ANDREW STEPHEN REYNOLDS

Political Science Department
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
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EMPLOYMENT

Chair, Global Studies Curriculum, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

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 Jason Brownlee and Tarek Masoud) *After the Awakening: Revolt, Reform, and Renewal in the Arab World* (2012).

Designing Democracy in a Dangerous World (Oxford, Oxford University Press [Comparative Politics Series], 2011.

(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, Arabic in 2007), 223pp.

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, Nepali in 2005), 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.

Articles

"Election System Design and the Arab Spring" (with John M. Carey) *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.22, No.4, (October 2011).

"Electoral Democratization in Nepal," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*. Vol.40, No.3 (2010).

"Elections, Electoral Systems, and Conflict in Africa," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* (Fall/Winter 2009).

"The Role of Political Parties in the Governance of New Democracies," (with John Carey) *Party Politics* Vol.13, No.2 (March 2007).

"Constitutional Design: Promoting Multi Ethnic Democracy," *Harvard International Review*. (Winter 2007), pp.42-47.

"How the World Votes: The Political Consequences of Ballot Design, Innovation and Manipulation," (with Marco Steenbergen) *Electoral Studies*, Vol.25, No.3 (September 2006), 570-598.

"The Curious Case of Afghanistan," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.17, No.2 (April 2006), pp.104-117.

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

"A framework for the systematic study of election quality," (with Jørgen Elklit) *Democratization*. Vol.12 No.2 (March 2005)

"Judging Elections and Election Quality Management Process," (with Jørgen Elklit) *Representation,* Vol.41, No.3 (Autumn 2005), pp.189-207) and in *Revisiting Free and Fair Elections.* ed. Michael Boda. (Geneva, Inter Parliamentary Union, 2005). Translated into French in 2006.

"First Do No Harm: Seeing Constitutional Design through the Eyes of Medicine" *Journal of Democracy,* Vol. 16, No. 1 (January 2005), pp.54-68.

"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.

"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).

"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.

"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 Books

"Power Sharing in Sudan," in *Fragile Bargains: Power Sharing in Africa.* eds. Kaare Strom and Scott Gates (forthcoming).

"Constitutional Medicine," in *Democracy.* Eds. Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 2009).

"Electoral Arrangements in Systems of Complex Power Sharing," in *Settling Self-Determination Disputes: Complex Power-Sharing in Theory and Practice*, eds. Marc Weller and Barbara Metzger (Leiden, Martinus Nijhoff, 2008).

Reserved Seats in National Legislatures: A Comparative Approach," in *Redistricting in Comparative Perspective*, eds. Bernard Grofman and Lisa Handley (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008).

"The State of Play: Minority MPs in National Legislatures," in *State of the World's Minorities: Events of 2005-6* (London, Minority Rights Group International, 2007).

"Constitutional Engineering and Democratic Stability: The debate surrounding political institutions in Afghanistan," in *Building State and Security in Afghanistan* (Princeton NJ, Woodrow Wilson School of International Affairs, 2007).

"Constitutional Engineering in Southern Africa," "Rejonder: The Case for Proportionality," and "The Curious Case of Afghanistan," in *Electoral Systems and Democracy*, eds. Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 2006).

"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 Sobbrio (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

Electoral Systems and the Protection and Participation of Minorities (London, Minority Rights Group International, 2006).

A Guide to Parliamentary Elections in Afghanistan (with Lucy Jones and Andrew Wilder). (Kabul, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, 2005).

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).
Durham Herald Sun Tribune (Columnist May-September 2005)

Research and Writing in Progress

Articles for Professional Journals – under review or in progress

"The presence of openly gay and lesbian politicians in the parliaments of the world." under review at *Comparative Political Studies*.

"Political Scientists in the Trenches: The impact of scholars on real world constitutional design," to be sent to the *Journal of Intervention and State Building.*

"Burma's Great Gamble" to be sent to *Foreign Affairs*.

"Minority Representation in the State of North Carolina: Causes and Consequences," UNC Faculty Engaged Scholars project, to be sent to *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*.

"Political Institutions and Conflict in Zimbabwe," part of the CCAPS project: Constitutional Design and Conflict Management in Africa.

