

POLI 7971: Comparative Legislatures

Thursdays: 9:00 – 11:50am

Location: 210 Stubbs or Zoom (subject to change throughout semester)

Professor: Dr. Yann Kerevel

Office Hours: By Zoom appointment only. Email to schedule a meeting.

Office: 230 Stubbs

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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 Materials

Most readings are journal articles easily available through LSU Libraries. Due to changes in library subscriptions, it is possible some journal articles are not available. If you find an article is not available through LSU, email me and I will post it on Moodle. Additional readings not available through online databases will be posted on the Moodle course page.

If you do not have STATA installed on your computer, please let me know.

Evaluation

Weekly writing assignments and discussion questions: 15%

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, with an emphasis on question #6. In addition to writing the 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 7am** 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: 20%

Each student will be assigned one article per week to lead the discussion of that article.

I expect all students to attend 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. Accommodations/exceptions will be made for students who fall seriously ill or have other unforeseen events arise related to the pandemic. Please contact me with any concerns.

If the professor or any student is required to quarantine (or has any COVID symptoms), but is still capable of participating in class via Zoom, the entire class will be held via Zoom.

Research Talk Attendance: 5%

You must attend (on Zoom) two LSU political science talks during the semester that typically occur on Fridays. A brief 1-page response paper is due for each talk you attend.

Exam: 20%

Near the end of the course, there will be a take-home essay exam designed to mimic the format of comprehensive exams. The questions will relate to the assigned readings in the course. I highly recommend taking detailed notes of the readings as you read throughout the semester to be prepared for this exam. The exam will be given out November 16th and due November 23rd.

Final Paper: 40%

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 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 3-4 page proposal is due electronically on October 15th. 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.

- **Rough Draft:** On November 15th, 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 and will then be circulated back to the authors along with comments from the professor.
- **Research Presentation:** On December 3rd, each student will give an 8-10 minute formal presentation of their research paper to the class via Zoom.
- **Final Paper:** A polished version of the final paper is due December 13th. Students should submit an electronic version through Turnitin on Moodle.

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

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.

Other Policies

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 and/or be asked to leave the graduate program.

COVID-19 Statement:

We remain under pandemic conditions and expect to be in this state for the entire semester. In order to consistently provide the highest quality LSU education, all students should follow current LSU guidelines. These include the following:

1. If you have any signs of illness, do not come to class.
2. In order to protect all campus community members, the University requires everyone to wear facemasks/cloths on campus. Failure to do so is a violation of the code of student conduct.
3. Wash hands with soap and water or clean with sanitizer frequently, and refrain from touching your face.
4. If you have to cough or sneeze unexpectedly, please be mindful of others nearby and cough or sneeze into your elbow or shield yourself the best you can.
5. If you have been exposed to others who have tested positive for COVID-19, self-quarantine consistent with current CDC guidelines.

Daily Symptom Checker:

You are required to respond to a daily symptom check request sent via email or text message each morning. Completing the symptom checker will take approximately one to two minutes. Once you have provided information about your symptoms, you will be given feedback on whether or not you are certified to return to campus and attend your classes. Additionally, if you test positive for COVID-19, you are required to report it in your daily symptom checker application.

Resources for Students:

Your health and safety are LSU's top priority. If you are feeling ill or overwhelmed with anxiety, please contact the LSU Student Health Center for medical advice and mental health support. General health care and mental health support are available for all enrolled students through telehealth appointments.

Schedule of Required Readings (course schedule subject to change)

August 27: First Class, Introductions

- We will meet on Zoom for the first class

September 3: 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*.

September 10: 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.

September 17: 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, 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.
- Barnes, T.D. and Holman, M.R., 2020. Gender Quotas, Women's Representation, and Legislative Diversity. *The Journal of Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1086/708336>.

September 24: 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
- 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.

October 1: Political Ambition and Legislative Careers

- Samuels, David. 2003. *Ambition, Federalism, and Legislative Politics in Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 1-4, ~75 pages)
- 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.
- O'Grady, T., 2019. Careerists versus coal-miners: welfare reforms and the substantive representation of social groups in the British labour party. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(4), pp.544-578.

October 8: 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.

October 15: No Class

- Research Proposals Due

October 22: Candidate Selection Methods

- 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.
- 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 "Selectorial 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.
- Ascencio, Sergio, and Yann Kerevel. 2020. "Party Strategy, Candidate Selection, and Legislative Behavior in Mexico." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/lsg.12300>

October 29: 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.
- Bárcena, Sergio, and Yann Kerevel. "Legislative Effectiveness in Multiparty Presidential Systems: Evidence from Mexico's Chamber of Deputies." Working Paper.

November 5: Agenda-Setting

- 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.

November 12: Work on Papers

November 15: Rough Drafts Due

November 16: Exam passed out

November 19: Peer Reviews Due

November 23: Exam Due

November 26: NO CLASS, Thanksgiving

December 3: Final Presentations (on Zoom)

December 13: Final Papers Due