

# ECPR Summer School on Parliaments

University of Bamberg, Germany, August 2-14 2010

## Reading List

Summer School Directors:  
Professor Thomas Saalfeld  
Dr. Shane Martin

*<http://www.parliaments2010.eu/>*

<b>Legislative Recruitment and Careers in Liberal Democracies</b>
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Professor Dr. Ursula Hoffmann-Lange,  
Bamberg University

Wednesday, 04/08/2010

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Three themes are to be covered: (1) the assumptions of classic elite theory (Pareto, Mosca, Michels, Schumpeter), (2) The theoretical relevance of elite backgrounds and (3) Parliamentary Careers

Readings:

Borchert, Jens, Jürgen Zeiss. eds. 2003. *The political class in advanced democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (Chapter 1).

Cotta, Maurizio, Heinrich Best, eds. 2007. *Democratic Representation in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (Chapters 1, 15 and 16).

Weber, Max. 1946. 'Politics as a Vocation.' In: Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (Translated and edited): *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 77-128.

<b>Women and Minorities in Parliaments</b>
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Professor Lena Wängnerud,  
Göteborg University

Thursday, 05/08/2010

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Readings:

Wängnerud, L. 2009. "Women in Parliaments. Descriptive and Substantive Representation." *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 12, pp.51-69.

Htun, M. 2004. "Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 2 No. 3, pp. 439-458.

Background reading:

Phillips, Anne. 1995. *The Politics of Presence*. Oxford University Press.

<b>Theoretical Models in the Study of Parliaments and Legislatures</b>
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Professor Bjørn-Erik Rasch,  
University of Oslo

Friday, 06/08/2010

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Readings:

Cox, Gary W. 2006. "The Organization of Democratic Legislatures," in Barry R. Weingast and Donald A. Wittman, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Moser, Peter 1999. "The Impact of Legislative Institutions on Public Policy: A Survey," *European Journal of Political Economy* 15: 1-33.

Tsebelis, George. 1995. "Decision Making in Political Systems: Veto Players in Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, Multicameralism and Multipartyism," *British Journal of Political Science* 25: 289-325.

Recommended readings:

Krehbiel, Keith. 2004. "Legislative Organization," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18: 113-128.

Panning, William H. 1983. "Formal Models of Legislative Processes," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 8: 427-455.

Rasch, Bjørn Erik (2000). "Parliamentary Floor Voting Procedures and Agenda Setting in Europe," *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 25: 3-23

## Party Groups and Party-Group Unity, Cohesion and Discipline

Professor Dr. Stefanie Bailer,  
ETH Zurich

Saturday, 07/08/2010

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The role of party groups within parliament and the related issues of intra-party unity, cohesion and discipline are explored.

Readings:

Heidar, K., & Koole, R. 2000. 'Approaches to the study of parliamentary party groups.' In K. Heidar & R. Koole (Eds.), *Parliamentary Party Groups in European Democracies. Political parties behind closed doors* (pp. 4-22). London, New York: Routledge.

Kam, C. 2009. *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 1-37.

Carey, John M. 2007. 'Competing Principals, Political Institutions, and Party Unity in Legislative Voting.' *American Journal of Political Science*, Volume 51, pp.92-107.

## The European Parliament: studying a changing institution

Dr. Richard Whitaker,  
University of Leicester

Monday, 09/08/2010

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The European Parliament's (EP) legislative role has grown extensively over the last two decades as has the volume of research being published on the institution. We will consider the current state of this research focusing on the internal organisation of the EP, including parties and committees, and on the EP's legislative power. We will look at the problems of adapting and operationalising theories developed in other contexts, the range of quantitative and qualitative research on the EP, the availability of data and areas where further research is needed.

### Readings:

Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury, and Gérard Roland. 2006. 'Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament', *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), pp.494-511.

McElroy, Gail .2006. 'Committee representation in the European Parliament', *European Union Politics*, 7(1), pp.5-29.

Selck, Torsten J. and Bernard Steunenberg. 2004. 'Between power and luck: the European Parliament in the EU legislative process', *European Union Politics*, 5(1), pp.25-46.

Carrubba, Clifford J., Matthew Gabel, Lacey Murrah, Ryan Clough, Elizabeth Montgomery and Rebecca Schambach. 2006. 'Off the Record: Unrecorded Legislative Votes, Selection Bias and Roll-Call Vote Analysis', *British Journal of Political Science*, 36(4), pp.691-704.

For introductory reading on the European Parliament see:

Judge, David and David Earnshaw. 2008. *The European Parliament*, 2nd edition, Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Corbett, Richard, Francis Jacobs and Michael Shackleton. 2007. *The European Parliament*, 7th edition, London: Cartermill.

<b>Legislative Debates, Questions and Oversight</b>
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Professor Matti Wiberg  
University of Turku

Tuesday, 10/08/2010

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A particular focus of this session will be on whether parliamentary questioning is an effective way of holding the government accountable.

Readings:

Russo, F. & Wiberg, M. 2010. "Parliamentary Questioning in 17 European Parliaments: Some Steps towards Comparison," *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 16(2), 215-232.

