in advancing or inhibiting political representation. **Course meets CCD Core Requirement.*

Course Requirements

This course seeks to promote the learning goals via a diverse array of course assignments. Grades for the course will be calculated as follows:

- **Class participation** (20%) which includes coming to class prepared and participating actively in class discussions. Students are expected to read all assigned materials prior to class and arrive with questions and observations to contribute to class discussions. A copy of the readings should be brought to each class. *Attendance is included as part of this grade.* See further details in Appendix 1.
- A **quiz** (10%) on classic concepts and theories of political representation, reviewing materials covered in readings and lectures during Weeks 1-4. This quiz will be administered in class on February 24.
- A **mid-term essay** (20%) comparing one new theory of representation to classical theories of representation. Due on March 23, this essay should be approximately 2500 words long and turned in before class via the Drop Box on Sakai.
- A **presentation** (20%) on intersectionality and political representation during class on May 4. Students should choose one article and deliver a short 5-10 minute presentation. See Appendix 2 for a list of possible readings and further details on the content of this assignment.
- A **final essay** (30%) evaluating and comparing the case for and against group-based quotas in relation to two different identity groups. Due on May 13, this essay should be approximately 5000 words long and be turned in via the Drop Box on Sakai.
- Work for the course will be assessed overall in relation to **Core CCD Requirement, Goal 1**. See Appendix 3.

Required Readings

All of the readings will be posted on Sakai, with the exception of one book:

- Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
ISBN-10: 0520021568 **ISBN-13:** 978-0520021563

COURSE SCHEDULE

CLASSIC CONCEPTS AND THEORIES OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

January 17: Introduction to Political Representation

Introduction to the course and the study of political representation.

February 3: Types of Political Representation

Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1-13, 38-143.

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

February 10: Representation and Democracy

Manin, Bernard. 1997. *The Principles of Representative Government*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1-131.

Plotke, David. 1997. "Representation Is Democracy." *Constellations* 4 (1): 19-34.

Rehfeld, Andrew. 2006. "Towards a General Theory of Political Representation." *Journal of Politics* 68 (1): 1-21.

February 17: Inclusion and Political Representation

Phillips, Anne. 1995. *The Politics of Presence: The Political Representation of Gender, Ethnicity, and Race*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1-26, 57-114.

Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes.'" *Journal of Politics* 61 (3): 628-657.

Dovi, Suzanne. 2002. "Preferable Descriptive Representatives: Will Just Any Woman, Black, or Latino Do?" *American Political Science Review* 96 (4): 729-743.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN STUDYING POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

February 24: Interest Groups, Representation, and Representativity

Weldon, S. Laurel. 2002. "Beyond Bodies: Institutional Sources of Representation for Women in Democratic Policymaking." *Journal of Politics* 64 (4): 1153-1174.

Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2006. "Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender." *Journal of Politics* 68 (4): 894-910.

Weldon, S. Laurel. 2011. *When Protest Makes Policy: How Social Movements Represent Disadvantaged Groups*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1-29, 109-128.

March 2: Representation as Claims-Making

Saward, Michael. 2010. *The Representative Claim*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1-7, 35-110.

Childs, Sarah, Paul Webb, and Sally Marthaler. 2010. "Constituting and Substantively Representing Women: Applying New Approaches to a UK Case Study." *Politics & Gender* 6 (2): 199-223.

Celis, Karen. 2013. "Representativity in Times of Diversity: The Political Representation of Women." *Women's Studies International Forum* 41 (3): 179–186.

March 9: Rethinking Political Inclusion/Exclusion

Bjarnegård, Elin. 2013. *Gender, Informal Institutions, and Political Recruitment: Explaining Male Dominance in Parliamentary Representation*. New York: Palgrave, 1-51.

Murray, Rainbow. 2014. "Quotas for Men: Reframing Gender Quotas as a Means of Improving Representation for All." *American Political Science Review* 108 (3): 520-532.

