

POLI 7971: Comparative Legislatures
Thursdays: 2:00 – 4:50pm
Location: 210 Stubbs

Professor: Dr. Yann Kerevel
Office: 230 Stubbs

Office Hours: Wednesdays 1-3pm or by appt.
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Overview

The study of legislative institutions has been dominated by research on the U.S. Congress. Despite this singular focus, the design of legislatures, their organization, their relations with other branches of government, the methods by which legislative representatives reach office, and the way in which representatives serve their constituents vary widely across countries. This course is designed to introduce students to research on legislatures across the globe.

Required Readings

Most readings are peer-reviewed journal articles easily found through the LSU library system or Google Scholar. Any book chapters will be provided in PDF format on Moodle.

Evaluation

Weekly writing assignments and discussion questions: 20%

Each week in which there are assigned readings, I expect students to write a 2- 3 page critical review of the week's readings. In your review, you should address at least some of the questions listed below. In addition to writing the 2-page review, I also expect students to submit at least 3 questions related to the readings for discussion. The writing assignment and the 3 questions are due by 12pm on the day of class and should be submitted electronically by email. To receive full credit for these assignments, they must all be turned in on time, they must meet the basic requirements, and it must be clear to me you have read all of the week's material. I will not be providing weekly, individual feedback on these assignments but I will reach out to individual students early in the semester with comments.

1. What is the research question and why is it important?
2. What is the authors' theory (if there is one)?
3. How do the authors test the theory (i.e. what methods and data do they use?)
4. What are the authors' primary findings?
5. What are the authors' main conclusions and what are their implications?
6. What are your criticisms of the research?

Class Participation: 25%

I expect all students to come to class prepared to discuss the week's readings and contribute to class discussion. Attendance is not optional and each unexcused absence will result in the loss of one whole letter grade. Students with an excused absence must write a 10-page literature review of the week's readings plus additional recommended readings on the same topic.

Research Talk Attendance: 5%

You must attend two political science talks during the semester that typically occur Fridays at noon in 210 Stubbs. A brief 1-page response paper is due for each talk you attend.

Final Paper: 50%

Each student is required to write a 20-25 empirical research paper of publishable quality related to the study of legislatures. Students are expected to submit a research proposal, a literature review, a rough draft, and a final draft. In addition, students will present their research on the final day of class. Students are also expected to meet individually with the professor as necessary as they develop their research paper. Below are the basic expectations of each component but further guidance will be provided throughout the course.

- *Research Proposal:* A brief 2-3 page proposal is due electronically on February 23rd. At a minimum, the proposal should include a research question, a brief discussion that places the research question within the context of the larger literature, a brief discussion of how the question will be answered, and a reference list of relevant literature.
- *Literature Review:* By March 16th, students must submit a 8-10 page review of the literature relevant to their research question. The literature review may be written as a stand alone assignment, or the beginning of a rough draft of the final research paper. The literature review is due in class.
- *Rough Draft:* On April 5th, students must submit a rough draft of their final paper. Rough drafts should include everything except empirical results and a conclusion, although including empirical results is strongly recommended. Students should submit two copies of their rough draft, one that identifies the author, and one that is anonymous. The professor will circulate the anonymous versions to fellow classmates for peer review. Each student is required to write two anonymous reviews of the papers they receive. Student reviews are to be submitted electronically to the professor by April 13th and will then be circulated back to the authors along with comments from the professor.
- *Research Presentation:* On April 26th, each student will give an 8-10 minute formal presentation of their research paper to the class.
- *Final Paper:* A polished version of the final paper is due May 3rd. Students should submit a hard copy and an electronic version.

Grading final paper: I will not be grading individual components of the final paper prior to the final draft. However, late submissions of any component will still be subject to my late assignment policy below. In addition, plagiarism on any component of the final paper prior to the final draft is unacceptable and will be subject to my plagiarism policy below.

Attendance and Late Assignments: Attendance for all class sessions is mandatory and as a rule I do not accept late assignments. I will subtract one whole letter grade for each missed class and for each late assignment.