Salmond, Rob (2010) "Bureaucrats in the Headlights: Question Times and Delegation to Bureaucrats." Paper prepared for submission to a special issue of *The Journal of Legislative Studies*.

Wiberg, M. 1995. "Parliamentary Questioning: Control by Communication?" In: Herbert Döring (Ed.) (1995) *Parliaments and Majority Rule in Western Europe*. Frankfurt/New York: Campus. Verlag, pp. 179-222.

## MPs and Citizens - Political Representation

Professor Rudy B. Andeweg,  
Leiden University

Wednesday, 11/08/2010

e-mail: andeweg@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

### Readings:

R.B. Andeweg and J.J.A. Thomassen. 2005. 'Modes of Political Representation: Toward a New Typology', *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, v. 30:4, pp. 507-52.

M. Golder and J. Stramski. 2010. 'Ideological Congruence and Electoral Institutions', *American Journal of Political Science*, v. 54, pp. 90-106

A. Rehfeld. 2009. 'Representation Rethought: On Trustees, Delegates, and Gyroscopes in the Study of Political Representation and Democracy', *American Political Science Review*, v.103, pp. 214-230

### Recommended reading:

P. Esaiasson en S. Holmberg. 1996. *Representation from Above: Members of Parliament and Representative Democracy in Sweden*, Dartmouth: Aldershot, pp 3-16, 171-191, 309-320

H. Eulau and J.C. Wahlke. 1959. 'The Role of the Representative: Some Empirical Observations on the Theory of Edmund Burke' *American Political Science Review*, v.53, pp. 742-756

H. Eulau and P.D. Karps. 1978. 'The Puzzle of Representation; Specifying Components of Responsiveness' in H. Eulau and J. Wahlke, *The Politics of Representation*, Beverly Hills: Sage, pp.55-71

B. Manin. 1997. *The Principles of Representative Government*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 193-235

B. Manin, A. Przeworski and S.C. Stokes. 1999. 'Elections and Representation' in A. Przeworski, S.C. Stokes and B. Manin (eds), *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 29-54

J. Mansbridge. 1999. 'Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes"', *Journal of Politics*, v. 61, pp. 628-657

W.E. Miller and D.E. Stokes. 1963. 'Constituency Influence in Congress', *American Political Science Review*, v.57, pp. 45-56

H.F. Pitkin. 1967. *The Concept of Political Representation*, Berkeley: University of California Press

J. Stimson, M.B. Mackuen and R.S. Erikson. 1995. 'Dynamic Representation',

*American Political Science Review*, v.89, pp. 543-565

K. Strøm. 2003. 'Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies', *European Journal of Political Research*, v.37 (2000), pp. 261-289 or K. Strøm, 'Parliamentary Democracy and Delegation' in K. Strøm, W.C. Müller and T. Bergman (eds), *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies*, Oxford University Press, pp. 55-106

J.J.A. Thomassen. 1994. 'Empirical Research into Political Representation; Failing Democracy or Failing Models', in M.K. Jennings and T.E. Mann (eds), *Elections at Home and Abroad*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Content and Discourse Analysis as Methods for the Study of Parliamentary Deliberations</b></p>
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Professor Andre Bächtiger,  
University of Bern

Thursday, 12/08/2010  
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For a long time, the study of deliberation within legislatures has not figured prominently in the literature. After all, deliberation is typically associated with the civic sphere. Perhaps more troublesome, many political scientists argue that parliamentary debate does not entail rational discussion but instead is conducted in a competitive, adversarial, and rhetorical manner. Moreover, if legislators enter into policy negotiations then this is understood as bargaining rather than deliberation. In recent years, however, this trend has been reversed (see, e.g., Steiner et al. 2004; Mucciaroni and Quirk 2006). These authors argued that one should not pre-judge the deliberative space in legislatures. In line with neo-institutionalist lines of inquiry (e.g. Döring 1995), they argued that deliberation's role depends on institutional factors, as well as issue characteristics. It is furthermore important to note that deliberative theorists have repeatedly argued that parliaments are a critically important sphere of deliberation because they serve essential legitimizing and socially integrative functions (e.g. Habermas 1996).

In this session, I shall first provide some theoretical nuts and bolts whether – and under what conditions – deliberation can play a role in legislative politics. Second, I will present empirical measures of deliberative quality in legislatures (the *Discourse Quality Index* (DQI; Steenbergen et al. 2004)) and Holzinger's *speech act analysis* of arguing and bargaining). Third, we will engage in content analysis and code parts of a committee and plenary German abortion debate (in the 1990s). In this regard, we shall also discuss problems of coding as well as reliability and aggregation issues.

Readings:

Steiner, Jürg, André Bächtiger, Markus Spörndli and Marco R. Steenbergen. 2004. *Deliberative Politics in Action. Analysing Parliamentary Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 3-6.

Landwehr, Claudia and Katharina Holzinger. 2010. "Institutional Determinants of Deliberative Interaction." *European Political Science Review*, forthcoming.

Bächtiger André, Susumu Shikano, Seraina Pedrini, Marlene Gerber and Mirjam Ryser. 2010. "The Quality of Deliberation: Standards, Aggregation, and Sequenzialization." Paper presented at the Arbeitskreis "Handlungs- und Entscheidungstheorie" (Mannheim, July 2010).