Dovi, Suzanne. 2009. "In Praise of Exclusion." *Journal of Politics* 71 (3): 1172-1186.

McCormick, John P. 2006. "Contain the Wealthy and Patrol the Magistrates: Restoring Elite Accountability to Popular Government." *American Political Science Review* 100 (2): 147-163.

EMPIRICAL STUDIES OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

March 23: Class

Wauters, Bram. 2010. "Bringing Class (Back) In: Methodological Reflections on Social Class and Representation." *Representation* 46 (2): 183-195.

Carnes, Nicholas. 2016. "Why Are There so Few Working-Class People in Political Office? Evidence from State Legislatures." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4 (1): 84-109.

Carnes, Nicholas. 2013. *White-Collar Government: The Hidden Role of Class in Economic Policy Making*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1-84.

Barnes, Tiffany D. and Gregory W. Saxton. 2019. "Working-Class Legislators and Perceptions of Representation in Latin America." *Political Research Quarterly*. First View.

March 30: Gender

Ross, Karen. 2002. "Women's Place in 'Male' Space: Gender and Effect in Parliamentary Contexts." *Parliamentary Affairs* 55 (1): 189-201.

Childs, Sarah and Mona Lena Krook. 2009. "Analyzing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors." *Government and Opposition* 44 (2): 125-145.

Celis, Karen and Sarah Childs. 2012. "The Substantive Representation of Women: What to Do with Conservative Claims?" *Political Studies* 60 (1): 213-225.

Burnet, Jennie E. 2011. "Women Have Found Respect: Gender Quotas, Symbolic Representation, and Female Empowerment in Rwanda." *Politics & Gender* 7 (3): 303-334.

April 6: Race

Bloemraad, Irene. 2013. "Accessing the Corridors of Power: Puzzles and Pathways to Understanding Minority Representation." *West European Politics* 36 (3): 652-670.

Tate, Katherine. 2014. *Concordance: Black Lawmaking in the US Congress from Carter to Obama*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1-31.

Crisp, Brian F., Betül Demirkaya, Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, and Courtney Millian. 2016. "The Role of Rules in Representation: Group Membership and Electoral Incentives." *British Journal of Political Science*, 1-21.

Barreto, Matt A. 2007. "¡Sí Se Puede! Latino Candidates and the Mobilization of Latino Voters." *American Political Science Review* 101 (3): 425-441.

April 13: Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity

Haider-Markel, Donald P. 2010. *Out and Running: Gay and Lesbian Candidates, Elections, and Policy Representation*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 33-65, 118-147.

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

Casey, Logan S. and Andrew Reynolds. 2015. *Standing Out: Transgender and Gender Variant Candidates and Elected Officials Around the World*. Chapel Hill, NC: LGBTQ Representation and Rights Initiative.

Encarnación, Omar G. 2011. "Latin America's Gay Rights Revolution." *Journal of Democracy* 22 (2): 104-118.

April 20: Age

Berry, Craig. 2014. "Young People and the Ageing Electorate: Breaking the Unwritten Rule of Representative Democracy." *Parliamentary Affairs* 67 (3): 708-725.

Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2018. *Youth Participation in National Parliaments: 2018*. Geneva: IPU.

Stockemer, Daniel and Aksel Sundström. 2018. "Age Representation in Parliaments: Can Institutions Pave the Way for the Young?" *European Political Science Review* 10 (3): 467-490.

Belschner, Jana. 2018. "The Adoption of Youth Quotas after the Arab Uprisings." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. First View.

April 27: Disability

Guldvik, Ingrid and Jon Helge Lesjø. 2014. "Disability, Social Groups, and Political Citizenship." *Disability & Society* 29 (4): 516-529.

Fletcher, Steven, Jennifer Howard, Mario Levesque, Kevin Murphy, and David Only. 2015. "Roundtable: Disability in Parliamentary Politics." *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 38 (1): 6-13.

