

POLI 124A: The Political Consequences of Electoral Systems

Winter 2009

Instructor: Joel W. Johnson
Time: MWF, 2:00 - 2:50pm
Location: Center 109
Office hours: Wed 3ish-5:00pm in SSB 444; or by appointment
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Course URL: <http://dss.ucsd.edu/~jwjohnso/Poli124a.htm>

ABOUT THE COURSE

In a 1947 speech in the British House of Commons, Churchill said "democracy is the worst form of government, except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time." However, not all democracies function the same, and one important reason why they differ is their various systems of electoral rules they use to govern how voters vote and how those votes are translated into seats. These rules are numerous and complex and have political consequences that are far-reaching and important. This course will survey and analyze electoral systems from around the world – putting the "architecture" of democracy in its political context – to show how electoral rules affect voters, politicians, policymaking, and democracy. It will also review some of the areas of ongoing research and debate in the field of electoral studies.

READINGS

Text: *The Politics of Electoral Systems* (PES). 2008. Ed. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford.
Articles: PDF's available online via links in syllabus. It is advised that you print these out for easier reading and marking them up as you read. Your printing them is cheaper for you than if I had put them in a reader.

GRADES / EXPECTATIONS

The grade will consist of attendance and participation (10%), a midterm exam (45%), and a final exam (45%). Missed exams can be made up only in exceptional circumstances. Attendance will be taken on random days throughout the quarter.

Readings are expected to be done prior to class. They are listed by week, in the order in which I expect to cover them. The readings in the textbook are not difficult, but some of the articles are a bit academic and laden with statistical analyses. For these, you are not expected to understand all the statistics—simply try to get a basic grip on what the author is analyzing and how these sections support the author's main argument.

SYLLABUS & DISCLAIMER

The full syllabus is located on the course webpage. The syllabus is subject to change—you can claim no rights from it. Changes to the schedule will always be announced in class, and these notifications will be our official agenda.

SOME RESOURCES

Electoral data archive & more: <http://psephos.adam-carr.net/>
Elections and ES blog: <http://www.fruitsandvotes.com>
Textbook website: http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/Staff/Michael.Gallagher/EISystems/Electoral_Studies (academic journal with reports on elections and articles on electoral systems):
http://www.elsevier.com/wps/find/journaldescription.cws_home/30412/description#description

ELECTIONS IN 2009

<i>Winter Quarter:</i>	Mexico, Legislative (July 5)
18 January: El Salvador legislative election	Norway, Parliament (Sept 14)
10 February: Israel, Parliament	Germany, Parliament (Sept 27)
15 March: El Salvador presidential election	Portugal, Parliament (by Sept)
	Japan, Parliament (by Sept)
<i>Beyond:</i>	Chile, President (Dec 11)
India, Parliament (by May 2009)	Canada?
Italy, electoral law referendum (May)	Iraq, Parliament
South Africa, Parliament (between April-June)	Lebanon, Parliament

COURSE OUTLINE

Week 1: Jan 5, 7, 9: Introduction, District Magnitude and Electoral Coordination

- (1) Cox, G. (1999). "Electoral rules and electoral coordination." *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 2: 145-161. <http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.polisci.2.1.145>
- (2) *PES*: Ch 7: India

Week 2: Jan 12, 14, 16: PR and Disproportionality

- (1) *PES*: Ch 16: Israel
- (2) *PES*: Ch 18: Spain
- (3) *PES*: Appendix B: Indices of fragmentation and disproportionality
- (4) *PES*: Appendix C: Effective threshold and effective magnitude
- (5) *PES*: Appendix D: Values of the indices for 22 countries

Week 3: Jan 19, 21, 23: Coalition Government and More on PR Districting

- (1) Samuels and Snyder. "The Value of a Vote: Malapportionment in Comparative Perspective." *British Journal of Political Science* (2001), 31: 651-671. <http://www.polisci.umn.edu/~dsamuels/BJPS2001.pdf>
- (2) Munroe and Rose. "Electoral Systems and Unimagined Consequences: Partisan Effects of Districted Proportional Representation" *American Journal of Political Science*. (2002). Available on JSTOR: Search for "American Journal of Political Science" on Roger, view the journal electronically, and then find article in first edition of 2002. From campus: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3088415>.
- (3) *PES*: Ch 17: South Africa

