



# „Going Home“

By Danny Schindler / Sven T. Siefken<sup>1</sup>

Date October 15, 2011

## “Going Home” – Members of the German Bundestag Working Their Constituencies

presented at the international workshop “Changing Modes of Parliamentary Representation”  
organized by IPSA RCLS and RECON WP3  
Prague, October 14 – 15, 2011  
- not for publication -

Abstract .....	2
1 Understanding Representation – Concepts, Results and Open Questions .....	3
1.1 Representation as a Theoretical Concept.....	3
1.2 Questions for Research .....	4
2 “Citizens and Representatives in France and Germany” .....	6
2.1 Project Overview – Two (times two) comparative perspectives.....	6
2.2 Structured “Soaking and Poking” – our Approach of Collecting Data .....	6
2.3 Multiple Methods for Data Analysis.....	11
3 Some First Glances at the Data .....	12
3.1 Observations Performed .....	12
3.2 Are MPs Listening or Leading? .....	15
3.3 Are MPs Generalists or Specialists? .....	17
3.4 Are MPs with Direct Mandate Different from MPs Elected Through Party List? .....	20
4 Outlook.....	25
5 References.....	26

<sup>1</sup> Danny Schindler, Researcher, [danny.schindler@politik.uni-halle.de](mailto:danny.schindler@politik.uni-halle.de); Sven T. Siefken, Assistant Professor, [sven.siefken@politik.uni-halle.de](mailto:sven.siefken@politik.uni-halle.de), Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Institut für Politikwissenschaft, 06099 Halle (Saale).

## **Abstract**

Representation is a key issue for understanding the structure of modern democracies. Thus, empirical research rightly focuses on MPs which – directly elected by the people – have a central position in the chain of legitimation. In the German case, the work of MPs in parliament has been thoroughly illuminated. However, the scholarly view on practices of representation in the constituencies is underdeveloped and often underappreciated, even though they provide the “rootage” (Werner J. Patzelt) of a parliamentary democracy. In particular, there have been no studies collecting data through systematic observations of the constituency work. Using this method will shed light thoroughly on what MPs are doing while “going home” (Richard Fenno), how they are behaving, who they are communicating with – and what difference it makes. The project CITREP (“Citizens and Representatives in France and Germany”) accompanies 60 German MPs in their districts for three days each. A range of empirical questions are addressed dealing with the MPs’ local activities and possible influencing variables such as political party, mode of electoral recruitment or characteristics of the district. CITREP has a comparative approach as teams in Stuttgart and Bordeaux investigate the practices of French MPs in their districts and the orientation and expectation of the general population towards MPs’ constituency work in Germany and France. Our paper will introduce the employed observation methods for the constituencies in Germany including the approach for selecting MPs and constituencies. It will present and illustrate research experiences during the observations serving as an inspiration for similar endeavors in other countries. With the data collection completed later this summer, preliminary findings from the field and first hypotheses will be presented and discussed.

# 1 Understanding Representation – Concepts, Results and Open Questions

## 1.1 Representation as a Theoretical Concept

Representation is a key issue for understanding the structure of modern democracies<sup>2</sup>. It is regarded as essential for any large-scale nation state and seen as one of the most important topics even by scholars formerly focused on direct, participatory democracy (see Mansbridge 2011: 628 f.). Above all, it is the parliament to which the idea and practice of representation refers. Thus, political science rightly focuses on its members who – directly elected by the people – have a central position in the chain of legitimation.

Nevertheless the meaning of representation is often undetermined in practice and in the scholarly debates. Hanna F. Pitkin's (1967: 209) definition of representation as “acting in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them” provides a good entry point. Crucial for representation is that it also includes independent activities on the side of the representatives and that they are not bound in their decision by the people. “It requires independent action in the interest of the governed, in a manner at least potentially responsive to them, yet not normally in conflict with their wishes” (Pitkin 1967: 222). In this respect representation is neither a static nor a unidirectional but a dynamic relationship. Such an understanding of representation acknowledges that representatives are elected by the people but can act independently from them while at the same time being accountable to them – ultimately at the next election. Thus, representation has also been characterized as an interactive process with two major dimensions: responsiveness and leadership.

Elections are a key feature of every democratic system as they authorize and sanction representatives. However, from a democratic point of view also the time between elections counts – at least if one does not follow a minimalist conception of democracy like Joseph Schumpeter for whom „democracy means only that the people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the men who are to rule them” (Schumpeter 1947: 285). Accordingly, the processes of communication taking place in-between elections have to be taken into account. This is the theoretical base for focusing on MPs in their constituencies.

Such a concept of representation (as a continuous and dynamic relationship) largely corresponds to Jane Mansbridge's (2003: 516) model of „anticipatory representation“ that differentiates four forms: „Promissory representation“ focuses on elections and assumes stable and exogenous preferences; in the end, the next election is to decide if an MP has kept his promises made in the authorizing election. In contrast, the “anticipatory model” acknowledges reciprocal communication and influence in-between elections and the MPs' “role as potential initiators and educators“ in this regard (ibid.: 518). What matters for the success of representation is the quality and intensity of communication: “The better the communication between voter and repre-

---

<sup>2</sup> We thank Suzanne S. Schüttemeyer and Paul Rundquist for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper, Servan Deniz, Benjamin Greiner and Florian Hübner for their support in compiling and analyzing the data, and the CITREP team for the observations conducted.

sentative ... the better the representation" (ibid.: 519). Constituency work is at least one part in this process of "continuing representation" (ibid.). To complete Mansbridge's models, her third form of representation is labeled "gyroscopic representation" – representatives here act without external incentives and are accountable not to their voters, but only their own principles –, her fourth form is named "surrogate representation" – which means representation without an electoral relationship. The four models are not mutually exclusive and they all stand for both legitimate and empirically relevant forms of representation. However, our subject – the ongoing processes of communication in the district – can be conceptualized best by the anticipatory model.

It is important to distinguish two analytical levels. First, most models see representation in a systemic frame. In the words of Pitkin, it is not an individual person or any single action but "the overall structure and functioning of the system" that counts (Pitkin 1967: 221). As a sub-category we can also speak of "collective representation" if we focus on parliament only and ask for the way it represents the people as a whole institution (see Weissberg 1978: 540). Second, the micro-political level is relevant, i.e. the relationship between a representative and his constituency so that representation is not a systemic feature but a dyadic relationship. However, this is only an analytical differentiation without any further assumptions concerning what MPs do. For example, although one can find such blending in the literature, the dyadic focus does not imply the assumption that MPs uniformly act as independent entrepreneurs or that they only represent local interests. Additionally it is a most plausible assumption that representation at the systemic or collective level is not only the sum of all dyadic relationships. As „collective representation exists in addition to dyadic representation“ (Weissberg 1978: 547), it is something more.

The classic differentiation of MPs goes back to the ideas expressed in Edmund Burke's (1775) "Speech to the Electors of Bristol" in 1774. It distinguishes between the role of trustee and delegate (see Wahlke et al. 1962: 267) and is further expanded by constituency or areal roles in terms of the focus of representation as district or state oriented (ibid.: 289). Referring to the focus of constituency work they identified three roles: "errand boy", "communicator" and "mentor" (ibid. 1962: 304). The most recent considerations on the classic trustee-delegate-debate led Andrew Rehfeld (2009) to specify three distinct features: the aims of representatives (the good of all or of a part?), their source of judgment to determine that aim (own judgment or third party?), the degree of responsiveness to sanctions (induced or gyroscopic representatives?). In combination, then, those features add up to eight types of which trustee and delegate are only two (see Mansbridge 2011 for criticism).

## **1.2 Questions for Research**

In the German case the parliamentary work of MPs has been thoroughly illuminated. What is underdeveloped and even underappreciated, however, is the scholarly view on practices of representation in the district. In particular there have been no studies collecting data through systematic observations there.

This is a deficit not only because constituencies provide the “rootage” (Patzelt 1993: 415) of a parliamentary democracy. Beside all normative or legitimacy reasons it is the MPs themselves who claim the importance of their work while “going home” (Fenno 2003). In Germany, 98 % of all MPs judge their constituency work as “important” or “very important” (see Ismayr 2001: 86). It is here where direct face-to-face contacts with the people are most possible – that means contacts which are not distorted by the imperatives of modern media coverage and by the logic of selection according to news values.

There are some comprehensive empirical studies on constituency work in Germany. They have considered, for example, the MP’s own understanding of his job (on average seeing himself as trustee pursuing the common good, see Patzelt 1996: 468f., 500) or traced his broad and deep networks of interaction in the local political and pre-political space (see Patzelt 1993, Patzelt/Algasinger 2001). Much of our research is based on their findings. But none of those studies employs the method of participant observation in a systematic manner. To interview MPs is certainly important. However, interviews picture what MPs say not what they do. As we know from the methodological literature, daily practices are often hard to tell since they are a matter of course or even since they have not been reflected by respondents (see Schöne 2005: 194). And, of course, we can add to this the problem of social desirability. In short, despite its own methodological caveats, long-standing participant observations are a good method to further scrutinize what MPs do and how they do it. The pioneer studies in this field have been done by Richard Fenno who observed 18 US-Congressmen during the 1970s for 110 days altogether. He looked at three ingredients of “home style”: first the MP’s allocation of resources; secondly his presentation of self (presentational style) in the context of which an MP conveys a sense of competence, identification, or empathy; thirdly his explanation of legislative activity (explanatory style) (see Fenno 1977, 1978).

To sum it up: The issue of representation is important from a theoretical and a practical point of view and deserves further attention. However, the concept of representation is complex and full of tensions and expansions.

