

Institutions

Decision rules can affect outcomes

Example: Afranius Dexter, RIP

Afranius Dexter has an impressive CV (Senator and former Consul)...but he's dead

Q1: How did he die? (Suicide, "suicide by servant", murder)

Q2: What should be done with his servants (i.e., freedmen) on his estate?

Pliny, leader of the Senate, favors setting them free

Pliny's preliminary headcount in the Senate:

- 45% exonerate and set free
- 35% banish
- 20% execute
- [Assume modern view of hierarchy of punishments]

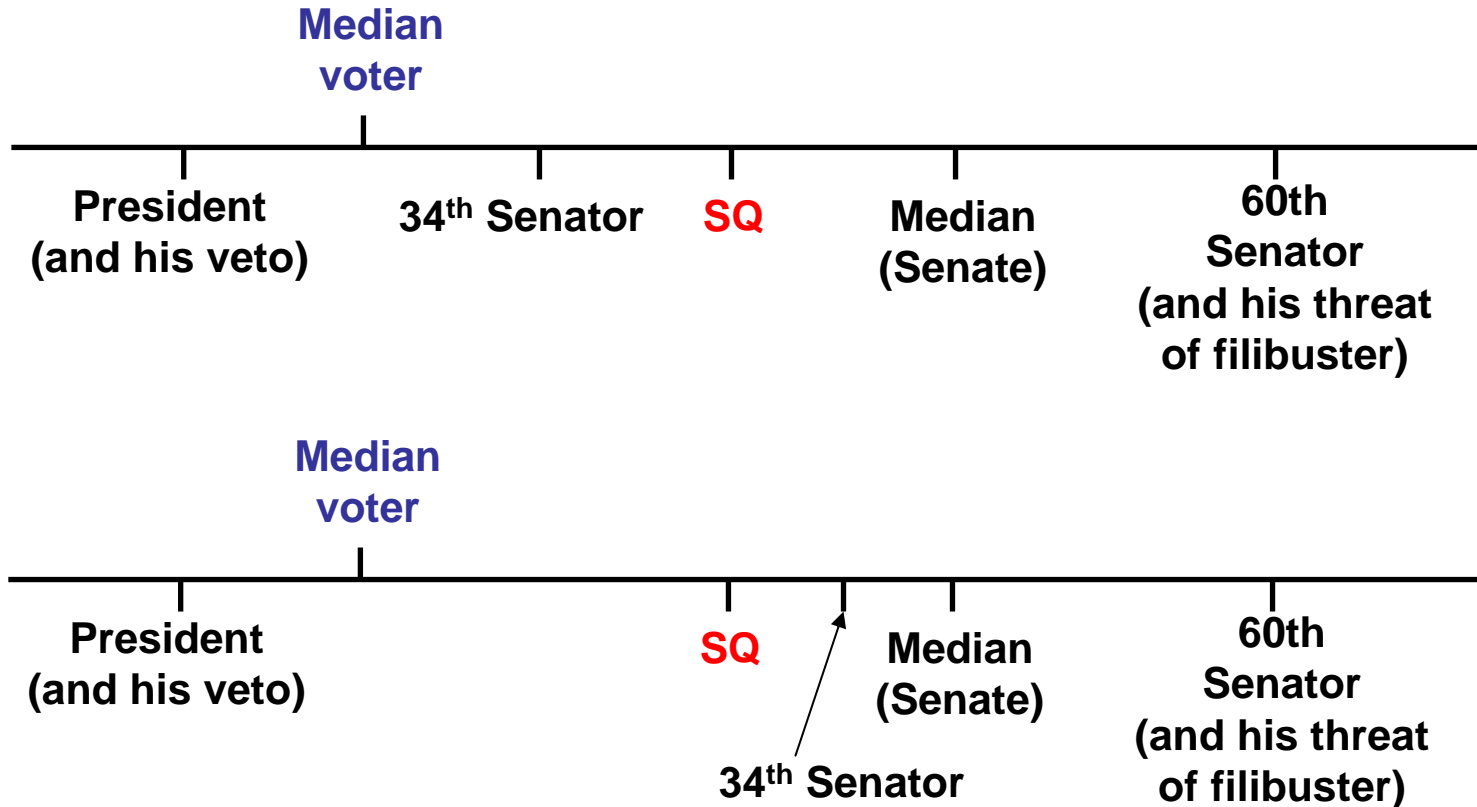
Outcome under different procedures?