Grading scale:

97.0 to 100 A+, 93.0 to 96.9 A, 90.0 to 92.9 A-, 87.0 to 89.9 B+, 83.0 to 86.9 B, 80.0 to 82.9 B-, 77.0 to 79.9 C+, 73.0 to 76.9 C, 70.0 to 72.9 C-, 67.0 to 69.9 D+, 63.0 to 66.9 D, 60.0 to 62.9 D-, below 60.0 F

Students requiring special accommodation: Louisiana State University is committed to providing reasonable accommodations for all persons with disabilities. Any student with a

documented disability needing academic adjustments is requested to speak with the Disability Services and the instructor, as early in the semester as possible. All discussions will remain confidential. This publication/material is available in alternative formats upon request. Please contact the Disability Services, 115 Johnston Hall, (225)578-5919.

General Statement on Academic Integrity: Louisiana State University adopted the Commitment to Community in 1995 to set forth guidelines for student behavior both inside and outside of the classroom. The Commitment to Community charges students to maintain high standards of academic and personal integrity. All students are expected to read and be familiar with the LSU Code of Student Conduct and Commitment to Community, found online at www.lsu.edu/saa. It is your responsibility as a student at LSU to know and understand the academic standards for our community.

Students who are suspected of violating the Code of Conduct will be referred to the Office of Student Advocacy and Accountability. For graduate students, suspension is the appropriate outcome for the first offense.

Plagiarism and Citation Method: As a student at LSU, it is your responsibility to refrain from plagiarizing the academic property of another and to utilize appropriate citation methods for all coursework. Ignorance of the citation method is not an excuse for academic misconduct. Remember there is a difference between paraphrasing and quoting and how to properly cite each respectively. If you have questions regarding what is appropriate, please consult with the library's tutorials on avoiding plagiarism and proper citation formats.

I will report all instances of plagiarism. If you are caught plagiarizing you may fail the assignment, fail the course, lose your funding and/or be asked to leave the graduate program.

Schedule of Readings

January 11: Emily Beaulieu and Legislative Brawls

Three required readings by Beaulieu and coauthors available on Moodle.

January 18: Introduction to Comparative Legislatures

Cox, Gary W., and Scott Morgenstern. 2001. "Latin America's Reactive Assemblies and Proactive Presidents." *Comparative Politics* (January): 171-189.

Morgenstern, Scott. 2006. "Limits on Exporting the U.S. Congress Model to Latin America." In Power and Rae (eds.), *Exporting Congress? The Influence of the U.S. Congress on World Legislatures*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 82-101.

Barkan, J.D. 2008. "Legislatures on the Rise?" *Journal of Democracy* 19(2): 124-137.

Palanza, V., Scartascini, C. and Tommasi, M. (2016), Congressional Institutionalization: A Cross-National Comparison. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 41: 7-34.

Chernykh, S., Doyle, D. and Power, T. J. (2017), Measuring Legislative Power: An Expert Reweighting of the Fish-Kroenig Parliamentary Powers Index. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 42: 295–320.

Erikson, J. and Josefsson, C., 2018. The legislature as a gendered workplace: Exploring members of parliament's experiences of working in the Swedish parliament. *International Political Science Review*.

January 25: The Electoral Connection

Taylor, Michelle M. 1992. "Formal versus Informal Incentive Structures and Legislative Behavior: Evidence from Costa Rica." *The Journal of Politics* 54 (4): 1055-1073.

Heitschusen, Valerie, Garry Young, and David M. Wood. 2005. "Electoral Context and MP Constituency Focus in Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(1): 32-45.

Martin, S. 2011. "Electoral Institutions, the Personal Vote, and Legislative Organization." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36: 339–361

Micozzi, Juan Pablo. 2013. "Does Electoral Accountability make a Difference? Direct Elections, Career Ambition and Legislative Performance in the Argentine Senate." *Journal of Politics* 75(1): 137-149.

Amy Catalinac, "From Pork to Policy: The Rise of Programmatic Campaigning in Japanese Elections," *The Journal of Politics* 78, no. 1 (January 2016): 1-18.

Hänni, M. (2017), Presence, Representation, and Impact: How Minority MPs Affect Policy Outcomes. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 42: 97–130.

February 1: Electoral Systems

Carey, J. M., and M. S. Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14 (4): 417-39.