Week 4: Jan 26, 28, 30: Tiers; Flexible Lists; Open Lists

- (1) PES: Ch 23: Finland
- (2) PES: Ch 20: Belgium
- (3) PES: Ch 21: Chile
- (4) Siavelis, Peter. 2002. "The Hidden Logic of Candidate Selection for Chilean Parliamentary Elections" *Comparative Politics* 34.2 (July) pp. 419-438. Updated version at:
http://www.cepchile.cl/dms/archivo_3540_1882/r98_siavelis_ing.pdf

Week 5: Feb 2, 4, 6: Personal Vote Theory

- (1) PES: Ch 2: Comparative electoral systems research
- (2) Chang and Golden. "Electoral Systems, District Magnitude and Corruption." *British Journal of Political Science* (2007), 37: 115-137.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FJPS%2FJPS37_01%2FS0007123407000063a.pdf&code=c81554d114c315cb9f1f376d4cb1ef35
- (3) Desposato, S. W. "The Impact of Electoral Rules on Legislative Parties: Lessons from the Brazilian Senate and Chamber of Deputies." *The Journal of Politics*. Volume 68 Issue 4 Page 1018-1030, November 2006. <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1468-2508.2006.00484.x>

*** MIDTERM *** FEB 6 ***

Week 6: Feb 9, 11, 13: STV and SNTV; also, Eurovision and the Borda Count

- (1) Borda Count: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Borda_count
- (2) Eurovision rules: <http://www.eurovision.tv/page/first-semi-final-2008>
- (3) PES: Ch 25: Ireland
- (4) PES: Ch 4: Australia

** Israel election on Feb 10

Week 7: Feb 16, 18, 20: SMDs and Presidential Elections

- (1) PES: Ch 8: The United Kingdom
- (2) PES: Ch 9: The United States.
- (3) Play the redistricting game: <http://www.redistrictinggame.org/>
- (4) PES: Ch 6: France
- (5) Shugart, M. S. (2004). "The American Process of Selecting a President: A Comparative Perspective." *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. 34(3). <http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1741-5705.2004.00216.x>

Week 8: Feb 23, 25, 27: Mixed Member Systems

- (1) PES: Preface to Paperback Edition: "Change in Italy" p. xiv-xvi.
- (2) PES: Ch 12: Italy
- (3) PES: Ch 10: Germany
- (4) PES: Ch 13: Japan

Week 9: Mar 2, 4, 6: Electoral System Reforms (and Denmark)

- (1) PES: Ch 3: Why are there so many (or so few) electoral reforms?
- (2) Matthew Soberg Shugart, "Electoral Efficiency and the Move to Mixed-Member Systems." *Electoral Studies* 20, 2 (June, 2001): 173-193.
http://www.sciencedirect.com/science?_ob=MIimg&_imagekey=B6V9P-42DX1K2-1-8&_cdi=5904&_user=4429&_orig=search&_coverDate=06%2F30%2F2001&_sk=999799997&_view=c&_wchp=dGLbVtz-zSkWW&_md5=3c655a06bea1d764fbb5afd2664757cd&_ie=/sdarticle.pdf
- (5) PES: Ch 22: Denmark
- (6) PES: Preface to Paperback Edition: Change in Denmark. p. xvi-xvii.

Week 10: Mar 9, 11, 13: Ethnic Conflict (and Other Topics TBA)

- (1) Reilly, B. (2002). Electoral systems for divided societies. *Journal of Democracy*, 13 (2).
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v013/13.2reilly.pdf
- (2) Bassel F. Salloukh. "The Limits of Electoral Engineering in Divided Societies: Elections in Postwar Lebanon." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (2006), 39: 635-655.
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FCJP%2FCJP39_03%2FS0008423906060185a.pdf&code=51120275d51d0704d4063bbf512011e1

****FINAL EXAM** March 16, 3-6pm (may be changed)**