The following chapter introduces the project “Citizens and Representatives in France and Germany” and the employed methods and research experience for the German case. Afterwards a preliminary look will be taken at the current data. It will be guided by three first brief glances concerning questions in regard to representation and the work of MPs in their districts:

- As mentioned above, an old challenge for researchers on representation is to illuminate the MP activities according to the trustee-delegate differentiation. Of course, reality includes complex tensions between the two roles, but for our very first look at the data we ask in a simple-minded fashion: Are MPs listening or leading in their district?
- Systems theory posits an ongoing functional differentiation leading to problems in the communication between societal sub-systems (see Luhmann 1997: 595). Parliamentary Scholars have warned that the separation of labor in the parliament can be overdone and have dysfunctional effects (see Schüttemeyer 1998: 319). This relates to a more general discussion

about the role of experts and knowledge (see Weingart 2001). Based on this diagnosis we ask whether there are indications that this extends to the district work, too: Are MPs acting as generalists or specialists in their constituencies?

- Ignoring numerous and strong systemic and empirical counter-arguments, comparative and international studies repeatedly take the German electoral system as a laboratory case for investigating the effects of election rules on MP behavior. We don't believe in that assumption but nevertheless ask our data concerning the district work: Are MPs with a direct mandate different from those elected through party list?

All of these questions deserve much further attention and more substantial analyses than can be provided at this point of time. However with the data collection still ongoing curiosity let us take a first look – and share it with the community of legislative experts.

## **2 “Citizens and Representatives in France and Germany”**

### **2.1 Project Overview – Two (times two) comparative perspectives**

CITREP (“Citizens and Representatives in France and Germany”) is a joint research project at the universities of Bordeaux, Stuttgart and Halle<sup>3</sup>. It is studying representation within the constituencies and follows two central questions: How is representation functioning within the constituencies in Germany and France, and how is it perceived by the people?

Thus CITREP has a comparative approach in two regards. First, we are taking two perspectives to look at representation. On the one hand, we investigate the practices of MPs in their constituencies using participant observation and semi-structured interviews. On the other hand our focus is on citizens, i.e. their normative ideals and evaluation of practices of representation based on representative population surveys. The results of both perspectives can be compared within one country then. Secondly, we are looking at the normative foundations, perceptions and practices of representation in Germany and France in comparison – to find and explain similarities and differences between the two political systems. The field work will be completed in 2011 and the final report submitted in early 2013.

This paper presents first findings on the constituency work of MPs in Germany. The comparative analyses will be performed later.

### **2.2 Structured “Soaking and Poking” – our Approach of Collecting Data**

In order to study the practices of German MPs we accompany 60 legislators in their constituencies for three days each – in part following the “soaking and poking” (Fenno 1978: 249) approach, but instead of “just hanging around” (ibid.) looking at things in a structured fashion while leaving room for taking in – and reporting – all surprises. In doing so we address a range of em-

---

<sup>3</sup> CITREP is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the Agence Nationale de la Recherche (ANR). Project leaders are Suzanne S. Schüttemeyer (Halle), Oscar W. Gabriel (Stuttgart) and Eric Kerrouche (Bordeaux).

irical questions which also deal with possible influencing variables such as political party, mode of electoral recruitment as well as characteristics of the district and the MP.

### 2.2.1 Selecting and Approaching MPs

Before starting our field work we first had to select our observation units which were chosen by a theoretical sampling matching various criteria of MPs and their constituencies as factors possibly influencing constituency activities. By differentiating between primary and secondary criteria our selection was a two-stage process. This means we first chose MPs according to primary criteria. Concerning the constituencies those are:

- its rural or urban character, as measured by population density;
- its grade of industrialization, as measured by the share of employees in the fields of industry (mining and manufacturing industry);
- its age distribution, as measured by the share of persons aged 24 or younger and share of persons aged 60 or older<sup>4</sup>;
- its education level<sup>5</sup>, measured by two dimensions: share of people without (school) graduation and share of people with qualification for university entrance (“Abitur”);
- the number of citizens per district;
- the district’s unemployment rate.

The data are available from the Federal Statistical Office of Germany. For each criterion, the 30 districts (i.e. 10 %) with the highest and the 30 districts with the lowest values were identified, which served as a starting point for compiling the sample. The goal was to include some extreme values for all of those constituency-related criteria.

Another constituency-related criterion is the question if a district is a stronghold or diaspora of the MP’s party. In Germany for every party there is a ranking with their best and their worst district results for every election. CITREP then looked at the last five elections: districts which could be found at least four times in those best of-rankings are classified as stronghold, districts which could be found at least four times in the worst of-rankings are classified diaspora. Here, again, we tried to include some of the identified stronghold or diaspora districts in our sample.

Our MP-related criteria are:

- seniority (measured by terms in office);
- age;

---

<sup>4</sup> A great share of people aged 24 or younger means a young age level, a great share aged 60 or older means a high level. Thus, theoretically it is possible that opposed values can occur within the same district. A district theoretically can be characterized by a very old population and a very young population at the same time.

<sup>5</sup> A high share of people without graduation means a low educational level, a high share of people qualified for university entrance means a high education level. Again high and low educational levels can theoretically occur within one district.

- position (differentiated between MPs with leadership positions – in their party, in parliament or in government – and ordinary MPs);
- party;
- direct vs. list mandate.

For all those criteria our sample should not mirror the Bundestag in a mathematical sense, but it should reflect its variance to a sufficient degree.

In a second step, it is checked if the selection matches the secondary criteria and, if not, adjusted it accordingly. The following secondary criteria are used:

- geography, in Germany referring to the East vs. West;
- gender;
- MPs with migration background;
- the MPs' professional background;
- MPs changing their district and MPs affected by redistricting;
- districts with MPs from different parties (which means that several rivaling candidates from the same district are elected to the Bundestag; in one extreme case (Augsburg) the district candidates of all five parties were elected to the German Bundestag, one of them as MP with direct mandate, the other four through their respective party lists);
- for the big parties CDU/ CSU and SPD: party wings (for both parties we could identify membership since those intra-party groups are formally organized in parliament).

Altogether, thus, our sampling was performed as an iterative process. Choosing the last MPs it is like doing a puzzle as they have to meet various criteria at once. Our goal for selecting MPs was not to reach a representativeness compared to the Bundestag as a whole, but to secure at least an adequate balance.

Additionally, a cluster analysis was conducted with the following constituency-related primary criteria: character of district, grade of industrialization, age distribution, education level, number of citizens and unemployment rate<sup>6</sup>. The analysis shows 20 clusters which our sample of MPs and of constituencies has to cover in the end.

So far as of September 30, we have got 50 approvals for observations and 21 refusals. 43 observations have been completed, not all data are digitized and analyzed yet. In general the confirmed observations cover our primary and secondary criteria quite comprehensively. Choosing our last ten MPs, we have to look for districts with a very low educational level, for MPs belonging to the Left Party and the CSU, and for MPs with a professional background as teacher or

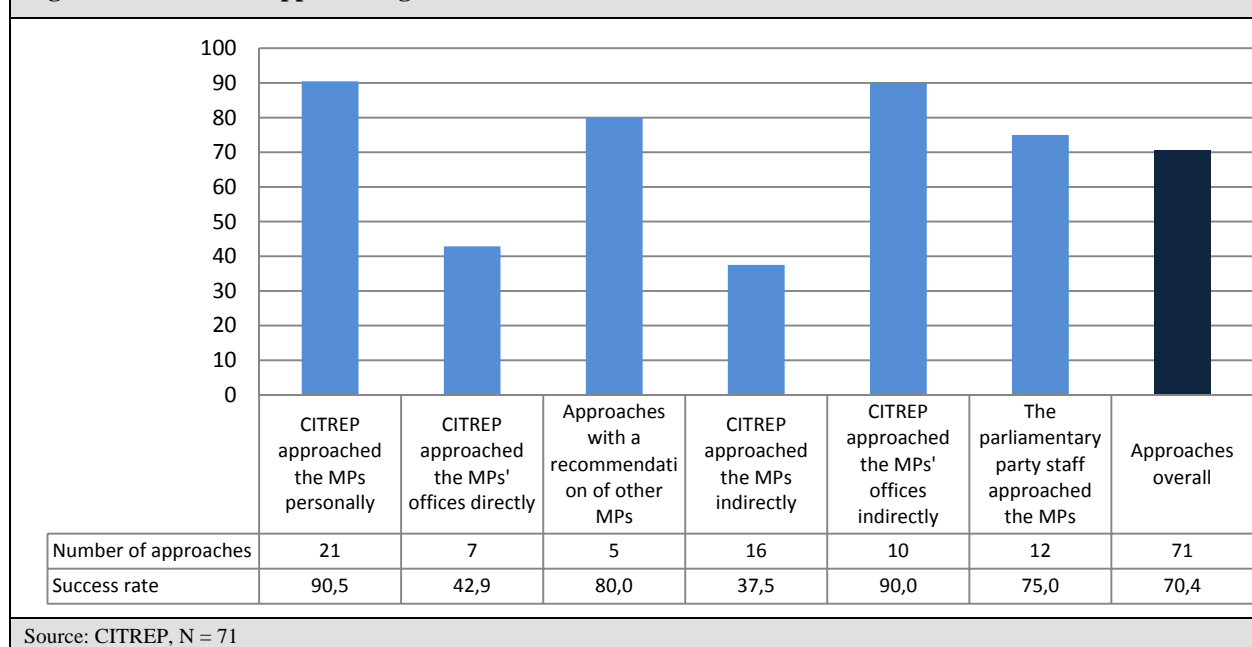
---

<sup>6</sup> We thank Florian Rabuza for his help in conducting the cluster analysis.



businessman. Our approvals are already covering the 20 clusters identified by the cluster analysis of all German constituencies.

