Abranches, Sérgio Henrique Hudson de, 160, 162n. 6
Abrúcio, Fernando, 31
Acción Democratica, 217; rigidity of, 286
administrative reform, 2, 277
agrarian reform, 37, 252–54; and logroll with port reform, 254
Aguilar, Ubiratan, 248n. 25, 249
Alagoas, and gains under Collor, 177, 179
Alckmin Filho, Geraldo, 45–47
Aldrich, John, 11, 143n. 11
Aleluia, José Carlos, 244
Alencar, Marcello, 220n. 33
Allison, Graham, 7
Alves, Aluízio, 261n. 45
Alves, João, 56, 59–61, 229
Amapá, José Sarney as Senator from, 118
Ames, Barry, 7n. 8, 20n. 42, 54n. 16, 69n. 33, 72n. 37, 109n. 2, 123n. 30, 126n. 33, 169n. 16, 176, 181n. 37
Amin, Espiridião, as PPR candidate, 184
Amorim Neto, Octávio, 5n. 2, 15n. 19, 159n. 1, 160–62, 165n. 9, 268n. 1
Anderson, Perry, 2
Andrada, 171n. 20
Andrade, Cleriston, 131
Andrade, Gutierrez, 243
Aragão, Murilo de, 113n. 10
ARENA (National Renovating Alliance), as indicator of right-wing ideology, 29, 148, 207
Argentina: federalism in, compared to Brazil, 23; party unity in, 190
Arrow, Kenneth, 225–26
Asia, economic crisis in, 2, 267
Avelino Filho, George, 79n. 4
Azeredo, Eduardo, 220n. 33, 280
Bacha, Edmar, 262–63
Bahia: and concentration, 102; debt finance in, 132; leftist presence in, 118; MDB and ARENA in, 130; political families of, 21; pork barrel use of schools in, 132; roots of ACM’s power in, 129–33; scattered-dominant distributions in, 50–51; and social match, 91
Bahia, versus Maranhão and Ceará: candidates per seat, 122; competition, 119; and concentration, 93; economic differences, 117–33; occupational backgrounds of politicians, 119–20; traditional strength of right, 130
bailiwicks, and change over time, 99
Banck, Geert, 24
Bank of Brazil, 256
Barbacena, 171n. 20
Barbalho, Jader, 174n. 26
Barbosa, Vivaldo, 263n. 52
Barelli, Walter, 255
Baron, David, 11n. 11
Barros e Silva, Fernando, 189n. 7
Barros, Hélio, 127n. 34
Bartolini, Stefano, 51n. 12
Basinger, Scott, 13n. 15
Bates, Robert, 289
Bawn, Kathleen, 13n. 15
Beck, Paul Allen, 69n. 32
Benevides, Maria Victória, 5n. 2
Bezerra, Adauto, 126
Bezerra, Humberto, 127
Bezerra, Marcos Otávio, 24n. 34, 79n. 4
Bezerra, Orlando, 129
Bezerra family: banking interests of, 126; as colonels in Ceará, 118
Bias Fortes, 171n. 20
Bickers, Kenneth, 24n. 33, 169n. 15
bidding reform, 37, 242–46
Bolivia, mixed electoral system in, 285
Bonfim, Washington, 116n. 17, 128n. 35, 129
Borba, Aécio de, 127n. 34
Bornhausen, Jorge, 194, 255, 262n. 48, 263
Bowler, Shaun, 85n. 15, 204n. 14
Braga, Ney, 112
Brazil, and comparative politics, 288–92; future agenda of, 290; methodological implications, 289; substantive implications, 288
Britto, Antônio, 181n. 38, 182, 260–61
Brizola, Leonel: and control of Rio Grande do Sul and Rio de Janeiro, 29, 68; and Darcy Ribeiro, 250n. 28
budget amendments: in Bahia, 90; and concentration, 93; and distance from center of vote, 90; and domination, 89, 93; and electoral results, 93–96; and electoral weakness, 89; and local politicians, 91; and party fragmentation, 89; and political families, 93; in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, 89; sources of, 294; and vulnerability, 89
budget committee amendment success: and clustering, 233; as distributive mechanism, 229; and dominance, 233; domination of pork-barrel considerations, 228; and electoral conditions, 232; and fragmentation, 233; as function of economic conditions, 231; and party, 232; model of amendment approval, 230–35
budget scandal of 1993, 56–61; and adoption of mixed district and PR electoral system, 60–61; and the “dwarfs,” 56n. 19; and scattered-dominant vote distributions, 57–61
Bueno, Cunha, 49
cabinet, coalescence rate of, 161
cabinet appointments, as a strategy, 160; in 1946–64, 160–61
cabinet formation: and importance of intermediaries, 186; and irrational strategies, 185
Cabral, Bernardo, 295, 296
Cacciamali, Maria Cristina, 5
Cafeteira, Epitácio, 125
Calheiros, Renildo, 248n. 25, 250
Cals, Cezar, 127
Cals family, 118
campaign strategy: barriers to entry, 79; budget amendments as indicator of, 84; business candidates, 82, 83; career trajectory, 81, 86; challengers vs. incumbents, 82; community identification, 79; cost vs. distance to voter, 80; electoral insecurity, 86; local candidates, 81; matching municipalities, 86; politicized groups as targets, 78; retirements, 92; social match, 91
Campos, Roberto, 239
candidates per seat: Maranhão versus Bahia and Ceará, 122; Paraná versus Santa Catarina, 115
Canet, Jayme, 112
Canon, David, 69n. 31
Cardoso Alves, Roberto, 158
Cardoso, Newton, 163
