

Contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Electoral Reform: A Conceptualisation	2
1.2	Objectives, Scope and Case Selection	5
1.3	Methods and Data	8
1.4	Outline of the Book	11
 Part I The Politics of Electoral Reform: A Framework for Analysis		
2	Electoral System Change: A Theoretical Perspective	15
2.1	From Duverger to Rae and Beyond	16
2.2	The Politics of Electoral Reform	18
2.3	Approaches to the Study of Electoral Reforms	21
2.4	Towards a Typology of Electoral Reform Processes	28
2.5	Specifics of Electoral Reforms During Democratisation	34
2.6	Procedural Barriers	37
2.7	Expectations on Electoral Reform Processes	38
3	Political Consequences of Electoral Reforms: Proportionality and Personalisation	41
3.1	Seats–Votes Proportionality	44
3.2	Personalisation of Electoral Systems	50
 Part II Electoral Systems under Re/Construction: What Electoral Systems for New Democracies?		
4	The Most Complex Electoral System as a Compromise: The Hungarian Negotiations of 1989	59
4.1	Roundtable Talks	59
4.2	Majoritarian Electoral System or Proportional Representation?	61
4.3	A ‘Messy’ Compromise	63
4.4	Complexity as a Compromise: The 1989 Elite Bargain	68

5	The Politics of Electoral Reform as a Dispute over the Role of Parties: Czechoslovak Debates in the Early 1990s	71
5.1	Nominal Vote or Proportional Representation?	72
5.2	The Choice of the List PR	74
5.3	President Vs. Parliament: Havel's Attempt at Electoral Reform . . .	77
5.4	Electoral Reform that Did Not Happen: The 1995 Electoral Act . .	81
5.5	Electoral Reforms as Evidence of the Non-conflicting Nature of Changes: The Early 1990s Politics of Electoral Reform in Czechoslovakia	82
 Part III <i>Cuius regio, eius regulae electionis</i>: Attempts at Changing the Rules of Democracy		
6	Aiming to Secure a Parliamentary Majority: The 1998 and 1999 Electoral System Changes in Slovakia	87
6.1	Mečiar Against All: The 1998 Electoral Reform	88
6.2	The Anti-Mečiar Turn: The 1998 Parliamentary Elections	92
6.3	Making Hay While the Sun Shines: The 1999 Electoral Reform . .	93
6.4	Boosting Electoral Fortunes: The Slovak Experience	95
7	Clashing over the Rules of Democracy: The 1998–2002 Czech Electoral Reform	99
7.1	Changing the Rules of Democracy: The 2000 Opposition-Agreement Electoral Reform	101
7.2	<i>Deus Ex Machina</i> : The Constitutional Court Judgment of 2001 . . .	104
7.3	Forced Compromise: The 2002 Electoral Reform	105
7.4	From Imposition to Bargain: The 1998–2002 Politics of Electoral Reform	107
8	Manufacturing the Monopoly of Power: The Electoral System Change under Orbán	111
8.1	Dismantling Democracy under Orbán after 2010	113
8.2	The Illiberal Use of Electoral Reform to Secure the Monopoly of Power	115
8.3	The Rubik's Cube: The New Electoral System	120
8.4	Manipulating Electoral Rules to Secure Single-Party Dominance: The Hungarian Case	124
9	Constitutional Court Back on the Scene: The 2021 Czech Electoral Reform	127
9.1	The Devil is in the Details: The 2002 Electoral System Shortcomings	127
9.2	Better Late than Never? The 2021 Constitutional Court Judgment	129
9.3	To give to Wolf his Feed and Keep the Goat Whole: The New Electoral System	132
9.4	A Missed Opportunity? The 2021 Electoral System Change	135

Part IV The Politics of Electoral Reform: A Central European Perspective

10 Electoral Reforms in Central Europe since 1989	139
10.1 Electoral Reforms Imposed by the Elite	140
10.2 Electoral System Changes and Proportionality	145
10.3 Electoral System Changes and Personalisation	147
10.4 Conclusion	148
References	151