**Figure 1: methods of approaching MPs and their success rates**



As to our methods to contact and convince MPs to participate in the study, the success rates vary greatly. CITREP used six ways (see figure 1):

- In general approaching MPs personally was the most successful. Of course, a pre-condition is to know them already personally or to get in contact with them directly, e.g. at a public political event, sometimes even by chance during travels.
- In contrast, if the MPs' offices were officially approached (second column) the success rate was rather low.
- It was more effective to use recommendations of other MPs (third column). Many MPs volunteered to recommend us to others. The total number of approaches is small, however.
- Another variant was to approach the MPs indirectly (fourth column), that is other people than the CITREP team who had been in touch with the MP before. The number of approaches was quite high while success was seldom achieved.
- However, approaching the MPs' office staff indirectly (fifth column), i.e. other people than the CITREP team used their personal contacts to the MPs' offices, was very effective.
- Also, approaching was quite successful if done by the parliamentary party staff (sixth column). That means our team contacted parliamentary party staff which in turn approached the MPs.

It was most successful when our team contacted either the MPs personally or the parliamentary party staff instead of contacting the MPs' offices. However, if people who had established good relationships to the MP's offices used these personal contacts, this was also an effective method of approaching.

The efforts to finally get an approval differ considerably. They range from a few emails to tenacious attempts over a period of months of repeated phone calls and canvassing. We even had one MP who turned down our request but at the same time invited us to her office in Berlin to talk about the project in general. We did so – and finally got to visit her in the district, too. To sum it up: In order to observe retail politics in action, we often had to perform retail research in greater depth than expected.

### **2.2.2 Instruments of Data Collection**

Data collection in each observation draws on three instruments: a field manual, an observation protocol, and an interview.

- The field manual is structured into various categories and most of its over 60 items are values-based assessments on a Likert-scale, so the observations are not as open as, for instance, ethnological ones. This is due to a great deal of previous knowledge available for the subject matter. We do not start like Fenno who began his observations by declaring: „I had no idea what questions to ask“ (Fenno 1978: 251). Nevertheless it also includes a few “open” items. A field manual is filled for each event during an observation and includes the type of event, structure of communication, content of communication, communication roles or media work. One field manual is filled out for each event attended during our observation time with the MP, adding up to between eight and sixteen manuals for each three-day observation. In the end, all observation data are analyzed anonymously but will be related to the criteria data.
- A semi-structured interview is conducted preferably at the closing of each three-day observation. It contains 21 questions covering constituency work, representation in general, communication and public relations, interconnection between constituency work and parliamentary activities and the connection between constituency work and special criteria relating to the MP and the constituency. In addition, some questions give the MP an opportunity to reflect on the past days of observation and ask how typical they have been. The interview is designed to take 25 minutes but with many open questions asked and some MPs talking extensively, they can take much longer.
- The observation protocol provides more detailed – and, of course, subjective – information about the observation. It is not to record the chronology of events or policy contents discussed but to deal with the question „what are they really like?“ (Fenno 2007: ix). Observers were given no specific demands for the protocol but a few issues were suggested as interesting: general atmosphere of communication, handling of disagreement, the appearance in general, and particularities beyond communication. The protocols can also be used to record showcase quotations of the MP or describe situations more fully than the field manual allows.

Ultimately, the observation protocols will be a base to complement the field manual and to illustrate the final research report.

All in all, 60 interviews will be conducted, 60 protocols will be written and roughly 600 events will be observed and coded. Those different types of data will be related to each other. For example observation data focusing on behavior can be combined with interview data focusing on attitudes (e.g. role orientations). When it comes to data analysis it will be kept in mind that the sampling is theoretical and not random and that only those MPs could be observed who agreed – which might cause some systematic error and boundaries for generalization.

Some essential supporting measures are worth pointing out. The first draft of the field manual was tested in three observations with two observers (one junior and one senior researcher each) in order to check for inter-coder-reliability and test the feasibility of data collection.

Based on those experiences a two-day workshop was conducted to train the 22 observers, mostly graduate and PhD-students. During this workshop the research design was introduced, expert interview situations were simulated, trial coding performed by using simulations and video analyses. In addition a handbook for participant observation was provided. The number of observers is admittedly not small, but it was necessary to make sure observations could be carried out at any time and place in Germany at short notice. After all, including travelling and coding each observation takes about five working days – so 60 observations are adding up to 300 days.

### **2.3 Multiple Methods for Data Analysis**

In devising the instruments for data collection special emphasis was put on securing comparability in the dimensions between MPs and general population and between France and Germany. Also a special focus lay on research continuity so that questions asked before would be repeated where possible.

The methods for data analysis are manifold. The centerpiece is an integrated data base with all the observed events and the data for the primary and secondary selection criteria. As the project progresses and new questions and hypotheses arise, further data will be included. Such has been done for committee and subcommittee membership of each observed MP and will later be done – if feasible – for the degree of party organization in their districts. That data will only be analyzed anonymously.

The conducted interviews with the MPs were taped, then transcribed with only minor adjustments in grammar and sentence structure. Taking into account that “academic people do not always realize what might be embarrassing to people active in politics” (Dexter 1964: 562) all the interviews were sent back to the MPs offices for authorization. Journalistic protocol was followed, for example when MPs gave background information not for citation (in Germany: “unter drei”) or not for attribution (“unter zwei”). However, most of the MPs made no or only minor changes to the original interview transcripts and mailed them back promptly.

To analyze the interviews two unified schemes are currently developed: A tagging scheme allows for the matching of certain statements to the topics of interest – this way, for example, a general statement about representation can also be included in the analysis if given in answering a question about the people in the MP's district. The second scheme is called coding scheme: It groups statements in the interviews so they can be analyzed quantitatively. Take for example the starting question of the interview: "When you think about your district, what do you see?" This intentionally leaves a lot of room for answers but it is probably possible to group the answers into morphology ("the countryside", "the river", "the meadows"), people ("voters", "citizens"), political actors ("interest groups", "my party"), businesses ("the car factory") etc. In this way it is possible to transform the qualitative interview data and integrate them into the quantitative data from the observations. On top of that the statements from the interviews will be used for illustration of the analysis.

More subjective data is provided by the protocols of the observers. They serve two purposes in the analysis of data: They are helpful for double-checking unclear or implausible entries in the observation sheets, but they will be used to identify areas of analysis that have not been thought of when constructing the observation sheets. Not surprisingly for Germany many observers comment on what car an MP is driving and how he is driving it – this seems to be an important part of the MP's "presentation of self in everyday life" (Goffmann 1990) in the district.

### **3 Some First Glances at the Data**

As the data collection is still going on, only some preliminary findings can be presented here. They are based on the 371 events during 37 observations in the districts that have been completed in Germany between January and September 2011 – also included are the data from our pretests in 2010. This comes up to a total of 580 hours of observation time. Due to the incompleteness and the current structure of our data, we only employ very simple methods of analysis in this paper.

For a first "cut" we follow the issues mentioned: Are MPs listening or leading? Are they generalists or specialists in their districts? And are directly mandated MPs different from those elected through party lists? These questions are not very differentiated yet and they can only be answered tentatively.

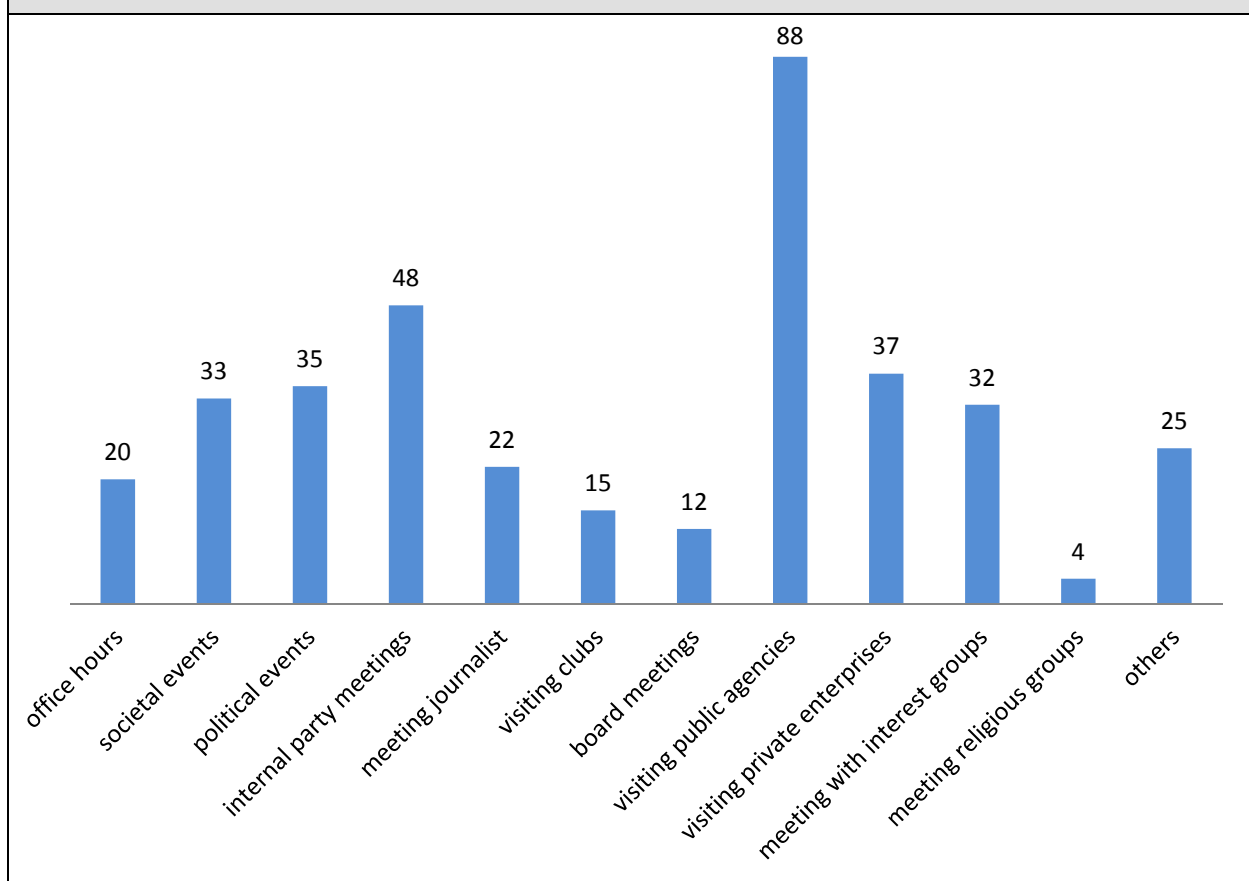
#### **3.1 Observations Performed**

The clear majority of the events observed are visits to public agencies in the districts: They make up about a quarter (23,7 %) of all events and range from visits to city halls and mayors, to schools, military facilities and social insurance agencies. The second highest number is scored by non-public party meetings, which make up around 13,9 % of all events. Adding visits to private enterprises (9,9 %) and public political events like town-hall meetings, party rallies etc. (9,4 %) already covers more than half of all events observed (56,1 %). In other words the most

