

# Politicians at work: Parliaments and elections

## Instructor Info —

Or Tuttnauer

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## Course Info —

Weekly, Mondays

13.45-15.15

SOWI-ZOOM-10



#### Course description

This course will review the various activities in which legislators partake, both in parliament and outside of it, and the electoral incentives that shape their behaviour. Students will become familiar with institutional and party-specific factors influencing legislators, such as candidate selection methods, parliamentary organization, the electoral system, *et cetera*. We will also discuss several consequences of legislators' behaviour, such as public spending, public attitudes, and electoral outcomes.

#### Learning outcomes

After completing this course, students will be:

- Familiar with the most important parliamentary activities carried out by legislators
- Knowledgeable about the primary institutions incentivizing parliamentary activity (e.g. party leaderships, the electoral system, et cetera)
- Able to hypothesize how different institutions influence the actions of legislators, and how these actions may affect society at large
- Able to critically evaluate theoretical arguments and empirical analyses in the field

#### Teaching in an online environment

We'll use Zoom to have synchronous online classes on a weekly basis on Mondays 13.45-15.15 in SOWI-ZOOM-10 (click here). To enter, please find the password in the course's ILIAS page, or connect via Portal2.

In addition, we'll be using the collaborative reading platform Perusall developed by Gary King to asynchronously discuss the readings before class. Go to the following <u>link</u> and create an account using your email address. Select "I am a student" and enter the course access code: TUTTNAUER-VWVHG.

For each reading, you'll find my comments and annotations. You'll be able to anonymously post your own comments or questions. You can also anonymously respond to other people's comments and up vote helpful comments or suggestions. Of course, you are more than welcome to access the reading materials independently, annotate them offline etc. if that is what you prefer (but see the *Active Seminar Participation* subsection below).

#### Requirements - overview

In order to receive credit for this course, students will need to fulfill the following requirements: Active seminar participation (*Mitarbeit*), two weekly reading assignments, and the completion of a term paper. Please note only those students who have successfully completed both the participation and weekly reading assignment requirements are eligible to receive credit for their term paper. Seminar participation and weekly reading assignment are thus prerequisites (*Studienleistung*) for registering and receiving credit for the term paper (*Prüfungsleistung*). Only the final paper is graded.

# **FAQs**

- What prior knowledge do I need?
- Basic concepts in comparative politics such as regime types, party systems, electoral systems, etc. If you want to attend the course but worried that you may not have the required knowledge, please contact me ahead of time and I will send you further reading materials.
- Why is the seminal work X by Y is not in the syllabus?
- I tend to prioritize articles over books; newer over older research; studies on parliamentary systems over studies on presidential systems; comparative designs over case-studies; works that focus on the legislators and their behaviour over works on institutions; works that I find interesting.

  Exceptions apply.
- Poes that mean I cannot write a term paper which is a case study / on presidential systems?
- No, it does not mean that! Case studies and works extending the the theories/findings reviewed in the course to other systems are VERY welcome.
- On I have to write a quantitative paper?
- Well, it is Mannheim... but seriously methods are secondary. The main thing is to match the right method to your RQ. As long as you have a (somewhat) interesting RQ, and apply an adequate method to test it, you're good to go!

#### Course achievement (Studienleistung)

Active seminar participation. There is no compulsory attendance in the zoom meetings. However, we will use the Perusall system to jointly read and discuss the weekly reading materials. Students are therefore expected to actively participate in the zoom meetings or, at least, comment and discuss other students' comments in Perusall. When participating in Zoom meetings, the students are requested (not mandated) to keep their cameras on as much as possible, and at minimum when they speak, to facilitate the discursive nature of the seminar.

Weekly reading assignments. Each student must write two assignments during the semester. Each assignment will be maximum 800 words long and will focus on a chapter/article from that week's reading material. There are two types of assignment, and each student will submit one assignment of each type:

- An exposition of the primary theoretical argument of the paper, followed by
  a discussion of its strengths and weaknesses. What parts of the argument
  do you find convincing? What parts are unconvincing? Is the argument
  based on hidden assumptions which you may or may not accept? Students
  are encouraged but do not need to contrast the paper's argument with
  those of other texts in the reading list or outside of it.
- An exposition of the empirical strategy of the paper, followed by a critical assessment of it. Is the case selection justified? Does the research design fit the research question? Is the interpretation of the results correct? What would you do differently?

Allotment of the assignment slots among the students will be done digitally, with consultation with the instructor. Changes in that allotment can be made, as long as no student submits both assignments in the same week, and as long as submissions are not condensed into too few weeks. Submission deadline for each assignment is the start of the respective weekly zoom meeting.

