Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences

Edited by

Bernard Grofman
University of California, Irvine

and

Arend Lijphart
University of California, San Diego

AGATHON PRESS, INC.
New York

© 1986 Agathon Press, Inc.
111 Eighth Avenue
New York, NY 10011

All Rights Reserved

No portion of this book may be reproduced by any process, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form, or by any means, without the express written permission of the publisher.

Printed in the United States

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Main entry under title:

Electoral laws and their political consequences.

Bibliography: p.
Includes index.
1. Elections—Addresses, essays, lectures. 2. Voting—Addresses, essays, lectures. 3. Election law—Addresses, essays, lectures. 4. Comparative government—Addresses, essays, lectures. I. Grofman, Bernard. II. Lijphart, Arend.
JF1001.E395 1985 324.6 85-15609
ISBN 0-87586-064-8 (cloth)
ISBN 0-87586-074-5 (paper)

Acknowledgments

Earlier versions of two of the papers in this volume were presented at the panel on "Electoral Engineering" at the 1982 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in Chicago, and earlier versions of two others were given at the panel on "Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences" at the August 1982 Meeting of the International Political Science Association in Rio de Janeiro. We are indebted to the American Political Science Association for permission to excerpt from William Riker's article, "Two-Party Systems and Duverger's Law: An Essay on the History of Political Science" [*American Political Science Review* 76 (December 1982), 753–766]; and to the *California Journal* for permission to reprint the maps of California Congressional districts which appear in Gordon Baker's article. We are indebted to the School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine, for a small seed grant to plan this volume, and to the National Science Foundation's Political Science Program and the Guggenheim Foundation, respectively, for research support while working on this volume. Invaluable assistance has been provided to the editors by Sue Pursche, Dorothy Gormick, George Ferrington, Nguyen Ngo, and the staff of the Word Processing Center, School of Social Sciences, UCI. Final editing on this volume took place while Ms. Pursche was a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford.

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

found on page

2.1 Combined Influences of Party and Electoral Systems *61*

4.1 Minimum Numbers of Voters Required to Alter Order of Election of Parliamentary Candidates *94*

4.2 Sources of Interelection Turnover Among Parliamentary Parties *98*

6.1 Electoral Formulas and District Magnitudes of Six Electoral Systems *115*

6.2 District Magnitudes of Twelve Ethnic-Geographic Districts in Cyprus, 1960 *117*

6.3 Religiously Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Electoral Districts in Lebanon, 1960–1972 *119*

6.4 Ethnic Minority Over- or Underrepresentation in Six Electoral Systems *122*

8.1 Analysis of PR Adoptions and Abandonment Votes *146*

8.2 Analysis of Participation Rates in PR Cities Classified by Types of Elections Used in PR Adoptions and Repealers *148*

9.1 Examples of Undernomination, Overnomination, and Unequal Vote Distribution in the Japanese House of Representatives Election, 1980 *160*

9.2 Seats Lost and Gained by Undernomination, Overnomination, and Unequal Vote Distribution in the Japanese House of Representatives Election, 1980 *161*

9.3 Examples of Undernomination and Prudent Nomination in the Spanish Senate Election, 1982 *162*

9.4 Votes, Actual Seats Received, and Three Hypothetical Seat Allocations in the Japanese House of Representatives Election, Excluding the Amami Islands, 1980, in Percent *164*

9.5 Votes and Three Hypothetical Seat Allocations in Perfectly Apportioned Districts in the Japanese House of Representatives Election, Excluding the Amami Islands, 1980, in Percent *166*

9.6 Adjusted Votes, Actual Seats Received, and Four Hypothetical Seat Allocations in the Spanish Senate Election, Excluding the Nine Plurality Districts, 1982, in Percent *167*

9.7 Adjusted Votes and Three Hypothetical Seat Allocations in Perfectly Apportioned Districts in the Spanish Senate Election, Excluding the Nine Plurality Districts, 1982, in Percent *167*

10.1 Hypothetical Example of the Operation of the Largest Remainder, d'Hondt, and pure Sainte-Laguë Formulas in a District with 100 Votes, 5 Seats, and 5 Parties *173*