simple answer to the question “where do MPs go to meet the people in their district?” is: To public and private enterprises – and to their respective parties.

The strong party orientation of MPs is not surprising in a parliamentary democracy where parties provide an important linkage function. This is consistent with the information that MPs have given about their own contact channels in previous surveys. For example, it has been found that the local party organization and local public agencies are the most important reference groups for MPs (see Patzelt 1996: 484) and that networking of MPs is strongest with holders of party and public offices (see Patzelt/ Algasinger 2001: 514f.). Not to neglect though, the observed MPs have spent more than 40 % of their time in other events such as office hours, social events, meeting with interest groups and others.

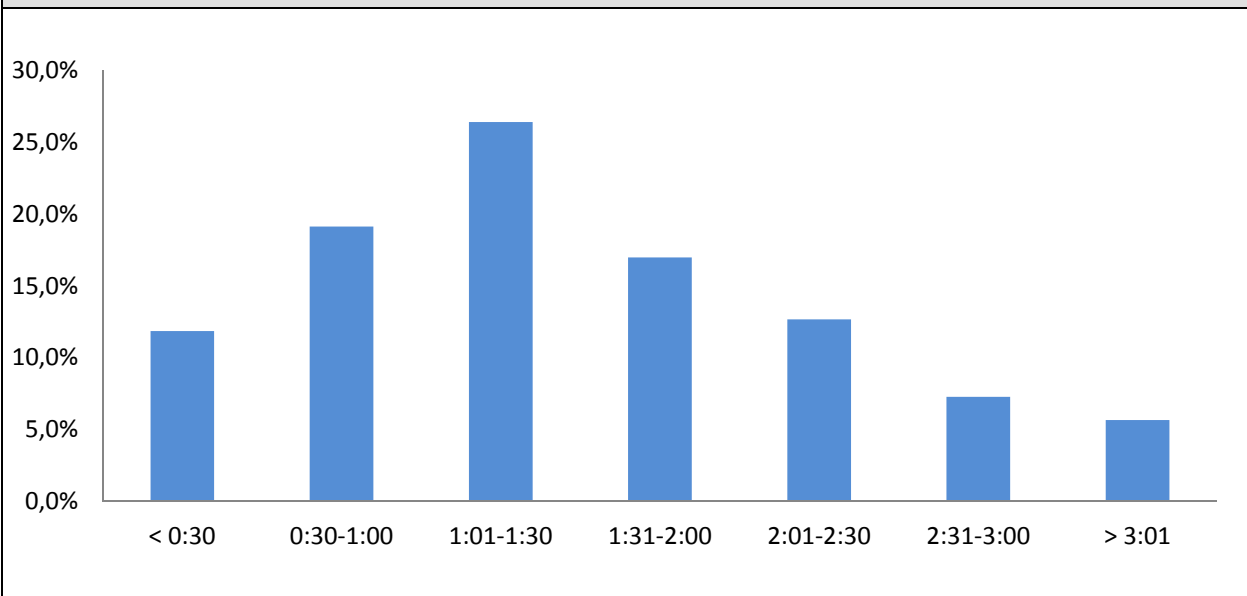
**Figure 2: type of events attended by observed MPs**



Source: CITREP, N = 371

In their district work, German MPs are neither rushing in-and-out nor do they sit back and relax: The average duration of the observed events is 1,5 hours and only very few last more than two hours. Of course, there is great variety in the duration according to the type of event but those will be analyzed later.

**Figure 3: duration of events attended by MPs (in hours)**



Source: CITREP, N = 371

So far, this paper has used “district work” without a clear definition and we will return to the intricacies of the issue in the German electoral system when we deal with the different types of mandates (see chapter 3.4). It needs to be mentioned here that it is possible to identify the district of almost each MP clearly – even though they might not be directly elected there – and that 75 % (n = 297) of the observed events actually took place in their own district.

For various reasons, we could not participate in all the events during our observations. Sometimes matters were too personal: For example, one MP went to visit her sick neighbor in the hospital but when the observer remarked “Well, this is not district work but more of a personal issue anyway”, the MP strongly rejected that statement: “No actually this is very much district work.”<sup>7</sup> Other events were too political in the judgment of the MPs, for example individual meetings with local politicians or sessions of party councils – or at the height of ongoing scandals in the department of defense an observer was even excluded by the event organizers from a session of the MP with regular soldiers on political education. However, we were let into 320 of all 371 (i.e. 86,2 %) events during our district visits – and the rest was coded according to the available information, sometimes just by the name of the event, sometimes the times and participants, too, and occasionally our MP would later on inform us about what had happened.

The employed sampling method for the MPs and the observations is not statistical. Due to the research design and the fact that MP’s offices in Germany are getting “flooded” with questionnaires from aspiring and inspiring political scientists, a huge turn-down rate would have to be expected. Thus after defining our selection criteria, matching MPs were looked for. One MP could, of course, fill various criteria at the same time, for example by being a female CSU mem-

<sup>7</sup> Observation protocol of an anonymous MP.

ber from a rural area with a high unemployment rate. The choice of days for the observation themselves was usually discussed with the MPs' offices and their appointment suggestions were mostly accepted, sometimes just with two days advance notice, sometimes with many months of planning ahead. There could be a bias through this self-selection of days for observations, however most of the times the MPs' staffers were just looking into the calendar to see when the next events in the district were coming up and suggesting them for a visit. That the self-selection of the observation days causes a systematic error is unlikely and would overestimate the importance of political science research in the eyes of politicians – they are used to being observed in their districts and elsewhere by party members, citizens, the news media – why should they change their behavior for political scientists who do not even mention their names? To be sure the observers were asked to write down any impressions of changed behavior in the MPs – and from the total observations only in five to ten cases, problems were reported – most of them dealing with the fact that the MP would introduce the observer personally and then talk about the importance of constituency work at length.

To get an impression if the events covered were regular or not, the MPs were asked directly during the concluding interviews whether those few last days had been typical of their district work. As all interviews need to be transcribed, authorized and then coded, only 14 interviews can be reported on at this point: 13 MPs said that what we had seen were typical or mostly typical events. Of course, some mentioned reservations like “typical is hard to say – no week is like the other. But what you got is a good overview about the kinds of activities that happen here in the district”<sup>8</sup>.

### **3.2 Are MPs Listening or Leading?**

At the core of representation are two elements: leadership and responsiveness. Patzelt's studies relying on survey research have shown that leadership is acknowledged as a vital duty but that it is the dimension of responsiveness which dominates the district work in practice (Patzelt 1996: 468). The observations support this finding. Indeed, responsiveness means much more than just listening, but to take in information is an essential precondition of it. At this point we will only look at that aspect of responsiveness.

Figure 4 shows that when MPs are in their district, they are more often listening and taking in information than providing strong leadership and their own opinions: While the feature of gathering information was very strong in 27,9 % of the observations and strong in 23,7 % providing leadership was very strong in 13,9 % and strong in 19,0 %.

