

INSTITUT FÜR POLITIKWISSENSCHAFT

**PROFESSUR FÜR VERGLEICHENDE
POLITIKWISSENSCHAFT**



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SPRECHSTUNDE: NACH VEREINBARUNG
(TELEFONISCH ODER PER EMAIL)

**PROSEMINAR:
POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF MINORITIES**

WiSe 2017/2018

Monday and Wednesday / 10:00 – 14:00

PEG 1.G 107 and SP 0.01

Modulkürzel: PW-BA-P1, PW-BA-SP (2009)

COURSE DESCRIPTION

A particular area in the broader arena of democratic theory concerns the representation of minorities. Accompanied with changing views on the traditional understanding of political representation and contemporary advances in this field, minority representation received more and more scholarly attention in the course of the last decades. Against this backdrop, this course focuses on the representation of minorities in established democracies.

The course structure is based on two key aspects: In a first step, important theoretical underpinnings in the field are reviewed, which state the main foundation for the following sessions. We will discuss the meanings and various forms of political representation, but also tackle normative/theoretical questions concerning the justification and obstacles for group representation. Beside these aspects related to political representation, it is further crucial to clarify what minority groups are and how they can be defined. In a second step, the focus is shifted from political theory to empirical research, where we

will analyse and compare the representation of particular minority groups by reviewing evidence from empirical studies.

The goal of this course is not only the synthesis of theoretical considerations and empirical research, but also the identification of similarities and differences in the political representation of several minority groups: What do minority groups have in common? What distinguishes specific minorities from other groups? Discussions in class will be centered around these and further related questions.

GOAL OF THIS CLASS

- Understanding basic theoretical concepts in the discussion about political representation
- Providing a comprehensive picture about different minority groups and reasons for underrepresentation on the basis of empirical research
- Sharpening analytical skills, for example conceptual thinking and the use of research for drawing conclusions

COURSE SCHEDULE

Session	Date	Time	Room	SWS
1	January 8	10-11	PEG 1.G 107	1
2	January 10	10-14	SP 0.01	4
3	January 15	10-14	PEG 1.G 107	4
4	January 17	10-14	SP 0.01	4
5	January 22	10-14	PEG 1.G 107	4
6	January 24	10-14	SP 0.01	4
7	January 29	10-14	PEG 1.G 107	4
8	January 31	10-12	SP 0.01	2
9	February 5	<i>Individual Exam Preparation (No Class!)</i>		
10	February 7	10-13	SP 0.01	3

COURSE READINGS

Session 1 Introduction and Course Overview

Session 2 Basic Underpinnings I: The Concept of Representation

➤ Basic Readings:

Brito Vieira, M. & Runciman, D. (2008). *Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge Polity Press. Chapter 1, 3-28

Dovi, Suzanne, "Political Representation", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2017 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), Webpage: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/political-representation/>

Urbinati, N. & Warren, M.E. (2008). The Concept of Representation in Contemporary Democratic Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11, 387-412

Session 3 Basic Underpinnings II: Group Representation

➤ Basic Readings:

Brito Vieira, M. & Runciman, D. (2008). *Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge Polity Press. Chapter 4, 84-119

Krook, M.L. & O'Brien, D.Z. (2010). The Politics of Group Representation: Quotas for Women and Minorities Worldwide. *Comparative Politics*, 42(3), 253-272

Young, I.M. (2000). *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 4, 141-153

Session 4 Political Representation: Women

➤ Basic Readings:

Kenworthy, L. & Malami, M. (1999). Gender Inequality and Political Representation: A Worldwide Comparative Analysis. *Social Forces*, 78(1), 235-269

Valdini, M.E. (2012). A Deterrent to Diversity: The Conditional Effect of Electoral Rules on the Nomination of Women Candidates. *Electoral Studies*, 31, 740-749

➤ Additional Readings:

Allen, P. & Cutts, D. (2018). How do Gender Quotas Affect Public Support for Women as Political Leaders? *West European Politics*, 41(1), 147-168

Bühlmann, M., & Schädel, L. (2012). Representation matters: The impact of descriptive women's representation on the political involvement of women. *Representation*, 48(1), 101-114

Escobar-Lemmon, M., & Taylor-Robinson, M. M. (2005). Women Ministers in Latin American Government: When, Where, and Why? *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(4), 829-844

Fortin-Rittberger, J., & Eder, C. (2013). Towards a Gender-Equal Bundestag? The Impact of Electoral Rules on Women's Representation. *West European Politics*, 36(5), 969-985

Fortin-Rittberger, J., & Rittberger, B. (2014). Do electoral rules matter? Explaining national differences in women's representation in the European Parliament. *European Union Politics*, 15(4), 496-520