11.1 A Selection of Alternative Combinations of Spatial Components for Producing the "Cube Law" *185*

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

Tables (*continued*)

found on page

12.1 The Effect of Double Plurality and Approval Voting on the Wasted-Vote Problem *198*

12.2 Random Distribution of Voters' Preference and Consensus Majority Candidate *200*

12.3 Abstentions and Consensus Majority Candidate *201*

13.1 Representational Indices for Mixed Cities by Electoral Format *210*

13.2 Representational Indices for Single Format Cities by Electoral Format *211*

13.3 Representation Ratios for Southern Cities, 1970s and 1980 *213*

17.1 Years of Party Control in Selected States, 1947–1965 *263*

17.2 Years of Party Control in Selected States, 1965–1983 *264*

19.1 Election in Cork North-West, February 18, 1982 *292*

19.2 Irish Elections, 1948–1982: Electoral and Legislative Fractionalization *295*

19.3 Irish Elections 1948–1982: Indices of Proportionality *296*

19.4 Government Formation, 1948–1982 *298*

19.5 Average Vote-Seat Deviation by Constituency Size, 1977–1982 *302*

Figures

4.1 Proportion of Members Suffering Intrapartisan Defeats and Average Number of Members per Constituency *100*

8.1 Experience with PR in 22 American Cities, 1915–1964 *141*

13.1 Relationship Between Black Percentage of Population and Black Percentage of City Council in Different Electoral Formats *208*

13.2 Estimated Seats/Population Relationships with 90% Confidence Bands in Districted and At-Large Electoral Formats *209*

About the Editors

Bernard Grofman is Professor of Political Science and Social Psychology, School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine. He is a specialist in mathematical models of collective decision making, with over three dozen published articles on topics such as jury verdict choice, reapportionment and voter turnout, and coalition formation models. During the past two years he has been involved in eleven states as an expert witness in redistricting litigation or as a court-appointed reapportionment expert. He is coeditor of *Representation and Redistricting Issues, Choosing an Election System,* and *Information Pooling and Group Decision Making.*

Arend Lijphart is Professor of Political Science, University of California, San Diego. His field of specialization is comparative politics, with a special interest in Western democratic states and the relationship between election rules and party systems. He is the author of four books: *The Trauma of Decolonization: The Dutch and West New Guinea; The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands; Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration;* and *Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-One Countries;* as well as numerous articles in leading international journals on democratic theory and comparative electoral politics.

About the Contributors

Gordon E. Baker is Professor of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara. His major research interests have centered on reapportionment and representation. He is author of three books: *Rural versus Urban Political Power; State Constitutions: Reapportionment;* and *The Reapportionment Revolution;* as well as numerous articles and chapters in books. In 1973 he served as consultant to special masters charged by the California Supreme Court with the redistricting of the state's legislative and congressional districts.

Carol A. Cassel is Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Alabama. She has published articles in the areas of political participation, public opinion, and voting behavior. Her recent papers (including an article in the *American Journal of Political Science*) deal with research methodology; e.g., issues in measurement and model specification.

Maurice Duverger is Professor of Political Science at the Sorbonne, University of Paris I. He is the author of *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State* (first published in French in 1951 and first published in English translation in 1954) and of many other books and articles in comparative public law and comparative politics.

Richard L. Engstrom is Professor of Political Science, University of New Orleans. His fields of specialization are urban and minority politics, with a special interest in the issue of racial vote dilution. He has published articles in the *American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics*, and other leading journals, and has served as an expert witness in numerous vote dilution cases.

Peter C. Fishburn is a member of the Mathematics and Statistics Research center of Bell Laboratories, Murray Hill, N.J. His research interests focus on individual and societal decision making and on discrete mathematics. He is the author of five books, including *Utility Theory for Decision Making, The Theory of Social Choice*, and *The Foundations of Expected Utility*, and coauthor with Steven Brams of *Approval Voting*. His numerous articles have been published in technical journals in the fields of mathematics, economics, statistics, political science, and operations research, and he serves on several editorial boards.

Graham Gudgin is a Senior Research Officer, Department of Applied Economics, University of Cambridge. He is currently working on macro-economic models and theory. His other interests are in regional growth and in forecasting regional labor market conditions. He has a strong interest in politics, and it was this interest which led to the book with Peter Taylor, *Seats Votes and the Spatial Organization of Elections*. Other books include *Industrial Locational Processes, Unequal Growth*, and *Non-Production Activities in the UK Manufacturing Industry*.

R. J. Johnston is Professor of Geography, University of Sheffield, U.K. His main interests are in electoral, political, and urban studies, and he is the author of several books in these areas, including *Political, Electoral and Spatial Systems, Geography of Elections* (with P. J. Taylor), and *City and Society*. He was an expert witness in a recent case challenging the decision of the Boundary Commission for England.

Richard S. Katz is Professor of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University. His principle research is on electoral systems and political behavior in Western Europe and the United States. He is the author of *A Theory of Parties and Electoral Systems* and of numerous articles that have appeared in leading European and American journals. He is also interested in public broadcasting and government support of the arts.

