

Central European University
Political Science Department
2019/2020
Fall Semester

Representation, Power and Manipulation in Legislatures

Instructor: Tamás Meszerics

Room

AIMS OF THE COURSE

The course will acquaint the students with the functions and working of legislative bodies and would offer both theoretical and practical insights into legislative politics. It will deal with the internal structure of legislatures, committees and committee power, house rules and voting procedures, deliberative functions and legislator accountability. It will draw examples from the U.S. Congress, the House of Commons, the European Parliament, the German Bundestag and the Hungarian Parliament. Students will contribute with experience from their home legislative bodies.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

- Higher order thinking skills: see patterns, recognize hidden meanings, generalize from facts, ability to understand and contrast different theoretical approaches etc.
- Informed, reasoned judgment: make well-reasoned judgment, recognize subjectivity, etc.
- Ability to comprehend and critique advanced political science texts.
- Analytical writing: ability to generate logical, plausible and persuasive arguments, connect, compare and contrast, ability to identify logical relations and mistakes of argument, ability to make appropriate analytical distinctions etc.;
- Ability to analyze contemporary events in broader institutional, political and social contexts and to make policy-relevant conclusions

REQUIREMENTS:

Since the course consists of one lecture and one seminar on the same topic every week, **it is essential** that the participants read the compulsory literature as preparation for the seminars. To help this preparation students are required to submit at least two short questions on the compulsory reading(s) on the day before the seminar. The questions should be uploaded to the e-learning site of the course 12 hours before the seminar the latest.

Each student is expected to write **two in-class examination papers**. Students can choose to submit a **short research paper** covering one of the topics raised in the course on the basis of empirics from the legislatures of their home countries. The research paper would count as a **substitute for one** (and only one) **of the in-class examination papers** if and only if it is uploaded to the e-learning site of the course before the examination questions

are made public on the site.

The instructor will take every effort to screen out cases of plagiarism. These will be dealt with according to university regulations. For definitions please consult the academic honesty section of the relevant university policies.

The final grade will be a composite of the following values:

In-class examination papers - **70 % (35% each)**

The research paper counts as equal to one of the in-class examinations (i.e. 35 %)

Questions and comments - **20 %**

In-class activity - **10 %**

Within the last component 5% is assigned automatically for regular presence and participation in discussions, the remaining 5% reflects the general quality of individual contributions.

SYLLABUS

1. The Setting: Legislative-Executive Relations

Division of power, checks and balances and the variations in institutional arrangements; the presidentialism vs parliamentary system debate in comparative politics

Compulsory readings

Shugart, Matthew S., John M. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Ch 1-2 and 4

Recommended readings

Laver, Michael, "Legislatures and Parliaments in Comparative Context" in: Weingast & Wittman (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

2. Power in Structure and Numbers

How to analyze the different institutional settings of different legislatures. Effective parties, voting power indices.

Compulsory readings

Keppel, Amie, "Typologies and Classifications" in: Martin, Saalfeld & Strøm (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Lippman, David "Weighted Voting" in: David Lippman, *Math in Society*. Edition 2.4, 2013 Open Textbook Library.
(<https://open.umn.edu/opentextbooks/textbooks/math-in-society>)

Recommended readings

Rasch, Björn Erik, "On the Real Voting Power Index" *European Journal of Political Economy* Vol. 4. Issue 2. 1988. pp. 285-291

3. Opening the Black Box: Committee Power and House Rules

How do the internal institutional features affect legislative processes and outcomes. The sources of "committee power". Rules and voting procedures as constraining and enabling institutions. Agenda-control and institutional change.

Compulsory Readings

Martin, Shane, "Committees" in: Martin, Saalfeld & Strøm (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Cox, Gary W., "On the Effects of Legislative Rules" in: Lowenberg – Squire – Kiewiet (eds.), *Legislatures: Comparative Perspectives on Representative Assemblies*. Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2002. pp. 247-268.

Recommended readings

Norton, Philip, "Nascent Institutionalization: Committees in the British Parliament" in: Longley & Davidson (eds.), *The New Roles of Parliamentary Committees*. London & Portland, OR.: Frank Cass, 1998. pp. 143-162.

Müller, Wolfgang C. & Ulrich Sieberer, "Procedure and Rules in Legislatures" in: Martin, Saalfeld & Strøm (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

4. Where is the Room for Manipulation?

Changing likely outcomes without persuading the others to change their minds. Riker and heresthetics. Why is it an art?