Scotch, Richard K., and Sally Friedman. 2014. "Changing Times: Self-disclosure and the Representational Styles of Legislators with Physical Disabilities." *Disability Studies Quarterly* 34 (4).

Chaney, Paul. 2015. "Institutional Ableism, Critical Actors and the Substantive Representation of Disabled People: Evidence from the UK Parliament 1940–2012." *Journal of Legislative Studies* 21 (2): 168-191.

CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTION

May 4: Intersectionality and Political Representation

Student presentations.

APPENDIX 1

PARTICIPATION GRADE

As noted on page 1, **20% of the final grade** for this course is determined by your participation. This grade is determined by a number of elements:

- **Attending class regularly:** Student attendance is vital to the life of a seminar. Multiple, unexcused absences will result in a reduction of the participation grade. Coming unduly late or leaving early will also be treated as lack of attendance.
- **Coming to class prepared:** Students should do all assigned course readings prior to class. All articles and book chapters are posted in Sakai. These materials should be brought to each class session, with notes and annotations of your questions and observations.
- **Participating actively in class discussions:** Students are expected to not only be present in class but to be present in class. This entails being an active listener, answering questions, or offering observations and reflections on the class materials. Reading emails, checking social media, surfing the internet, etc., on your phone or laptop during class will be treated as lack of participation.

Participation in class sessions is an essential and valuing part of the learning experience. The following studies demonstrate the importance of attendance and active engagement with class materials. I do not ban laptops in the classroom, but I instead encourage all students to consider the value of using a pen and paper for note-taking.

Class Attendance in College: A Meta-Analytic Review of the Relationship of Class Attendance With Grades and Student Characteristics

Marcus Credé, Sylvia G. Roch, Urszula M. Kieszczynka

First Published June 1, 2010 | Research Article

<https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654310362998>

Abstract

A meta-analysis of the relationship between class attendance in college and college grades reveals that attendance has strong relationships with both class grades ($k = 69$, $N = 21,195$, $\rho = .44$) and GPA ($k = 33$, $N = 9,243$, $\rho = .41$). These relationships make class attendance a better predictor of college grades than any other known predictor of academic performance, including scores on standardized admissions tests such as the SAT, high school GPA, study habits, and study skills. Results also show that class attendance explains large amounts of unique variance in college grades because of its relative independence from SAT scores

The Pen Is Mightier Than the Keyboard: Advantages of Longhand Over Laptop Note Taking

Pam A. Mueller, Daniel M. Oppenheimer

First Published April 23, 2014 | Research Article



<https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797614524581>

Abstract

Taking notes on laptops rather than in longhand is increasingly common. Many researchers have suggested that laptop note taking is less effective than longhand note taking for learning. Prior studies have primarily focused on students' capacity for multitasking and distraction when using laptops. The present research suggests that even when laptops are used solely to take notes, they may still be impairing learning because their use results in shallower processing. In three studies, we found that students who took notes on laptops performed worse on conceptual questions than students who took notes longhand. We show that whereas taking more notes can be beneficial, laptop note takers' tendency to transcribe lectures verbatim rather than processing information and reframing it in their own words is detrimental to learning.

APPENDIX 2

CLASS PRESENTATIONS

Students should choose one article to read for the last class and develop a short 5-10 minute presentation that:

- Summarizes the article's main points;
- Addresses how the article relates to, extends, and/or challenges some of the concepts, theories, and findings we have been discussing this semester; and
- Explores what an intersectional lens (the interaction of multiple identities) brings to our understanding of political representation.

PowerPoint presentations are welcomed but not required.

Potential readings

Possible articles include, but are not limited to, the following list. All of these articles can be found in a folder labeled 'Intersectionality Articles' in the Resources folder on Sakai. Students are welcome to go beyond these sources, but please seek my prior approval if you seek to do a presentation on an article not included on this list.

Barrett, Edith J. Barrett. 1995. "The Policy Priorities of African American Women in State Legislatures." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 20 (2): 223-247.