William R. Keech is Professor of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. His research and teaching interests are in the theory and practice of representative government and in the politics of macro-economic policy. He is author of *The Impact of Negro Voting* and coauthor of *The Party's Choice*. In addition to articles on the United States, he has written on Soviet and on Swiss politics.

Rafael Lopez Pintor is Tenure Professor of Sociology, Universidad Autonoma, Madrid. He has a doctoral degree in law from the University of Madrid and a Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina. He has been Director General of the Center for Sociological Research in Madrid from 1979 to 1983. Most of his research work has dealt with Spain and Latin America in the areas of public opinion and electoral behavior as well as organizations. His latest book, *La Opinion Publica Espanola del Franquismo a la Democracia* (Madrid: CIS, 1982) deals with opinion trends and mass political behavior from the late Franco regime of the 1960s to the eve of the Socialist electoral landslide.

Peter Mair is Lecturer in Government, University of Manchester. His fields of specialization include political parties, party systems, and electoral studies, and he has published a number of articles in various political science journals on Irish politics and West European politics. He is coeditor of *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change.*

Michael D. McDonald is Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of New Orleans. His fields of specialization are legislative processes and elections. He has written articles on election systems and electoral behavior that have appeared in the leading political science journals.

William H. Riker is Wilson Professor of Political Science, University of Rochester. His books include *Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice; An Introduction to Positive Political Theory* (with Peter Ordeshook); *The Theory of Political Coalitions; Federalism;* and *Democracy in the United States.* His current work concerns a formal theory of heresthetic (political manipulation) and rhetoric.

Giovanni Sartori is Albert Schweitzer Professor in the Humanities, Columbia University, New York City. His fields of interest are political theory, comparative politics, and social science methodology. His major works are *Democratic Theory; Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis;* and *La Politica: Logica e Metodo in Scienze Sociali.* Among the volumes he has edited, the most recent one is *Social Science Concepts: A Systematic Analysis.*

Howard A. Scarrow is Professor of Political Science, State University of New York, Stony Brook, where he has taught since 1963. He is a specialist on comparative electoral politics and is author or coauthor of five books (including *Canada Votes* and *Parties, Elections and Representation in the State of New York*) and numerous articles in major political science journals, including *Journal of Politics, World Politics,* and *Comparative Politics.*

Yasunori Sone is Associate Professor of Political Science, Keio University, Tokyo. His research interests include the study of decision-making rules and various aspects of Japanese democracy, especially electoral politics and the electoral system. He is the author of *Political Economy of Decision-Making* and

the coeditor of *Japanese Politics in the World Perspective* (with N. Tomita) and *Contemporary Democratic Theories* (with R. Shiratori and M. Nakano). He has also written many articles in professional journals and chapters in multi-authored volumes.

Peter J. Taylor is Senior Lecturer of Geography, University of Newcastle upon Tyne. His field of specialization is political geography with particular reference to electoral studies and the role of the state in the world economy. He is editor of *Political Geography Quarterly.* He has published many articles in geographic and politics journals on electoral and political geography. He is joint author of *Geography of Elections* (with R. J. Johnston), *Seats Votes and the Spatial Organization of Elections* (with G. Gudgin), and *Section and Party* (with J. C. Archer); and joint editor of *Political Studies from Spatial Perspectives* (with A. D. Burnett).

Leon Weaver is Professor, School of Criminal Justice, College of Social Science, Michigan State University. His discipline is political science. His specializations are security systems, personnel administration, and comparative election systems and behavior. His experiences as a practitioner include elective local offices; service on a charter drafting commission grappling with electoral-system issues, serving as a consultant to a court adjudicating such issues, and membership on the Freedom House mission to observe and report on elections in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. He has a special interest in electoral politics in societies plagued by violence or other high levels of social conflict.

J.F.H. (Jack) Wright is President of the Proportional Representation Society of Australia. His professional work has involved the study of electoral methods for many years. He is the author of *Mirror of the Nation's Mind—Australia's Electoral Experiments,* a study of the use of preferential and other electoral methods in Australia, and of several papers relating to electoral procedures.