LECTURES PRESENTED

Between 1991-2011 lectures presented at conferences, seminars and workshops in Boston, Cambridge, Chapel Hill, Chicago, Durham, Greensboro, Honolulu, Irvine, New York, Notre Dame, Philadelphia, Princeton, St. Louis, 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), Saha (Yemen), Rangoon (Burma), Bangkok, Mae Sot, Chaing Mai (Thailand), Ulaan Baatar (Mongolia), Beirut (Lebanon), Juba (Sudan), Kathmandu (Nepal), Islamabad (Pakistan), Cairo (Egypt), Benghazi and Tripoli (Libya), and Aarhus (Denmark).

EDUCATION

Ph.D.   1996   Political Science, *University of California, San Diego, USA*

		Dissertation Chair, Arend Lijphart
MA (Dist.)	1992	South African Politics, *University of Cape Town, South Africa*
		Dissertation Chair, Hermann Giliomee
BA (Hons)	1988	Political Science, *University of East Anglia, United Kingdom*

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.
* Democratization and electoral politics in Asia.
* 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.
* LGBT comparative politics.

The 2007 Carolina Women's Leadership Council Faculty-Student Mentoring Award Recipient ($5,000)

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

ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

Chair, Curriculum in International and Area Studies (Global Studies as of 2010), UNC CH, 2009-

Faculty Advisory Board, Institute for the Arts and Humanities 2006-2009

Phillips Ambassadors Steering Committee, 2008-

Study Abroad Advisory Board, 2009-

Global Research Institute Board, 2009-

UNC Advisory Board for Global Education, 2009-

UNC Center for International Business Education and Research Advisory Board, 2009-

FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS, AND AWARDS

Faculty Engaged Scholar UNC (2009-2011)
$15,000 research award

Academic Leadership Development Program UNC (2008)
Fellow, Spring 2008

$7,000 award

UNC African Studies Center (2007)
$4,500 course development award

UNC Peace, War and Defence Ciriculum (2006)
$3,000 course development award

Carolina Asia Center (2006)
$5,000 Freeman award for travel to Mongolia.

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)

Sarah Shair-Rosenfield, Department of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill

Emanuel Coman, Department of Political Science, UNC Chapel Hill

Paula Mukherjee, 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)

Representation (Editorial Board)

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)

Libya (2011)
NDI adviser on transition issues.

Egypt (2011)
NDI adviser on electoral law issues.

Indonesia (2011)
IFES adviser on electoral law issues.

Tunisia (2011)
IFES adviser on constitutional design issues.

Iran (2011)
IFES adviser on electoral law briefing.

Lesotho (2011)
UNDP/UNEAD mediation on election law.

Burma (2010)
Advisor to the Vahu Institute.

Pakistan (2009 and 2010)
IFES sponsored adviser on questions of national and local electoral system design.

Jordan (2009)
IFES sponsored adviser on questions of local electoral system design.

Egypt (2009)
Adviser to IFES and Egyptian government on a women's quota for parliamentary elections.

Iraq (2008)
Senior Electoral Adviser, United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq (UNAMI).

Adviser on minority representation in Governorate Council elections.

United Nations Development Program-Inter Parliamentary Union (2008)
Chief consultant to the project on the parliamentary representation of minorities.

Nepal (2008 and 2009)
IFES sponsored advisor on questions of electoral system design.

Burma (2008)
Co-convenor of expert group under the auspices of the National Endowment for Democracy.

Iraq (2007)
Senior Electoral Adviser, United Nations Electoral Assistant Department-Iraq.
US Institute of Peace contracted adviser to Constitutional Committee of Iraqi Government.

Sudan (2007-2008)
National Democratic Institute advisor to the Sudanese SPLM on questions of election design.

Afghanistan (2006 and 2007)
IFES sponsored advisor to the Afghan Independent Electoral Commission on questions of electoral system design.

Lebanon (2006)
Part of IFES mission to assess the Boutros Commission electoral reform proposals.

Yemen (2005)
IFES sponsored advisor to the Yemen Electoral Commission on questions of electoral system design.

Burma (2001 and 2005)
Conducted seminars under the auspices of the Burma Fund, the Shalom Foundation and the British Government on issues of constitutional and election design.

Netherlands Antilles (2005)
Speaker on institutional reform issues for government of the Netherlands Antilles.

Afghanistan (2004-2005)
Consultant to Afghanistan Research and Evalution Unit on election issues.

Iraq (2004)
NED sponsored advisor to the Coaltion 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 1991-1999)
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