

## INDEX

- accountability 40, 54  
     in Italy 170, 171, 176, 222  
     in Japan 212  
     in New Zealand 222  
 Acerbo Law 111, 114, 155–6  
 ACT (New Zealand) 208, 209  
 act contingencies 28–9  
     and leadership 75–6  
     and legitimacy constraints 60–1  
     in elite majority imposition 144, 146, 159  
     in elite–mass interaction 217, 225  
     mechanisms 30, 31–2, 33–5, 36, 37, 41–2  
 Afghanistan 15  
 Africa 42  
     *see also individual countries*  
 agenda setting 65, 162–3, 216–17, 232–4  
*Alleanza Nazionale* (AN) *see* National Alliance, Italian  
 alternation in power *see* accountability  
 alternative vote 14, 32, 45–6, 54, 59, 206  
 Amato, Giuliano 121, 175  
 Andreotti, Giulio 172, 174, 178  
 Asia-Pacific 43  
     *see also individual countries*  
 Australia 14, 32  
 Austria 40  
  
 Balladur, Édouard 108  
 Baltic States 45  
 bargained reform 109–10  
 bargaining  
     as leadership strategy 73–4, 162, 233–5  
     between electoral reform and other issues 34, 109–10, 126, 162  
  
 Bayrou, François 107–8  
 Belgium 31, 37  
 Benoit, Kenneth 7, 9, 246  
 Bérégovoy, Pierre 105, 106  
 Berlusconi, Silvio 120  
     changing stance 1994–2000 120, 121, 123, 144  
     and 2005 reform 124, 126, 146, 158  
 Bicameral Commission, 1997–1998 (Italy) 121  
     *see also* Bozzi Commission  
 bipolar v. centripetal competition 33  
     in France 102–3  
     in Italy 116, 122–3, 125–7, 173, 177  
 Bolger, Jim  
     1990 referendum promise 201–3, 205, 237  
     implementation of referendum 205, 207  
 bonus-adjusted systems  
     in Italy 111, 114, 121, 124, 155–6, 171  
     in New Zealand 231–2  
 Bossi, Umberto 123, 174  
 bounded rationality 74, 81, 83, 236  
     *see also* cognitive constraints; uncertainty  
 Bozzi Commission 170–1, 216–17  
 Brazil 62  
 British Columbia  
     citizens' assembly, 2004 40  
     2005 referendum 77, 219, 253–4  
     2009 referendum 219, 254  
 bureaucrats 15  
     and Japan 1945 131

- business organizations 17  
 in Italy 227  
 in Japan 184, 188  
 in New Zealand 224
- Campaign for Better Government  
 206–7, 224
- Campbell, Gordon 254
- Canada 12, 13, 77, 219, 253–4  
*see also* British Columbia; Ontario;  
 Prince Edward Island
- Capitant, René 90, 92
- Casini, Pier Fernando 146
- centripetal competition *see* bipolar v.  
 centripetal competition
- checks and balances 40–1  
 in New Zealand 40–1, 195–6, 203–5,  
 218, 227
- Chevènement, Jean-Pierre 102–3
- Chile 32
- Chirac, Jacques 103–4, 107, 156
- Christian Democrats, Italian (DC) 33  
 and 1953 reform 113–15  
 and 1954 reform 118  
 in 1980s 171, 172  
 and 1993 reform 173, 174, 176, 177,  
 178, 214, 215  
*see also* Union of Christian  
 Democrats, Italian
- church 227
- citizens  
 in elite majority imposition 88,  
 147–58, 240  
 in elite–mass interaction 217–24,  
 227–8, 239–40, 244–5  
 in France 97, 151, 152  
 in Italy 116, 121–3, 128, 152–3,  
 172–3, 176  
 in Japan 136, 137, 149, 186–7, 191  
 in New Zealand 203–5  
 manipulation by leaders 75–6,  
 220–4, 238, 244–5  
 role in electoral reform 15–17, 31–2,  
 239–40
- citizens' assemblies 40, 62
- citizens' initiatives *see* referendums
- Clean Government Party, Japanese *see*  
*Kōmeitō*
- coalitions  
 and elite majority imposition 143,  
 144, 145, 161–2, 247  
 and elite–mass interaction 228  
 impact on motivations 32–4, 53–4, 55
- cognitive constraints 58–60, 160–1,  
 230–1, 241  
