Index

Achen, Christopher, 60, 106
Alliance of Free Democrats, 130
Appel, Hilary, 94, 132
Arnold, R. Douglas, 113, 156
Association of Large Families, 131
authoritarian legacies, 13, 172, 177
and mandate responsiveness, 86
and support for economic reforms, 97
effect on democratic quality, 183
in Eastern Europe, 175
in Latin America, 179
backhanded legacies, 183, 189
Bączkowski, Andrej, 134, 135
Balcerowicz, Leszek, 12, 97, 108, 120, 184
Barany, Zoltan, 13, 88, 183
Bartels, Larry, 60, 101, 106
Bates, Robert, 95, 192
Bennett, Andrew, 10, 111, 114
Benoit, Kenneth, 76, 81
Bermeo, Nancy, 8
Birch, Sarah, 59, 86, 193
blame avoidance techniques, 113, 125, 132, 145, 158, 191, 192
Bod, Peter, 108
Bokros, Lajos, 74, 130, 131, 140
Bugajski, Janusz, 66, 104
Bulgaria, 10, 56, 57, 59, 86, 88, 184, 197
Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), 56
Bunce, Valerie, 13, 16, 67, 97, 175, 179, 185
bureaucracy, 125

cabinet types, 14, 43, 64, 171, 176, 184
Cain, Michael, 119, 120, 126, 127, 128
campaign promises, 53
and economic reforms, 81–82
measurement of, 81
timing effects in, 82
Canes-Wrone, Brandice, 41, 92, 106, 113, 181
Caplan, Bryan, 7, 46, 54, 169
case selection, 10–11
case studies
methodology of, 111, 114
Central and Eastern Eurobarometer (CEEB), 90, 95, 202
charismatic appeals, 32, 74, 202
Chlon, Agnieszka, 127, 135, 136, 137
Christian Democratic Union-Czech People's Party (KDU-CSL), 128, 129
Gmoszewicz, Wlodziomierz, 134
Givic Democratic Alliance (ODA), 107, 128, 138
Givic Democratic Party (ODS), 82, 90, 128, 129, 130, 138, 159, 165
Givic Forum, 89, 90, 152
civil rights, 3, 5, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 39, 40
civil society, 14, 29, 45, 71, 177, 184, 185, 195
causes of, 175
definition of, 171
in Eastern Europe, 175
in Latin America, 180
clearly of party positions
assessment of, 76–79
measurement of, 76
clarity of responsibility, 63, 176
clientelism, 47, 74
coalition types, 81
communist successor parties, 54–57, 78
comparative politics
and mass public, 205
democratic quality as unifying theme for, 205
constitutional courts, 1, 126, 134, 150, 154, 160
contentious collective action, 112, 121, 127, 128, 182, 195
Cook, Linda, 83, 94, 115, 117, 126, 127, 130, 135, 137, 141, 144
Yusuf Czepulis-Rutkowska, Zofia,
Democratic Left Alliance (SLD),
democratic quality
and economic reform, 202
and electoral accountability, 67
costs of governing, 57–59
Council on Economic and Social Agreement (RHSD), 129
credit claiming, 143, 161
Curry, Jane, 2
Czech Republic, 2, 10, 59, 93, 101, 184
elections in, 56, 59
housing privatization in, 151–154
pension policy in, 121–122, 128–130
pension privatization in, 137–140
policy responsiveness in, 89–91
promise fulfillment in, 86
rent policy in, 148–160
Czech-Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions (ČMKOS), 128
Czechoslovakia, 54, 55, 56, 121, 122, 149, 151, 154, 158, 162
Czepulis-Rutkowska, Zofia, 118, 120
Dahl, Robert, 22, 23, 25, 39, 41
Dalton, Russell, 75, 91, 181, 184, 196
delli Carpini, Michael, 7, 39
democracy
definition of, 22–24
nature of, 5
Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), 51, 59, 86, 125, 137, 160
democratic quality
and comparative politics, 204
definition of, 6, 31–32
explanations of, 169
failures of, 6
levels in Eastern Europe, 188
normative implications of, 7–8
obstacles to, 3
principles of, 24–25
quality as linkages. See linkages
quality as preconditions, 28–29
quality as procedures, 26–28
quality as societal outcomes, 29–31
study of, 4, 24, 187
ways of improving, 185
democratic transition
constraints of, 13, 173–174
effect on pension policy, 117
elections during, 54–57
democratization
study of, 21
Diamond, Larry, 28, 29, 205
diversity of party choice, 79
assessment of, 79–80
measurement of, 79
Downsian competition, 44, 75, 79
Duch, Raymond, 53, 54, 64, 181
dyadic representation, 91
dynamic representation, 92
East European Housing Model, 146, 147
economic conditions, 52, 60, 70
and dissatisfaction with democracy, 204
and economic reform, 98
and economic reform, 98
and pension policy, 143
and promise fulfillment, 83
economic inequality, 29, 99, 170, 182
in Eastern Europe, 180
in Latin America, 180
economic reform, 11–12, 70, 71, 80, 94, 176
and authoritarian legacies, 97
and electoral accountability, 67
and growth, 197
and policy responsiveness, 99
campaign promises in, 81–82
effects on democratic quality, 173
in Latin America, 179
measurement of, 82, 98
public support for, 95
substantive representation in, 197–198
theories of, 94
education, 16, 102, 136, 170, 179, 199
Ekiert, Grzegorz, 11, 121, 195
electoral accountability, 6
and clarity of responsibility, 63–64
and corruption, 67
and economic reform, 67
and economic reform, 67
and participation in government, 71
and unemployment, 63
democracy
and clarity of responsibility, 63–64
democratic quality as procedures, 26–28
democratic transition
constraints of, 13, 173–174
effect on pension policy, 117
elections during, 54–57
democratization
study of, 21
Diamond, Larry, 28, 29, 205
diversity of party choice, 79
assessment of, 79–80
measurement of, 79
Downsian competition, 44, 75, 79
Duch, Raymond, 53, 54, 64, 181
dyadic representation, 91
dynamic representation, 92
East European Housing Model, 146, 147
economic conditions, 52, 60, 70
and dissatisfaction with democracy, 204
and economic reform, 98
and economic reform, 98
and pension policy, 143
and promise fulfillment, 83
economic inequality, 29, 99, 170, 182
in Eastern Europe, 180
in Latin America, 180
economic reform, 11–12, 70, 71, 80, 94, 176
and authoritarian legacies, 97
and electoral accountability, 67
and growth, 197
and policy responsiveness, 99
campaign promises in, 81–82
effects on democratic quality, 173
in Latin America, 179
measurement of, 82, 98
public support for, 95
substantive representation in, 197–198
theories of, 94
education, 16, 102, 136, 170, 179, 199
Ekiert, Grzegorz, 11, 121, 195
electoral accountability, 6
and clarity of responsibility, 63–64
and corruption, 67
and economic reform, 67
and economic reform, 67
and participation in government, 71
and unemployment, 63
democracy
and clarity of responsibility, 63–64
Index