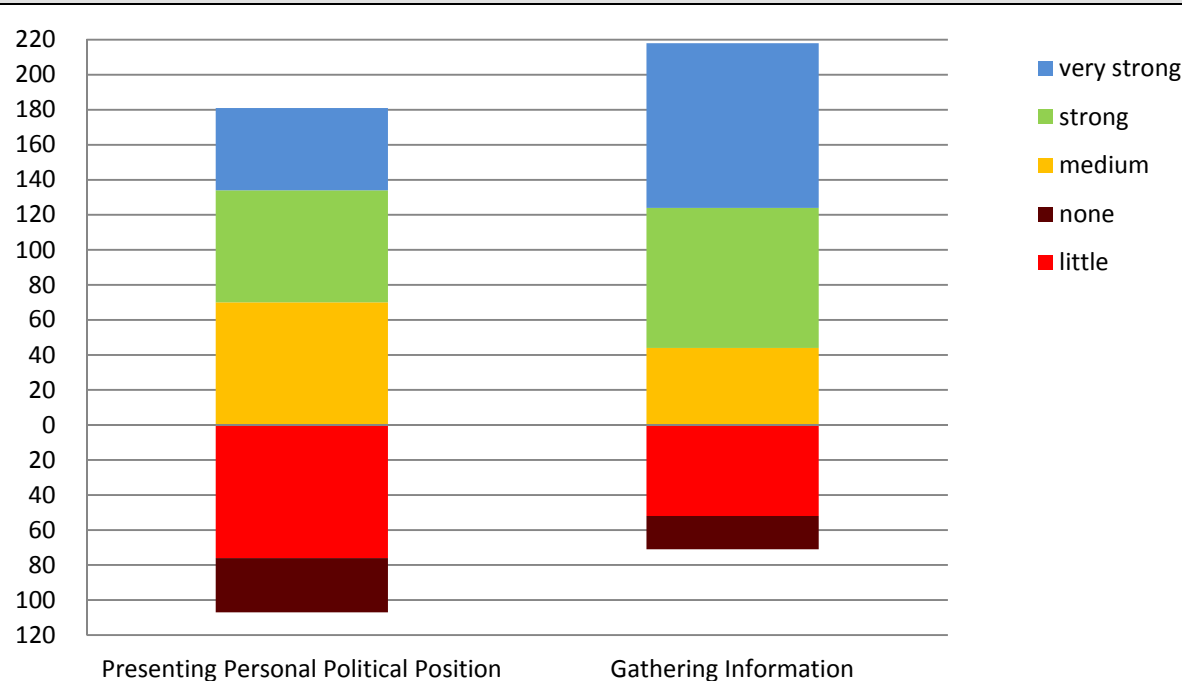
When asked which of the two was more important, the currently available interviews (N = 14) show a normal distribution that is slightly skewed: Six MPs said that both are equally important, three were stressing the importance of leadership, five said it was more important to collect information. One MP summed it up: “In my district work I find it not so important to give long

---

<sup>8</sup> Interview with anonymous MP.

speeches and explain how the world – and politics in Berlin – are currently working ... but I find it more important to listen.”<sup>9</sup>

**Figure 4: MPs presenting their positions or listening?**



Source: CITREP, N = 337, figure shows the number of events coded as “very strong”, “strong”, “little” and “none”; coding was done based on a Likert scale.

Obviously the two dimensions of representation are not easy to separate. The MPs made this clear in their interviews with us. One MP said: “To be a representative means both: lead and listen – in order to develop new leadership from there”<sup>10</sup>. Another MP added: “You should not always do what is currently popular but try to make popular what you consider to be right.”<sup>11</sup>

Relating his actions to the political majorities an MP formulated: “If you are in government sometimes you have to lead. ... if you are in the opposition you can be much more opportunist.”<sup>12</sup> The currently available interviews include only two MPs belonging to the governing majority, but interestingly, both of them clearly prioritized leadership in their given answers. This will be one of the hypotheses to be tested later. Others are differences in the communication style of high office holders versus regular MPs or the influence by the type of event following the finding that according to MPs the opportunities to talk about politics and in this regard to provide leadership mostly concentrates on contacts with functional elites and the MP’s own party (see Patzelt 1993: 454).

<sup>9</sup> Anonymous interview.  
<sup>10</sup> Interview with Ernst-Dieter Rossmann, SPD.  
<sup>11</sup> Interview with anonymous MP.  
<sup>12</sup> Interview with anonymous MP.



When MPs were talking about politics they were often talking about their own policy positions: In 111 out of 270 observations this was often or very often the case and by far the most frequent issue of discussion.

What could hardly be seen is a distancing of MPs from their own party (in 5,6 % of the observations witnessed as often and very often, N = 270) or from parliament as a whole (0,4 %, N = 270). What is known as a frequent strategy among U.S.-Congressman cannot be witnessed in Germany: “[T]hey often seek support and trust for themselves by encouraging a lack of support and trust in the Congress” (Fenno 1977: 917). Moreover, in 71,2 % of all events the MPs were justifying and explaining their own behavior or that of their party or politicians generally. It will be interesting to see if the remaining 28,8 % are concentrated on a particular type of MP.

All in all the first examination of the data supports the notion that in their districts, MPs are mostly listening but also leading. In the German case they seem to rarely resort to running “against Berlin” or their own party.

### **3.3 Are MPs Generalists or Specialists?**

It is often assumed that German MPs today have two distinct faces: Their work in parliament is highly specialized as mirrored by their committee memberships, while in the district they are acting as generalists speaking on many issues (see Ismayr 2001: 45). Jürgen von Oertzen (2006: 254) has formulated that ordinary MPs are “input-specialists”. He argues that their networks in the districts serve to bring important information and impulses on all issues into the parliament. Based on his interviews with MPs, Werner Patzelt (1995: 49) has developed a visual model that integrates those various perspectives and also includes the important intermediary role of party work and public relations.

Asked about the importance of their work in the districts for their parliamentary activities, many MPs used metaphors and images. One MP stated: “In Berlin you are in this spaceship and do not experience real life. Real life is here [in the district].”<sup>13</sup> Another MP said that district work was giving him “much grounding” (“Erdung”) and provided him with contacts and information which could not be seen from Berlin based on the files (“nach Aktenlage”)<sup>14</sup>.

These positions match the model devised by Patzelt where district work serves to inform political decision makers. In terms of David Easton (1965: 26f.) this could be described as the “input function” of district work. Also, one MP told us that “district work is very important [because] here we can see what consequences our political work in Berlin actually has”<sup>15</sup> – in the words of Easton (ibid.) it serves to take in feedback and evaluate policies.

---

<sup>13</sup> Interview with anonymous MP.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with MP Carsten Schneider, SPD.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with MP Josip Juratovic, SPD.

But a number of MPs also mentioned less concrete purposes of their district work. One senior MP and high office holder told us: “The district work gives me new energy – this is where I can relax”<sup>16</sup> – mirroring the feelings of U.S.-Senator Tom Daschle about his constituency contacts: “It energizes me” (quoted in Fenno 2007: 48). And one MP differentiated the type of work very clearly: “In parliament we are working on political processes and making laws. That is something different from solving a practical problem in the district.”<sup>17</sup>

From those few examples, four distinct functions of the district work can be distilled: input, feedback, energizing and no direct meaning. Our current impression is that they are to be seen in this descending order of importance, but this will be checked on a broader base once all interviews are completed, transcribed, authorized, coded and analyzed.

The follow-up question about the reverse direction of influence (“How does your expertise in parliament influence your district activities?”) was answered mostly in the negative. “The focus in parliament has relatively little to do with my district work ... these are two pairs of shoes.”<sup>18</sup> Often, MPs referred to the lack of interest or understanding of citizens: “The work I do in the foreign policy area ... is quite far away from the people [in my district]”<sup>19</sup>, “legal policy is a topic that is overarching and abstract”<sup>20</sup>.

Our preliminary conclusion based on a very small number of interviews will have to be investigated further: MPs do indeed exhibit the two faces of generalists in the district and specialists in parliament, but the district work serves as an important means for input and feedback from outside the “glass house”.

In moving from what MPs say about their work to what they actually did during the observations it is worth noting that most of the communication in the district actually deals with local issues (45,1 % of the observations had a large or very large share of them) followed by federal affairs (38,9 %) (see Figure 5). The policy issues discussed were clearly focused on social affairs, finance, the economy and education (see Figure 6).

---

<sup>16</sup> Interview with anonymous MP.

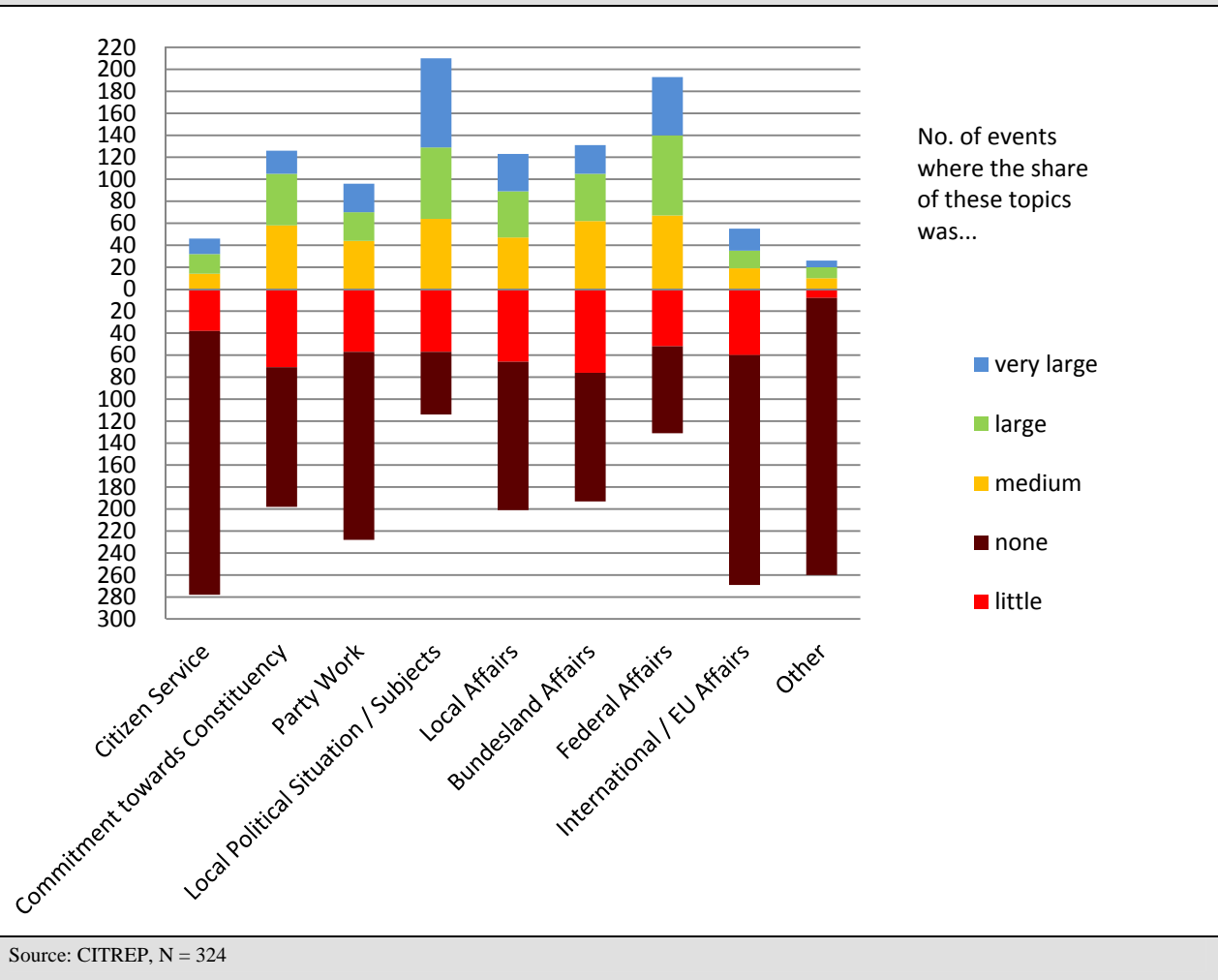
<sup>17</sup> Interview with Hans-Joachim Hacker, SPD.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Dieter Wiefelspütz, SPD.

