

POLS 5339
SEMINAR IN COMPARATIVE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS:
Electoral Systems
FALL 2015, Benedict 205: Wednesdays 6:00-8:50 p.m.

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This seminar provides a comparative introduction to electoral systems. After a brief introduction and discussion of some key indicators, we will examine the principal types of electoral systems worldwide. In the second half of the course, students will present reviews of country case studies of electoral systems and develop profiles of specific electoral systems based on their own research. We will also explore electoral engineering and the impact of electoral systems for the descriptive representation of women. Throughout the course there will be an interplay between general theories and specific cases.

Seminar Requirements and Policies

1. Readings. Please purchase a copy of David M. Farrell, *Electoral Systems: A Comparative Introduction*, Second Edition (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Each week all seminar participants will complete a set of common readings. Most of the readings are listed in the course outline. Additional readings on electoral systems in specific countries will be assigned for the weeks of October 28 and November 4. All readings are in Farrell's book, will be available on Blackboard, or will be passed out in class. I reserve the right to make reasonable adjustments to the syllabus.

2. Focus Questions, designed to help you get the most out of the readings and to stimulate discussion, will be posted on Blackboard by the preceding Saturday before each class (other than those led by students). I will assign primary responsibility for each question to a student, but all seminar participants should be prepared to answer as many questions as possible.

3. Class Participation. Although some material is most efficiently conveyed in short lecture segments, we will follow a seminar format as much as possible. Thus, seminar participants are expected to complete required readings and to be prepared to answer focus questions for each class. They should also be prepared to actively participate in discussions led by their peers.

General class participation will count for 20 percent of the final grade. In assessing class participation, I will emphasize quality, rather than mere quantity. **You should attend every class.** Poor attendance or persistent tardiness will have a negative impact on your participation grade.

4. Exam. A take-home midterm will be posted by Saturday, October 3 and will be due by e-mail by 5 p.m. on Saturday, October 10. The exam will be accompanied by a statement certifying that the work is exclusively that of the student submitting it (please see point 8 below). Students may e-

mail me the exam any time before the deadline, but extensions will be given only in the case of a documented medical or personal emergency. In such an event, I must be notified *before* the deadline.

5. Country Case Review. During the latter half of the course, each student will write a short paper (maximum 5 pages) reviewing a case study of the electoral system in a specific country in light of the general issues treated in the course. The student also will lead the class discussion of the respective country.

Most of the case studies can be found in Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell, eds., *The Politics of Electoral Systems* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), which includes chapters on Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Finland, France, Hungary, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Russia, South Africa, and Spain. (I would rather that students not review Germany, Ireland, the United Kingdom, or the United States, as these countries will be covered extensively in class.) Additional case studies on Bolivia (ch. 19), Mexico (ch. 20) and Venezuela (ch. 18) are available in Matthew Soberg Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds. *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). I will make these readings accessible to students.

Countries will be assigned no later than September 30. Students will select cases in an order determined by random numbers. The completed papers must be e-mailed to the instructor and fellow students no later than Saturday, October 24. The reviews and corresponding readings will be discussed in class on October 28 and November 4. Grades will be based on the written work and performance during the class discussion. In making their oral presentations, reviewers may find it useful to present their key findings and arguments in a reader-friendly outline.

6. Electoral Profile. Each student also will complete an electoral profile of up to 10 pages on any country or political subdivision with competitive elections for which there is adequate data. (However, a student may not do the country case review and the electoral profile on the same country or part thereof.) The instructions for the electoral profile will be distributed by the time of the mid-term. The profiles must be sent to the instructor and fellow students by e-mail no later than Saturday, November 14. They will be discussed in class on November 18 and December 2. Grades will be primarily based on the written work, though the oral presentation will also be taken into account.

7. Course Grade. The following weights will be used in computing final grades:

Class Participation	20%
Exam	30%
Country Case Review	20%
Electoral Profile	30%

	100%

In grading, I will use conventional cut-off points: 90% for a low A, 80% for a low B, 70% for a low C, and 60% for a low D. Although I must report whole letter grades, I will also compute plus-

es and minuses for my records. These distinctions can be useful in assessing a student's relative achievements and in writing letters of recommendation.

8. Academic Integrity. Seminar participants are expected to comply with UTEP policies regarding academic integrity and plagiarism.

9. Adjustments in Course Schedule. I will do my best to follow the schedule outlined below, but I reserve the right to make reasonable adjustments with adequate warning if unforeseeable or uncontrollable circumstances (e.g. weather, illness, or travel) so warrant. It is not fair, however, to change the schedule simply to accommodate the preferences of some seminar participants because other students inevitably suffer.

10. Language. The readings and discussion will be in English. However, I do accept exam answers and papers in Spanish.

COURSE OUTLINE

AUGUST 26

Introduction to Course

SEPTEMBER 2

The Study of Electoral Systems

David M. Farrell, *Electoral Systems: A Comparative Introduction*, Second Edition (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.1-12.

Andrew Reynolds, Ben Reilly, and Andrew Ellis, *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005), Annex A, pp. 166-173.

Some Key Indicators

Rein Taagepera and Matthew Soberg Shugart, *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), pp. 19-20, 68, 77-81, 104-108.

SEPTEMBER 9

Plurality Systems

Farrell, *Electoral Systems*, pp.13-43.

Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan, and Jennifer van Heerde, "The United States of America: Perpetual Campaigning in the Absence of Competition," in Michael Gallagher and Paul

Mitchell, eds., *The Politics of Electoral Systems* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.185-205.