 and history, diffusion, fashion  
 59–60, 161, 231  
 and institutions 58–9, 60, 160,  
 163–5, 230–1  
 and path dependence 82  
 in France 160  
 in Italy 160, 231  
 in Japan 160, 230–1  
 in New Zealand 230
- Cold War  
 impact of emergence 95, 114, 134  
 impact of end 173, 174–6
- Colombia 42
- Colomer, Josep 7, 23, 247, 250
- communism, impact of collapse of 173,  
 174–6
- Communist Party, French (PCF)  
 and 1945–1946 reform 90, 91,  
 93–4, 139  
 exclusion from government 1947 95  
 and 1958 reform 98  
 between 1958 and 1981 100
- Communist Party, Italian (PCI)  
 and 1953 reform 114, 116  
 and 1954 reform 118–23  
 1980s proposals 171  
*see also* Democratic Party of the Left,  
 Italian
- Communist Party, Japanese (JCP)  
 and 1947 reform 134  
 and 1994 reform 190–1
- complexity of electoral reform 2, 10,  
 84–5, 146, 250, 255  
 of elite majority imposition 20, 87–8,  
 146, 160, 163–5  
 of elite–mass interaction 20–1, 210
- conflict *see* stability
- constituency service 44, 228
- contagion *see* diffusion, international
- coordination problem 80, 83, 84, 205,  
 235–6

- corruption 43  
 electoral reform as solution to 43,  
 135, 218, 221–2  
 in Italy 170, 174, 176  
 in Japan 179–80, 186, 187, 188,  
 221–2
- Costa Rica 42
- courts 13–14
- Craxi, Bettino 170, 172, 173, 174, 175
- crisis 4–5, 50, 219–20, 239, 253
- cumulative vote 15
- Czechoslovakia 11
- Czech Republic 13–14
- D'Alema, Massimo 121, 122
- Debré, Michel 90, 92, 98
- De Gasperi, Alcide 118, 120
- de Gaulle, General Charles  
 and 1945–1946 reform 89, 92–3, 99  
 and 1951 reform 151  
 and 1958 reform 98, 99, 140  
 after 1958 100
- De Mita, Ciriaco 171, 172
- democracy  
 definition 5  
 pursuit of 38–42
- Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)  
 229–30
- Democratic Party of the Left, Italian  
 (PDS)  
 and 1993 reform 173, 174, 176,  
 177, 178  
 1994–2001 reform pressure 122  
 creation 173, 174–5  
 desire for bipolar competition 122, 214
- Democratic Socialist Party, Japanese  
 (DSP) 188–9, 190–2, 226
- democratization, electoral reform  
 during 3–4, 11–12, 15, 56–7, 87,  
 89, 159, 250
- diffusion, international 59, 60, 161
- Dini, Lamberto 120
- discernment, skill of 79
- Donald, Rod 223
- Dunne, Peter 209
- East-Central Europe 45, 49, 56  
*see also individual countries*
- economy  
 effect of economic situation on  
 electoral reform 62, 155, 203–5,  
 218–19  
 effects of electoral systems on 43–4
- Eda, Satsuki 188
- electoral reform  
 definition of major reform 3  
 direction of reform 23, 164–5, 164,  
 238, 250–1  
 future of 251–4  
 incidence during democratization 3–4  
 incidence in established democracies  
 4–5, 6, 10, 23, 245  
 political nature of 84–5  
 types of reform process 10–17, 11,  
 239–42  
*see also elite–external interaction;*  
*elite majority imposition;*  
*elite–mass interaction; elite*  
*settlement; external imposition;*  
*judicial decision; mass imposition*
- Electoral Reform Coalition (New  
 Zealand) 205, 206, 207, 223–4, 236
- Electoral System Advisory Councils  
 (Japan)  
 in 1950s–1970s 135, 136, 179, 230  
 in 1989–1990 181–2, 216, 230, 233
- electoral systems  
 definition 2–3  
 effects 54–5  
 ‘extreme’ systems 8, 9, 23, 218, 219,  
 245–6  
 types 3, 4
- elite–external interaction 15, 87  
 in Japan 1945 130–3
- elite majority imposition  
 cases 87  
 definition and character 11, 20, 87–8,  
 138, 240  
 incidence 12–13, 16  
 relationship to elite settlement 12