#### Written assignment (Prüfungsleistung)

A paper of maximum 6,000 words (including footnotes and endnotes, excluding bibliography) on an agreed research question. The paper must be written in English, spellchecked and with proper citations. The paper should be sent as a single PDF file by 23:59 on July 18th, 2021. A doctor's note is required in case of illness or injury. Students bear responsibility for timely submission. Early submission is possible and encouraged. There is no possibility to revise the term paper after submission. There is no resit.

During the semester, students will receive a research proposal form, which they can use to plan and construct their term paper. Submission of the form is not mandatory but is highly encouraged. In any case, the term paper's research question must be approved by the instructor by the end of the semester at the latest.

## Academic integrity

All students in this course are expected to strictly adhere to the University Code of Academic Integrity (Richtlinie zur guten wissenschaftlichen Praxis). Students are expected to be independently familiar with the Code and must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other severe academic misconduct (see https://www.uni-mannheim.de/media/Universitaet/Dokumente/Richtlinie\_gute\_wissenschaftliche\_Praxis\_en.pdf for additional information).

# Schedule and assigned readings

Session 1 (1/3)	Organizational meeting					
	<ul><li>Who am I? who are you?</li><li>What is this course about? perhaps, also, what is it not about?</li><li>What are all the logistical and technical details we need to know before we begin?</li></ul>					
				Session 2 (8/3)	Introduction	* Martin et al. [2014] * Carey [2007]
					> Why do legislatures matter? Why study them, and how?	
(We'll also jump straight into a seminal work on the "competing principals" model)						
Main actors	and explaining factors					
Session 3 (15/3)	Electoral Systems	* Carey and Shugart [1995] * Bol et al. [2020]				
	> How do electoral systems influence whether candidates cultivate their own "personal vote" vs. the party's:					
	> How does such "personal vote" cultivat	ion manifest in actual parliamentary behaviour?				
Session 4 (22/3)	Parties and candidate selection	* Hazan and Rahat [2006] * Itzkovitch-Malka and Hazan [2017] Shomer [2017] Sieberer [2015]				
	> How do different selection methods affect the "principal" to which elected politicians are accountable?					
	> How does this effect manifest in the cohesion of a parliamentary party group?					
	> Is there an interaction effect between the electoral system and candidate selection methods?					
	Break					
Session 5 (12/4)	Roles and careers	* Strøm [2012] * Bailer and Ohmura [2018] Searing [1995]				
	> What are parliamentary roles? how do they relate to behaviour?					
	> How do the activities of legislators change over the course of their careers?					
Session 6 (19/4)	Government vs. opposition	* Hix and Noury [2016]  * Louwerse and Otjes [2019]  Tuttnauer [2018]  Louwerse et al. [2017]				
	> How does the government-opposition divide define parliamentary activity?					
	> Now does the government-opposition divide define partially activity:					

> What makes opposition parties/legislators behave as they do?

Parliamenta	ry activities		
Session 7 (26/4)	Committees	* Mickler [2018] * Cirone and Van Coppenolle [2018] Martin [2011] Raymond and Holt [2019]	
	> What do politicians get from working in committees?		
	> How are they allocated to the various committees, and why?		
Session 8 (3/5)	Speeches	* Proksch and Slapin [2012] * Bäck and Debus [2019] Fernandes et al. [2020]	
	> Why, and to whom, do legislator speak when they give parliamentary speeches?		
	> Who determines who speaks in parliament and how much?		
Session 9 (10/5)	Legislation	* Williams and Indridason [2018] * Bräuninger and Debus [2009] Bräuninger et al. [2012] Louwerse and Otjes [2015]	
	> Why do legislators bother tabling hopeless private-member bills? > Can the opposition (and individual legislators) affect the legislative agenda at all?		
17/5 - Term pa	aper consultation		
Session 11 (31/5)	Parliamentary questions	* Bailer [2011] * Zittel et al. [2019] Fernandes et al. [2018]	
	> How are parliamentary questions used by politicians to cultivate a personal vote?		
Consequenc	es of Parliamentary activity		
Session 12 (7/6)	Electoral outcomes and public attitudes	* Sheafer and Tzionit [2006] * Salmond [2014] Däubler et al. [2016] GRIMMER et al. [2012]	
	> Does being active help MPs get re-elected or promoted? > How do politicians make the public be aware of what happens in parliament?		
Session 13 (14/6)	Public policy and corruption Also: conclusion	* Hicken and Simmons [2008] * Golden [2003] Chang and Golden [2007]	
	> How do incentives to cultivate a personal vote affect the efficiency of public spending?		
	> How are corruption and beurocratic inefficiencty connected to politicians' incentives?		



