

JACK H. NAGEL
Professor Emeritus of Political Science
University of Pennsylvania

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EDUCATION

Yale University, Ph.D., 1972; M. Phil., 1970
Department of Administrative Science
Program in Organizational Behavior with special emphasis in Empirical Political Theory
Dissertation advisors: Martin Shubik, Robert Dahl, Gerrit Wolf

Swarthmore College, B.A. with Highest Honors, 1966
Major: Political Science; Minors: Economics, Psychology

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

University of Pennsylvania

Professor Emeritus of Political Science, 2012 -

Professor of Political Science (School of Arts and Sciences), 1988-2011
Associate Professor, 1977-88; Assistant Professor, 1973-77; Lecturer, 1971-73

Secondary appointments:

Public Policy and Management (Wharton School), 1983-2003
Public Management (Wharton School), 1979-83
Public Policy Analysis (School of Public and Urban Policy), 1974-83

Administrative positions:

Associate Dean for the Social Sciences, School of Arts and Sciences, 2009-11
Associate Dean for Graduate Studies, School of Arts and Sciences, 2004-08
Chair, Political Science Department, 2000-03
Director, Washington Semester Program, 1994-2002
Chair, Graduate Group in Political Science, 1984-86, 1987-90
Acting Dean, School of Public and Urban Policy, 1981-82
Associate Dean, School of Public and Urban Policy, 1980-1
Chair, Graduate Group in Public Policy Analysis, 1977-79

Temporary and Visiting Positions

Fair Vote, Senior Research Advisor, Jan. 2017 -
University of Essex, United Kingdom, Visiting Professor, Jan. - June 2000
Swarthmore College, Visiting Professor, Spring 1988
Bryn Mawr College, Visiting Professor, Fall 1987
University of Canterbury, New Zealand, Fulbright Lecturer, May - November 1986
Southern Connecticut State College, Instructor in Political Science, 1970-71

HONORS AND AWARDS

Steven F. Goldstone Endowed Term Professor of Political Science, 2001-11
Editorial Board, *British Journal of Political Science*, 2005 -
Editorial Board, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 1999-2013
International Editorial Advisory Board, *Political Science*, 1997-
International Editorial Board, *Electoral Studies*, 1997-2009
Outstanding Professor Award, Greek (fraternity and sorority) community at Penn, 1997
Editorial Board, *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 1999-2003
Co-Editor, *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 1994-99
IRIS Scholar, 1994
Daniel J. Brodsky Term Chair in Political Science, 1991-96
University of Pennsylvania Research Foundation Grants, 1988-89, 1993-95, and 1999-2000
Fulbright Scholar, 1986
UPS Public Policy Initiative Fund Grants, 1985-86 and 1987-88
Community Leadership Seminar Program, 1981-82
National Science Foundation Grant, 1975-77
Fels Research Grants, 1971-74
Woodrow Wilson Fellow, 1966-67
Phi Beta Kappa

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Representation: Elections and Beyond, co-edited with Rogers M. Smith, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013

Participation, Prentice-Hall, 1987

The Descriptive Analysis of Power, Yale University Press, 1975

Journal Articles

"Evaluating Democracy in New Zealand under MMP," *Policy Quarterly*, 8:2, May 2012, 3-11

"State of Independence: Explaining and Maintaining the Distinctive Competence of the *British Journal of Political Science*," *British Journal of Political Science*, 40:4, October 2010, 711-24

"Centre-Party Strength and Major-Party Divergence," *British Journal of Political Science*, 40:2, April 2010, 279-304 (with Christopher Wlezien)

"The Burr Dilemma in Approval Voting," *Journal of Politics*, 69:1, February 2007, 43-58

"Partisan Effects of Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections," *American Politics Quarterly*, 28:3, July 2000, 408-29 (with John E. McNulty)

"Social Choice in a Pluralitarian Democracy: The Politics of Market Liberalization in New Zealand," *British Journal of Political Science*, 28, April 1998, 223-67

"Partisan Effects of Voter Turnout in Senatorial and Gubernatorial Elections," *American Political Science Review*, 90:4, December 1996, 780-93 (with John E. McNulty)