Bassel, Leah and Akwugo Emejulu. 2010. "Struggles for Institutional Space in France and the United Kingdom: Intersectionality and the Politics of Policy." *Politics & Gender* 6 (4): 517-544.

Bird, Karen. 2016. "Intersections of Exclusion: The Institutional Dynamics of Combined Gender and Ethnic Quota Systems." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4 (2): 284-306.

Burness, Catriona. 2000. "Young Swedish Members of Parliament: Changing the World?" *NORA* 8 (2): 93-106.

Carnes, Nicholas. 2015. "Does the Descriptive Representation of the Working Class 'Crowd Out' Women and Minorities (and Vice Versa)? Evidence from the Local Elections in America Project." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 3 (2): 350-365.

Celis, Karen, Silvia Erzeel, Liza Mügge, and Alyt Damstra. 2014. "Quotas and Intersectionality: Ethnicity and Gender in Candidate Selection." *International Political Science Review* 35 (1): 41-54.

Donovan, Barbara. 2012. "Intersectionality and the Substantive Representation of Migrant Interests in Germany." *German Politics and Society* 30 (4): 23-44.

Erikson, Josefina, and Cecilia Josefsson. 2019. "Equal Playing Field? On the Intersection between Gender and Being Young in the Swedish Parliament." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. First View.

Folke, Olle, Lenita Freidenvall, and Johanna Rickne. 2015. "Gender Quotas and Ethnic Minority Representation: Swedish Evidence from a Longitudinal Mixed Methods Study." *Politics & Gender* 11 (2): 345-381.

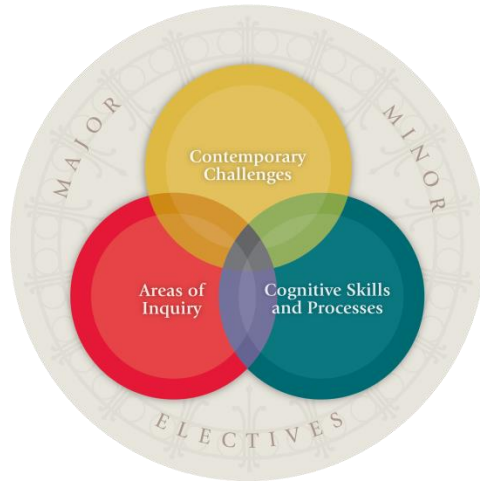
Fraga, Luis Ricardo, Linda Lopez, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Ricardo Ramírez. 2006. "Gender and Ethnicity: Patterns of Electoral Success and Legislative Advocacy Among Latina and Latino State Officials in Four States." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 28 (3-4): 121-145.