- elite–mass interaction  
 definition and character 16, 20–1,  
 167, 210–11, 239–40  
 incidence 16, 238  
 manipulability of process 22, 238,  
 244–5

- elite settlement 11–13, 87, 89, 109, 159
- Elster, Jon 19
- European Court of Human Rights 13, 14
- experts 14, 27, 38, 49, 54–5, 227
- external actors 14–15, 130–3
- external imposition 14–15
- Fabius, Laurent 105
- fairness 38–40
  - in France, 1945–1946 91
  - in New Zealand 202
- fashion in electoral reform 60, 161
- Federation of Labour, New Zealand 196, 197
- Fiji 11, 14, 41, 42, 59, 71, 84
- Fini, Gianfranco 122, 123, 126–7, 146
- focal points 83, 205, 232, 235–6
- Follini, Marco 146
- foreign actors *see* external actors
- Forlani, Arnaldo 172, 174
- Forza Italia*
  - and 2005 reform 125, 126–7
- framing 72–3, 156, 222–3
- France 5, 62, 89–110, 155
  - electoral systems before 1945 89, 90, 160
  - 1945–1946 reform 89–95, 139–40
  - 1951 reform 32, 95–7, 143, 151, 162
  - 1955 reform attempt 97
  - 1958 reform 98–9, 140
  - 1985 reform 8, 99–103, 146, 152, 156, 157
  - 1986 reform 8, 103–4, 153, 156
  - 1991–1992 reform discussion 104–6, 146
  - 2007–2008 reform discussion 107–10
  - cognitive constraints 160
  - introduction of direct presidential elections, 1962 100
  - leadership 162
  - legitimacy constraints 97, 149, 151–2, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157
  - threshold changes, 1967 and 1976 99–100
  - uncertainty 91, 92, 93–4
- Front National* *see* National Front, French
- future of electoral reform 251–4
- Gaullists
  - and 1945–1946 reform 90, 92
  - organization 1947–1951 95
  - and 1951 reform 98
  - and 1958 reform 98
  - after 1958 100
  - and 1985 reform 102
  - and 1986 reform 103–4, 156
  - and 2007–2008 reform discussion 108*see also* de Gaulle, General Charles
- Germany
  - 1949 choice 15, 34
  - 1966–1969 reform discussion 33–4, 149–50
  - 1985 reform 109
  - 2005 reform possibility 149–50
  - legitimacy of post-war institutions 155
  - role of Constitutional Court 13
- gerrymandering 148, 151
- governance 43, 218
  - in France 1945–1946 91
  - in Italy 1993 171*see also* corruption
- Graham, Doug 202–3, 206, 226, 236
- Greece 32, 89
- Green Party, Canadian 13
- Green Party, French 105, 106
- Green Party, Italian 176, 234
- Gulf War 183
- Hata, Tsutomu 183, 188, 189
- Hatomander 134–6
- Hatoyama, Ichirō 135
- heresthetic 72–3
- history 66
  - and cognitive constraints 59, 60, 161, 231
  - and legitimacy constraints 61–2, 64, 82, 155–6, 158
  - and values 45, 51, 52, 82, 228
- Horowitz, Donald 14
- Hosokawa, Morihiro 190–1, 192–3, 234
- House of Councillors (Japanese)
  - 1982 reform 180
  - and 1994 reform 192–3

- Hungary  
 communist party in 1989 31, 35–6  
 dissidents in 1989 12, 42, 43, 58  
 since 1989 65
- ideas *see* values
- identity 45, 66, 82
- Illinois 15, 16
- incumbents' status quo bias 81–2, 136, 185, 214–15
- influence, maximization of 34–5, 36–7, 144, 225–6
- information  
 effects of changes in 31, 93–4, 225  
*see also* uncertainty
- inherent and contingent factors 7–10, 217–20, 245–6
- institutions 66–7, 242  
 and cognitive constraints 58–9, 60, 160, 163–5, 230–1  
 and legitimacy constraints 63, 64, 157  
 and power-seeking 52–3, 54–5, 139–40, 144–5  
 and translation of preferences into outcomes 64–5, 162–3, 232–3, 242  
 efficient v. redistributive 10–11  
 manipulation by leaders 75–8, 234, 242, 243–4
- interest groups *see* pressure groups
- interests 243–5  