Contents

Acknowledgments viii

List of Tables and Figures ix

About the Editors xi

About the Contributors xi

Introduction *Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart* 1

Part I.
The Effect of Election Type on Political Competition

1. Duverger's Law Revisited *William H. Riker* 19

2. The Influence of Electoral Systems: Faulty Laws or Faulty Method? *Giovanni Sartori* 43

3. Duverger's Law: Forty Years Later *Maurice Duverger* 69

4. Intraparty Preference Voting *Richard S. Katz* 85

5. Thinking about the Length and Renewability of Electoral Terms *William R. Keech* 104

Part II.
Evaluating the Impact of Electoral Laws: Proportional and Semiproportional Systems Case Studies

6. Proportionality by Non-PR Methods: Ethnic Representation in Belgium, Cyprus, Lebanon, New Zealand, West Germany and Zimbabwe *Arend Lijphart* 113

7. Australian Experience with Majority-Preferential and Quota-Preferential Systems *Jack F. H. Wright* 124

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

8. The Rise, Decline and Resurrection of Proportional Representation in Local Governments in the United States — *Leon Weaver* — 139

9. The Limited Vote and the Single Nontransferable Vote: Lessons from the Japanese and Spanish Examples — *Arend Lijphart, Rafael Lopez Pintor and Yasunori Sone* — 154

10. Degrees of Proportionality of Proportional Representation Formulas — *Arend Lijphart* — 170

Part III. Evaluating the Impact of Electoral Laws: Plurality Systems

11. The Geography of Representation: A Review of Recent Findings — *Peter J. Taylor, Graham Gudgin and R. J. Johnston* — 183

12. Social Choice and Pluralitylike Electoral Systems — *Peter C. Fishburn* — 193

13. The Effect of At-Large Versus District Elections on Racial Representation in U.S. Municipalities — *Richard L. Engstrom and Michael D. McDonald* — 203

14. The Nonpartisan Ballot in the United States — *Carol A. Cassel* — 226

15. Ballot Format in Plurality Partisan Elections — *Howard A. Scarrow* — 242

16. Cross-Endorsement and Cross-Filing in Plurality Partisan Elections — *Howard A. Scarrow* — 248

Part IV.
Redistricting

17. Whatever Happened to the Reapportionment Revolution in the United States? *Gordon E. Baker* 257

18. Constituency Redistribution in Britain: Recent Issues *R. J. Johnston* 277

19. Districting Choices under the Single-Transferable Vote *Peter Mair* 289

References 309

List of Court Cases 333

Index

Introduction

Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart

The aim of this book is to provide an overview of recent research on electoral laws and their political consequences by scholars who have helped shape the field. After several decades of virtual neglect (except for Douglas Rae's seminal work), the comparative study of electoral systems is undergoing a lively revival. In the past five years, over a dozen books on electoral systems have been written by scholars from many nations and from many disciplines (see reviews of a number of these in Lijphart, 1984a). Political geography, long moribund, is undergoing a remarkable renaissance (see reviews in Grofman, 1982d; Taylor, Gudgin, and Johnston, this volume). Social choice theorists have begun to link axiomatic criteria for representative systems to practical political issues in choosing an election system (see especially Brams and Fishburn, 1983, 1984a, 1984b; Fishburn, this volume). In the United States, sparked in large part by the efforts of the section on Representation and Electoral Systems of the American Political Science Association, the history of American electoral experimentation with proportional representation, weighted voting, and limited voting is being rediscovered (see Grofman 1982a; Weaver, this volume).

This renewed scholarly attention to the study of electoral systems is long overdue. The late Stein Rokkan wrote as recently as 1968, "Given the crucial importance of the organization of legitimate elections in the development of the mass democracies of the twentieth century, it

is indeed astounding to discover how little serious effort has been invested in the comparative study of the wealth of information available" (Rokkan, 1968, p. 17). The long past neglect of electoral systems by social scientists is especially surprising since election rules not only have important effects on other elements of the political system, especially the party system, but also offer a practical instrument for political engineers who want to make changes in the political system. Indeed, Sartori aptly characterizes electoral systems as "the most specific manipulative instrument of politics" (1968b, p. 273).

No single volume can do justice to the range of issues which ought to be dealt with in a complete study of the political consequences of electoral laws. For example, the independent variables analyzed by Rae (e.g., ballot structure, election type, number of representatives to be elected from each district, and total number of representatives in the legislature) are only a partial inventory of those that can have a critical impact, and the principal dependent variables he considers (proportionality of party representation and creation of legislative majorities), while among the most important elements of a proper analysis of electoral laws and their political consequences, omit a large number of relevant concerns. In particular, in addition to

1. Electoral formulas [e.g., proportional representation (PR) vs. majoritarian systems; for alternative typologies see Rae, 1967, 1971; Grofman, 1975]
2. Ballot structure (e.g., nominal vs. ordinal)
3. District magnitude (number of seats)
4. Size of legislature
5. Number of candidates/parties

we should consider (cf. Fishburn, 1983):