during democratic transitions, 54–57
explaining levels of, 71
in Eastern Europe, 62
in established democracies, 180
in Latin America, 181
measurement of, 52–54
party type in, 66–67
study of, 54
timing effects in, 64–65
vices of, 36–37, 72
virtues of, 36
electoral rules, 14, 43, 176, 184
and programmaticness, 78
electoralism, 23
elite-initiated responsiveness, 191
elite-manipulated responsiveness, 191
entrepreneurial responsiveness, 191
Erikson, Robert, 37, 39, 92, 207
established democracies, 196
clarity of party positions in, 77
diversity of party choice in, 79
electoral accountability in, 180
mandate responsiveness in, 181
policy responsiveness in, 181
Estonia, 10, 56, 57, 82, 88
European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), 52, 60, 67, 83, 84, 98, 99, 101, 104, 139
European Court of Human Rights, 160, 161
European Union, 3, 10, 11, 12, 13, 173, 176, 178, 184
Ferejohn, John, 37
Ferge, Zsuzsa, 123, 131, 140, 141, 142, 144, 191
Fidesz, 73, 132, 141, 142, 151, 165
Fish, M. Steven, 9, 57
Freedom Union (UW), 127
Frye, Timothy, xi, 9, 197
Fujimori, Alberto, 85
Garton Ash, Timothy, 185
Geddes, Barbara, 13, 21
George, Alexander, 10, 111, 114
Gerring, John, 9
Goertz, Gary, 10, 23, 25, 26, 28, 32
Golinowska, Stanisława, 118, 120, 126, 127, 136, 157, 199
Graham, Carol, 119, 120, 121
Greskovits, Bela, 13, 71, 86, 94, 173, 182, 183, 195, 196
Grzymala-Busse, Anna, xi, 51, 72
Gyurcsány, Ferenc, 73
Haggard, Stephan, 95, 173, 192
Hausner, Jerzy, 126, 134, 135
Havel, Vaclav, 1–2, 121
Hegedüs, Jozsef, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 155, 156, 157, 158, 163, 164, 165, 199, 200
Hellman, Joel, 70, 83
Henn, Matt, 107, 196
horizontal accountability, 35
Horn, Gyula, 140
housing policy
and accessibility, 199
compared to pensions, 166
contract savings schemes, 164
economic factors in, 156
explanation of, 165
home ownership culture, 151
mandate responsiveness in, 165, 170
policy responsiveness in, 155, 165, 190
privatization, 148
public opinion on, 148, 151, 153, 155, 156, 159
rent regulation, 147, 156
restitution, 152
subsidies, 162
substantive representation in, 199–200
tenants’ associations, 151, 153
timing effects in, 150, 157
under communism, 147–148
Howard, Marc Morje, 14, 71, 175, 178, 180
human development, 11, 28, 29, 170, 179, 180
Human Development Index, 179
Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), 123, 150, 157
Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP), 2, 73, 86, 130, 132, 142, 144, 157, 165
Hungary, 2, 10, 93, 176, 184
elections in, 56, 59
housing privatization in, 149–151
mandate responsiveness in, 73–74
opinion polling in, 107
pension policy in, 123–124, 130–132
pension privatization in, 140–142
promise fulfillment in, 86
rent policy in, 157–158
Huntington, Samuel, 14, 23, 24, 205
hyperinflation, 63, 71, 120, 184
IMF, 86, 126, 130, 138
inflation, 63
Inglot, Tomasz, xi, 120, 121, 123, 124, 145
Innes, Abby, 87, 183
interest in politics, 184, 196
Interest Reconciliation Council (ÉT), 131
issue voting, 38, 75, 80
Jacobs, Lawrence, 41, 47, 111
Jowitt, Ken, 13, 176
Karl, Terry Lynn, 23, 37, 179
Kaufman, Robert, 95, 173, 192
Kitschelt, Herbert, 11, 13, 38, 47, 48, 74, 75, 76, 80, 91, 92, 93, 100, 121, 177, 178, 183, 185, 205, 206
Klaus, Vaclav, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, 108, 137, 154, 158
Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, 75, 81, 181
Kolodko, Grzegorz, 134, 197
Krause, Kevin Deegan, 35
Kubicek, Paul, 71, 194
Kubik, Jan, 121, 195
Kuroń, Jacek, 71
Latvia, 10, 56, 57, 88, 101
Law and Justice Party, 2
left-right axis, 77, 78, 93
Lewis-Beck, Michael, 53, 54, 60, 181
Lijphart, Arend, 27, 28, 30, 43, 171
linkages 32. See democratic quality
graphic representation of, 33
institutional effects on, 43–44
interactions among, 41–43, 48, 187–190
reverse causality, 44–45
substantive representation and, 46
Linz, Juan, 13, 94, 171, 172, 179, 183, 206
Lipset, Seymour Martin, 14, 16, 170
Lipmeyer, Christine, xi, 85, 117, 148, 163
Lithuania, 10, 56, 57, 59, 88, 95, 176
Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party, 86
illustration, 152
MacKuen, Michael, 37, 39, 92, 207
Mainwaring, Scott, 34, 35
mandate responsiveness, 6
and clarity of party positions, 76–79
and electoral accountability, 87
and issue voting, 75
and programmaticness, 74
and promise fulfillment, 73
definition of, 37
explaining levels of, 87
in Eastern Europe, 88
in established democracies, 181
in housing policy, 165
in Latin America, 181
in pension policy, 144
three conditions of, 38
timing effects, 78
vices of, 39
virtues of, 18
Mansbridge, Jane, 36, 48
Manza, Jeff, 15, 91, 205, 207
media, 14, 16, 39, 45, 91, 153, 170, 196, 204
median voter, 14, 40, 44, 91, 101, 104, 113, 172, 176, 181
Menem, Carlos, 85
Miller, Leszek, 134, 145
mixed methods, 10
modernization theory, 14, 170, 177, 184
capabilities approach, 170, 182, 185
in Eastern Europe, 179
in Latin America, 179
Müller, Katharina, 59, 116, 118, 119, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128, 134, 135, 140, 141, 143, 204
Munck, Gerardo, 24, 28, 179
National Association of Trade Unions
(MSZOSZ), 141
National Salvation Front (FSN), 56
Nelson, Joan, 143
New Institutionalism, 23
new regime parties, 66
O'Donnell, Guillermo, 10, 27, 28, 29, 31, 35, 170
O'Dwyer, Conor, 72, 184
Ofe, Claus, 13, 176
old regime parties, 66
opinion polling, 107, 196
OPZZ, 127, 135, 137
Orbán, Victor, 73
Index