- "Constitutional Reform and Social Difference in New Zealand," *Cardozo Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 4:2, Summer 1996, 373-94
- "How Many Parties Will New Zealand Have under MMP?" *Political Science*, 46:2, December 1994, 136-60
- "What Political Scientists Can Learn from the 1993 Electoral Reform in New Zealand," *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 27:3, September 1994, 525-29
- "Populism, Heresthetics, and Political Stability: Richard Seddon and the Art of Majority Rule", *British Journal of Political Science*, 23, April 1993, 139-74
- "Combining Deliberation and Fair Representation in Community Health Decisions," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 140, July 1992, pp. 1965-86.
- "Approval Voting in Practice," *Public Choice*, 71, 1991, 1-17 (with Steven J. Brams)
- "Psychological Obstacles to Administrative Responsibility: Lessons of the MOVE Disaster," *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 10: 1, Winter 1991, 1-23; reprinted in Richard J. Stillman, ed., *Public Administration: Concepts and Cases*, fifth and subsequent editions, Houghton Mifflin
- "Voter Turnout in New Zealand General Elections," *Political Science*, 40:2, December 1988, 16-38
- "The Approval Ballot as a Possible Component of Electoral Reform in New Zealand," *Political Science*, 39:1, July 1987, 70-79
- "The Effect of Approval Balloting on Strategic Voting Under Alternative Decision Rules," *American Political Science Review*, 8:21, June 1987, 509-524 (with Samuel Merrill III)
- "A Debut for Approval Voting," *PS*, 17:1, Winter 1984, 62-65
- "The Relationship Between Crime and Incarceration Among the American States," *Policy Studies Review*, 2, November 1982, 193-200; a slightly different version also published in *Criminal Corrections: Ideals and Realities*, edited by Jameson Doig, Lexington Books, 1982, pp. 43-55
- "Inequality and Discontent: A Nonlinear Hypothesis," *World Politics*, 20, July 1974, 453-72
- "Some Questions about the Concept of Power," *Behavioral Science*, 13, March 1968, 129-137; reprinted in *Social Psychology: Readings and Perspective*, edited by Edgar Borgatta, Rand McNally, 1969

Chapters in Books

- "Comparing Performance in Canada and the United States: Implications of Sub-national Differences for Standard Explanations," in Paul J. Quirk, Mark Warren, and Colin Campbell, eds., *The North American Experiment: Institutions and Policymaking in Canada and the United States*, forthcoming from Oxford University Press (with Keith Banting and Chelsea Schafer)
- "Introduction" in Jack H. Nagel and Rogers M. Smith, eds., *Representation: Elections and Beyond*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, pp. 1-12 (with Rogers M. Smith)
- "Occam No, Archimedes Yes," in Judith Bara and Albert Weale, eds., *Democratic Politics and Party Competition: Essays in Honour of Ian Budge*, Routledge, 2006, pp. 143-57

"A Strategic Problem in Approval Voting," in Bruno Simeone and Friedrich Pukelsheim, eds., *Mathematics and Democracy: Recent Advances in Voting Systems and Collective Choice*, Berlin: Springer, 2006, pp. 133-50

"Stormy Passage to a Safe Harbour? Proportional Representation in New Zealand," in Henry Milner, ed., *Steps Toward Making Every Vote Count: Electoral System Reform in Canada and Its Provinces*, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2004, pp. 119-44

"New Zealand: Reform by (Nearly) Immaculate Design," in Josep Colomer, ed., *Handbook of Electoral System Choice*, London: Palgrave, 2004, pp. 530-43

"Expanding the Spectrum of Democracies," in *Democracy and Institutions: A Festschrift for Arend Lijphart*, edited by Markus Crepaz, Thomas Koelble, and David Wilsford, University of Michigan Press, 2000, pp. 113-28

"The Defects of Its Virtues: New Zealand's Experience with Proportional Representation," in *Making Every Vote Count: Reassessing Canada's Electoral System*, edited by Henry Milner, Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1999, pp. 157-69

"Psychological Obstacles to Administrative Responsibility: Lessons of the MOVE Disaster," in *Responsible Governance: The Global Challenge: Essays in Honor of Charles E. Gilbert*, edited by John W. Harbeson, Raymond F. Hopkins, and David G. Smith, University Press of America, 1993, pp. 21-44

