

Fachbereich 03 Gesellschaftswissenschaften  
Institut für Politikwissenschaft  
Professur für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft  
Campus Westend, Theodor-W.-Adorno-Platz 6  
60323 Frankfurt am Main



Roni Lehrer, PhD  
Campus Westend, PEG 3.G085  
Lehrer@soz.uni-frankfurt.de

Office Hours by appointment: Friday 11am-12noon (on Zoom)

Seminar:  
**Party Competition and Political Representation in Modern Democracies**

Course Outline  
(as of 6 February 23)

Winter Term 2022/2023

Monday, 2pm-4pm

Seminar building - SH 1.104

Moduls: PW-MA-2b/3b/4b, PW-MA-2a/3a/4a, PT MA 3, CD-MA-D2

First session on 24 October 2022

Democracies are characterized by politicians, institutions and decisions that (ideally) reflect the public's interest. Yet, how do democracies ensure that this is really happening? In this seminar, we study the corresponding mechanisms and in particular competition between parties. The seminar thus focuses on parties' choices of ideological positions and their responsiveness. We will mostly study (rational) theoretical and (quantitative) empirical literature in democracy research.

**Learning objectives**

Provided you read the assigned literature and participated in classes actively, you will

- Command an elementary knowledge of the role parties should play in political representation in modern democracies
- Have a robust knowledge of the role parties in fact play in political representation in modern democracies
- Improve your theoretical skills to explain differences between normative expectations and reality in the context of democratic representation
- Improve your academic writing and reading skills

## **Expectations**

You should have an open mind toward quantitative methods and rational theories in political science. Ideally – but this is by no means a prerequisite – you are able to interpret an Ordinary Least Squares Regression (OLS). If you are not, you will learn this on this course.

## **Literature**

We will mostly read research articles and a couple of other sources. Details can be found below and in the seminar's OLAT course.

## **Enrollment**

Classes start on 24 October 2022. Students can enroll via the central enrollment systems at the Fachbereich 03 according to its rules. If you have questions concerning the enrollment procedure, please contact the Studiendekanat.

## **Requirements**

Participants can receive a participation certificate (3 CP) as well as a marked record (Modulabschlussprüfung). A participation certificate requires (1) steady attendance, (2) presentation and critique of assigned literature, and (3) a short literature assignment. A marked record requires an additional term paper which is marked with "passed" (4,0) or better.

In class, we will discuss the assigned literature. To receive a participation certificate (3 CP), you must (1) not have missed class more than twice, (2) read and engaged with the assigned literatures, (3) submit a discussion of the assigned literature for one session, and (4) present that discussion in a presentation (roughly 20mins) in class. The discussion should be based on your thoughts on how the assigned research literature speaks to one another, what we (jointly) learn from it, and what questions and issues it ignores. I expect you to use slides (e.g., Powerpoint) for your presentation.

For a marked record (5CP, Modulabschlussprüfung) you also need to submit a term paper that is graded as passed (4,0) or better. Your term paper should not exceed 20 pages and has to be submitted no later than 16 April 2023 5pm by email to [Lehrer@soz.uni-frankfurt.de](mailto:Lehrer@soz.uni-frankfurt.de). Additional guidelines for the term paper will be communicated during classes.

**If you wish to receive a participation certificate or a marked record for this seminar, please indicate at least three sessions for which you are willing to submit a discussion and give a presentation at <https://www.terminplaner.dfn.de/BAlexhwhEbzMafY7> until 27 October 2022.** I will inform you about the presentation schedule in the following days.

**If you study in any program that allows for an electronic registration for this seminar's exams (e.g., participation certificate or marked record), you need to register for your examination online and in advance.** Please note the rules the corresponding Prüfungsamt sets. I cannot officially acknowledge your work otherwise.

Depending on regulations and pandemic circumstances, all requirements may be changed.

## Schedule

Session	Date	Topic
1	24 Oct 22	Introduction, Organization
2	31 Oct 22	Political Representation: Concepts and Ideas
3	7 Nov 22	Rational Choice Theory and its Models of Political Delegation
4	14 Nov 22	Mechanisms of Political Representation
5	21 Nov 22	What do political parties want?
6	28 Nov 22	Spatial Party Competition I (Theory)
7	5 Dec 22	Spatial Party Competition II (Theory)
8	12 Dec 22	Ordinary Least Squares Regression
9	19 Dec 22	Spatial Party Competition III (Opinion Polls and Elections)
Winter Break		
10	9 Jan 22	Spatial Party Competition (Rival Parties and Markets)
11	16 Jan 22	Spatial Party Competition (Niche Parties)
12	23 Jan 22	Institutions and Representation
13	30 Jan 22	Representing Minorities
14	6 Feb 22	Conclusions and Final Paper

## Course Outline

### **Session 1 (24 October 2022): Introduction and Organization**

### **Session 2 (31 October 2022): Political Representation: Concept and Ideas**

Dovi, Suzanne. "Political Representation." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2018 Edition). <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2018/entries/political-representation/>

### **Session 3 (7 November 2022): Rational Choice Theory and its Models of Political Delegation**

Laver, Michael. *Private desires, political action: an invitation to the politics of rational choice*. Sage, 1997.

