

**Winter Term 2016/17**

**Dr. Jan Sauermann**

**(14335.0031) 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:* Wednesdays 10:00 – 11:30

*Room:* Hauptgebäude - Hörsaal XIb

*First Session:* 19 October 2016

**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 19). 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 of 12-15 pages in English
  - PO 2015: about 4.500 words
  - PO 2007: about 3.500 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](mailto:jan.sauermann@uni-koeln.de)  
**Deadline: 13 March 2017, 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/fileadmin/wiso\\_fak/cccp/Lehre/ErklaerungzuArbeiten.pdf](http://www.cccp.uni-koeln.de/fileadmin/wiso_fak/cccp/Lehre/ErklaerungzuArbeiten.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 von 12-15 Seiten in Englisch
  - PO 2015: ca. 4.500 Wörter
  - PO 2007: ca. 3.500 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](mailto:jan.sauermann@uni-koeln.de)  
**Deadline: 13. März 2017, 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/fileadmin/wiso\\_fak/cccp/Lehre/ErklaerungzuArbeiten.pdf](http://www.cccp.uni-koeln.de/fileadmin/wiso_fak/cccp/Lehre/ErklaerungzuArbeiten.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) 19 October 2016 – 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) 26 October 2016 – 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) 2 November 2016 – 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) 9 November 2016 – 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) 16 November 2016 – Analysis of the United States election, 2016

## 6) 23 November 2016 – 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.

**7) 30 November 2015 – 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.

**8) 7 December 2016 – 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.

**9) 14 December 2016 – 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.

**10) 21 December 2016 – 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.

**11) 11 January 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

**12) 18 January 2017 – 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.

**13) 26 January 2017 – 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.

**14) 1 February 2016 2017 – 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.

**15) 8 February 2016 – Final discussion**

Task for this session:

Hand in a one-page outline of your planned research design by Monday, 6 February 2017, 10:00 AM.