

Abbreviations

MMM mixed-member majoritarian

MMP mixed-member proportional

PR proportional representation

SMP single-member plurality

STV single transferable vote

- any change of at least 20 per cent in assembly size (Lijphart 1994: 13).

Lijphart later elaborates on what he means by the “decisive tier” in multi-tier systems: in systems with allocation of remainders at the upper tier, the lower-tier formula does count as significant; in systems with adjustment seats at the national tier, the lower-tier formula is not significant (Lijphart 1994: 32–6); in the non-compensatory multi-tier system used in past Greek elections, all tiers are significant (Lijphart 1994: 42–5).

I supplement Lijphart’s criteria in two ways. First, with respect to the proportionality of the electoral system, his criteria do not entirely determine which cases should be included. I make the following additions:

- Several countries in Eastern Europe use differentiated thresholds, where different thresholds apply to parties running independently and coalitions of parties running jointly. Lijphart did not encounter such thresholds in his case set. I err here on the side of inclusion, allowing changes of at least 20 per cent in any one of a ladder of differentiated thresholds to count as significant.
- Lijphart’s rules cover systems of multi-tier districting (including MMP), but they do not tell us how to deal with mixed–independent systems (Massicotte and Blais 1999). The issue with such systems is what proportion of seats need to be affected by a change for it to be considered significant. Lijphart rightly ignores the abolition of the STV system that, before 1948, was used to elect 1.4 per cent of the seats in the UK House of Commons: the UK system had not been mixed in any serious sense. But how many seats must be involved before a system becomes mixed? We could apply the 20 per cent rule to this question. But this would exclude, for example, the reform in Bulgaria in 2009, which replaced a pure list PR system with a system in which just fewer than 13 per cent of the seats are elected by SMP. To exclude such a change while including adjustments in PR formulas that shift only a handful of seats would be perverse. We need a lower threshold here than for the other criteria that Lijphart considers. I therefore follow Massicotte and Blais (1999: 345) and say that, in mixed–independent systems, a change in electoral system type affecting at least 5 per cent of the seats should count as significant.

My second extension of Lijphart's criteria is the inclusion of changes that may leave proportionality unaltered but that affect personalization. I define personalization as the degree to which the electoral system focuses voters' attention and choices upon political parties or upon individual candidates. Drawing on existing literature (e.g., Carey and Shugart 1995; Karvonen 2004, 2010; André et al. 2009), I identify four aspects of electoral systems that influence personalization:

- *preference voting*: opportunities to express preferences across individual candidates within a party;
- *seat allocation*: the weight given to these preference votes in determining which candidates are elected;
- *vote pooling*: whether a vote for a particular candidate can help a party's other candidates secure election;
- *district magnitude*: the number of seats available in a district.

For two of these aspects, their relationship to personalization is unambiguous. First, regarding *seat allocation*, the greater the weight attached to preference votes in determining who is elected, the greater is the personalization of the election. It is common to distinguish between closed list systems, semi-open list systems, and fully open list systems. In the first case, voters have no say over the order in which a party's candidates are elected, while in the last, voters entirely determine that order. In the case of semi-open list systems, preference votes can influence the order, but parties' prior orderings matter too. Thus, any shift from closed lists to semi-open lists or from semi-open lists to fully open lists constitutes an increase in personalization. In addition, we must allow for variation among semi-open list systems: these vary widely from systems in which it is very difficult and rare for voters to change list order to those in which party orderings exist but are frequently subverted. Semi-open list systems in Europe fall into two categories: in some, a candidate must secure in preference votes a certain percentage of the party's total vote in order to rise to the top of the list; in others, votes cast for a party list without expression of preferences are counted as votes for the ordering decided by the party and are counted alongside preference votes when determining each candidate's level of support. In analogy to Lijphart's approach, I count as significant any shift between categories (closed list, semi-open list, and open list) and, among semi-open systems, any change of at least

20 per cent in the thresholds required before preference votes change list order or in the weight attached to non-preference votes.

