

Winter Term 2017/18

Dr. Jan Sauermann

(14335.0104) Comparative Electoral Systems

PO 2015: Schwerpunktmodul Seminar Politikwissenschaft II (Vergleichende Analyse Politischer Institutionen), 9 Leistungspunkte

PO 2007: Schwerpunktseminar – Vergleichende Analyse Politischer Institutionen, 6 Leistungspunkte

Time: Mondays 10:00 – 11:30

Room: Gottfried-Keller-Str. 6, Hörsaal des Forschungsinstituts

First Session: 9 October 2017

Course description

Electoral systems transfer citizens' preferences into votes and votes into seats or offices. In every democracy, the electoral system thus provides the critical link between the general population and political elites. This course will introduce some of the most important concepts and theoretical approaches of comparative research on electoral systems. The seminar consists of three parts. In the first part, we will discuss ways of classifying the large variety of different electoral systems in use around the world. In the second part, we will analyze the effects of electoral systems on the party system, voter turnout, the representation of women and minorities, and the behavior of political elites. In the third part, we will discuss the origin of electoral systems and reforms of electoral systems.

Prerequisites

This is a course for **advanced bachelor students**. Hence, participants should have preliminary knowledge of political science concepts, basic qualitative and quantitative methods, and an interest in current research. Ideally, students have already participated in the introductory lecture in Comparative Politics by Prof. Dr. André Kaiser.

As all reading assignments for the course 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.

Relevance for study programs

The course is open to **advanced bachelor students** of the WiSo-Faculty with an interest in political science. It will be offered in the "Schwerpunktmodul Seminar Politikwissenschaft II" (For further information please confer the Modulhandbuch).

Registration

The course will be taught on a weekly basis (first session October 9). Students should register via KLIPS.

Reading assignments

All required texts for the sessions of the seminar can be found on [LIAS](#).

Most texts can only be accessed from within the UKLAN network of the University of Cologne. If you do not know how to obtain access to UKLAN, please consult the RRZK's websites: <http://rrzk.uni-koeln.de/netzzugang.html?&L=1>

Working requirements and assessment method

All participants are expected to:

- attend the seminar on a regular basis
- complete assigned readings according to schedule
- actively contribute to class discussions
- **give a 10 to 15 minutes presentation in the seminar**
- **write a research paper in English**
 - **PO 2015: about 5.000 words**
 - **PO 2007: about 4.000 words**

Submission of the research paper

Please hand in two versions of your research paper:

- **Electronic version**
(pdf- or Word file) via email to jan.sauermann@uni-koeln.de
Deadline: 12 March 2018, 10:00am
- **Paper version**
You can hand in the paper version personally at the secretary of the Cologne Center for Comparative Politics (*IBW Gebäude, Herbert-Lewin-Str. 2, 1st floor, Room 1.09*) or send it by mail to:
Jan Sauermann, Universität zu Köln, Cologne Center for Comparative Politics,
Postfach 411020, 50870 Köln

The paper version must contain the following signed statement:

<http://www.cccp.uni-koeln.de/sites/cccp/Lehre/EidesstattlicheErklaerung.pdf>

Teilnahme- und Prüfungsbedingungen

- Regelmäßige Teilnahme an den Seminarsitzungen
- Gründliche Vorbereitung der angegebenen Grundlagenliteratur
- Aktive Beteiligung an den Diskussionen im Seminar
- **Referat (10-15 Minuten)**
- **Hausarbeit in Englisch**
 - **PO 2015: ca. 5.000 Wörter**
 - **PO 2007: ca. 4.000 Wörter**

Abgabe der Hausarbeit

Bitte reichen Sie zwei Versionen Ihrer Hausarbeit ein:

- **Elektronische Version**
(pdf- oder Word-Dokument) per Email an jan.sauermann@uni-koeln.de
Deadline: 12. März 2018, 10:00 Uhr

- **Papierversion**

Sie können die ausgedruckte Version Ihrer Hausarbeit entweder persönlich während der Öffnungszeiten im Sekretariat des Cologne Center for Comparative Politics (IBW-Gebäude, Herbert-Lewin-Str.2, 1. Stock, Raum 1.09) abgeben oder per Post an folgende Adresse senden:

Jan Sauermann, Universität zu Köln, Cologne Center for Comparative Politics, Postfach 411020, 50870 Köln

Die Papierversion muss folgende unterschriebene Erklärung beinhalten:

<http://www.cccp.uni-koeln.de/sites/cccp/Lehre/EidesstattlicheErklaerung.pdf>

General readings:

- Farrel, David M. 2011. *Electoral Systems. A Comparative Introduction* (2nd Edition). Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Cox, Gary W. 1997. *Making Votes Count. Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering. Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moser, Robert G., and Ethan Scheiner. 2012. *Electoral Systems and Political Context. How the Effects of Rules Vary Across New and Established Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gallagher, Michael, and Paul Mitchell, eds. 2005. *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Databases:

- [The Constituency-Level Elections Archive \(CLEA\)](#)
- [Comparative Study of Electoral Systems \(CSES\)](#)
- [European Election Database](#)
- [Political Data Yearbook](#)
- [Inter-Parliamentary Union \(IPU\)](#)
- [Psephos - Adam Carr's Election Archive](#)
- wahlrecht.de

Schedule

1) 9 October 2017 – Introduction

Required readings:

- Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering. Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 3-38.

