

**ANDREW STEPHEN REYNOLDS**

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**EMPLOYMENT**

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

2001-2003, Assistant Professor, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

1997-2001, Assistant Professor, University of Notre Dame

**PUBLICATIONS**

Scholarly Books

(with Ben Reilly and Andrew Ellis) *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2005, published in Spanish and French in 2005).

*Electoral Systems and Democratization in Southern Africa* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), 341pp.

(with Ben Reilly) *Electoral Systems and Conflict Management in Divided Societies* (Washington DC, National Academy Press, 1999), 62pp.

(with Ben Reilly) *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, First published 1997, second edition 1997, published in Serbo-Croat 1999, Spanish, French and Arabic in 2000, Albanian in 2001, Burmese in 2002), 168pp.

*Voting for a New South Africa* (Cape Town, Maskew Miller Longman, 1993), 130pp.

Edited Books

*The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2002), 507pp.

*Election '99: South Africa – From Mandela to Mbeki* (New York, St. Martin's Press; Cape Town, David Philip; London, James Currey, 1999), 256pp.

(with Timothy Sisk) *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington DC, US Institute of Peace Press, 1998), 192pp.

*Election '94: South Africa - An Analysis of the Results, Campaigns and Future Prospects* (New York, St. Martin's Press; Cape Town, David Philip; London, James Currey, 1994, second edition 1994), 237pp.

#### Refereed Articles in Professional Journals

“A framework for the systematic study of election quality,” (with Jørgen Elklit) *Democratization*. Vol.12 No.2 (2005), pp.147-162.

“Reserved Seats in National Legislatures,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. Vol XXV, No.3. (May 2005)

“The Impact of Election Administration on the Legitimacy of Emerging Democracies,” (with Jørgen Elklit) *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Vol.40, No.2 (July 2002), pp.86-119.

“How Burma Could Democratize,” (with Alfred Stepan, Zaw Oo and Stephen Levine) *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (October 2001), pp.95-108.

“Analyzing the Impact of Election Administration on Democratic Politics,” (with Jørgen Elklit) *Representation*, Vol.38, No.2 (Spring 2001), pp. 3-10.

“The Northern Irish Good Friday Agreement: A Pied Piper to a United Ireland?” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol.114, No.4 (January 2000), pp.613-638.

“Women in the Legislatures and Executives of the World: Knocking at the Highest Glass Ceiling,” *World Politics*, Vol.51, No.4 (July 1999), pp.547-572.

“Power-Sharing Democracy in the New South Africa” (with Thomas Koelble), *Politics and Society*, Vol.24, No.3 (September 1996), pp.221-236.

“Modeling the Drop-off Between Minority Population Share and the Size of the Minority Electorate in Situations of Differential Voter Eligibility Across Groups” (with Bernard Grofman), *Electoral Studies*, Vol.15, No.2 (May 1996), pp.255-261.

#### Nonrefereed Articles in Professional Journals

“First Do No Harm: Seeing Constitutional Design Through the Eyes of Medicine” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (January 2005).

“Debate: PR in Southern Africa -- The Case for Proportionality,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 6, No. 4 (October 1995), pp.117-124, and (updated) in *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington DC, US Institute of Peace Press, 1998).

“Constitutional Engineering in Southern Africa,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (April 1995), pp. 86-99.

“The Consequences of South Africa’s PR Electoral System,” *Representation*, Vol. 32, No. 119 (Autumn 1994), pp. 57-60.

#### Chapters in Edited Scholarly Books

“South Africa: Succeeding with Proportional Representation,” in *Electoral System Choice*, ed. Josep Colomer (New York, Palgrave, 2004).

“Designing Electoral Systems,” in *Crafting Indonesian Democracy*, ed. R. William Liddle (Jakarta, Mizan, 2001).

“Electoral Systems and Conflict Management in Divided Societies,” (with Ben Reilly) in *International Conflict Resolution After the Cold War* (Washington D.C., National Academy Press, 2000).

“Electoral Systems and the art of Constitutional Engineering: An Inventory of the Main Findings,” (with Bernard Grofman) in *Rules and Reason: Perspectives on Constitutional Political Economy*, eds. Ram Mudambi, Pietro Navarra and Giuseppe Sobbrino (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2000).