Second, the greater is vote pooling, the weaker is the personalization of the electoral system. Thus, systems with pooling (list systems, whether proportional

do not take account of the number of preference votes. Nor do I allow for district magnitude, though shifts between single- and multi-member districts will often count as significant because they affect seat allocation and/or vote pooling.

Changes in Proportionality

Table 1 in the article shows the direction of reform in cases where there was a pre-existing democratic electoral system. Where there was no such system, it shows the nature of the new system adopted. In the cases of countries gaining independence (the Baltic states, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Slovenia, and Malta), I include comparison with previous democratic elections for republic-wide (in the Maltese case, dependency-wide) legislative bodies. (Cyprus, however, had no island-wide legislative elections before 1960.)

In respect of new adoptions, I classify systems into three categories: proportional, intermediate (“mid”), and majoritarian.

Problems arise when a package of reforms has mixed effects. In some such cases, the overall effect is clear. In others, it is not, and I describe their effects on proportionality as “mixed”. The following complex cases may be noted:

- The reform enacted in Austria in 1992 changed the district structure and introduced a new threshold. According to Müller (2005: 400), it “was meant to strengthen the accountability of MPs while maintaining roughly the current level of proportionality”. I therefore classify it as having mixed effect.
- The Bulgarian reform of 1991 replaced the MMM system used in 1990, which comprised 200 seats elected by PR and 200 elected by SMP, with a pure PR system electing 240 seats. The change increased proportionality by removing the large majoritarian component, but also reduced it by sharply reducing assembly size. The overall effect was, however, to increase proportionality.
- The Danish reform of 1953 introduced a variety of changes, but the most important all restricted the upper compensatory tier, thereby reducing proportionality (cf. Elklit 2002: 43–6).
- The German reforms of 1953 and 1956 both had mixed effects. The first raised the 5 per cent threshold from the *Land* to the national level but also allowed voters two votes rather than one. The second raised the alternative threshold from one district seat to three, but also allowed parties to pool remainder votes national^{1.87o}.

reinforced PR was so great that the change in fact increased proportionality (e.g., Patrikios and Karyotis 2008: 357).

- The reform in Iceland in 2000 introduced a number of conflicting changes. Hardarson (2002: 151) implies that these were designed to compensate each other, such as to leave proportionality unchanged. I therefore count this as a mixed case.
- The Italian reform of 2005 increased proportionality among the parties of the winning coalition and among all other parties, but it introduced the possibility of significant disproportionality between the winning coalition and all other parties by guaranteeing a majority for the largest coalition. I therefore categorize it as mixed.
- The reform in Slovenia in 2000 introduced several changes, but the most important was an increase in the threshold from around 3.2 per cent to 4 per cent. I therefore treat it as having reduced proportionality.
- The Swedish reform of

(or where the degree of settlement versus bargain is impossible to identify from the sources available).

There are nine cases where I have been unable to find sources that allow the reform process to be classified. I would welcome suggestions on these. Indeed, as I have emphasized, I acknowledge that some of the categorizations shown may miss key aspects of particular reform episodes. I hope that country specialists will feel free to contest the categorizations that I have provided.

Golder, Matt (2004). "Democratic Electoral Systems around the World, 1946–2000" (dataset and codebook). Accessed at

Kopecký, Petr (2004). "The Czech Republic: Entrenching Proportional Representation", in Josep Colomer (ed.), *Handbook of Electoral System Choice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 347–58.

Parliament of the Czech Republic (1995). "Act No. 237 on Elections to the Parliament of the Czech Republic, and on Amendments to Certain Other Acts", 27 September. Available at www.legislationline.org.

Parliament of the Czech Republic (1995). "Zákon 247/1995 Sb. o volbách do Parlamentu České Republiky a o změnách a doplnění některých dalších zákonů", incorporating amendments to 2004. Available at <http://www.psp.cz/docs/texts/1995-247.html>.

Plecitá-Vlachová, Klára, and Mary Stegmaier (2007). "The Parliamentary Election in the Czech Republic, June 2006", *Electoral Studies*, 27:1, 179–84.

