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978-0-521-06685-3 - Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia: Power, Perceptions, and Pacts

Pauline Jones Luong

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Institutional Change and Political Continuity in Post-Soviet Central Asia

The establishment of electoral systems in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan presents both a complex set of empirical puzzles and a theoretical challenge. Why did three states with similar cultural, historical, and structural legacies establish different electoral systems? How did these distinct outcomes result from strikingly similar institutional design processes? Explaining these puzzles requires understanding not only the outcome of institutional design but also the intricacies of the process that led to this outcome. Moreover, the transitional context in which these three states designed new electoral rules necessitates an approach that explicitly links process and outcome in a dynamic setting. This book provides such an approach. It depicts institutional design as a transitional bargaining game in which the dynamic interaction between the structural-historical and immediate-strategic contexts directly shapes actors' perceptions of shifts in their relative power, and hence, their bargaining strategies. Thus, it both builds on the key insights of the dominant approaches to explaining institutional origin and change and transcends these approaches by moving beyond the structure versus agency debate.

Pauline Jones Luong is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at Yale University.

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*Institutional Change and Political
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POWER, PERCEPTIONS,
AND PACTS

PAULINE JONES LUONG

Yale University



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*In Memory of
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Note on Transliteration

I have translated Russian words according to the Library of Congress system. When words are used frequently, such as *oblast* and *Semireche*, I have left out the diacritical marks in the body of the text and in tables for the reader's comfort. The spelling of geographical names and places in Central Asia roughly corresponds to the Russified version used under Soviet rule, but has been modified to take into account newer versions that have recently become standard usage. All translations from foreign language sources into English are my own.

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ALC	American Legal Consortium
AO	Autonomous Oblast
ASSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
CEC	Central Electoral Commission
CPD	Congress of People's Deputies
DDK	Democratic Movement of Kyrgyzstan
DEC	District Electoral Commission
Erk	Erkin Kyrgyzstan
FBIS	Foreign Broadcast Information Service
FLAS	Foreign Language Area Studies Fellowship
GNP	gross national product
HDI	Human Development Index
HI	Historical Institutionalism
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IREX	International Research and Exchange Board
KPK	Communist Party of Kazakhstan
KPKR	Communist Party of the Kyrgyz Republic
KPSS	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
KPUz	Communist Party of Uzbekistan
LiCEP	Laboratory in Comparative Ethnic Politics
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NDPU	People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NKK	Peoples' Congress of Kazakhstan
NSF	National Science Foundation
PR	proportional representation

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Acronyms

RCI	Rational Choice Institutionalism
RFE/RL	Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
ROK	Republic of Kazakhstan
RPK	Republican Party of Kazakhstan
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic
SMD	single-member district
SNEK	People's Unity of Kazakhstan
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
SSRC	Social Science Research Council
TACIS	Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States
TBG	transitional bargaining game
TEC	Territorial Electoral Commission
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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Acknowledgments

As I have not yet raised a child, I cannot say for certain whether it takes an entire village to do so. What I can say with full confidence is that it takes an entire network of colleagues, friends, and family to write a book. In fact, in the course of writing and revising a book manuscript, these categories often become blurred. Colleagues willing to read multiple drafts of one's manuscript become friends. Friends subjected to multiple drafts of one's manuscript become critics. Those that remain friends afterward become family. Friends and family who forgo your company for weeks, sometimes months, in the final stages of writing and revising want to become your colleagues so that they can see you more often.

This particular book is the product of a network that extends across several campuses and several countries. At the University of California at Berkeley, where I spent my undergraduate days, I was fortunate enough to have the guidance of professors like Samuel Haber, Norman Jacobsen, Gail Lapidus, Ira Lapidus, and especially William (Sandy) Muir. Each of these individuals shared with me their knowledge and insights on politics as well as history, and, more importantly, their love for learning and teaching. I was also befriended by several graduate students, including Kevin Smith and Mark Saroyan, who encouraged me to pursue my interests in political institutions, identity, and Soviet Central Asia. At Harvard University, I am indebted, first and foremost, to my dissertation advisor, Timothy Colton, whose support for my project was unwavering in the face of not insignificant obstacles. He is one of those colleagues who quickly blurs the distinction with that of friend because he makes a personal investment in each of his students' lives and careers. Several other Harvard professors, including Robert Bates, Joel Hellman, Mark Saroyan, and Theda Skocpol, also inspired the dissertation on which this book is based, through

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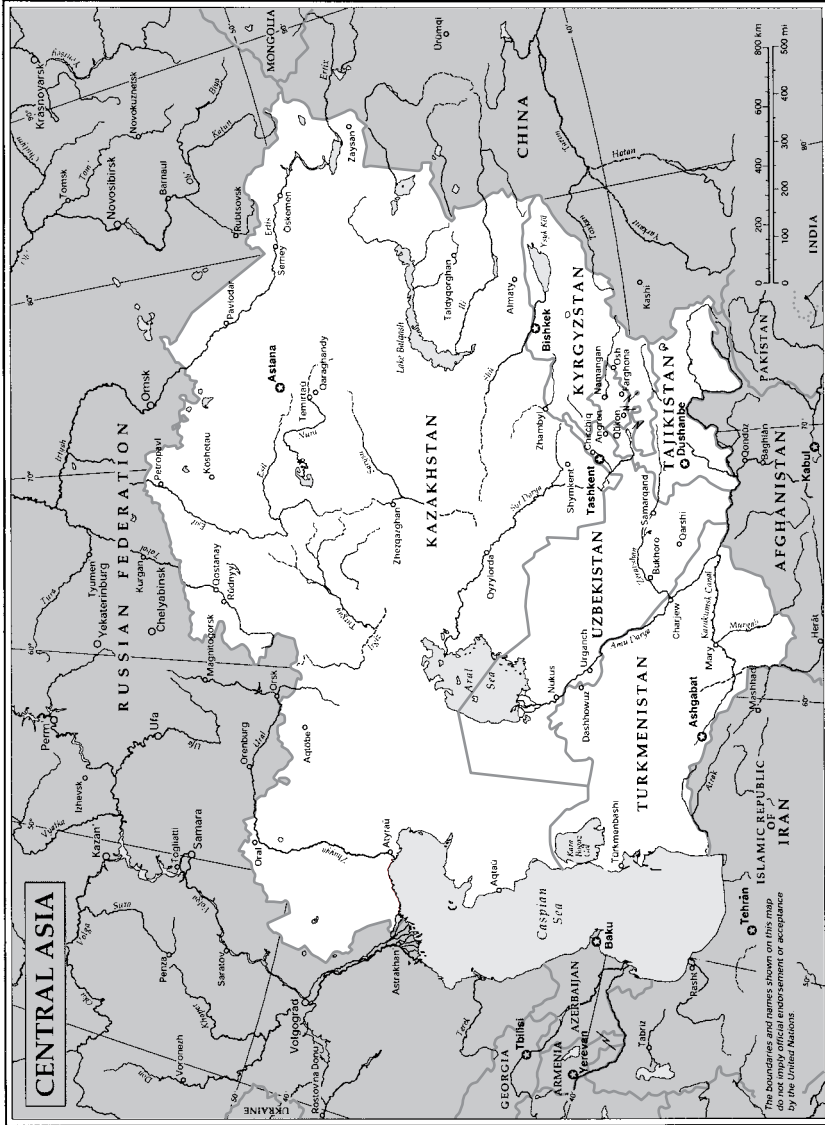
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