Optional readings:

- Shugart, Matthew S. 2005. "Comparative Electoral Systems Research: The Maturation of a Field and New Challenges Ahead." In *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, eds. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 25-55.

2) 16 October 2017 – Classifying electoral systems

Required readings:

- Gallagher, Michael, and Paul Mitchell. 2005. "Introduction to Electoral Systems." In *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, eds. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 4-23.
- Golder, Matt. 2005. "Democratic Electoral Systems around the World, 1946-2000." *Electoral Studies* 24 (1): 103-21.

Optional readings:

- Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering. Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 39-65.

3) 23 October 2017 – Plurality voting systems

Required readings:

- Massicotte, Luis. 2005. "Canada: Sticking to First-Past-the-Post, for the Time Being." In *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, eds. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 99-118.
- Mitchell, Paul. 2005. "The United Kingdom: Plurality Rule under Siege." In *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, eds. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 157-84.
- Bowler, Shaun, Todd Donovan, and Jennifer van Heerde. 2005. "The United States of America: Perpetual Campaigning in the Absence of Competition." In *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, eds. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 185-205.

4) 30 October 2017 – Majority voting systems

Required readings:

- Farrel, David M. 2011. *Electoral Systems. A Comparative Introduction (2nd Edition)*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 44-63.
- Farrel, David M., and Ian McAllister. 2005. "Australia: The Alternative Vote in a Compliant Political Culture." In *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, eds. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 79-97.
- Elgie, Robert. 2005. "France: Stacking the Deck." In *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, eds. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 119-36.

5) 6 November 2017 – Proportional representation

Required readings:

- Farrel, David M. 2011. *Electoral Systems. A Comparative Introduction (2nd Edition)*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 64-92.
- Hopkin, Jonathan. 2005. "Spain: Proportional Representation with Majoritarian Outcomes." In *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, eds. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 375-94.
- Andeweg, Rudy B. 2005. "The Netherlands: The Sanctity of Proportionality." In *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, eds. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 491-510.

6) 13 November 2017 – Mixed electoral systems

Required readings:

- Massicotte, Luis, and André Blais. 1999. "Mixed Electoral Systems: A Conceptual and Empirical Survey." *Electoral Studies* 18 (3): 341-66.
- Saalfeld, Thomas. 2005. "Germany: Stability and Strategy in a Mixed-Member Proportional System." In *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, eds. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 209-29.
- Reed, Steven R. 2005. "Japan: Haltingly Towards a Two-Party System." In *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, eds. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 277-93.

7) 20 November 2017 – Measuring fractionalization and proportionality

Required readings:

- Laakso, Markku, and Rein Taagepera. 1979. "'Effective' Number of Parties. A Measure with Applications to West Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 12 (1): 3-27.
- Gallagher, Michael. 1991. "Proportionality, Disproportionality and Electoral Systems." *Electoral Studies* 10 (1): 33-51.

8) 27 November 2017 – The influence of the electoral system on the party system: Duverger's Law

Required readings:

- Riker, William H. 1982. "The Two-Party System and Duverger's Law: An Essay on the History of Political Science." *American Political Science Review* 76 (4): 753-66.
- Cox, Gary W. 1999. "Electoral Rules and Electoral Coordination." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 145-61.

9) 11 December 2017 – The influence of the party system on the electoral system.

Required readings:

- Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction." In *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*, eds. Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan. New York: The Free Press. 1-64.

10) 18 December 2017 – Duverger's Law revisited

Required readings:

- Amorim Neto, Octavio, and Gary W. Cox. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures, and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (1): 149-74.
- Colomer, Josep M. 2005. "It's Parties That Choose Electoral Systems (or, Duverger's Laws Upside Down)." *Political Studies* 53 (1): 1-21

11) 8 January 2018 – Turnout

Required readings:

- Lijphart, Arend. 1997. "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma." *American Political Science Review* 91 (1): 1-14.

- Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering. Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 151-176.

12) 15 January 2018 – Incentives to cultivate a personal vote

Required readings:

- Carey, John M., and Matthew S. Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: A Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14 (1): 417-39.
- Zittel, Thomas, and Thomas Gschwend. 2008. "Individualised Constituency Campaigns in Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: Candidates in the 2005 German Elections." *West European Politics* 31 (5): 978-1003.

13) 22 January 2018 – The representation of women

Required readings:

- Kenworthy, Lane, and Melissa Malami. 1999. "Gender Inequality in Political Representation: A Worldwide Comparative Analysis." *Social Forces* 78 (1): 235-68.
- Roberts, Andrew, Jason Seawright, and Jennifer Cyr. 2012. "Do Electoral Laws Affect Women's Representation." *Comparative Political Studies* 46 (12): 1555-81.

14) 29 January 2018 – Final discussion

Task for this session:

Hand in a one-page outline of your planned research design by Thursday, 25 January 2018, 10:00 AM.