Williams, Kieran (2005). "Judicial Review of Electoral Thresholds in Germany, Russia, and the Czech Republic", *Election Law Journal*, 4:3, 191–206.

Williams, Kieran (2009). Personal communication.

Denmark

Elklit, Jørgen (1993). "Simpler Than Its Reputation: The Electoral System in Denmark since 1920", *Electoral Studies*, 12:1, 41–57.

Elklit, Jørgen (2002). "The Politics of Electoral System Development and Change: The Danish Case", in Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart (eds.), *The Evolution of Electoral and Party Systems in the Nordic Countries*. New York: Agathon, 15–66.

Elklit, Jørgen (2009). Personal communication.

Laakso, Markku, and Rein Taagepera (1978). "Proportional Representation in Scandinavia; Implications for Finland", *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 1:1, 43–60.

Miller, Kenneth E. (1964). "The Danish Electoral System", *Parliamentary Affairs*, 18:1, 71–81.

Ministry of the Interior and Social Affairs (2009). *The Parliamentary Electoral System in Denmark*. Copenhagen: Ministry of the Interior and Social Affairs.

Accessed at <http://elections.ism.dk/parliament-elections/Documents/Parlelectsys.pdf>, 24 March 2010.

Finland

Nurmi, Hannu, and Lasse Nurmi (2007), "The Parliamentary Election in Finland, March 2007", *Electoral Studies*, 26:4, 797–

De Gaulle, Charles (1970 [1950]). "Conférence de Presse Tenue au Palais d'Orsay, 16 mars 1950", in Charles de Gaulle, *Discours et Messages*, Volume 2. Paris: Plon, 344–58.

Favier, Pierre, and Michel Martin-Roland (1991). *La Décennie Mitterrand, Volume 2: Les Épreuves (1984 1988)*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Frears, John (1977). *Political Parties and Elections in the Fifth Republic*. London: C. Hurst.

Frears, John (1986). "The French Electoral System in 1986: PR by Lists and Highest Average", *Parliamentary Affairs*, 39:4, 489–95.

Gaxie, Daniel (1990). "Les partis politiques et les modes de scrutin en France, (1985–1986), croyances et intérêts", in Serge Noiret (ed.), *Political Strategies and Electoral Reforms: Origins of Voting Systems in Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Baden-Baden: Nomos [1 0 0 1 120.74 511.03 Tm0 g0 G[00B1}TJETQq0.00000912 0 6

Wahl, Nicholas (1959b). *The Fifth Republic: France's New Political System*. New York: Random House.

Williams, Philip (1954). *Politics in Post-War France: Parties and the Constitution in the Fourth Republic*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co.

Williams, Philip M. (1964). *Crisis and Compromise: Politics in the Fourth Republic*. London: Longman.

Williams, Philip M., and Martin Harrison (1959). "France 1958", in D. E. Butler, Philip M. Williams, Martin Harrison, Zbigniew Pelczynski, Basil Chubb, and R. R. Farquharson, *Elections Abroad*. London: Macmillan, 11–90.

Williams, Philip M., and Martin Harrison (1961). *De Gaulle's Republic*, 2nd edition. London: Longmans.

Wright, Gordon (1950). *The Reshaping of French Democracy*. London: Methuen & Co.

Germany

Bawn, Kathleen (1993). "The Logic of Institutional Preferences: German Electoral Law as a Social Choice Outcome", *American Journal of Political Science*, 37:4, 965–89.

Bundestag (2008). "Federal Elections Act" s

University of Economics and Business, Technical Report No. 72. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=948365>.

Kazamias, G., and D. Papadimitriou (2002). "The Elections in Greece, April 2000", *Electoral Studies*, 21:4, 649–55.

Kovras, Iosif (2010). "The Parliamentary Election in Greece, October 2009", *Electoral Studies* 29:?, ??–??.

Limberes, Nickolas M. (1986). "The Greek Election of June 1985: A Socialist Entrenchment", *West European Politics*, 9:1, 142–47.