Stratmann, T., Baur, M., 2002. "Plurality Rule, Proportional Representation, and the German Bundestag: How Incentives to Pork Barrel Differ Across Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (3), 506–514.

Pekkanen, R., B. Nyblade, and E. S. Krauss. 2006. "Electoral Incentives in Mixed-Member Systems: Party, Posts, and Zombie Politicians in Japan." *American Political Science Review* 100 (2): 183-93.

Crisp, B. F. 2007. "Incentives in mixed-member electoral systems: general election laws, candidate selection procedures, and cameral rules." *Comparative Political Studies* 40 (12), 1460-85.

Crisp, Brian F., Maria C. Escobar-Lemmon, Bradford S. Jones, Mark P. Jones, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. 2004. "Vote-seeking Incentives and Legislative Representation in Six Presidential Democracies." *The Journal of Politics* 66 (3): 823-846.

Markus Baumann, Marc Debus, and Tristan Klingelhöfer, "Keeping One's Seat: The Competitiveness of MP Renomination in Mixed-Member Electoral Systems," *The Journal of Politics* 79, no. 3 (July 2017): 979-994.

February 8: Roll Call Voting

Carruba, 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: 691–704.

Carey, John M. 2009. *Legislative Voting and Accountability*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 3 & 4).

Zucco, Jr., C. 2009. "Ideology or what? Legislative behavior in multiparty presidential settings." *The Journal of Politics* 71: 1076-1092.

Desposato, S. W., Kearney, M. C., & Crisp, B. F. 2011. "Using cosponsorship to estimate ideal points." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 36(4): 531-565.

Alemán, E., Micozzi, J. P., Pinto, P. M. and Saiegh, S. (2017), Disentangling the Role of Ideology and Partisanship in Legislative Voting: Evidence from Argentina. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. doi:10.1111/lsq.12182

February 15: Estimating Ideal Points (no readings)

There are no assigned readings for this class although it may be helpful to read the Poole et al. article below. I will provide you with raw roll call data (from Mexico) and you will transform it into a useable format to generate ideal points using W-Nominate. You will need Stata and R to perform these tasks. More details on this assignment will be provided in class.

Poole, Keith, Jeffrey Lewis, James Lo, and Royce Carroll. 2011. "Scaling Roll Call Votes with wnominate in R." *Journal of Statistical Software* 42(14): 1–21

February 22: Political Ambition and Legislative Careers

Samuels, David. 2003. *Ambition, Federalism, and Legislative Politics in Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 1-4, ~75 pages)

Epstein, David et al. 1997. "A Comparative Approach to Legislative Organization: Careerism and Seniority in the United States and Japan." *American Journal of Political Science* 41(3): 965-988.

Jones, M., Saiegh, S., Spiller, P. T., & Tommasi, M. 2002. "Amateur legislators— Professional politicians: The consequences of party-centered electoral rules in a federal system." *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 656-669.

Cunow, S., Ames, B., Desposato, S. and Renno, L. 2012. "Reelection and Legislative Power: Surprising Results from Brazil." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 37: 533–558.

Kernecker, T. (2016), Political Ambition in 14 Presidential Democracies. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 41: 393–417.

February 23: Individual research proposals are due electronically by 11:59pm.

March 1: Party Switching

Zielinski, Jakub, Kazimierz M. Slomczynski, and Goldie Shabad. 2005. "Electoral Control in New Democracies: The Perverse Incentives of Fluid Party Systems." *World Politics* 57(3): 365-395.

Heller, William B., and Carol Mershon. 2005. "Party Switching in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, 1996-2001." *The Journal of Politics* 67(2): 536-59.

Desposato, Scott W. 2006. "Parties for Rent? Ambition, Ideology, and Party Switching in Brazil's Chamber of Deputies." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(1): 62-80.

O'Brien, Diana Z., and Yael Shomer. 2013. "A Cross-National Analysis of Party Switching." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 38(1): 111-141.

Mershon, Carol, and Olga Shvetsova. 2013. "The Microfoundations of Party System Stability in Legislatures." *The Journal of Politics* 75(4): 865-878.

Kerevel, Yann P. 2017. "The Costs and Benefits of Party Switching in Mexico." *Latin American Politics & Society* 59(1): 28-51.