 national interest *see* values  
 politicians' interests *see* power interests
- international factors *see* diffusion, international; elite–external interaction; external actors; external imposition
- intra-party power, pursuit of 36, 126, 139–40
- Iraq 15
- Ireland 65
- Israel 34, 43
- Italian Social Movement (MSI)  
 and 1953 reform 113–14, 116  
 and 1993 reform 176, 177
- Italy 5–6, 111–28, 169–78  
 1919 introduction of PR 111  
 1923 Acerbo Law 111–12  
 1946 reform 112–13  
 1953 reform 113–17, 150–1, 155–6, 157  
 1954/1957 reform 117–19, 153  
 1991 referendum 172–3  
 reform pressure before 1993 173, 211–12, 216–17, 218, 224, 233–4  
 1993 reform 9, 169–78  
 description of 1993 system 169  
 effects of 1993 reform 120, 220–1  
 goals of 1993 reform movement 120, 170, 176, 211–12, 214  
 opposition to 1993 reform 172, 173  
 1993 referendum 174–6  
 responses to 1993 referendum 176–8, 231, 232  
 1994–2001 reform pressure 118–23, 212  
 2005 reform 8, 9, 123–7, 146, 152–3, 157–8, 159, 162  
 2009 referendum 128, 212  
 cognitive constraints 160, 230–1  
 leadership 162, 224, 233–4  
 legitimacy constraints 150–1, 152–3, 154, 155–6, 157–8  
 path dependence 235–6  
 uncertainty 169
- Japan 129–37, 179–93  
 electoral systems before 1945 129–30  
 1945 reform 130–3  
 1947 reform 133–4, 153, 155  
 1956 reform attempt 134–6, 149, 154, 157, 160  
 1973 reform attempt 136–7, 139, 149, 154, 160  
 1982 House of Councillors reform 180  
 1991 reform bill 182, 187  
 1993 reform bill 187–90  
 1993 election 189–90, 190, 191  
 1993–1994 reform process 190–3, 222–3  
 1994 reform 9, 179–93  
 description of 1994 system 9, 179  
 effects of 1994 reform 221–2, 229–30  
 goals of 1994 reformers 182–4, 212–14

- opposition to 1994 reform 184–6, 214–15  
 cognitive constraints 160, 230–1  
 effects of SNTV 218, 221–2  
 leadership 222–3, 233, 234–5  
 legitimacy constraints 149, 153, 154, 155, 157  
 path dependence 236, 237  
 uncertainty 130, 132, 185, 186, 229–30
- Japanese Communist Party (JCP) *see* Communist Party, Japanese
- Japan New Party (JNP) *see* *Nihon Shintō*
- Japan Renewal Party (JRP) *see* *Shinseitō*
- Japan Socialist Party (JSP) *see* Socialist Party, Japanese
- Jospin, Lionel 105
- judicial decision 13–14, 173
- Kaifu, Toshiki 181, 182, 187
- Kanemaru, Shin 182, 188
- Keidanren* (Federation of Economic Organizations) 184
- Key, John 208–9
- kōenkai* 136, 139
- Kōmeitō* (Clean Government Party) 188–9, 191–2, 226, 237
- Kyowa scandal 187
- Labour Party, New Zealand  
 1978–1984 195, 196–8, 214  
 reasons for accepting creation of Royal Commission, 1985 196–8  
 1987 election and aftermath 200–1
- Lange, David 200, 229
- Latin America 42  
*see also individual countries*
- leadership 69–79  
 and institutions 75–8, 234, 242, 243–4  
 and legitimacy constraints 62–3, 64, 156  
 definition 69–70  
 in elite majority imposition 161–2  
 in elite–mass interaction 220–4, 233–5  
 in France 162  
 in Italy 162, 224, 233–4  
 in Japan 222–3, 233, 234–5  
 in New Zealand 223–4, 234
- Lega Nord*  
 and 1993 reform 174, 176, 178, 225  
 and 2005 reform 125  
 emergence 174, 175
- legge truffa* 113–19, 150–1, 153
- legitimacy constraints 22, 31–2, 35, 60–4, 147–58, 231–2, 240, 242, 243–4  
 and act contingencies 60–1  
 and electoral timetable 157–8  
 and historical experience 61–2, 64, 155–6  
 and institutions 63, 64, 157  
 and leadership 62–3, 64, 156  
 and path dependence 80–1, 82  