“Majoritarian or Power-Sharing Government,” in *Democracy and Institutions: The Life Work of Arend Lijphart*, eds. Markus Crepaz and Thomas Koelble (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2000), pp.155-196.

“The Results,” in *Election ‘99: South Africa* (Cape Town, David Philip; London, James Currey; New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1999), pp.173-198.

“Sierra Leone,” in *Elections in Africa*, eds. Dieter Nohlen, Michael Krennerich, and Bernhard Thibaut (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999), pp.789-802.

“Electoral System Reform in the United Kingdom,” *Inroads: A Journal of Opinion*, No.7, (May 1998), pp.109-114 and in *Making Every Vote Count: Reassessing Canada’s Electoral System*, ed. Henry Milner (Toronto, Broadview Press, 1999).

“Elections, Electoral Systems, and Conflict Management” (with Timothy Sisk), in *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa* (Washington DC, US Institute of Peace Press, 1998).

“Electoral Systems for Divided Societies” (with Ben Reilly), in *Democracy and Deep Rooted Conflict: Options for Negotiators* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1998), pp.191-204.

“Voter Turnout: Is Democracy in the Numbers?” in *Report of the 1997 International IDEA Democracy Forum* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1998), pp.74-79.

“The Case for Democratic Hope in Africa,” in *Designing Electoral Systems for Emerging Democracies*, ed. Jørgen Elklit, (Copenhagen, DANIDA, 1997).

“The Results,” in *Election '94: South Africa* (Cape Town, David Philip; London, James Currey; New York, St. Martin's Press, 1994), pp. 182-220.

### Major Encyclopedia Contributions

“Designing Electoral Systems,” in *The International Encyclopedia of Elections*, ed. Richard Rose (Washington DC, Congressional Quarterly Press, 2000), pp.58-66.

### Book Reviews

“David Butler and Denis Kavanagh (eds). *The British General Election of 1997*,” *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (Fall 1998), pp.17-20.

“Colin Baker. *Seeds of Trouble: Government Policy and Land Rights in Nyasaland, 1946-1964*,” *African Studies Review*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (December 1995), pp.114-116.

### Other Publications

*Free, Fair or Flawed: Challenges for Legitimate Elections in Afghanistan*. (with Andrew Wilder) (Kabul, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, 2004).

*Voter Turnout in Democratic Elections: A Worldwide Comparison* (Stockholm, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 1997).

*Electoral Systems - An Introductory Guide* (London, Charter 88 Trust, 1992).

### Opinion Editorials

Washington Post (7-6-04 and 9-25-04)

Christian Science Monitor (4-17-93, 6-10-93, 9-14-94, and 10-19-00)

Chicago Tribune (3-23-94)

San Diego Union Tribune (10-26-93).

### Forthcoming Publications

“Democratic Electoral Practice,” in *Complex Power Sharing* (Carnegie Commission on Peace and Conflict, forthcoming).

“Constitutional Engineering and Democratic Stability: The debate surrounding political institutions in Afghanistan,” in *State and Security-Building: Lessons from Afghanistan* (Lynne Reinner, forthcoming).

### Research and Writing in Progress

#### Book Project

#### **Applying the lessons of medicine to the art of constitutional design: Treating the ailing society as if it were an ailing patient.**

Focused on over thirty cases in the post cold war period, this work looks at constitutional design through the lens of medical diagnosis and treatment. Designing a constitution to help stabilize a nation state is much like treating a sick patient and failed political settlements often are born of poor diagnosis. There are potentially many parallels between the two fields. Not least is the fact that designing political institutions is a temporally defined task. In the beginning the institutions negotiated and imposed are often about triage -- keeping the patient alive in the field (e.g., Bosnia in the 90s, Sierra Leone since 1997, or Afghanistan today). Then emergency medicine takes over with power sharing and autonomy (e.g., South Africa, Indonesia or Kosova). Finally, institutions are designed to promote the medium to long term care of the nation state and its political stability – they attempt to address the underlying socio-political divisions and consolidate democracy. The continuum of medical treatment – triage, emergency medicine, medium term, and long term care – is eminently applicable to the art of constitutional engineering.

#### Articles for Professional Journals – under review or in progress

“How the World Votes: The Political Consequences of Ballot Design, Innovation and Manipulation,” (with Marco Steenbergen).