Lyrantzis, Christos (1984). "Political Parties in Post-Junta Greece: A Case of 'Bureaucratic Clientelism'?", *West European Politics*,

Bozóki, András, Márta Elbert, Melinda Kalmár, Béla Révész, Erzsébet Ripp, and Zoltán Ripp, eds. (1999/2000). *A rendszerváltás forgatókönyve: Kerekasztaltárgyalások 1989-ben*. Eight volumes. Vol. 1–4: Budapest: Magvet , 1999; Vol 5–8: Budapest: Új Mandátum Eight vol

Atti Parlamentari (1954). "Seduta di Mercoledì 9 Giugno 1954", Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei Deputati, Legislatura II, Discussioni, 8921–75.

Baldini, Gianfranco (2011). "Do All Roads Lead to Rome? The Different

La Palombara, Joseph G. (1953). "The Italian Elections and the Problem of Representation", *American Political Science Review*, 47:3, 676–703.

Masseti, Emanuele (2006). "Electoral Reform in Italy: From PR to Mixed System

Davies, Philip John, and Andrejs Valdis Ozolins (1996). "The Latvian Parliamentary Election of 1995", *Electoral Studies*, 15:1, 124–8.

Davies, Philip John, and Andrejs Valdis Ozolins (2001). "The 1998 Parliamentary Election in Latvia", *Electoral Studies*, 20:1, 135–41.

Davies, Philip John, and Andrejs Valdis Ozolins (2004). "The Parliamentary Election in Latvia, October 2002", *Electoral Studies*, 23:4, 834–40.

Mikkel, Evald, and Vello Pettai (2004). "The Baltics: Independence with Divergent Electoral Systems", in Josep Colomer (ed.), *Handbook of Electoral System Choice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 332–46.

Sprudz, Adolf (2001). "Rebuilding Democracy in Latvia: Overcoming a Dual Legacy", in Jan Zielonka (ed.), *Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe, Volume 1: Institutional Engineering*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 139–64.

Lithuania

Clark, Terry, and Žilvinas Martinaitis (2008). "Electoral Reform and Electoral System Effects in Lithuania". Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties (EPOP) Conference, Manchester.

Clark, Terry, and Nerijus Prekivius (2000). "The Effects of Changes to the Electoral Law in Premier-

Parliament of Lithuania (1996). "Law on the Amendment of the Law on Elections to the Seimas", 27 June. Accessed at http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_e?p_id=31282&p_query=&p_tr2=, 24 March 2010.

Parliament of Lithuania (2008). "Seimo Rinkim statymo". Accessed at http://www3.lrs.lt/pls/inter3/dokpaieska.showdoc_l?p_id=318823&p_query=&p_tr2=, 18 December 2009.

Lukošaitis, Alvidas (2000). "The Context of Parliamentary Elections 2000: The Experience and Perspectives of Coalition Politics in Lithuania", *Lithuanian Political Yearbook*, 1, 139–66.

Luxembourg

Dumont, Patrick, and Lieven De Winter (2003). "Luxembourg: A Case of More "Direct" Delegation and Accountability", in Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Torbjörn Bergman (eds.), *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 474–97.

Inter-Parliamentary Union (n.d.). Parline Database. Available at www.ipu.org.

Malta

Buhagiar, Anton, and Josef Lauri (2009). "STV in Malta: A Crisis?", *Voting Matters*, 26, 1–12.

Fenech, Dominic (1992). "The 1992 Maltese Election", *West European Politics*, 15:4, 189–95.

Fenech, Dominic (1997). "The 1996 Maltese Election: Swing of the Pendulum", *West European Politics*, 20:2, 165–72.

Gonzi Commission [L. Gonzi, Austin Gatt, Paul Lia, Wenzu Mintoff, and J. R. Grima] (1994). *Commission on the Electoral System: Final Report*, trans. Joseph Felice Pace. Valetta. Available at Lane (n.d.).