 and values 61, 64, 154  
 in France 97, 149, 151–2, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157  
 in Germany 149–50, 155, 156  
 in Italy 150–1, 152–3, 154, 155–6, 157–8  
 in Japan 149, 153, 154, 155, 157  
 in the UK and US 147–8
- Le Pen, Jean Marie 102, 105–6
- Lesotho 15
- Liberal Democratic Party, Japanese (LDP)  
 and 1956 reform attempt 135  
 and 1973 reform attempt 136–7  
 1973–1988 179–80  
 1989 report 181  
 1993 defections 189–90  
 and 1994 reform 182–5, 187–8, 189, 192–3  
 after 1994 221  
 creation 135  
 ‘young reformers’ 182, 183–4, 188, 189, 192, 212–13, 215, 216, 223
- Liberal Party, Italian (PLI)  
 and 1946 reform 112  
 and 1953 reform 113, 115–16  
 and 1954 reform 117–18, 119
- Liberal Party, Japanese 133–4
- limited vote 130

- list proportional representation (list PR)  
 in France 91, 92, 98  
 in Italy 111, 112, 119  
 in New Zealand 223  
 in South Africa 40, 41
- Lockheed scandal 180
- lopsided majorities 38–9, 219–20
- McCully, Murray 202–3, 226, 236
- Maccanico, Antonio 120–1
- Malta 219
- Mandela, Nelson 71
- Māori Party 208, 209
- mass imposition 15–16
- Mattarella, Sergio 177
- maximin strategy 56–7, 94–5, 159
- May's law 49
- methodology 6–7, 25–6, 242–3
- Miki, Takeo 179, 182
- minorities, representation of 40, 199
- misperception 57–8, 78, 158–9, 229–30, 241
- Mitterrand, François  
 and 1985 reform 101–2, 140, 144, 146  
 and 1986 reform 103  
 and 1991–1992 reform discussion 104–5, 140, 144, 146
- mixed-member majoritarian (MMM) system  
 in France 105, 106, 107–8  
 in Italy 169  
 in Japan 136–7, 179, 230  
 in New Zealand 199, 200, 202, 208
- mixed-member proportional (MMP) system  
 in France 101  
 in Germany 150  
 in Italy 121, 171  
 in Japan 136, 182, 186, 188  
 in Lesotho 15  
 in New Zealand 6, 199
- Miyazawa, Kiichi 187–8, 189
- Monarchists, Italian 113, 116, 118
- monarchs 15
- money politics *see* corruption
- Morin, Hervé 108
- motivations 27–46, 239–41, 248  
 determinants 18, 48–54  
 in elite majority imposition 139–47  
 in elite–mass interaction 211–16, 227–8  
 relationship between power motivation and values 27  
*see also* objectives of power seekers; power interests; values
- Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (MRP) *see* Popular Republican Movement, French
- Movimento Sociale Italiano* (MSI) *see* Italian Social Movement
- Mulgan, Richard 199
- multi-level games, manipulation of 76, 222–3, 234
- National Alliance, Italian (AN) 122, 126–7
- National Front, French 102, 103, 104, 105–6
- National Party, New Zealand  
 1990 referendum promise 201–3  
 actions 1990–1993 205–7  
 policy since 1996 208  
 plans for referendum, 2011 208–9
- Netherlands 33, 34, 40, 62
- New Party Harbinger *see* *Sakigake*
- New Wave Society (Japan) 186
- New Zealand 6, 9, 194–209  
 1978–1984 195–8, 219  
 Royal Commission on the Electoral System, 1985–1986 41, 44, 195, 198–9, 230, 236  
 reactions to Royal Commission, 1986 200  
 1987 election and aftermath 200–1, 229  
 1990 election 201–3  
 1992 and 1993 referendums 194, 203–7, 222, 232–3  
 2011 proposed referendum 208–9  
 cognitive constraints 230  
 goals of reformers 195–6, 203–5, 211, 214, 227–8  
 institutions 232–3  
 leadership 223–4, 234  
 opponents of reform 197–8, 207, 222  
 path dependence 236, 237  
 uncertainty 229

- Nigeria 42  
*Nihon Shinseitō* see *Shinseitō*  
*Nihon Shintō* (Japan New Party) 190, 192  
 Northern League see *Lega Nord*  
