

## Summer Term 2013

Prof. Dr. André Kaiser

### Comparative Political Institutions: Bicameralism

Class Time: Fri 12:00 – 13:30 h  
Classroom: Hörsaal des Forschungsinstituts  
First session: 12 April 2013

#### Course description:

Most modern parliaments are bicameral in structure, i.e. they are composed of two chambers. This is virtually the only characteristic all bicameral parliaments have in common. Even in democratic political systems, second chambers differ dramatically with regard to their composition, to the way their members are selected, to their functions and competences and to the way bicameral conflicts are resolved. This seminar starts with an overview on historical and systematic reasons given for a bicameral parliamentary structure. We will then focus on a number of important country cases in detail. Finally we will consider the conditions under which second chambers in modern democracies are efficient and legitimate institutions.

#### Logistics:

Enrolment will take place in the first and second sessions. After that, no further enrolments will be accepted. Students are expected to:

- attend sessions regularly
- actively contribute to classroom discussions
- complete assigned readings according to schedule
- Master students: to give oral presentations of assigned readings and hand in a research paper of 15-20 pages in length on 1 September 2013 at the latest (late assignments will be penalized, unless prior arrangements are made!), others: depending on "Prüfungsordnung".

Since most reading assignments are in English, this will be the general classroom language as well. Participants therefore must know enough English to be able to participate actively. Perfection is not required – you just need to understand and make yourself understood.

#### Office Hour:

Tues 11:30 – 12:30 hrs

#### Introductory and General Readings:

Suzanne S. Schüttemeyer/Roland Sturm. 'Wozu Zweite Kammern? Zur Repräsentation und Funktionalität Zweiter Kammern in westlichen Demokratien'. *Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen* 23 (1992), pp. 517-36.  
Arend Lijphart. *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*, New Haven/London: Yale University Press 1999, pp. 200-215.  
Gisela Riescher/Sabine Ruß/Christoph Haas (eds). *Zweite Kammern*. Munich: Oldenbourg 2010, 2nd edition.  
Samuel C. Patterson/Anthony Mughan (eds). *Senates. Bicameralism in the Contemporary World*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press 1999.

#### Reading assignments:

A reader with the required texts will be made available to participants from early April at the chair.

For additional material up to the year 2002 (for your class presentations and research papers) please search in the Inter-Parliamentary Union's PARLIT Database: <<http://www.ipu.org/parlit-e/parlitsearch.asp>>. For more recent material please search Google Scholar or Social Sciences Citation Index.

#### Course Schedule:

12 April Introduction

Please search the Inter-Parliamentary Union's PARLINE Database (<http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp>) in order to answer the following questions: (1) What is the proportion of bicameral parliaments of all parliaments in the database? (2) What is the proportion of bicameral parliaments in Western Europe? (3) What is the range and the mean of the number of members of second chambers in Western Europe? (4) Is there any systematic relationship between bicameralism and country size?

19 April Why second chambers?

- REF: George Tsebelis/Jeanette Money. *Bicameralism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997, pp. 15-43. William Riker. 'The Justification of Bicameralism'. *International Political Science Review* 13/1 (1992), pp. 101-16. Thomas H. Hammond/Gary J. Miller. 'The Core of the Constitution'. *American Political Science Review* 81 (1987), pp. 1155-74.
- 26 April Germany: Bundesrat
- REF: Werner Patzelt. The Very Federal House: The German Bundesrat. In: Patterson/Mughan, 59-92. Philip Manow/Simone Burkhardt. Die Dauer der Gesetzgebungstätigkeit und die Herrschaft über den parlamentarischen Zeitplan – eine empirische Untersuchung des Legislativprozesses in Deutschland. In: Steffen Ganghof/Christoph Hönnige/Christian Stecker (eds), *Parlamente, Agendasetzer und Vetospieler. Festschrift für Herbert Döring*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften 2009, 53-67.
- 3 May Australia: Senate
- REF: John Uhr. Generating Divided Government: The Australian Senate. In: Patterson/Mughan, pp. 93-119. Meg Russell/Meghan Benton. (Re)assessing Parliamentary Policy Impact: The Case of the Australian Senate. *Australian Journal of Political Science* 45 (2010), pp. 159-74. Stanley Bach. Senate Amendments and Legislative Outcomes in Australia, 1996–2007. *Australian Journal of Political Science* 43 (2008), pp. 395-423.
- 10 May Britain: House of Lords
- André Kaiser. House of Lords and Monarchy: British majoritarian democracy and the current reform debate on its pre-democratic institutions. In Peter Catterall/Ulrike Jordan/Wolfram Kaiser (eds), *Reforming the Constitution: Debates in Twentieth-Century Britain*. London: Frank Cass 2000, pp. 97-128. Meg Russell. A Stronger Second Chamber? Assessing the Impact of House of Lords Reform in 1999 and the Lessons for Bicameralism. *Political Studies* 58 (2010), pp. 866-85.
- 17 May USA: Senate
- REF: Norman J. Ornstein/Robert L. Peabody/David W. Rohde. The U.S. Senate. Toward the Twenty-First Century. In: Lawrence C. Dodd/Bruce I. Oppenheimer (eds.), *Congress Reconsidered*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press 1997, 6<sup>th</sup> ed., pp. 1-28. Christoph M. Haas, Zweite Kammer erster Klasse: der US-Senat. In: Riescher/Ruß/Haas, 25-59.
- 31 May France and Ireland
- REF: Jean Mastias. A Problem of Identity: The French Sénat. In: Patterson/Mughan, 162-98. Sabine Ruß. Der französische Senat: Die Schildkröte der Republik. In: Riescher/Ruß/Haas, 361-88. Florian Braune. Seanad Éireann. Die Zweite Kammer Irlands. In: Riescher/Ruß/Haas, 433-50.
- 7 June Systematic Analysis I: Selection of the Members of Second Chambers.
- REF: Arend Lijphart. *Patterns of Democracy*, pp. 200-215. Meg Russell. Elected Second Chambers and Their Powers: An International Survey. *Political Quarterly*, 83 (2012), pp. 117-29.
- 14 June Systematic Analysis II: Functions and Competences of Second Chambers
- REF: Arend Lijphart. *Patterns of Democracy*, 200-215. Meg Russell. Elected Second Chambers and Their Powers: An International Survey. *Political Quarterly*, 83 (2012), pp. 117-29.
- 21 June Systematic Analysis III: How are Bicameral Conflicts Resolved?
- REF: George Tsebelis/Bjørn Erik Rasch. Patterns of Bicameralism. In: Herbert Döring (ed.), *Parliaments and Majority Rule in Western Europe*. Frankfurt/New York: Campus, St Martin's Press 1995, pp. 365-90.
- 28 June Wrapping Up: Efficiency and Legitimacy of Second Chambers
- REF: Gisela Riescher/Sabine Ruß. Zur Funktion von Zweiten Kammern in modernen Demokratien. In: Riescher/Ruß/Haas, 507-32. Anthony Mughan/Samuel C. Patterson. Senates: A Comparative Perspective. In: Patterson/Mughan, 333-49. Adrian Vatter. 'Politische Institutionen und ihre Leistungsfähigkeit. Der Fall des Bikameralismus im internationalen Vergleich'. *Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen* 33 (2002), pp. 125-143.