March 8: Candidate Selection Methods

We will calculate Rice scores in class with Mexican roll call data. Please bring your computer.

Hazan, R.Y. and Rahat, G., 2006. "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.

De Luca, M., Jones, M. P., & Tula, M. I. 2002. "Back rooms or ballot boxes? Candidate nomination in Argentina." *Comparative Political Studies* 35: 413-436.

Hix, S., 2004. "Electoral institutions and legislative behavior: Explaining voting defection in the European Parliament." *World Politics* 56(02): 194-223.

Shomer, Y., 2009. "Candidate Selection Procedures, Seniority, and Vote-Seeking Behavior." *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(7): 945-970.

Robinson Preece, Jessica. 2014. "How the Party Can Win in Personal Vote Systems: The "Selector Connection" and Legislative Voting in Lithuania." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 39(2): 147-167.

Shomer, Y. (2017), The Conditional Effect of Electoral Systems and Intraparty Candidate Selection Processes on Parties' Behavior. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 42: 63–96.

March 15: Executive-Legislative Relations

Raile, E. D., Pereira, C., & Power, T. J. 2011. "The executive toolbox: Building legislative support in a multiparty presidential regime." *Political Research Quarterly* 64: 323-334.

Saiegh, S.M., 2009. "Political prowess or "Lady Luck"? Evaluating chief executives' legislative success rates." *The Journal of Politics* 71(04): 1342-1356.

Alemán, Eduardo, and Ernesto Calvo. 2010. "Unified Government, Bill Approval, and the Legislative Weight of the President." *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 511-534.

Martin, L. W. and Vanberg, G. 2014. "Parties and Policymaking in Multiparty Governments: The Legislative Median, Ministerial Autonomy, and the Coalition Compromise." *American Journal of Political Science* 58: 979–996.

Hassan, M. and Sheely, R., 2017. Executive–Legislative Relations, Party Defections, and Lower Level Administrative Unit Proliferation: Evidence From Kenya. *Comparative Political Studies* 50(12): 1595-1631.

March 16: Literature Review Due @ 11:59pm.

March 22: Agenda-Setting

We will calculate roll rates in class with Mexican data. Please bring your computer.

Amorim Neto, Octavio, Gary Cox, and Matthew McCubbins. 2003. "Agenda Power in Brazil's Camara dos Deputados, 1989-98." *World Politics* 55 (July): 550-78.

Jones, M.P. and Hwang, W. 2005. "Party government in presidential democracies: Extending Cartel theory beyond the US Congress." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(2): 267-282.

Calvo, E., & Sagarzazu, I. 2011. "Legislator success in committee: Gatekeeping authority and the loss of majority control." *American Journal of Political Science*, 55(1), 1-15.

Jenkins, J. A. and Monroe, N. W. 2016. "On Measuring Legislative Agenda-Setting Power." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(1): 158–174.

Yadav, Vineeta. 2012. "Legislative Institutions and Corruption in Developing Country Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 45: 1027-1058.

Funk, Kendall D., Laura Morales and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. 2017. "The Impact of Committee Composition and Agendas on Women's Participation: Evidence from a Legislature with Near Numerical Equality." *Politics & Gender* 13(2): 253-75.

March 29: no class, spring break

April 5: (no class, MPSA)

circulate rough drafts for peer review

April 12: Competing Principals

Carey, J. M. 2007. "Competing principals, political institutions, and party unity in legislative voting." *American Journal of Political Science* 51: 92-107.

Langston, Joy. 2010. "Governors and "Their" Deputies: New Legislative Principals in Mexico." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 35(2): 235-58.

Kerevel, Yann. 2015. "(Sub)national Principals, Legislative Agents: Patronage and Political Careers in Mexico." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(8): 1020-1050.

Tavits, Margit. 2011. Power Within Parties: The Strength of the Local Party and MP Independence in Postcommunist Europe." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(4): 922-935.

Kirkland, J. H. and Harden, J. J. (2016), Representation, Competing Principals, and Waffling on Bills in US Legislatures. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 41: 657-686.

April 19: No class, work on papers

April 26: Final Presentations

May 3: Final Papers Due @ 11:59pm.