"The Marriage of Normative Values and Empirical Concepts: Mutual Integrity or Reciprocal Distortion?" in *Power, Inequality, and Democratic Politics: Essays in Honor of Robert Dahl*, edited by Ian Shapiro and Grant Reeher, Westview Press, 1988, 73-79

"Description and Explanation in Power Analysis," in *Power and Control: Social Structures and Their Transformation*, edited by Tom R. Burns and Walter Buckley, Sage, 1976

Other Publications

"In debate over electoral systems, math is only as good as its assumptions about behavior," *Duluth News Tribune*, July 31, 2015 (op ed concerning local referendum on ranked-choice voting)

"Proportional Representation," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, Second Edition*, James Wright, editor-in-chief, Elsevier, 2015

"A Whole New Pa. Legislature," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 25, 2014, p. A15 (op ed recommending unicameral MMP legislature for Pennsylvania)

"There's a Better Way to Handle Elections," *Harrisburg Patriot-News*, January 14, 2012 (op ed on Pennsylvania voter ID bill)

"Pa. Republican Leaders Should Support Better Electoral Reform," *Harrisburg Patriot-News*, September 20, 2011 (op ed on proposed district system for allocating Pennsylvania's electoral votes)

"Flawed Arguments Against Ranked-Choice Voting," *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, June 6, 2009 (op ed defending a Minnesota electoral reform)

"Proportional Representation," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes, editors-in-chief; Nelson Polsby, political science editor; Amsterdam: Pergamon, 2001

"Assessing the Dimensionality of Politics: A Comment on Brechtel and Kaiser," *Political Science*, 51:1, July 1999, pp. 27-31

"Radically Reinventing Government," Editor's Introduction to Special Issue on "The New Public Management in New Zealand and Beyond," *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 16:3, Summer 1997, 349-56

"Participant-Observation in the Washington Semester," *Almanac*, 44:13, November 18, 1997, University of Pennsylvania (with Russell Riley)

"Robert Dahl," biographical article in *The Encyclopedia of Democracy*, edited by Seymour Martin Lipset, Congressional Quarterly Books, 1995, 333-35

"A New Method for Representing Minority Groups," *Voting and Democracy Report 1995*, Center for Voting and Democracy, 1995

"New Zealand's Novel Solution to the Problem of Minority Representation," *The Good Society*, 5:2, Spring 1995, 25-7

"New Zealanders Choose PR," *Voting and Democracy Report: 1993*, Washington: Center for Voting and Democracy, 1993, 9-10

"Lessons of the Impending Electoral Reform in New Zealand," *PEGS Newsletter*, 3, Winter 1993, 11-12.

"Reply to McCraw," *Political Science*, 42, December 1990, 53-4.

"Theory of Choice," *The New Republic*, 203:4, July 23, 1990, 15-17 (with Robert F. Nagel)

A New Government for Atlantic City, Government Study Group, University of Pennsylvania, 1979 (with Henry Teune, Oliver Williams, and Morton Lustig)

"Statement" (with related testimony), in Subcommittee on Crime, Committee of the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, 95th Congress, *Unemployment and Crime*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978, 160-63 and 184-203

PRESENTATIONS (selected and since 2000 only)

In addition to the following, since retiring I have presented numerous workshops and relatively informal talks on electoral subjects to local chapters of the League of Women Voters and to the 2015 and 2017 LWV Pennsylvania state conventions; and also (mostly through the auspices of the PASEF Speakers Bureau) to service organizations, community groups, and church forums. Topics include alternative election systems, Electoral College reform, and gerrymandering and redistricting reform.