 Northey, Richard 226, 236  
 Norway 109  
*Nouveau Centre* 108–10
- objectives of power seekers 29–37, 30  
 determinants 53  
 in elite majority imposition 141, 145  
 in elite–mass interaction 228  
 see also influence, maximization of;  
 intra-party power, pursuit of;  
 office-seeking; party system  
 reconfiguration, pursuit of; power  
 interests; re-election, pursuit of;  
 seat-maximization; vote  
 maximization; voter preferences,  
 maximization of
- Occhetto, Achille 173, 214, 225, 234  
 office-seeking 28, 33–4, 48–9, 144, 215–16  
 Ontario  
 citizens' assembly, 2006–2007 40  
 2007 referendum 77, 219, 253–4  
 opportunity cost of reform 35  
 Oregon 15  
 outcome contingencies 28–9, 30  
 Ozawa, Ichirō  
 in LDP, 1989–1993 182, 187, 188,  
 189, 233  
 and Hosokawa government,  
 1993–1994 191–2, 234  
 and DPJ, 2009 229–30  
 goals 182–3, 186, 213–14  
 leadership role of 222–3, 233, 234
- Palmer, Geoffrey  
 and creation of Royal Commission  
 195–6, 199, 217  
 career 215  
 leadership role of 223, 234, 237  
 reasons for supporting electoral  
 reform 40–1, 43, 195–6, 211, 218  
 support for reform 1986–90 200–1  
 Pannella, Marco  
 and 1993 reform 171, 177, 212  
 1999 and 2000 referendums 122
- Papua New Guinea 45–6, 59, 73–4  
*Parti Communiste Français* (PCF) see  
 Communist Party, French  
 parties  
 effectiveness of parties as value 41  
 nature of parties 52–4, 139–40,  
 144–5  
 power interests, 29–35, 30  
 role in electoral reform 28, 52–3  
*Parti Socialiste* (PS) see Socialist Party,  
 French  
*Partito Comunista Italiano* (PCI) see  
 Communist Party, Italian  
*Partito Democratico della Sinistra*  
 (PDS) see Democratic Party of the  
 Left, Italian  
*Partito Liberale Italiano* (PLI) see  
 Liberal Party, Italian  
*Partito Repubblicano Italiano* (PRI) see  
 Republican Party, Italian  
*Partito Socialista Democratico Italiano*  
 (PSDI) see Social Democratic  
 Party, Italian  
*Partito Socialista Italiano* (PSI) see  
 Socialist Party, Italian  
 party block vote 60, 96, 97, 98, 99, 160  
 party system  
 impact on electoral reform 23, 66–7,  
 247–50  
 impact on electoral system  
 preferences 55, 66–7, 145  
 party system reconfiguration, pursuit  
 of 36–7, 116, 122–3, 126–7, 171,  
 173, 213–14, 225–6  
 Pasquino, Gianfranco 171  
 path dependence 79–84  
 and elite majority imposition 88  
 and elite–mass interaction 226, 229,  
 235–8  
 persuasion 71–5  
 see also bargaining; framing; trust  
 Peters, Winston 206  
 pivot parties 33, 122–3,  
 125–6, 177  
 Poland 57, 58  
 policy outcomes, pursuit of 43–4,  
 182–3, 213  
 policy-seeking 28, 48–9, 215–16



- politicians 17, 240–1  
 career trajectories 53, 54, 67, 215–16  
 determinants of motivations 48–50, 144–6, 240–1  
 differences between leaders, backbenchers, and activists 36, 48–9, 52–3, 67, 139–40  
 motivations 139, 140–4, 145–6, 211–16  
 power over electoral reform 10–17, 21–2, 243–5  
 role of individual politicians in electoral reform 35–7  
*see also* leadership
- Popular Republican Movement, French (MRP)  
 and 1945–1946 reform 90, 91, 93–4  
 and 1951 reform 95–7  
 and 1958 reform 98  
 as centralized party 139, 140, 144
- post-materialism 51–2, 227
- power interests 22, 28–37, 30, 48–50, 240–1, 243–5  
 determinants 52–4  
 relationship to values 27  
 role in elite majority imposition 139–47  
 role in elite–mass interaction 213–15  
*see also* act contingencies; objectives of power seekers; time horizons