<sup>19</sup> Interview with Stefan Liebich, Left Party.

<sup>20</sup> Interview with Stephan Thomae, FDP.

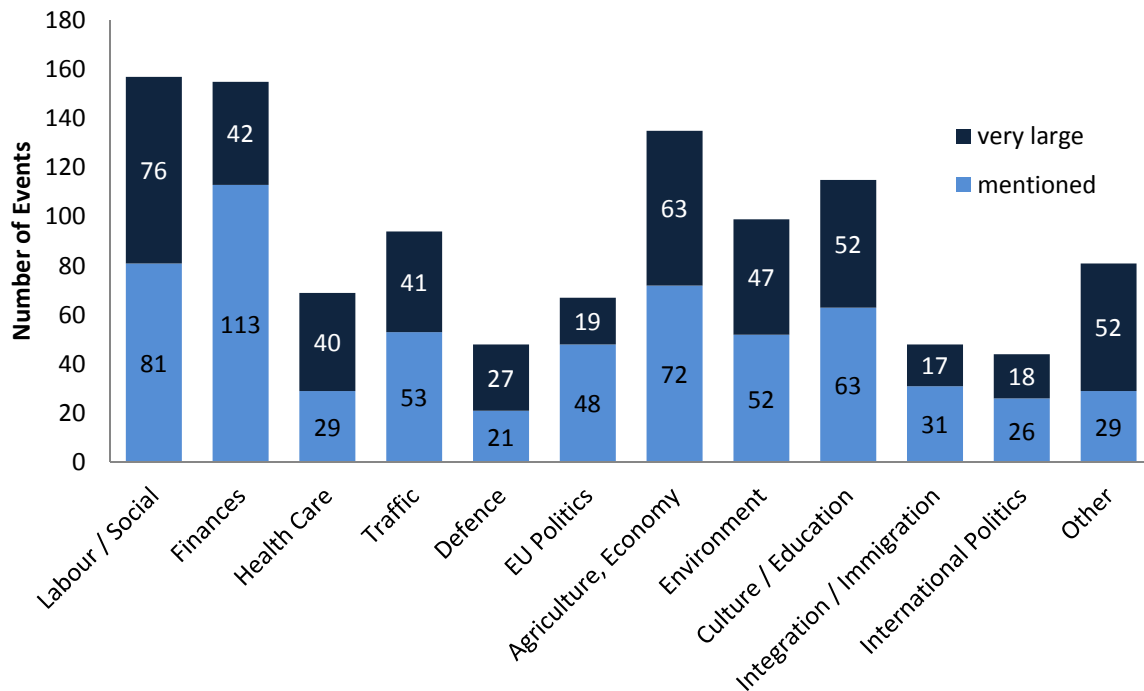
**Figure 5: issues discussed by MPs during events in constituencies**



It is not yet possible to statistically match policy issues and policy specialization of the MPs but a first glance proves interesting: The hypothesis to test for MP as specialist in the district is: An MP talks mostly about the issues of his own committee membership. 36 MPs could be analyzed so far. 29 of them had an above average share of discussion in their own field of expertise<sup>21</sup>. But a share well-above the average was only achieved by 12 MPs<sup>22</sup>. Half of those 12 were members of big parties, half were members of small parties. Interestingly the three top scores are all reached by members of the small parties who talked about their committee issues in 85 to 100 % of the events. But all in all, this first glance does not seem to support the formulated hypothesis: Most MPs do not seem to limit themselves in their district work but cover a broad range of policy issues.

<sup>21</sup> The average share of discussion for all policy issues is 12 %.  
<sup>22</sup> Well-above was defined as more than 200 % above the average. This number is somewhat arbitrary, for further research the value will be determined by a statistical analysis.

**Figure 6: share of policy issues**



Source: CITREP, N = 370; the figure shows the number of events in which the policy issues were mentioned and those in which they had a very large share

Some evidence however hints at interesting developments: The smaller parties in Germany (Green, FDP, Left Party) seem to be moving their district work in the direction of an expert-based division of labor. This might be a clear necessity because the small parties have to cover all committees in parliament, too – thus MPs have more double memberships there. It could be a logical consequence to limit district work by extending the specialization to the district. One MP of the Green party said about the relationship between her parliamentary and district work: “Of course this has an influence because those are the topics I most care about. But I am also confronted with other issues.”<sup>23</sup> In fact, some MPs told us that they cover the whole state or even the whole country on matters of their special field of interest. With the vote share of the big parties decreasing in Germany this might also be a model for the (formerly) big parties in the future. And actually it would change the logic of representation by moving away from a retail to a wholesale model. This deserves further investigation for theoretical and practical reasons.

### 3.4 Are MPs with Direct Mandate Different from MPs Elected Through Party List?

The mixed-member-system in Germany provides every voter with two votes: on the first ballot to elect a candidate in the district and a party list on the second ballot. Neglecting the so-called surplus seats, parliament thus consists of regularly 299 MPs elected by relative majority in single member districts plus 299 MPs elected from closed party lists in the states (Länder). Most MPs

<sup>23</sup> Interview Valerie Wilms, Green Party.

run for office in both ways and pursue both types of mandate simultaneously (see Schüttemeyer/Sturm 2005: 548). Seats in the Bundestag are allocated according to the second ballot by proportional representation.

Even though there have been frequent warnings that in practice it is of “absolutely no importance whether a mandate is obtained through the constituency or the Landesliste” (Padgett/ Burkett 1986: 130)<sup>24</sup>, there are several studies claiming significant behavioral differences between MPs elected through party list (list MPs) and those elected through plurality rule (direct MPs). The basic assumption is that MPs want to be re-elected and hence try to obtain benefits for their own districts. Differences are hard to find in floor votes, because in parliamentary democracies they take place along party lines, other behavioral indicators are considered. For example, Thomas Lancaster and David Patterson (1990) show that MPs with direct mandates perceive “bringing home the bacon” – obtaining funds for the benefit of their districts – as more important to their prospects of re-election and consider themselves more successful in it than do their list counterparts. Comparing MPs’ committee choices or at least committee memberships Thomas Stratmann and Martin Baur (2002) find differences, too: Accordingly direct MPs are predominantly on committees with influence over the allocation of locally concentrated benefits (such as construction, traffic, agriculture), i.e. on committees that are helpful to “bring home the bacon”. Moreover, Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Bernhard Wessels (2001: 292) identified slight differences with respect to constituency work: According to a survey 99% of direct MPs have “at least weekly contact with ordinary citizens” at the local level whereas only 84% of list MPs do.

Yet, it is worth noting that those studies are based on interviews or secondary data (often with small numbers) and not on behavioral data. Although in-depth analysis cannot be presented yet, we can have a first look at certain behavioral indicators to shed light on the thesis about “two types” of MP in the Bundestag. So does the existence of direct and list mandate lead to different behavioral types of MPs?