Gary W. Cox, *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 69-98.

Tim Anderson, "Winners and Losers in the Electoral College: A Look at Three Elections." Starred paper, NIU Department of Political Science.

SEPTEMBER 16

Majoritarian Systems

Farrell, *Electoral Systems*, pp. 44-63.

Matthew Soberg Shugart and John M. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 206-225.

Cox, *Making Votes Count*, pp. 123-138.

Gregory D. Schmidt, "Fujimori's 1990 Upset Victory in Peru: Electoral Rules, Contingencies, and Adaptive Strategies," *Comparative Politics* (April 1996), pp. 321-354.

Ben Reilly, "The Alternative Vote and Ethnic Accommodation: New Evidence from Papua New Guinea," *Electoral Studies* (1997) 16-1, pp. 1-11.

Bernard Grofman and Scott L. Feld, "If You Like the Alternative Vote (a.k.a. the Instant Runoff), then You Ought to Know about the Coombs Rule," *Electoral Studies* 23-4 (2004), pp. 641-659.

SEPTEMBER 23

List Systems of Proportional Representation

Farrell, *Electoral Systems*, pp. 64-92, 153-171, 213-230.

Taagepera and Shugart, *Seats and Votes*, pp. 67-76, 126-137.

Barry Ames, "Electoral Strategy under Open-List Proportional Representation," *American Journal of Political Science* 39-2 (May 1995), pp. 406-33.

The STV System of Proportional Representation

Farrell, *Electoral Systems*, pp. 119-152.

SEPTEMBER 30

Mixed Electoral Systems

Farrell, *Electoral Systems*, pp. 93-118.

Matthew Soberg Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds. *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 9-51, 571-596.

Renske Dorenspleet, "Electoral Systems and Democratic Quality: Do Mixed Systems Combine the Best or the Worst of Both Worlds? An Explorative Quantitative Cross-National Study," *Acta Politica* 40-1 (2005), pp. 28-49.

Misa Nishikawa and Erik S. Heron, "Mixed Electoral Rules' Impact on Party Systems," *Electoral Studies* 23-4 (2004), pp. 753-768.

Assignment of Country Case Reviews

OCTOBER 3

Deadline for Posting of Midterm Exam Questions

OCTOBER 7

No Class

Take-Home Exam

OCTOBER 10

Deadline for Submitting Midterm Exam, 5 p.m. MDT

OCTOBER 14

Electoral Engineering and Democratization

Farrell, *Electoral Systems*, pp. 172-212.

David Samuels, and Richard Snyder, "The Value of a Vote: Malapportionment in Comparative Perspective." *British Journal of Political Science* 31(4) (2001): 651-671.

Andrew Reynolds, Ben Reilly, and Andrew Ellis, *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005), pp. 9-15, 159-164.

Rein Taagepera, "How Electoral Systems Matter for Democratization," *Democratization* 5-3 (Autumn 1998), pp. 68-91.

Takayuki Sakamoto, "Explaining Electoral Reform: Japan versus Italy and New Zealand," *Party Politics* 5-4 (October 1999), pp. 419-438.

Benjamin Reilly, "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies," *Journal of Democracy* 13-2 (April 2002), pp. 156-170.

Beatriz Magaloni, "The Demise of Mexico's One-Party Dominant Regime: Elite Choices and the Masses in the Establishment of Democracy." In Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring, *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*, pp. 121-146 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

OCTOBER 21

The Profession of Political Science and Electoral Systems

Mala Htun and G. Bingham Powell, Jr., eds. *Political Science, Electoral Rules, and Democratic Governance: Report of the Task Force on Electoral Rules and Democratic Governance* (Washington D.C: American Political Science Association, 2013).

OCTOBER 24

Country Case Reviews due by e-mail (5 p.m. MDT)

OCTOBER 28, NOVEMBER 4

Country Case Reviews

Reading TBA; depends on students' selection of cases (see point 5 above)

NOVEMBER 11

Electoral Systems and the Representation of Women

Farrell, *Electoral Systems*, pp. 163-165 (re-read)

Richard E. Matland, "Enhancing Women's Political Participation: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems," in Azza Karam and Julie Ballington, eds., *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, Revised edition, (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2005), pp. 93-111.

Mala N. Htun and Mark P. Jones, "Engendering the Right to Participate in Decision-Making: Electoral Quotas and Women's Leadership in Latin America," in Nikki Craske and Maxine Molyneux, eds., *Gender and the Politics of Rights and Democracy in Latin America* (Houndmills, England: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 32-56.

Gregory D. Schmidt, "Gender Quotas in Peru: Origins, Interactions with Electoral Rules, and Re-Election." In *Diffusion of Gender Quotas in Latin America and Beyond: Advances and Setbacks in the Last Two Decades*, edited by Adriana Piatti-Crocker, pp. 98-113, 208-209. New York: Peter Lang, 2011.

Gregory D. Schmidt, "The Election of Women in List PR Systems: Testing the Conventional Wisdom." *Electoral Studies*, 28-2 (June 2009): 190-203.

NOVEMBER 14

Electoral Profiles due by e-mail (5 p.m.)

NOVEMBER 18, DECEMBER 2

Presentation of Electoral Profiles

Research on Electoral Systems: Achievements and Challenges

Matthew Soberg Shugart, "Comparative Electoral Systems Research: The Maturation of a Field and New Challenges Ahead," in Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell, eds., *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, pp. 25-55.