- Hanna Bäck and Marc Debus. When Do Women Speak? A Comparative Analysis of the Role of Gender in Legislative Debates. *Political Studies*, 67(3):576–596, 2019. ISSN 0032-3217. doi: 10/ghr3gc.
- Stefanie Bailer. People's Voice or Information Pool? The Role of, and Reasons for, Parliamentary Questions in the Swiss Parliament. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 17(3):302–314, 2011. ISSN 1357-2334. doi: 10/b7gjqz.
- Stefanie Bailer and Tamaki Ohmura. Exploring, Maintaining, and Disengaging—The Three Phases of a Legislator's Life. Legislative Studies Quarterly, 43(3):493–520, 2018. ISSN 1939-9162. doi: 10/gd6hf3.
- Damien Bol, Thomas Gschwend, Thomas Zittel, and Steffen Zittlau. The importance of personal vote intentions for the responsiveness of legislators: A field experiment. *European Journal of Political Research*, 2020. ISSN 0304-4130, 1475-6765. doi: 10/ghrtxm.
- Thomas Bräuninger and Marc Debus. Legislative agenda-setting in parliamentary democracies. *European Journal of Political Research*, 48(6):804–839, 2009. ISSN 1475-6765. doi: 10/b6dhxn.
- Thomas Bräuninger, Martin Brunner, and Thomas Däubler. Personal vote-seeking in flexible list systems: How electoral incentives shape Belgian MPs' bill initiation behaviour. *European Journal of Political Research*, 51(5):607–645, 2012. ISSN 1475-6765. doi: 10/b24f23.
- John M. Carey. Competing Principals, Political Institutions, and Party Unity in Legislative Voting. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(1):92–107, January 2007. ISSN 0092-5853, 1540-5907. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00239.x.
- John M Carey and Matthew Soberg Shugart. Incentives to cultivate a personal vote: A rank ordering of electoral formulas. *Electoral Studies*, 14(4):417–439, 1995. ISSN 0261-3794. doi: 10/d6pzwq.
- Eric C. C. Chang and Miriam A. Golden. Electoral Systems, District Magnitude and Corruption. *British Journal of Political Science*, 37(1):115–137, 2007. ISSN 0007-1234. doi: 10/dq5r3w.
- Alexandra Cirone and Brenda Van Coppenolle. Cabinets, Committees, and Careers: The Causal Effect of Committee Service. *The Journal of Politics*, 80(3):948–963, 2018. ISSN 0022-3816, 1468-2508. doi: 10/gdt4wv.
- Thomas Däubler, Thomas Bräuninger, and Martin Brunner. Is Personal Vote-Seeking Behavior Effective? *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 41(2):419–444, 2016. ISSN 1939-9162. doi: 10/f8khwk.
- Jorge M. Fernandes, Cristina Leston-Bandeira, and Carsten Schwemmer. Election proximity and representation focus in party-constrained environments. *Party Politics*, 24(6):674–685, 2018. ISSN 1354-0688, 1460-3683. doi: 10/gfjkvj.
- Jorge M. Fernandes, Miguel Won, and Bruno Martins. Speechmaking and the Selectorate: Persuasion in Nonpreferential Electoral Systems. *Comparative Political Studies*, 53(5):667–699, 2020. ISSN 0010-4140, 1552-3829. doi: 10.1177/0010414019858964.
- Miriam A. Golden. Electoral Connections: The Effects of the Personal Vote on Political Patronage, Bureaucracy and Legislation in Postwar Italy. *British Journal of Political Science*, 33(2):189–212, 2003. ISSN 0007-1234. doi: 10/dgr3zp.
- JUSTIN GRIMMER, SOLOMON MESSING, and SEAN J. WESTWOOD. How Words and Money Cultivate a Personal Vote: The Effect of Legislator Credit Claiming on Constituent Credit Allocation. *The American Political Science Review*, 106(4): 703-719, 2012. ISSN 0003-0554. doi: 10/f4ftvw.
- Reuven Y. Hazan and Gideon Rahat. The influence of candidate selection methods on legislatures and legislators: Theoretical propositions, methodological suggestions and empirical evidence. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 12(3-4): 366-385, 2006. ISSN 1357-2334, 1743-9337. doi: 10/d7pbgh.
- Allen Hicken and Joel W. Simmons. The Personal Vote and the Efficacy of Education Spending. American Journal of Political Science, 52(1):109–124, 2008. ISSN 1540-5907. doi:  $10/\mathrm{dr}8\mathrm{rh}5$ .
- Simon Hix and Abdul Noury. Government-Opposition or Left-Right? The Institutional Determinants of Voting in Legislatures. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 4(2):249–273, 2016. ISSN 2049-8470, 2049-8489. doi: 10.1017/psrm.2015.9.
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- Yael Shomer. The Conditional Effect of Electoral Systems and Intraparty Candidate Selection Processes on Parties' Behavior: Electoral Systems and Selection Processes. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 42(1):63–96, 2017. ISSN 03629805. doi: 10.1111/lsq.12141.
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