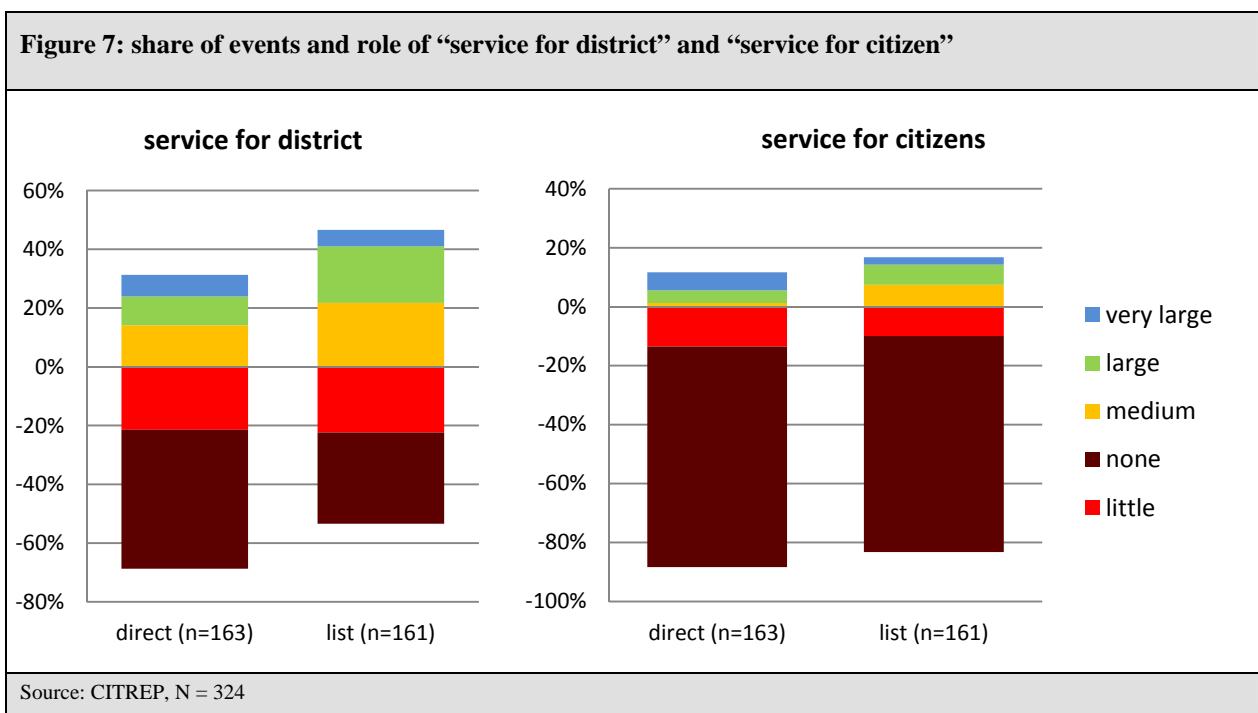
The first two figures contrast the MP’s service for individual citizens and for the district and its territorial parts as observed during the days of observation (see figure 7). One hypothesis is that direct MPs are more active in both regards. However, the empirical results are ambivalent. Clearly in opposition to this hypothesis, list MPs show higher accumulated shares with “large” and “very large” values in both figures. Direct MPs, though, dominate with respect to “very large shares” of service for citizens and the district. It seems, thus, “service” plays a bigger role for list MPs and their activities in general while direct MPs are more focused on service during particular activities.

Assuming two distinct behavioral types another hypothesis could state that list MPs are not as visible in their district activities as direct MPs are. Yet, cautiousness about the underlying assumptions is advised. On the one hand it seems plausible that direct MPs are more visible since they supposedly care more about their district. Nevertheless, exactly the contrary is also plausi-

---

<sup>24</sup> See Heinz (2010: 520-521) for a good overview.

ble, i.e. that list MPs put more effort into being visible as a way to “compensate” their list status. In that way they should choose predominantly those events that provide more publicity.

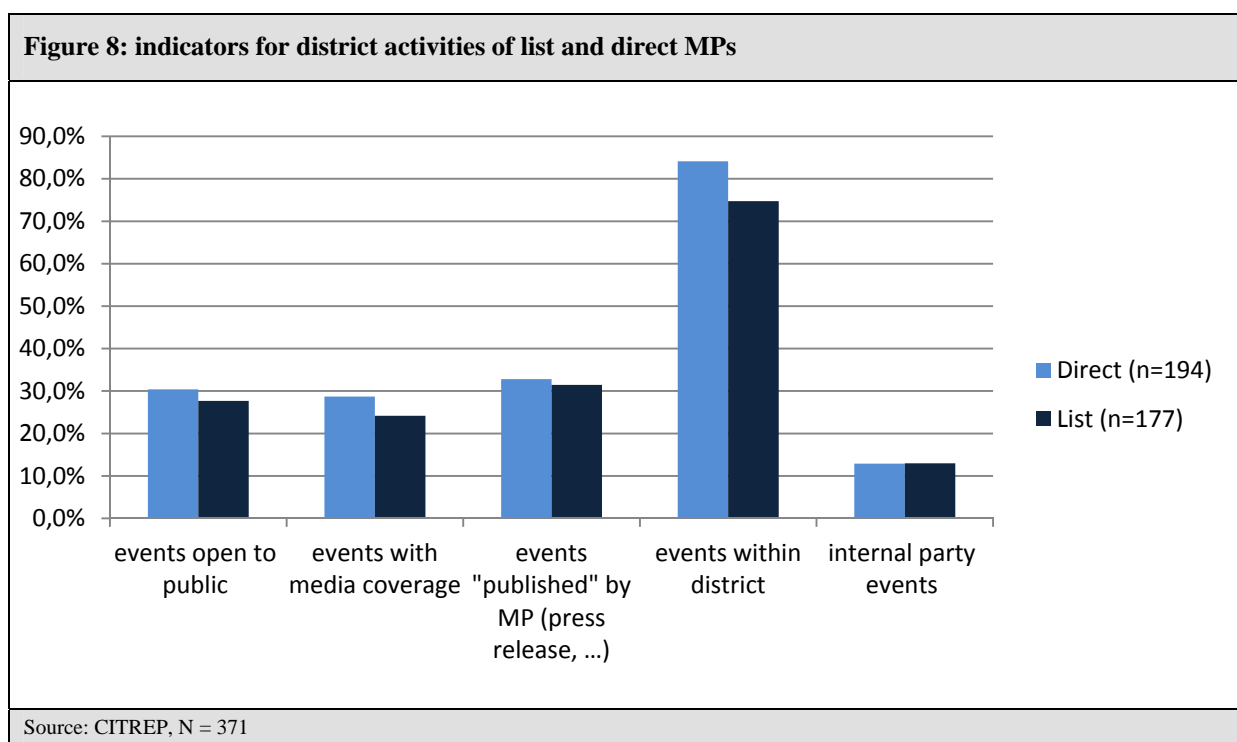


Different facets of visibility and publicity are shown in the three left columns in figure 8. More open as opposed to closed door events, events with media coverage and those activities which MPs themselves publish using press releases, blogs or newsletters. As figure 8 shows, all three columns indicate a slightly higher share of the respective events for direct MPs. This supports the thesis that direct MPs are more interested in visibility and publicity.

Nevertheless such a conclusion is not without caveats. First of all, the differences are really minor. Also, with regard to the second column which shows the biggest difference, one has to be aware that a bigger media visibility can be induced both by supply (the MPs’ activities) and by demand, i.e. the media’s selection of events and persons. So we cannot be sure if MPs deliberately choose events with media coverage or if the media deliberately choose the direct MP and his respective events.

Figure 8 also displays the share of events within the district boundaries (fourth columns). It reveals a slight difference, too since direct MPs take part in more such activities. In other words: list MPs have a greater share of events outside the district territory. This is quite plausible as they often have to cover a far bigger territory for their party. However, there may be an intervening variable in this reasoning since it is primarily the MPs of small parties who have to care for a bigger territory. This is most evident: If a party in a federal state only sends five MPs to the national parliament, those five MPs have – in division of labor – to care for the state territory collectively. They have to spread their activities territorially more than MPs of big parties and hence

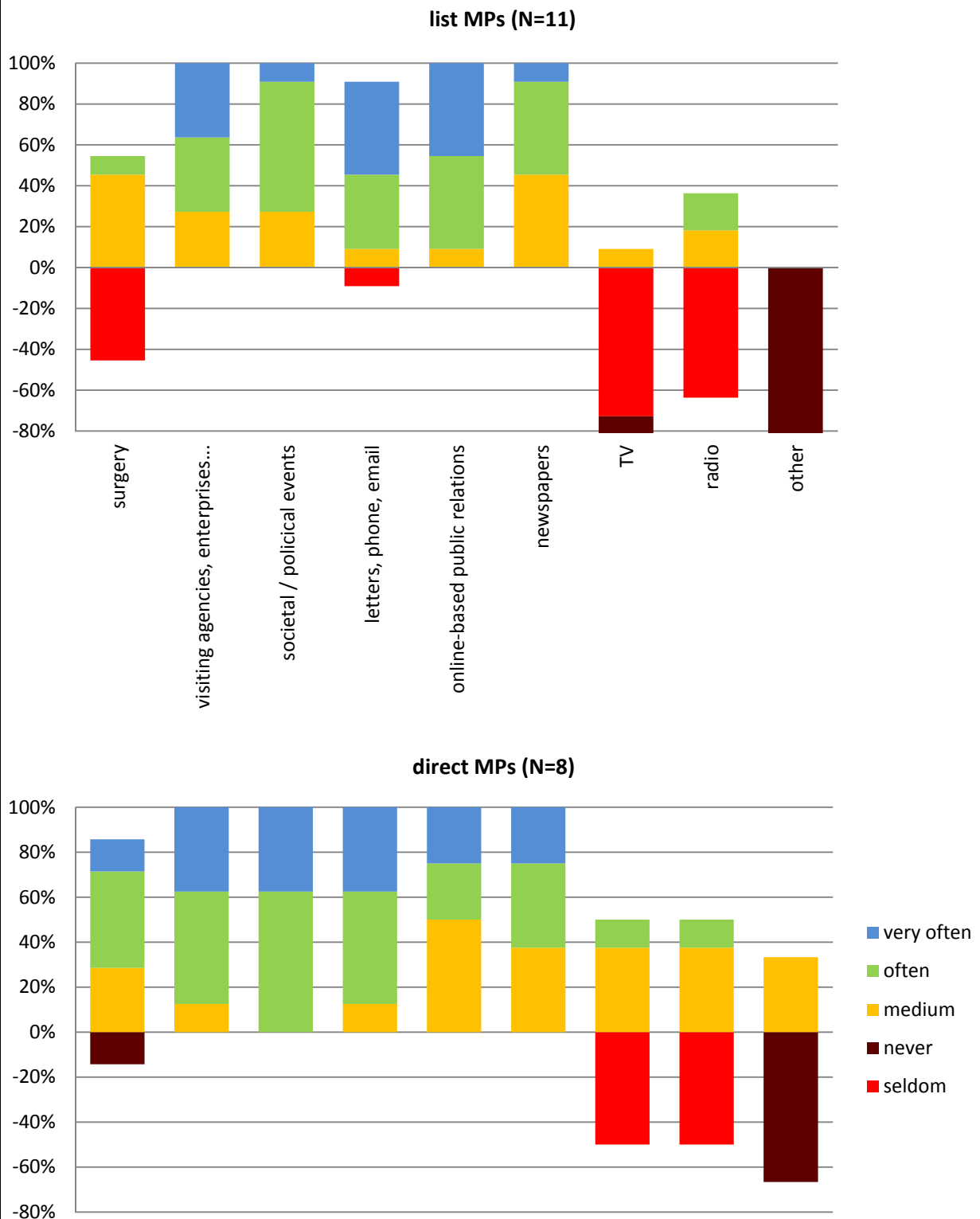
their chances for classical constituency work are structurally limited. As a consequence it may not be the type of mandate which leads to more or less district activities but the size of party.