Lupia, Arthur. (2003). "Delegation and its Perils." In Kaare Strøm, Torbjörn Bergman, Wolfgang C. Müller (Hrsgs.). *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 33-54.

### **Session 4 (14 November 2022): Mechanisms of Political Representation**

Powell Jr, G. B. (2004). The quality of democracy: The chain of responsiveness. *Journal of Democracy*, 15(4), 91-105.

Strøm, Kaare. "Delegation and accountability in parliamentary democracies." *European journal of political research* 37.3 (2000): 261-290.

### **Session 5 (21 November 2022): What do political parties want?**

Strøm, Kaare, and Wolfgang C. Müller. "Political parties and hard choices." *Policy, office, or votes* (1999): 1-35.

Müller, W. C. (2000). Political parties in parliamentary democracies: Making delegation and accountability work. *European journal of political research*, 37(3), 309-333.

### **Session 6 (28 November 2022): Spatial Party Competition I**

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Harper. Kapitel 8.

Plümper, Thomas, and Christian W. Martin. "Multi-party competition: A computational model with abstention and memory." *Electoral Studies* 27.3 (2008): 424-441.

### **Session 7 (5 December 2022): Spatial Party Competition II**

Budge, Ian. "A new spatial theory of party competition: Uncertainty, ideology and policy equilibria viewed comparatively and temporally." *British journal of political science* 24.4 (1994): 443-467.

Wittman, Donald. "Candidate motivation: A synthesis of alternative theories." *American Political Science Review* 77.1 (1983): 142-157.

### **Session 8 (12 December 2022): Ordinary Least Squares Regression**

Wooldridge, J. M. (2015). *Introductory econometrics: A modern approach*. Cengage learning.

**Session 9 (19 December 2022): Spatial Party Competition III (Opinion Polls and Elections)**

Adams, James, et al. "Understanding change and stability in party ideologies: Do parties respond to public opinion or to past election results?." *British Journal of Political Science* 34.4 (2004): 589-610.

Somer-Topcu, Zeynep. "Timely decisions: The effects of past national elections on party policy change." *The Journal of Politics* 71.1 (2009): 238-248.

**Session 10 (9 January 2023): Spatial Party Competition (Rival Parties and Markets)**

Adams, James, and Zeynep Somer-Topcu. "Policy adjustment by parties in response to rival parties' policy shifts: Spatial theory and the dynamics of party competition in twenty-five post-war democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 39.4 (2009): 825-846.

Ezrow, Lawrence, Timothy Hellwig, and Michele Fenzl. "Responsiveness, if you can afford it: policy responsiveness in good and bad economic times." *The Journal of Politics* 82.3 (2020): 1166-1170.

**Session 11 (16 January 2023): Spatial Party Competition (Niche Parties)**

Adams, James, et al. "Are niche parties fundamentally different from mainstream parties? The causes and the electoral consequences of Western European parties' policy shifts, 1976–1998." *American Journal of Political Science* 50.3 (2006): 513-529.

Ezrow, Lawrence, et al. "Mean voter representation and partisan constituency representation: Do parties respond to the mean voter position or to their supporters?." *Party Politics* 17.3 (2011): 275-301.

**Session 12 (23 January 2023): Institutions and Political Representation**

Golder, Matt, and Benjamin Ferland. "Electoral systems and citizen-elite ideological congruence." *The Oxford handbook of electoral systems*. Oxford University Press New York, 2018. 213-246.

Powell, G. Bingham. "Representation in context: Election laws and ideological congruence between citizens and governments." *Perspectives on Politics* 11.1 (2013): 9-21.

**Session 13 (30 January 2023): Representing Minorities**

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

Kroeber, C. (Forthcoming). When Do Men MPs Claim to Represent Women in Plenary Debates—Time-Series Cross-Sectional Evidence from the German States. *Political Research Quarterly*.

**Session 14 (6 February 2023): Conclusion and Final Paper**