Orenstein, Mitchell, xi, 11, 85, 88, 89, 90, 94, 120, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 137, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 194, 197, 204
Ost, David, 71, 194

Pacek, Alexander, 54
Page, Benjamin, 7, 37, 39, 70, 92
party family, 104
Party for Lifetime Security (SZJ), 129
party representation, 91
study of, 92
types of, 93
party system, 14, 172
programmaticness of, 74
party types, 66–67
and policy responsiveness, 104

pension policy
and poverty, 198
benefit-contribution link, 116, 127, 128, 131, 132
early retirement, 119, 123, 124, 131
effect of democratic transition on, 117
indexation rules, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132
mandate responsiveness in, 144
notionally defined contribution system, 126, 127
parametric reform of, 125
pay as you go, 116
payroll taxes, 116, 120, 124, 126, 129, 199
pension funds, 137, 138, 139
policy responsiveness in, 144, 190
privatization of, 133
public opinion on, 127, 128, 130
replacement rate, 116, 120, 128
response to the transition, 117
retirement age, 116, 123, 127, 128, 130, 132
special privileges, 116, 118, 120, 122, 124
substantive representation in, 198–199
supplementary pension insurance, 137, 139, 142
targeting of, 198
timing effects in, 142
under communism, 115

pension privatization
consequences of, 199
definition of, 133
double payment problem, 133
enrollment rates, 137, 142
obstacles to, 133

public opinion on, 135, 138, 141, 143
timing effects in, 137
Pierson, Paul, 15, 113, 125, 131, 163, 192, 206

Pitkin, Hanna, 48
Poland, 2, 10, 56, 93
economic reforms in, 97
elections in, 51–52, 56, 59
housing privatization in, 154–155
opinion polling in, 107
pension policy in, 118–121, 125–128
pension privatization in, 134–137
promise fulfillment in, 86
rent policy in, 160–161
policy overload, 120, 125, 173
policy responsiveness, 6
and party types, 104
and political institutions, 106
and substantive representation, 192
definition of, 39–40
explaining levels of, 107
in Eastern Europe, 101
in economic reform, 99
in established democracies, 181
in housing policy, 155, 162, 165
in Latin America, 182
in pension policy, 144
in pension privatization, 143
measurement of, 91, 92
timing effects in, 106
types of, 190
upper class bias in, 102
vices of, 41
virtues of, 41

Polish Peasant Party, 125
political business cycle, 106, 200
political institutions, 14, 43, 177, 180
and electoral accountability, 171
and mandate responsiveness, 171
and policy responsiveness, 106, 172
and promise fulfillment, 84
in Eastern Europe, 176
types of, 171
political knowledge, 71
political participation, 40
political parties
membership in, 193
organization of, 193
political society, 172, 175
Powell, G. Bingham, 14, 36, 40, 42, 43, 44, 47, 54, 62, 63, 66, 91, 171, 172, 181, 189, 207
presidentialism, 64
process tracing, 114
promise fulfillment
and economic conditions, 83
and political institutions, 84
definition of, 73
levels of, 83
measurement of, 80
study of, 75
timing effects in, 85