1. Suffrage and registration requirements
2. Ease of voter access to the electoral process (e.g., availability of bilingual ballots, polling hours, number and location of polling stations, and enforcement of voter rights against intimidation)[1]
3. Ease of party/candidate access to the political process (e.g., candidate eligibility requirements, signature-gathering rules, nominating fees, party-slating procedures, and bans on "antisystem" parties)
4. Structure of political competition (e.g., partisan vs. nonpartisan ballots and availability of intraparty preference voting)
5. Special features of ballot format (e.g., office block vs. party check-

off, machine vs. paper ballot, open versus secret, and sequencing rules for candidate/party ballot position)
6. Special features for transforming votes into outcomes (e.g., the U.S. electoral college and electoral thresholds in PR systems)
7. Districting procedures (e.g., rules which constrain districts to satisfy equal population guidelines or compactness norms, or to provide representation of ethnic or other communities of interest)
8. Campaign financing rules (limits on donations and spending, nonconfidentiality of information on donors, and provisions for public financing)
9. Campaign timing rules (e.g., fixed vs. variable interval elections and length of term in office)
10. Other features of campaigning (e.g., rules on media access, rules prohibiting "unfair" advertising, rules on sites where campaigning is forbidden, and restrictions on the period during which a campaign can be conducted)
11. Number and type of offices which are subject to electoral choice (e.g., appointive vs. elective vs. administrative mechanisms for various policy domains, number of different elections voters are expected to participate in annually, and regularity of election dates)
12. Degree of "bundling" of elections (e.g., sequencing of dates for local, state, and national elections and for executive and legislative elections; and regularity of election dates)
13. Mechanisms for voter intervention (e.g., initiative, referendum, and recall)

Similarly, while the degree of seats-votes proportionality and facilitation of majority legislative control are among the most important political consequences of electoral laws, also relevant are (1) the effects on ideological polarization of the electorate; (2) the structure of party organization; (3) intraparty versus interparty competition; (4) regional and national integration; (5) the interaction of political and economic "cycles"; (6) voter participation and sense of voter efficacy; (7) incentives to strategic voting; (8) perceived regime legitimacy; and (9) representation of racial, ethnic, and other group interests.

Since we could not cover all the variables and issues enumerated above, our selection of topics has been guided by three principles. First, we commissioned review essays on topics where there is a substantial body of research which could usefully be summarized and which may not be well-known to specialists in comparative election systems. Thus Engstrom and McDonald write on the effects of at-large

elections on minority representation; Cassel writes on nonpartisan elections; Weaver considers PR in the United States; Taylor, Gudgin, and Johnston take up political geography; and Fishburn reviews social choice approaches. Second, we commissioned articles on various electoral institutions which are not well researched, as a spur to further work. Included are Lijphart, Lopez-Pintor, and Sone on limited voting in Spain and Japan; Lijphart on proportionality by non-PR methods; Scarrow on ballot format and cross-endorsement in plurality systems in the United States; Katz on intraparty preference voting; and Keech on the length and renewability of electoral terms. Finally, we sought to avoid duplication of the literature surveys in such excellent compilations as Butler, Penniman, and Ranney (1981), Cadart (1983), and Bogdanor and Butler (1983).

Effects of Election Type on Political Competition

We are especially pleased to begin this volume with a set of three complementary essays on one of the most important issues in the analysis of the effects of electoral laws: the relationship between type of electoral system (e.g., simple plurality, plurality with double ballot, and various forms of proportional representation) and the number of political parties contesting elections. All three articles take as their starting point the formulation in Duverger (1951a) that the plurality system favors the two-party system, commonly referred to as "Duverger's law," while PR methods and the double-ballot system favor multipartyism, referred to as "Duverger's hypothesis."

The first of these chapters is by William Riker, "Duverger's Law Revisited."[2] After discussing the ambiguities in Duverger's original formulation concerning the deterministic or probabilistic nature of the claimed relationships, Riker reviews evidence unfavorable to both Duverger's hypothesis and Duverger's law and then seeks to reformulate the latter so as to be able to account for the apparent counterexamples of Canada and India. His proposed modifications focus on a distinction between localized versus national two-party competition, on the one hand, and the presence or absence of a party capable of regularly commanding a majority against any probable *single* opponent, on the other. Riker then goes on to discuss the rationally grounded motivations for voter and party leaders which could explain the empirical fit of Duverger's law.

Sartori's chapter, "The Influence of Electoral Systems: Faulty Laws or Faulty Method?" deals with the scientific status of assertions about the link between election type and party number. After first clarifying

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com