- Modern method: Vote on guilt or innocence first
- Roman method: Vote on execution first
- Vote on banishment first?

Pliny's gambit: "Ternary vote"

Decision rules can affect outcomes

Example: Krehbiel: *Pivotal Politics* in the U.S. Senate



Krehbiel, Keith. *Pivotal Politics: A Theory of U. S. Lawmaking*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998. ISBN: 9780226452722.

Decision rules can affect outcomes

Example: Translation of votes to seats for Congress Party in India

Election	Votes (%)	Seats (%)	Disproportionality (%)
1952	45	73	28
1957	48	73	25
1962	45	73	28
1967	41	54	13
1971	44	68	24
1977	35	28	-7
1980	43	67	24

Most analyses of “institutions” focus on three basic constitutional arrangements

Presidentialism vs. parliamentarism

- Executive is chosen and removed independently of legislature
- Executive powers vested in one individual
- Many variants and hybrids

Electoral systems (translating votes into seats)

- PR vs. FPTP
- Many other variants (STV, AV, SNTV, DSV, etc.)

Unitarism vs. federalism

- Also many variants (unequal federalism, etc.)

“Presidents” can have very different powers

Unitary or plural

Method of selection

Method of removal once selected

Term in office (long or short; re-electable or not?)

Legislative power

- Introduce legislation; expedited or not
- Quasi-legislative / rule-making power; introducing legislation
- Veto (with or without override)

Budgeting (impoundment, designing budget, etc.)

State of siege (with legislative consent? override?)

Dissolve or convene legislature? (under what conditions?)

Appointments

CINC

Pardon

Ceremonial / head of state functions

Perks, travel, etc.

“Presidents” can have very different powers (2)

<u>Power</u>	<u>U.S. president</u>	<u>Governor of Texas</u>
Unitary or plural	Unitary	Plural (Lt. Governor, AG, Comptroller, etc.)
Method of selection	Indirect election, majority	Direct election, plurality winner
Method of removal	For cause, supermajority	For cause, supermajority
Term in office		
• Years	4	4
• Re-electable?	Once	Yes
Legislative power		
• Introduce leg.	Yes	Not formally
• Rule-making	Rule-making	Very limited rule-making
• Veto	Qualified	Qualified, but with line item
Budgeting	Significant formal & informal	Emergency transfers only; (LBB dominant)
State of siege	No	No; can dispatch Texas Guard
Dissolve legislature?	No	No; can convene special session
Appointments	Many are conditional	Judges elected; sen. courtesy; staggered
CINC	Yes; also law enforcement	Yes, some limited policing powers also
Pardon	Absolute	Limited clemency
Ceremonial functions	All	Most; Secretary of State
Travel, perks, etc.	Unrestricted	Salary rather low

“Presidents” can have very different powers (3)

<u>Power</u>	<u>Queen of England</u>	<u>Weimar</u>	<u>Brazil</u>	<u>Mexico</u>
Unitary or plural	Plural	Plural	Unitary	Unitary
Method of selection	Hereditary	Direct, plurality	Direct, majority	Direct, majority
Method of removal	Cannot be removed	None	For cause; s-maj.	For cause; s-maj.
Term in office				
• Years	Life	5	4	6
• Re-electable?		Yes	Once	No
Legislative power				
• Introduce leg.	No	No	Yes	Yes
• Rule-making	No	Decrees	Decrees	Rule-making
• Veto	In theory	?	Yes; line item?	Yes, line item
Budgeting	None	No	Yes	Informally
State of siege	No	Yes	?	No
Dissolve legislature?	No	Yes	Yes	No
Appointments	None	Significant	Significant	Significant
CINC	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Pardon	?	?	?	No?
Ceremonial functions	All	Most	All	All
Travel, perks, etc.	All	Significant	Significant	Significant

Each of institutional choice may involve tradeoffs

Goal / Challenge	Presidential / Parliamentary	FPTP / PR	Unitary / Federal
Match median voter	Parliamentary?	PR	Which median?
Deliver a mandate	Presidential?	FPTP?	To whom?
Allow many voices	Parliamentary?	PR	Federal
Foster public deliberation	?	?	Federal
Maximize legitimacy	Parliamentary?	PR?	?
Fight a war; cure an epidemic	Presidential?	?	Unitary
Produce economic growth	?	?	?
Reduce ethnic tensions	Parliamentary?	?	Federal
Increase civilian control of military	Presidential	?	?
Reduce corruption	Presidential?	?	?
Preserve democracy	Parliamentary?	?	?