- power maximization perspective 7–10, 246–7
- practicability 45–6, 92
- Prince Edward Island 219, 253–4
- pressure groups 17, 49, 227  
 in Italy 171, 227  
 in Japan 184, 188  
 in New Zealand 196, 197, 205, 223–4
- process manipulation 75–8
- Prodi, Romano 121, 152
- Progressive Party, Japanese 131, 132, 133–4
- promises, binding power of 83–4, 205, 207–8, 237
- proportional representation *see* list  
 proportional representation;  
 mixed-member proportional system; single transferable vote
- public opinion *see* citizens
- Quinn, Pat 16
- Rabuka, Sitiveni 71, 84
- Radical Party, French  
 and 1945–1946 reform 90–1  
 and 1951 reform 95–7  
 as party of *notables* 140, 144
- Rassemblement du Peuple Français* (RPF) *see* Gaullists
- Rassemblement pour la République* (RPR) *see* Gaullists
- reapportionment/redistricting 13, 92, 104, 109, 135
- recession, effect of 203–5, 218–19
- Recruit scandal 180, 186, 217, 233
- Reddy, Jai Ram 84
- re-election, pursuit of 35–6, 136, 139
- referendums 15–16, 232–3  
 British Columbia 2005 77, 219, 253–4  
 British Columbia 2009 219, 254  
 France 1946 89, 94  
 Ireland 1959 and 1968 65  
 Italy, pressure for, 1951 116, 122–3  
 Italy 1991 172–3  
 Italy 1993 174–6  
 Italy, failed petitions, 1995 and 1997 121  
 Italy 1999 121–2  
 Italy 2000 122  
 Italy 2009 128, 212  
 New Zealand 1992 and 1993 194, 203–7  
 New Zealand 2011 (proposed) 208–9  
 Ontario 2007 77, 219, 253–4  
 Prince Edward Island 2005 219, 253–4
- Rengō* (trade union confederation) 184, 186, 192, 225
- representation 38–40
- Republican Party, Italian (PRI)  
 and 1953 reform 113, 115–16  
 and 1954 reform 117–18, 119
- reputation 64, 74, 157–8
- Rete, La* 176
- rhetoric 72–3, 156, 222–3
- Rifondazione Comunista* (RC) 174–5, 176, 177

- risk, attitudes towards 56–7, 159, 229
- Rocard, Michel 103, 105, 146
- Royal, Ségolène 107–8
- Sagawa Kyūbin scandal 187, 188
- Sakigake* (*Shintō Sakigake*, New Party Harbinger) 189, 192, 212–13, 235
- salami slicing 77–8, 234
- Sarkozy, Nicolas 108
- satisficing 35, 56, 225, 244
- Saxby, Phil 223
- scandals *see* corruption  
*see also individual entries*
- Scotland 12, 33, 34, 35, 41
- seat-maximization 7–10, 32–3, 143, 214, 246–7
- Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière* (SFIO) *see* Socialist Party, French
- Segni, Mario  
and 1993 reform 171, 172, 173–4, 177, 211–12, 224, 233–4  
1999 and 2000 referendums 122, 212  
2009 referendum 212  
career 215–16  
goals 122, 171, 211–12
- Shaminren* (Social Democratic League) 188–9, 226
- Shinseitō* (*Nihon Shinseitō*, Japan Renewal Party) 189, 191–2
- Shirtcliffe, Peter 206–7, 224
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg 7, 23, 245–6
- simplicity of electoral systems 41, 45–6
- single-member plurality (SMP)  
239–40, 248  
in Canada 12, 219  
in France 90, 92  
in Ireland 65  
in Italy 120, 122, 177  
in Japan 129–30, 131, 133, 135, 136, 184, 188  
in New Zealand 6, 218  
in Papua New Guinea 45  
in the UK 13
- single non-transferable vote (SNTV)  
129, 133–4, 180  
effects 41, 45, 134–5, 136, 185, 218, 221–2
- single transferable vote (STV) 58, 65, 199, 206, 222, 223
- Sirius group (Japan) 188
- Social Democratic League  
(Japanese) *see* *Shaminren*
- Social Democratic Party, Italian  
and 1953 reform 113, 115–16  
and 1954 reform 117–18, 119
- Socialist Party, French (PS/SFIO)  
and 1945–1946 reform 90, 91, 93–4  
and 1951 reform 95–7  
and 1958 reform 98  