Przeworski, Adam, 6, 7, 14, 23, 28, 33, 45, 47, 54, 63, 70, 94, 97, 170, 181, 192
public opinion
high expectations, 204
housing policy, 148, 151, 153, 155, 156, 159
inherited dispositions, 173
manipulation of, 144, 191
on democracy, 183, 204
pension policy, 127, 128, 130
pension privatization, 135, 138, 141, 143
rationality of, 8, 100
support for economic reform, 95, 99, 102
Putnam, Robert, 14, 27, 30, 171, 184, 195, 196

Reform Party, 82
Remmer, Karen, 63, 70, 88, 181, 206
replacement rate, 116
Riker, William, 37, 93
Romania, 10, 56, 57, 59, 64, 86, 88, 97, 107, 197
Rose, Richard, xi, 3, 29, 40, 56, 59, 75, 86, 175, 184, 193, 203, 204
Rose-Ackerman, Susan, 29, 40, 184, 204
rule of law, 22, 24, 28, 29, 172, 203
Russia, 77, 97, 182

Sakwa, Richard, 2
Sartori, Giovanni, 9, 75
Schmitter, Philippe, 24, 28, 30, 36, 37, 179, 188
Seleny, Anna, 123, 149
Shapiro, Robert, 7, 37, 39, 41, 47, 92
Slovakia, ix, 10, 56, 57, 59, 88, 184, 202
Slovenia, 10, 23, 56, 57, 61, 67, 88
Solidarity, 51, 107, 119, 127, 128, 134, 135, 137, 134, 135
Stark, David, 94
statelessness, 172
Stepan, Alfred, 13, 94, 171, 172, 179, 183, 206
Stimson, James, 37, 39, 92, 207

Index

Stokes, Susan, 6, 37, 39, 42, 43, 45, 47, 53, 64, 65, 66, 75, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 97, 170, 181, 206, 207
strong public-initiated responsiveness, 190
structured, focused comparison, 111
Struyk, Raymond, 149, 153, 156, 163, 164, 199, 200
substantive representation
causes of, 201
definition of, 43
economic reform in, 197–198
in housing policy, 199–200
in pension policy, 198–199
linkages and, 46
measurement of, 45, 196
Suchocka, Hanna, 120, 123
tax awareness, 200
tenants’ associations, 151, 153, 155, 159
Third Wave, 22, 187, 204, 206
timing effects, 177, 193
and campaign promises, 82
housing policy, 150, 157, 160, 161
in clarity of party positions, 78
in electoral accountability, 64–65
in policy responsiveness, 106, 113
in promise fulfillment, 85
pension policy, 142
pension privatization, 137
Tosics, Ivan, 146, 147, 149, 150, 151, 157, 163
transition constraints, 173, 177, 183
in Eastern Europe, 176
in Latin America, 179
Treisman, Daniel, 67, 201
tripartite institutions, 112, 127, 129, 131, 141, 194
Tsebelis, George, 94, 106
Tucker, Joshua, xi, 54, 66, 67
Twozcecki, Hubert, xi, 2, 75, 88, 100, 107, 185, 190

Ukraine, 77, 97
unemployment, 61
and electoral accountability, 63
urbanization, 170
Vachudova, Milada, xi, 13, 173, 176, 184
Vanhuyse, Pieter, 121, 145
Večrnik, Jiri, 121, 129, 138, 139, 145
veto points, 106, 176
voter turnout, 184
voucher privatization, 139
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>239</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>weak public-initiated responsiveness, 191</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weaver, R. Kent, 113, 131, 191</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weyland, Kurt, 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitten, Guy, 36, 54, 61, 62, 63, 66, 181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williamson, John, 12, 95, 192</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wlezien, Christopher, 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work categories, 126</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Values Survey, 67, 184, 194, 195, 196, 202</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zakaria, Fareed, 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaller, John, 44, 114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>