- Freidenvall, Lenita. 2016. "Intersectionality and Candidate Selection in Sweden." *Politics* 36 (4): 355-363.
- Gest, Justin. 2016. "The White Working-Class Minority: A Counter-Narrative." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4 (1): 126-143.
- Hawkesworth, Mary. 2003. "Congressional Enactments of Race–Gender: Toward a Theory of Raced–Gendered Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 97 (4): 529-550.
- Holman, Mirya R. and Monica C. Schneider. 2018. "Gender, Race, and Political ambition: How Intersectionality and Frames Influence Interest in Political Office." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 6 (2): 264-280.
- Holmsten, Stephanie S., Robert G. Moser, and Mary C. Slosar. 2010. "Do Ethnic Parties Exclude Women?" *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (10): 1179-1201.
- Htun, Mala and Juan Pablo Ossa. 2013. "Political Inclusion of Marginalized Groups: Indigenous Reservations and Gender Parity in Bolivia." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 1 (1): 4-25.
- Hughes, Melanie M. 2011. "Intersectionality, Quotas, and Minority Women's Political Representation Worldwide." *American Political Science Review* 105 (3): 604-620.
- Hughes, Melanie M. 2015. "Electoral Systems and the Legislative Representation of Muslim Ethnic Minority Women in the West, 2000–2010." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (3): 548-568.
- Joshi, Devin K., and Malliga Och. 2019. "Early Birds, Short Tenures, and the Double Squeeze: How Gender and Age Intersect with Parliamentary Representation." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. First view.
- Kay, Kristine, Gladys Mitchell-Walthour, and Ismail K. White. 2015. "Framing Race and Class in Brazil: Afro-Brazilian Support for Racial versus Class Policy." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 3 (2): 222-238.
- Lépinard, Éléonore. 2013. "For Women Only? Gender Quotas and Intersectionality in France." *Politics & Gender* 9 (3): 276-298.
- Minta, Michael D. and Nadia E. Brown. 2014. "Intersecting Interests: Gender, Race, and Congressional Attention to Women's Issues." *Du Bois Review* 11 (2): 253-272.
- Mügge, Liza M. 2016. "Intersectionality, Recruitment and Selection: Ethnic Minority Candidates in Dutch Parties." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (3): 512-530.
- Mügge, Liza M., Daphne J. van der Pas, and Marc van de Wardt. 2019. "Representing their Own? Ethnic Minority Women in the Dutch Parliament." *West European Politics* 42 (4): 705-727.
- Murray, Rainbow. 2016. "The Political Representation of Ethnic Minority Women in France." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (3): 586-602.
- Randall, Vicky. 2016. "Intersecting Identities: Old Age and Gender in Local Party Politics." *Parliamentary Affairs* 69 (3): 531-547.
- Scola, Becki. 2006. "Women of Color in State Legislatures: Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Legislative Office Holding." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 28 (3-4): 43-70.
- Stockemer, Daniel, and Aksel Sundström. 2019. "Do Young Female Candidates Face Double Barriers or an Outgroup Advantage? The Case of the European Parliament." *European Journal of Political Research* 58 (1): 373-384.

Tatari, Eren, and Zeynep Sahin Mencuttek. 2015. "Strategic Intersectionality and Political Representation: Female Muslim Councilors in London." *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 36 (4): 415-439.

APPENDIX 3

CCD CORE CERTIFICATION



Core Curriculum Rubrics [revised Core goals ratified May 2018]



Contemporary Challenges –

CCD: Diversities and Social Inequalities (3 credits) - Students must take one course that meets one or both goals.

GOAL CCD-1 - Student is able to... Analyze the degree to which forms of human differences and stratifications among social groups shape individual and group experiences of, and perspectives on, contemporary issues. Such differences and stratifications may include race, language, religion, ethnicity, country of origin, gender identity, sexual orientation, economic status, abilities, or other social distinctions and their intersections.			
OUTSTANDING	GOOD	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY
<p>Specifically explicates how forms of human difference, stratifications among social groups, and the unequal distributions of power that result shape individual or group experiences of, and perspectives on, contemporary issues.</p> <p>Demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of those differences or social stratifications, their connections to unequal distributions of power, and their effects on a contemporary challenge.</p>	<p>Examines how some types of human difference or social stratification relevant to the course generate unequal distributions of power and are linked to individual or group experiences of, and perspectives on, contemporary issues.</p> <p>Demonstrates an understanding of some effect(s) of those differences or stratifications on unequal distributions of power and a contemporary challenge.</p>	<p>Identifies links between a type of human difference or social stratification relevant to the course, unequal power distributions, and individual or group experiences of, and perspectives on, contemporary issues, largely through satisfactory presentation of course materials.</p> <p>Demonstrates some understanding of how some differences or social stratifications affect unequal distributions of power and a contemporary challenge.</p>	<p>Fails to link significant forms of human difference or social stratification relevant to the course to power inequalities or individual or group experiences of, and perspectives on, contemporary issues as relevant to focus of the particular course.</p> <p>Fails to delineate the impact of differences or social stratifications on the issues that are central to the course.</p>