“Seeds of Democratic Hope in Sudan,” (with Lauren Ploch).

“The Greatest Test: Consociationalism and Conflict Management in the Sudan,” (with Jeffrey Saltzman and Susan Stigant).

“Explaining Disproportionality and the Effective Number of Political Parties: Broadening the Data Set Beyond Established Democracies,” (with Layna Mosley).

“The presence of openly gay and lesbian politicians in the parliaments of the world.”

“Cabinet Ministers around the World.”

## PAPERS PRESENTED

Between 1991-2005 various papers presented at conferences and seminars in Boston, Cambridge, Chapel Hill, Chicago, Durham, Greensboro, Honolulu, Irvine, New York, Notre Dame, Philadelphia, Princeton, San Diego, San Francisco, Stanford, Washington DC, Winston-Salem (USA), Cambridge, London, Oxford (UK), Montreal, Toronto (Canada), Freetown (Sierra Leone), Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Pretoria (South Africa), Nairobi (Kenya), Harare (Zimbabwe), Jakarta (Indonesia), Amman (Jordan), Jerusalem (Israel), Brasilia (Brazil), Stockholm (Sweden), Locarno (Switzerland), The Hague (Netherlands), Vienna (Austria), Warsaw (Poland), Gabarone (Botswana), Georgetown (Guyana), Canberra (Australia), Wellington (New Zealand), Kabul (Afghanistan), Triesenberg (Liechtenstein) Curacao (Netherlands Antilles) and Aarhus (Denmark).

## EDUCATION

Ph.D.	1996	Political Science, <i>University of California, San Diego, USA</i> Dissertation Chair, Arend Lijphart
MA (Dist.)	1992	South African Politics, <i>University of Cape Town, South Africa</i> Dissertation Chair, Hermann Giliomee
BA (Hons)	1988	Political Science, <i>University of East Anglia, United Kingdom</i>

## TEACHING AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

- \* The comparative study of constitutional engineering in plural societies.
- \* The political consequences of electoral systems.
- \* Democratization and electoral politics in Southern and West Africa.
- \* The politics of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Western Europe.
- \* The political theory of representation.
- \* Issues of minority voting rights and representation in the United States.

Awarded a University of California, San Diego 'Excellence in Teaching Award' for 1994-1995.

## FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND AWARDS

*Institute for Arts and Humanities, Chapel Hill (2005)*  
Fellow, Fall 2005

*Carolina Asia Center (2005)*  
\$5,000 Freeman Course Development Award

*UCIS, UNC Chapel Hill (2003)*  
\$3,000 for travel to Burma

*Ford Foundation* (1999) Co-PI

\$60,000 to support the conference **Constitutional Design 2000** held December 1999 at the University of Notre Dame.

*United States Institute of Peace* (1999) Co-PI

\$38,000 to support the conference **Constitutional Design 2000**.

*Kellogg Institute*, University of Notre Dame (1999) Co-PI

\$40,000 to support the conference **Constitutional Design 2000**.

*Nanovic, Keough Institutes and Henkles Fund*, University of Notre Dame (1999) Co-PI

\$18,000 to support the conference **Constitutional Design 2000**.

*Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts*, University of Notre Dame (1999) PI

Travel to South Africa to edit the book *Election '99: South Africa*

*Keough Centre for Irish Studies*, University of Notre Dame (1998) PI

Grant for field research in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

*Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts*, University of Notre Dame (1998) PI

Summer research assistance support for book project on institutions and democratization.

*Nominated for the Harold D. Lasswell Award* (1996/97)

An American Political Science Association award recognising the best doctoral dissertation in the field of policy studies.

Nominated by the Department of Political Science at the University of California, San Diego.

*Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace* (1995/96)

Peace Scholar Fellow. Administered by the United States Institute of Peace, Washington DC.

*Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation* (1995/96)

Dissertation Fellow. Administered by IGCC, University of California

*Centre for the Study of Democracy/Global Peace and Conflict Studies Institute*, UC Irvine (1995)

Grant for August 1995 follow up case study research in South Africa

*National Science Foundation Grant* - SBR-9321864 (1994)

Awarded for the study of the impact of electoral laws on party behavior in the first non-racial South African elections of April 1994 (PI's: Arend Lijphart and Bernard Grofman)

*J.W. Jagger International Scholarship* (1991)

Administered by the University of Cape Town

**PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES**

**Ph.D. Committees**

Jessica Piombo, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Susan Glover, Department of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill

Altin Ilirjani, Department of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill (Chair)

**Reviewer for the Journals:**

*British Journal of Political Science* (since 2000)

*Comparative Political Studies* (since 1999)

*American Political Science Review* (since 1998)

*Party Politics* (since 1998)

*Scandinavian Political Studies* (since 1997)

*NeXus* (since 1997)

*Political Geography* (since 1996)

*Electoral Studies* (since 1995)

*African Studies Review* (since 1994)

**American Political Science Association 2003**

*Panel Chair for the Electoral Systems and Representation Section*

**Electoral Systems Research Committee**

*Associate Editor of the International Newsletter of the ESRC* (1994-1995)

**CONSULTANCIES (CONSTITUTIONAL DESIGN)**

**Netherlands Antilles** (2005)

*Speaker on institutional reform issues for government of the Netherlands Antilles.*

**Afghanistan** (2004-2005)

*Consultant to Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit on election issues.*

**Iraq (2004)**

*NED sponsored advisor to the Coalition Provisional Authority on questions of electoral system design*

**Sudan (2003-2004)**

*US State Department sponsored advisor to the Sudanese SPLM on questions of constitutional and governmental design.*

**Guyana (2004-2005)**

*Consultant to UK Department for International Development on Constitutional Reform issues.*

**Afghanistan (2002-2003)**

*Expert advisor to UK Department for International Development team drafting transition options for Afghani governance.*

*Member of the Liechtenstein Group working on State and Security issues in Afghanistan.*

**Kenya (2002)**

*IRI sponsored advisor to the Constitution of Kenya Reform Commission on questions of electoral system design.*

**Burma (2001)**

*Advisor to the Burma Fund and National Council of the Union of Burma.*

**Guyana (2000)**

*Consultant to Constitutional Reform Commission on questions of electoral system design.*

**Angola (2000)**

*Consultant to Constitutional Commission on questions of constitutional design.*

**Zimbabwe (1999)**

*NDI sponsored advisor to the Constitutional Commission on electoral system design.*

**Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (1999)**

*Expert consultation for the OSCE High Commissioner for Minorities on issues of governance – drafting the ‘Lund Principles’.*

**South Africa (since 1991)**

*Advisor to political parties and members of the Constitutional Assembly on issues of electoral system design.*

*Advisor to the South African Gender Commission on the representation of women.*

**Indonesia (August 1998)**

*Sponsored by the Ford Foundation to advise on constitutional issues in Jakarta.*

**Jordan (1996-1997)**

*International member of the Independent Electoral Review Commission.*

**Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (1997)**

*Expert consultation for the OSCE High Commissioner for Minorities on issues of power-sharing in Central and Eastern Europe.*

**Sierra Leone (September-October 1995)**

*United Nations (UNDP) advisor to the Interim National Election Commission of Sierra Leone.*

**NON-ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT**

1996-97 **International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance**, Stockholm, Sweden  
Program and Research Officer.

Responsible for programs relating to electoral system design, voter turnout, conflict management, issues of democratic consolidation, gender and democracy, and the meanings and values of democracy.

1992, **Charter 88 - Constitutional Reform Campaign**, London, U.K.  
Democracy Day General Election Organizer

1990, **Boston Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights**, Boston, USA.  
Media Officer

1988-1990, **UK 2000 Environmental Organization**, London, U.K.  
Press Officer

**REFERENCES**

Arend Lijphart, Research Professor of Political Science, University of California, San Diego  
(619) 534-3798  
[alijphar@ucsd.edu](mailto:alijphar@ucsd.edu)

Larry Diamond, Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University  
(415) 725-3420  
[diamond@hoover.stanford.edu](mailto:diamond@hoover.stanford.edu)

Bernard Grofman, Professor of Political Science, University of California, Irvine  
(714) 824-6394  
[bgrofman@orion.uci.edu](mailto:bgrofman@orion.uci.edu)

Scott Mainwaring, The Eugene Conley II Chair of Government and Director of the Helen Kellogg  
Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame  
(219) 631 8530  
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