If one follows the assumption of two types of MPs one can further assume that the local party-related activities should reflect that differences, too. In this regard Klingemann and Wessels (2001: 291) argue that list MPs are more responsive to and more oriented towards their (local) party than their district counterparts. Yet, the hypothesis that list MPs have a stronger party focus has to face the fact that a focus on the local party organization is a necessity for both list and direct MPs. As already mentioned, double candidacies – at a party list and as district candidate – are a common custom in Germany. It is also known that it is the local party which nominates its candidate for the district and that such a candidacy is a promising pre-condition for a position on the party list (see Schüttemeyer/ Sturm 2005: 548). Thus a district nomination is virtually a chokepoint for all candidates. In line with that argument, the last column gives no support to behavioral differences with regard to the MP's party. It shows that the share of party meetings is the same for list and direct MPs.

Figure 9 illustrates the ways of communication and the frequency of their use as reported by district and by list MPs during the interviews. The comparison reveals hardly any differences. The MPs' answers only differ with regard to office hours (surgeries) and communication via television. Again, the last result stresses the media visibility of direct MPs and it is hard to know to what extent it is induced by supply or media demand. In general differences corroborating the thesis of two types of MPs are quite small. The difference in office hours, however, deserves further attention and will be analyzed later once the data are complete.

**Figure 9: ways of communication within the district as mentioned by direct and list MPs**



Source: CITREP (interviews); figure shows the ways of communication and the frequency of their use on a 5-point scale (from “very often” to “never”) as reported by MPs during the interviews.



A distinction by type of mandate and its consequences should be most relevant for those MPs whose type of mandate changed recently. The data include now three such MPs – one has won a district mandate for the first time, two have lost theirs in the last election but nevertheless were elected through the party list. In the interviews they were asked whether this change played a role for their constituency work. Interestingly, the recent district winner answered this question in the positive, while the two MPs losing their district mandate denied any consequences. And both denying MPs also stated that, though they are personally disappointed, it does not make a difference for the people they are interacting with. As they put it: “I think (...) in no way I will be perceived differently”<sup>25</sup>, and “With regard to the public no one is interested in this”<sup>26</sup>.

Altogether this first look at the data shows slight differences, but a clear-cut contrast between list and direct MPs is not supported. Rather a more significant difference seems to exist between MPs of big and small parties. This would also be in line with the mentioned interview answers since the MP who affirmed behavioral consequences belongs to the (small) Left Party while the denying MPs are Social Democrats.

As a consequence, differences found for list and direct MPs may only show spurious correlation. Interestingly, the studies which argue for a difference of the mandate types have not controlled for the size of party. An alternative hypothesis which considers party size as an influencing variable does not have to disregard electoral incentives altogether. It would state, however, that incentive effects are based on a real chance to win a direct mandate which is the case primarily for candidates of big parties. This has to be tested in the further analysis. Having the Left Party in the sample provides an extra case for a controlled environment because in Eastern Germany it frequently competes for direct mandates with a real chance to win them – in other words: it is a big party in some districts and a small party in others.

#### **4 Outlook**

What can already be seen is that the approach of integrating structured observations with interviews and focusing on the district level is useful. In fact, many MPs were happy to see the attention on this often unseen part of their work. Some asked us to present our findings to them in order to start a debate about best practices of representation.

Travelling with the MPs, by the way, is not only interesting but also a lot of fun for political scientists and especially students of the subject. Away from desk and lecture hall, participating in stretched-out and exhausting meetings in the constituencies increases the respect for their daily work enormously and allows for an enhanced understanding of their activities.

---

<sup>25</sup> Interview with Hans-Joachim Hacker, SPD.

<sup>26</sup> Interview with Carsten Schneider, SPD.

## 5 References

- Burke, Edmund (1975): Speech to the Electors of Bristol. In: Edmund Burke (ed.): The Works. Twelve Volumes in Six. Volume II: Hildesheim, pp. 89–98.
- Dexter, Lewis A. (1964): The Good Will of Important People: More on the Jeopardy of the Interview. In: Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. 28, iss. 4, pp. 556–563.
- Easton, David (1965): A Systems Analysis of Political Life. New York: Wiley.
- Eulau, Heinz/ Peter D. Karpis (1977): The puzzle of representation: specifying components of responsiveness. In: Legislative Studies Quarterly, vol. 2, iss. 3, pp. 233–254.
- Fenno, Richard F. (1977): U.S. House Members in their Constituencies: An Exploration. In: American Political Science Review, vol. 71, iss. 4, pp. 883–917.
- Fenno, Richard F. (1978): Home style. House members in their districts. New York: Longman.
- Fenno, Richard F. (2003): Going Home: Black Representatives and their Constituents. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fenno, Richard F. (2007): Congressional Travels: Places, Connections, and Authenticity. New York: Pearson Longman.
- Goffman, Erving (1990): The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. New York: Doubleday.
- Heinz, Dominic (2010): Mandatstypen und Ausschussmitgliedschaften der Mitglieder des Deutschen Bundestages - Eine empirische Untersuchung von 1949 bis 2005. In: Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen, vol. 41, iss. 3, pp. 518–527.
- Ismayr, Wolfgang (2001): Der Deutsche Bundestag im politischen System der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Opladen: Leske + Budrich.
- Klingemann, Hans-Dieter/ Bernhard Wessels (2001): The Consequences of Germany's Mixed Member System: Personalization at the Grassroots? In: Matthew Soberg Shugart/ Martin P. Wattenberg (ed.): Mixed-Member Electoral Systems. The Best of Both Worlds? Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 279–296.
- Lancaster, Thomas D./ David Patterson (1990): Comparative Pork Barrel Politics: Perceptions from the West German Bundestag. In: Comparative Political Studies, vol. 22, iss. 4, pp. 458–477.
- Luhmann, Niklas (1997): Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Mansbridge, Jane (2003): Rethinking Representation. In: American Political Science Review, vol. 97, iss. 4, pp. 515–528.
- Mansbridge, Jane (2011): Clarifying the Concept of Representation. In: American Political Science Review, vol. 105, iss. 3, pp. 621–630.
- Oertzen, Jürgen von (2006): Das Expertenparlament. Abgeordnetenrollen in den Fachstrukturen bundesdeutscher Parlamente. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Padgett, Stephen/ Tony Burkett (1986): Political parties and elections in West Germany. The search for a new stability. London: Hurst.

- Patzelt, Werner J. (1993): Abgeordnete und Repräsentation: Amtsverständnis und Wahlkreisarbeit. Passau: Rothe.
- Patzelt, Werner J. (1996): Deutschlands Abgeordnete: Profil eines Berufsstands, der weit besser ist als sein Ruf. In: Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen, vol. 27, iss. 3, pp. 462–502.
- Patzelt, Werner J. (ed.) (1995): Abgeordnete und ihr Beruf. Interviews - Umfragen - Analysen. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Patzelt, Werner J./ Karin Algasinger (2001): Abgehobene Abgeordnete? Die gesellschaftliche Vernetzung der deutschen Volksvertreter. In: Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen, vol. 32, iss. 3, pp. 503–527.
- Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel (1967): The Concept of Representation. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rehfeld, Andrew (2009): Representation Rethought: On Trustees, Delegates, and Gyroscopes in the Study of Political Representation and Democracy. In: American Political Science Review, vol. 103, iss. 2, pp. 214–229.
- Schöne, Helmar (2005): Die teilnehmende Beobachtung als Datenerhebungsmethode in der Politikwissenschaft. Methodologische Reflexion und Werkstattbericht. In: Historical Social Research, vol. 30, iss. 1, pp. 168–199.
- Schumpeter, Joseph, 1947, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy, New York.
- Schüttemeyer, Suzanne S. (1998): Fraktionen im Deutschen Bundestag 1949-1997. Empirische Befunde und theoretische Folgerungen. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Schüttemeyer, Suzanne S./ Roland Sturm (2005): Der Kandidat - das (fast) unbekanntes Wesen: Befunde und Überlegungen zur Aufstellung der Bewerber zum Deutschen Bundestag. In: Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen, vol. 36, iss. 3, pp. 539–553.
- Stratmann, Thomas/ Martin Baur (2002): Plurality Rule, Proportional Representation, and the German Bundestag: How Incentives to Pork-Barrel Differ across Electoral Systems. In: American Journal of Political Science, vol. 46, iss. 3, pp. 506–514.
- Wahlke, John C./ Heinz Eulau/ William Buchanan, et al. (ed.) (1962): The Legislative System: Explorations in Legislative Behavior. New York, NY: John C. Wahlke Wiley.
- Weingart, Peter (2001): Die Stunde der Wahrheit? Zum Verhältnis der Wissenschaft zu Politik, Wirtschaft und Medien in der Wissensgesellschaft. Weilerswist: Velbrück.
- Weissberg, Robert (1978): Collective vs. Dyadic Representation in Congress. In: The American Political Science Review, vol. 72, iss. 2, pp. 535–547.