Hinojosa, M., Fridkin, K., & Kittilson, M. (2017, March 24). *Does Women's Political Presence Matter? Examining the Effects of Descriptive Representation on Symbolic Representation in Uruguay*. Research and Innovation Grants Working Papers Series. United States Agency for International Development (USAID)

Raam, N. C. (2005). Gender equality and political representation: A nordic comparison. *West European Politics*, 28(4), 872-897

Roberts, A., Seawright, J., & Cyr, J. (2012). Do Electoral Laws Affect Women's Representation? *Comparative Political Studies*, 46(12), 1555-1581

Ross, M. L. (2008). Oil, Islam, and Women. *The American Political Science Review*, 102(1), 107-123

Thames, F.C. (2017). Understanding the Impact of Electoral Systems on Women's Representation. *Politics & Gender*, 13(3), 379-404

Session 5 Political Representation: Ethnicity & Race

➤ Basic Readings:

Banducci, S. A., Donovan, T., & Karp, J. A. (2004). Minority Representation, Empowerment, and Participation. *The Journal of Politics*, 66(2), 534-556

Lublin, D., & Wright, M. (2013). Engineering Inclusion: Assessing the Effects of Pro-Minority Representation Policies. *Electoral Studies*, 32, 746-755

➤ Additional Readings:

Alionescu, C.-C. (2004). Parliamentary representation of minorities in Romania. *Southeast European Politics*, 5(1), 60-75

Bird, K. (2005). The Political Representation of Visible Minorities in Electoral Democracies: A Comparison of France, Denmark, and Canada. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 11(4), 425-465

Bloemraad, I., & Schönwälder, K. (2013). Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Representation in Europe: Conceptual Challenges and Theoretical Approaches. *West European Politics*, 36(3), 564-579

Bobo, L., & Gilliam, F. D. (1990). Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment. *The American Political Science Review*, 84(2), 377-393

Crisp, B. F., Demirkaya, B., & Millian, C. (2014, July 4). *The Impact of Formal Paths to Office on Descriptive, Symbolic, and Substantive Representation: Maori in the New Zealand Parliament*. Paper presented at the International Political Science Association, Montreal, Canada

Fraga, B. L. (2016). Candidates or Districts? Reevaluating the Role of Race in Voter Turnout. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(1), 97-122

Gay, C. (2001). The Effect of Black Congressional Representation on Political Participation. *American Political Science Review*, 95(3), 589-602

Grofman, B., & Handley, L. (1991). The Impact of the Voting Rights Act on Black Representation in Southern State Legislatures. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 16(1), 111-128

Ruedin, D. (2009). Ethnic Group Representation in a Cross-National Comparison. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 15(4), 335-354

Saalfeld, T., & Bischof, D. (2013). Minority-Ethnic MPs and the Substantive Representation of Minority Interests in the House of Commons, 2005–2011. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 66(2), 305-328

Session 6 Political Representation: Sexual Orientation

➤ Basic Readings:

Haider-Markel, D. P. (2010). *Out and Running: Gay and Lesbian Candidates, Elections, and Policy Representation*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. Chapter 5, 118-128

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

➤ Additional Readings:

Chaney, P. (2013). Institutionally homophobic? Political parties and the substantive representation of LGBT people: Westminster and regional UK elections 1945-2011. *Policy & Politics*, 41(1), 101-121

Everitt, J., & Camp, M. (2014). In Versus Out: LGBT Politicians in Canada. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 48(1), 226-251

Haider-Markel, D. P. (2007). Representation and Backlash: The Positive and Negative Influence of Descriptive Representation. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 32(1), 107-133

Haider-Markel, D. P. (2010). *Out and Running: Gay and Lesbian Candidates, Elections, and Policy Representation*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. Chapter 2, 33-65

Haider-Markel, D. P. (2010). *Out and Running: Gay and Lesbian Candidates, Elections, and Policy Representation*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. Chapter 4, 84-117

Haider-Markel, D. P., Joslyn, M. R., & Kniss, C. J. (2000). Minority Group Interests and Political Representation: Gay Elected Officials in the Policy Process. *The Journal of Politics*, 62(2), 568-577

Hansen, E. R., & Treul, S. A. (2015). The Symbolic and Substantive Representation of LGB Americans in the US House. *The Journal of Politics*, 77(4), 955-967

➤ Basic Readings:

Bernauer, J., Giger, N., & Rosset, J. (2015). Mind the gap: Do proportional electoral systems foster a more equal representation of women and men, poor and rich? *International Political Science Review*, 36(1), 78-98

Manza, J., & Brooks, C. (2008). Class and Politics. In A. Lareau & D. Conley (Eds.), *Social Class: How Does It Work?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Chapter 7, 201-231

➤ Additional Readings:

Carnes, N. (2012). Does the Numerical Underrepresentation of the Working Class in Congress Matter? *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 37(1), 5-34

Carnes, N. (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, N., & Hansen, E. R. (2016). Does Paying Politicians More Promote Economic Diversity in Legislatures? *American Political Science Review*, 110(4), 699-716

Carnes, N., & Lupu, N. (2016). Do Voters Dislike Working-Class Candidates? Voter Biases and the Descriptive Underrepresentation of the Working Class. *American Political Science Review*, 110(4), 832-844

Elsässer, L., & Schäfer, A. (2016). Group Representation for the Working Class? Opinion Differences among Occupational Groups in Germany. MPIfG Discussion Paper 16/3. Discussion Paper. Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies. Cologne.