Compulsory Readings

Riker, William, *The Art of Political Manipulation*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986. Preface.

McLean Iain, "William H. Riker and the Invention of Heresthetic(s)" *British Journal of Political Science* Vol. 32, No. 3 (2002), pp. 535-558

Recommended Readings

Shepsle, Kenneth A., "Losers in Politics (And How They Sometimes Become Winners): William Riker's Herestetic" *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 1 No. 2, (2003).

5. The British Parliament

Structure, procedures and classic cases of manipulation

Compulsory readings

Norton, Philip, *Parliament in British Politics*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Ch 2.

McLean, Iain, *Rational Choice and British Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University

Press, 2001. Ch 2 & 8

Recommended readings

McKeown, T. J., "The Politics of Corn Law Repeal and Theories of Commercial Policy" *British Journal of Political Science* Vol 19 No. 3 (1989) pp. 353-380.

6. U.S. Congress I

Legislators, parties, resources

Compulsory Readings

Smith, Steven S., Jason M. Roberts, and Ryan J. Vander Wielen. *The American Congress*, 7th Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Recommended readings

Krehbiel, Keith, and Douglas Rivers "Sophisticated Voting in Congress: A Reconsideration." *Journal of Politics* 52 (1990) pp. 548-578.

7. U.S. Congress: Heresthetic Moves

Who can successfully manipulate the structure and procedures, why and how?

Compulsory readings

Riker, William, *The Art of Political Manipulation*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986. Ch 9.

Jenkins, Jeffrey A. – Michael C. Munger, "Investigating the Incidence of Killer Amendments in Congress" *Journal of Politics* Vol. 65 No. 2 (2003) pp. 498-517.

Gehlbach, Scott "John Dingell, Heresthetician" (2019)
(<https://scottgehlbach.net/john-dingell-heresthetician/>)

Recommended readings

Shepsle, Kenneth A, Barry R. Weingast, "Structure-Induced Equilibria and Legislative Choice" *Public Choice* Vol. 37 No. 3 (1981) pp. 503-519.

8. The European Parliament

Structure and procedures and room for manipulation.

Compulsory readings

Judge David, David Earnshaw, *The European Parliament*. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Ch 5-6

Green European Foundation, *Manual for Europe*. Brussels: GEF, 2011.

9. Sub-National Legislatures: the Odd-Men-Out?

Differences and similarities with national legislatures

Compulsory readings

Downs, William D., "Sub-National Legislatures" in: Martin, Saalfeld & Strøm (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

10. Who Are the Parliamentarians?

The recruitment and sociological composition of parliamentarians. The institutionalist and the historical viewpoint.

Compulsory readings

Hazan, Reuven Y., "Candidate Selection: Implications and Challenges for Legislative Behaviour" in: Martin, Saalfeld & Strøm (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Recommended readings

Rush, Michael – Valerie Cromwell, "Continuity and Change: Legislative Recruitment in the UK 1868-1999" in: Best, Heinrich and Maurizio Cotta (eds.) *Parliamentary Representatives in Europe 1848-2000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Ilonszki, Gabriella, "Belated Professionalization of Parliamentary Elites: Hungary, 1848-1999" in: Best, Heinrich and Maurizio Cotta (eds.) *Parliamentary Representatives in Europe 1848-2000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

11. Deliberation: The Quality of Discourse

Does it matter what is said in a parliamentary debate? Assessing the quality of deliberation

Compulsory readings

Bächtiger, André, "Debate and Deliberation in Legislatures" in: Martin, Saalfeld & Strøm (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Recommended readings

Steiner, Jürg – André Bächtiger – Maerkus Spröndli – Marco R. Steenbergen *Deliberative Politics in Action: Analyzing Parliamentary Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Ilie, Cornelia, "Managing Dissent and Interpersonal Relations in the Romanian Parliamentary Discourse" in: Ilie, Cornelia (ed), *European Parliaments under Scrutiny*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing House, 2010.

12. Interest groups, Lobbying and Accountability

Is there any meaningful way to hold representatives accountable to the constituents? To whom do legislators respond?

Compulsory Readings

Binderkrantz, Anne Skorkjær, "Legislatures, Lobbying and Interest Groups" in: Martin, Saalfeld & Strøm (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Recommended Readings

Carey, John M., *Legislative Voting and Accountability*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.