"A Remedy for the Electoral College," Penn Association of Senior and Emeritus Faculty, February 8, 2017

"Essential Ingredients for Electoral Reform," Remarks at a Plenary Session, League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, June 7, 2015

"Ingredients Conducive to Successful (and Lasting) Electoral Reform," Workshop on Electoral Systems, Electoral Reform and Implications for Democratic Performance, Program on American Democracy in Comparative Perspective, Stanford University, March 14, 2014

"Importing MMP to the U.S.: Possibilities and Choices," Workshop on Electoral Systems, Electoral Reform and Implications for Democratic Performance, Program on American Democracy in Comparative Perspective, Stanford University, March 15, 2014

"Strategic Evaluation in Majority Judgment," Program in celebration of Michel Balinski, International Conference on Game Theory, Stony Brook University, July 18, 2012

"Statement Concerning House Bill No. 260, Proposing a Unicameral General Assembly," House Majority Policy Committee, General Assembly of Pennsylvania, April 6, 2010

"State of Independence," Political Studies Association, Edinburgh, Scotland, April 1, 2010

"The U.S. Electoral College and the Probability of Disputable Outcomes under Direct and Indirect Elections," Political Science Department, Temple University, September 21, 2009 (reporting research in progress co-authored with Vincent Merlin)

Affadavit in support of FairVote Minnesota's motion for summary judgment, Submitted to Minnesota Fourth District Court re Minnesota Voters Alliance et al. v. City of Minneapolis et al. [In defense of an electoral reform, Instant Runoff Voting, that had been adopted by referendum in Minneapolis],

"Centre-Party Strength and Major-Party Divergence in Britain, 1945-2005," Political Science Colloquium, Binghamton University, Binghamton NY, February 8, 2008; also presented at Research in Progress Series, Department of Politics and European Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, England, October 24, 2007 (reporting research co-authored with Christopher Wlezien)

Statement to the House Committee on Intergovernmental Affairs, The General Assembly of Pennsylvania, concerning House Bill No., 1028, The Agreement among the States to Elect the President by National Popular Vote Act, Harrisburg, PA, October 18, 2007

"Thinking about Power," Plenary Roundtable, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, August 31, 2006

"Would Disputable Elections Be Less Frequent if Presidents Were Elected by National Popular Vote?" Presentation at Short Course on the National Popular Vote Plan, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, August 30, 2006

"Empirical and Normative Contributions of Public Choice Theory to Political Science," Plenary Roundtable, Public Choice Society Annual Meeting, New Orleans, April 1, 2006

"Limits and Uses of Economic Reasoning in the Study of Politics," School of Economics and Social Sciences, Singapore Management University, March 9, 2006

"Testimony to the Select Committee on the Election Act," Quebec National Assembly, November 8, 2005 (delivered by video conference)

"The Burr Dilemma: A Problem in Approval Voting," International Workshop on Mathematics and Democracy: Voting Systems and Collective Choice, Ettore Majorana Foundation and Centre for Scientific Culture, Erice, Sicily, September 18-23, 2005

"The Flight of the Bumblebee: Systemic Effects of Liberal Democratic Strength in the 2005 British Election," Presentation to plenary session at the EPOP Conference on the 2005 Election, University of Essex, September 10, 2005

"Methods of Ensuring Minority Representation in Single-Member-District Legislatures," School of

economics and Social Sciences, Singapore Management University, April 12, 2005

“Occam No, Archimedes Yes,” Presented at a Conference in Honour of Professor Ian Budge, University of Essex, 26-28 May 2004

“Would Disputed Elections Be (Sufficiently) Less Probable if U.S. Presidents Were Directly Elected?” Workshop on the Analysis and Design of Electoral Systems, Mathematisches Forschungsinstitut Oberwolfach, Germany, 7-13 March 2004

“The Political Feasibility of Electoral College Reform” and “Lessons for American Reformers of New Zealand’s Successful Electoral Reform,” Claim Democracy Conference, Washington, DC, November 21-23, 2003

“New Zealand: Electoral Reform by Design and Serendipity,” Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August 29, 2003

“Center-Party Strength and Major-Party Polarization in Britain,” Annual Meeting of the Public Choice Society, Nashville, Tennessee, March 22, 2003; also presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, August 30, 2001

“Reform Is in the Error Term: Explaining Stability and Change in Electoral Systems,” General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research, Canterbury, England, September 7, 2001

“Salvaging Heresthetic: Six Theses on the Riker Program,” Public Choice Society Annual Meeting, San Antonio, Texas, March 10, 2001

“The Terrorist Attacks as an Attempt to Exercise Power,” Rosemont College, September 18, 2001