Flavin, P. (2012). Income Inequality and Policy Representation in the American States. *American Politics Research*, 40(1), 29-59

Giger, N., Rosset, J., & Bernauer, J. (2012). The Poor Political Representation of the Poor in a Comparative Perspective. *Representation*, 48(1), 47-61

Gilens, M. (2009). Preference Gaps and Inequality in Representation. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 42(2), 335-341

Rosset, J. (2013). Are the Policy Preferences of Relatively Poor Citizens Underrepresented in the Swiss Parliament? *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 19(4), 490-504

Stockemer, D. (2017). Income inequality and women's descriptive representation. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 58(1), 33-54

Session 8 Synthesis, Reflection, and Discussion

➤ Basic Readings:

Moss, R. (2013, February 15). Why aren't more disabled people becoming politicians? *BBC News*. Webpage: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-21464655>

➤ More Readings (for your interest):

○ *Disability*

Hevey, D. (1993). From Self-love to the Picket Line: Strategies for Change in Disability Representation. *Disability, Handicap & Society*, 8(4), 423-429

Redley, M. (2008). Citizens with learning disabilities and the right to vote. *Disability & Society*, 23(4), 375-384

○ *Religion*

Dancygier, R. M. (2014). Electoral Rules or Electoral Leverage? Explaining Muslim Representation in England. *World Politics*, 66(2), 229-263

MourãoPermoser, J. (2014). Austrian MEPs: between privatisation and politicisation of religion. *Religion, State and Society*, 42(2-3), 251-265

MourãoPermoser, J., Rosenberger, S., &Stoeckl, K. (2010). Religious Organisations as Political Actors in the Context of Migration: Islam and Orthodoxy in Austria. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(9), 1463-1481

○ *Immigration*

Dancygier, R. M., Lindgren, K. O., Oskarsson, S., &Vernby, K. (2015). Why Are Immigrants Underrepresented in Politics? Evidence from Sweden. *American Political Science Review*, 109(4), 703-724

Street, A. (2014). Representation Despite Discrimination: Minority Candidates in Germany. *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(2), 374-385

Wüst, A. M. (2014). A Lasting Impact? On the Legislative Activities of Immigrant-origin Parliamentarians in Germany. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 20(4), 495-515

Session 9 Individual Exam Preparation (No Class!)

Session 10 Exam

REQUIREMENTS

1. A regular attendance of every participant is obligatory and two absences are allowed. In case a participant is absent in more than two sessions, an active Teilnahme- or Leistungsschein cannot be provided. No exceptions will be made.
2. Active participation is a necessity. Every participant is expected to do all required readings prior to the session and to actively participate in the discussions. By doing so, this is the only way to ensure lively and productive discussions from which every participant will benefit.
3. For an active Teilnahmeschein (3CP) and a graded Leistungsschein (Modulabschlussprüfung, 4CP), every participant is expected to prepare a Literaturbericht (3-4 pages) on the basis of the basic readings of one session (three readings in total). The Literaturbericht has to be prepared and submitted (via Email) prior to the chosen session. Please note that a Literaturbericht should not simply summarize the readings, but rather review the literature with a twist. Think about a question of your choice that unites the readings to a common theme and based on this, write a synthesis of the readings, including the major theories and your own assessment. A detailed description of what a Literaturbericht is can be found here <http://www.fb03.uni-frankfurt.de/47413486/Merkblaetter> and in the OLAT folder “How to”.
4. For an active Teilnahmeschein (3CP) and a graded Leistungsschein (Modulabschlussprüfung, 4CP), participants are expected to prepare and give a group presentation on the basis of the session’s additional readings. Every group is expected to choose a number of additional readings and present the content to all other participants of the course, including the preparation of a handout (one page maximum). Please submit the handout to the OLAT folder “handouts” prior to the session where the group presentation will take place. Further details about the group presentation will be announced in class.
5. For a graded Leistungsschein (Modulabschlussprüfung, 4CP) it is required to pass a final exam (schriftliche Klausur), which will take approx. 120 min. The lowest passing grade is 4.0 (“ausreichend”). **Please note that it is necessary to inform me via Email if you would like to take the Modulabschlussprüfung. The deadline for the binding registration is January 22, 2018.** Further details about the final exam will be announced in class.