Government of Malta (1990). "Reforming Malta's Electoral Laws" (White Paper). Valetta: Government of Malta. Available at Lane (n.d.).

Jacobs, Kristof, and Monique Leyenaar (2011). "More than Meets the Eye: A

Millard, Frances (2003). "Elections in Poland 2001: Electoral Manipulation and Party Upheaval", 792 reW'nB6k g0 3(a)-3(va)-3(l)] TJETQq0.00000912 0 612 792 r54W692.746 r10

Pridham, Geoffrey (2002). "The European Union's Democratic Conditionality and Domestic Politics in Slovakia: The Meiar and Dzurinda Governments Compared", *Europe Asia Studies*, 54

- De Esteban, Jorge, and Luis López Guerra (1985). "Electoral Rules and Candidate Selection", in Howard R. Penniman and Eusebio M. Mujal-León (eds.), *Spain at the Polls, 1977, 1979, and 1982: A Study of the National Elections*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 48–72.
- Field, Bonnie N. (2009). "The Parliamentary Election in Spain, March 2008". *Electoral Studies*, 28:1, 155–8.
- Field, Bonnie N., and Kerstin Hamann (2008). "Conclusion: The Spanish Case and Comparative Lessons on Institutions, Representation, and Democracy", in Bonnie N. Field and Kerstin Hamann (eds.), *Democracy and Institutional Development: Spain in Comparative Theoretical Perspective*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 203–16.
- Gilmour, David (1985). *The Transformation of Spain: From Franco to the Constitutional Monarchy*. London: Quartet Books.
- Gunther, Richard, Giacomo Sani, and Goldie Shabad (1986). *Spain after Franco: The Making of a Competitive Party System*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Hopkin, Jonathan (2005). "Spain: Proportional Representation with Majoritarian Outcomes", in Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell (eds.), *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 375–94.
- Maravall, José María, and Julián Santamaría (1986). "Political Change in Spain and the Prospects for Democracy", in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 71–108.
- Medhurst, Kenneth N. (1973). *Government in Spain*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Meisler, Stanley (1977). "Spain's New Democracy", *Foreign Affairs*, 56:1, 190–208.
- Montero, José Ramón, and Ignacio Lago (2007). "The Selection of an Electoral System: Less Consensus, More Heresthetics". ECPR General Conference, Pisa.
- Payne, Stanley (1985). "Representative Government in Spain: The Historical Background", in Howard R. Penniman and Eusebio M. Mujal-León (eds.), *Spain at the Polls, 1977, 1979, and 1982: A Study of the National Elections*

Vallés, Josep M. (1986). "Sistema electoral y democracia representativa: Nota sobre la Ley Orgánica del Régimen Electoral General de 1985 y su función política",

Rokkan, Stein (1970). "Electoral Systems", in Stein Rokkan, with Angus Campbell, Per Torsvik, and Henry Valen, *Citizens, Elections, Parties: Approaches to the Comparative Study of the Processes of Development*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 147–68.

Ruin, Olof (1988). "Sweden: The New Constitution (1974) and the Tradition of Consensual Politics", in Vernon Bogdanor, ed. *Constitutions in Democratic Politics*. Aldershot: Gower, 309–27.

Rustow, Dankwart A. (1969 [1955]). *The Politics of Compromise: A Study of Parties and Cabinet Government in Sweden*. New York: Greenwood Press. First published by Princeton University Press, 1955.

Särilvik, Bo (1983). "Scandinavia", in Vernon Bogdanor, and David Butler (eds.), *Democracy and Elections: Electoral Systems and Their Political Consequences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 122–48.

Särilvik, Bo (2002). "Party and Electoral System in Sweden", in Bernard Grofman and Arend Lijphart (eds.), *The Evolution of Electoral and Party Systems in the Nordic Countries*. New York: Agathon, 225–69.

Switzerland

Dardanelli, Paolo (2008). "The Swiss Federal Elections of 2007", *Electoral Studies*, 27:4, 748–51.

Lutz, Georg (2004). "Switzerland: Introducing Proportional Representation from Below", in Josep M