between 1958 and 1981 101  
and 1985 reform 101–3, 146, 156  
and 1991–1992 reform discussion 104–6, 146  
and 2007–2008 reform discussion 107–8
- Socialist Party, Italian (PSI)  
and 1953 reform 114, 116  
and 1954 reform 118–23  
in 1980s 170, 172  
and 1993 reform 173, 174, 176, 178
- Socialist Party, Japanese (JSP)  
and 1947 reform 133, 134  
union in 1955 135  
and 1956 reform attempt 135–6  
and 1973 reform attempt 136, 137  
and 1994 reform 185–6, 188, 189, 192–3, 214, 237
- South Africa 11, 31, 40, 41, 71, 75, 84
- spurious majorities 38, 196–8, 219, 220
- Sri Lanka 42
- Switzerland 15, 16
- stability  
as goal of electoral reform 11, 12, 42, 54, 176  
of electoral systems 4–5, 81–2, 243–4, 245
- strategy  
changes in electoral strategy 225–6  
*see also* leadership
- systemic failure 7–8, 9, 50, 217–20
- Takemura, Masayoshi 183–4, 189, 192, 234
- Takeshita, Noburu 180–1, 182, 217, 229, 233

- Tanaka, Kakuei 136, 137, 179, 183  
*Tangentopoli* scandal 174  
 temporizing 78, 181  
 Thailand 65, 76  
 theories of the middle range 19–20  
 time horizons 29, 53, 54, 145–6, 228  
   in France 103, 106, 146  
   in Italy 146, 159  
 timing, skill of 79  
 trade unions 17, 227  
   in Japan 184, 186, 188, 192, 225  
   in New Zealand 196, 197, 223  
 tradition *see* history  
 trust  
   development between negotiators  
     84, 237–8  
   strategic pursuit of 74  
 two-round system  
   in France 90, 96, 98–107, 160  
   in Italy 121, 171, 173, 174, 177  
   in New Zealand 6  
 uncertainty 35, 55–8, 158–60, 214,  
   229–30, 241  
   and leadership 74  
   in democratizing countries 12, 250  
   in established democracies 13, 250–1  
   in France 91, 92, 93–4  
   in Italy 169  
   in Japan 130, 132, 185, 186, 229–30  
   in New Zealand 229  
 Union for French Democracy (UDF)  
   102, 103–4, 107–8  
   *see also* *Nouveau Centre*  
 Union of Christian Democrats, Italian  
   (UDC) 123–4, 125–6, 127, 146  
*Union pour un Mouvement Populaire*  
   (UMP) *see* Gaullists  
 United Future (New Zealand) 208, 209  
 United Kingdom  
   constituency service as value 44  
   disproportionality 147–8  
   Jenkins Commission and aftermath  
     44, 84  
   legal action on electoral system 13, 14  
   Liberal Party 13, 109  
   reform debate in 2009 252  
   *see also* Scotland; Wales  
 United States 13, 15, 16, 32, 147–8  
   and occupation of Japan 130–3, 134  
   electoral college 61, 219–20, 252  
 Uno, Sosuke 181, 233  
 Utopia Political Research Group 184  
 values 37–46  
   determinants 22–3, 51–2  
   in elite majority imposition 139,  
     154–6  
   in elite–mass interaction 211–14,  
     215, 226, 227–8  
   relationship to legitimacy  
     constraints 61, 64, 154  
   relationship to power interests 27  
   role in electoral reform 11–13, 37–8,  
     50, 243–5  
   types 38–46, 39  
   value change 51–2, 66, 227  
   *see also* constituency service;  
     democracy; governance; identity;  
     policy outcomes, pursuit of;  
     practicability; stability  
 Venezuela 42  
 venue shopping 75, 172  
 veto players 63, 64–5, 162–3, 232, 242  
 vote maximization 32–3  
 voter choice (as value) 40, 52  
 voter preferences, maximization of  
   30–2, 140  
   *see also* legitimacy constraints  
 voters *see* citizens  
 vote-seeking 28, 32–3  
 Wales 35  
 Wallace, John 198, 233  
 Wilson, Margaret 226, 236  
 women, representation of 40  
 Women's Electoral Lobby (New  
   Zealand) 223, 236