“Refining the Concept of Heresthetics,” Political Economy Seminar, Nuffield College, Oxford University, May 18, 2000

“Premature Dismissal? Evaluating New Zealand’s Experience with Proportional Representation,” London School of Economics, May 3, 2000

“Assessing the Dimensionality of Politics,” Government Department Seminar, University of Essex, March 7, 2000

“What Do Political Studies Have to Do with Politics?” Graduate Conference, University of Essex, March 2, 2000

COURSES TAUGHT (2000-11 only)

GA 732, Public Management (core course for Fels MPA program), Spring 2011

PS 10, Overcoming Obstacles to Democracy in America (freshman seminar), Fall 2010

PS/PPE 475. Social Choice and Democratic Theory (senior seminar, also open to graduate students), Fall 2009, Fall 2008, Fall 2006, Spring 2003

PS 10, Making American Elections More Democratic (freshman seminar), Fall 2008

PS 294. Political Participation, Fall 2002, Spring 2001.

PS 510. Electoral Systems (for graduate students and advanced undergraduates), Spring 2010, Fall 2005, Spring 2002.

PS 1. An Introduction to the Study of Politics, Fall 2004, Fall 2001.

UNIVERSITY SERVICE (selected and recent)

Penn Association of Senior and Emeritus Faculty (PASEF)
Chair, Speakers Bureau Committee, 2016-17
President-elect, President, Past President, 2013-16
Member, Executive Committee, 2012-13
Co-organizer (with Richard Johnston, Devesh Kapur, and Rogers Smith) of a conference on
“Comparing Elections and Electoral Systems in India and North America,” University of
Pennsylvania, February 24-26, 2011
Chair, Planning Committee, Penn Program on Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism,
“Civic Representation, Elections, and Public Opinion,” 2008-09
Chair, Fels Academic Policy Committee, 2008 – 09
Committee to Review the Communications Major, 2009
Chair, Search Committee for Fels Institute Executive Director, 2008
Co-chair, Search Committee for Lauder Institute Director, 2006-07
Student Health Insurance Advisory Committee, 2005-08
Chair, Political Science/Fels Senior Search Committee, 2003-4
Search Committee for Dean of the Annenberg School, 2002
Faculty Advisory Committee for the Philosophy, Politics, and Economics Major, 2000-03
Study Abroad Advisory Committee for Australia and New Zealand, 2000
Search Committee for PPE Associate Director, 2001, 2002
Carnegie Fellowship Nomination Committee, 2001, 2002
Truman Scholarship Committee, various years
Political Science Personnel Committee, various years
Annenberg Chair Search Committee, 1999-2000 and 2002-03 (Chair)
Fels Academic Policy Committee, 1999-
Search Committee for Director of the Fels Center of Government, Chair, 1998-99
Faculty Senate Executive Committee, 1996-99
Secretary, 1997-98
University Council, 1996-99
Task Force on American and Comparative Democratic and Legal Institutions, 1997-2000
School of Arts and Sciences Personnel Committee, 1990-92, 1996-97 and 1998-99
Senate Committee on Academic Freedom and Responsibility, 1992-95
Chair, 1994-95

OTHER SERVICE, CONSULTING, AND ADVISING (selected)

League of Women Voters of Pennsylvania, Member of Election Law Review and Update
Committee, 2015-17; Delegate to State Convention, 2017
FairVote (Center for Voting and Democracy)--informal and formal advisor for many years,
including Academic Circle on Ranked-Choice Voting (2013), Contributor to Comparative
Structural Reform Project (2015), Member of Airlie House Working Group (2016)
American Council of Learned Societies, Selection Panel for Mellon/ACLS Dissertation Completion
Fellowships, 2007, 2008, 2009
American Political Science Association, 2007 Hallett Prize Committee, 2006 Longley Prize
Committee
Advisory Committee, School of Economics and Social Sciences, Singapore Management University,
2004-07
Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, Inc. (on voting methods), 1987-89

Pennsylvania Democratic Party State Committee (on voting methods), 1983
Atlantic City Citizens Committee for the Study of Municipal Government, 1979
American Foundation Institute of Corrections, 1977-1978

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