Cardoso, Ruth, 133
career paths, Maranhão versus Bahia versus Ceará, 119
Carey, John, 6n. 6, 13, 52n. 13, 159
Carvalho, Joaquim de, 238
Carvalho, Jose Murilo de, 19, 24n. 34, 171n. 20
Castelo, João, 124–25
Ceará: and colonels, 118; dominance in, 67; and election of 1986, 128; and fall of colonels, 126–29; and indústria da
séca, 125–26; null and blank voting in, 66–67
Centrão, 295
Chappell, Henry, 280
Chaves, Aureliano, 176
Chaves, Leite, 113
Chiarelli, Carlos, 249
Chile, and open-list proportional representation pre-1973, 42
Chubb, Judith, 26
Cleary, David, 123–24
Cliff, Andrew, 44, 293
coalitions, theoretical instability of versus empirical stability of, 225
Coase, Ronald, 8
Coelho, Nilo, 132
Cohen, Youssef, 6n. 6, 28n. 40
college of leaders: and agrarian reform, 252–54; and bidding reform, 242–46; cases compared, 264–66; and choice of cases, 240–41; and committees, 240; defined, 239; and Law of Directives and Bases in Education, 246–52; and macroeconomic stabilization, 256–64; and ministerial reorganization, 239, 254–56; and party issues, 266; and polemical issues, 266; and Social Emergency Fund, 259–64; and unidimensional issues, 266
Collor de Mello, Fernando, 237; cabinet of, 163–64; cabinet strategy of, 140, 175–80; crisis strategy of, 25n. 35, 179; early anti-party strategy of, 176; emergency measures of, 144, 153; grant strategy of, 66, 175–80; legislative success of, 191–94; mature strategy of, 177–78; and Santa Catarina vote, 111; and state targets, 177; and use of local machines, 5, 176
Collor de Mello, Pedro, 179
Collor de Mello, Rosane, 177n. 30
Colombia, patronage in compared to Brazil, 25n. 35
committees: distributional versus informational model in agriculture, infrastructure, social action, and education, 235; purposes of, in distributional and informational perspectives, 227
concentrated-dominant distributions, 44–47
concentrated-shared municipalities, 47–48
concentration: and campaign behavior, 85; defined, 44, 99–196; explained at individual level, 104–6
Congress: and database and scales, 295–99; from 1946–64, 5; issue scales, 140, 143; and power of states and municipalities, 31; and role of ideas, 28; and veto players, 28; and weakness on national issues, 5
CONTAG (Confederation of Agricultural Workers), 253
convênios, importance of, 168
COPEI, rigidity of, 286
Coppedge, Michael, 6n. 6, 206, 283n. 26
coronelismo, in Ceará, 118
Correa, Maurício, 255
corruption, and spatial patterns of voting, 56–61
Covas, Mário, 220n. 33
Cox, Gary, 9n. 10, 11n. 11, 12, 77, 140n. 3, 155, 204, 268n. 1
Crisp, Brian, 6n. 6, 286
Cruzado plan, 125, 172n. 23, 261
Da Costa, Lustosa, 127
Dalton, Russell, 69n. 32
Denemark, David, 285
De Souza, Josias, 5, 180n. 34, 182
Devescovi, Regina Balieiro, 240
D’Hondt formula, 42n. 1
DIAP, 63
Dias, Álvaro, 113
Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto, 280n. 15, 282
Dimenstein, Gilberto, 5, 180n. 34, 182
doibradinhas, 43, 82
dominance: and campaign behavior, 85; and change over time, 99–106; defined, 44; explained at individual level, 104–6; Maranhão, versus Bahia
dominance: and campaign behavior (continued)
and Ceará, 119; Paraná versus Santa Catarina, 109
Donovan, Todd, 85n. 15
Dornelles, Francisco, 259
Dos Santos, Wanderley Guilherme, 5n. 2, 6n. 6, 28n. 40
Durval, João, 131
Duverger, Maurice, 285

Eckstein, Harry, 33
education: and disinterest of executive, 249; and disinterest of politicians, 246; and influence of congressional outliers, 248; and influence of teachers, 247; and Law of Directives and Bases, 37, 246–52; as pork in Bahia, 131
electoral data sources, 294
electoral outcomes: and career path, 96; and social match, 96
electoral success, and dominance, 95
electoral systems, mixed types in Bolivia, Venezuela, Russia, Italy, and Japan, 285
Eliseo, Octávio, 247–48
emergency decrees, 4; description of decrees utilized in analysis, 299
Emperor João III, 19
encaminhamento, defined, 209
Estado Novo, 20
evangélicos: as a faction, 147; and scattered-shared distribution, 48–49
Evans, Peter B., 8

Farias, Paulo Cesar, 164n. 7
Farrell, David, 204n. 14
Fausto, Boris, 54
federalism in Brazil: causes of, 19; compared to other democracies, 23; compared with Mexico, 20; and end of monarchy, 20; in Estado Novo, 20; and local interests, 22–23; and malapportionment in Brazil, 19; and malapportionment in the United States, 19n. 27; and market-preserving theory, weakness of, 22; in North and Center-West, 21; pendular pattern of, 21; in South, 21; in Southeast, 21; and state powers, 18–23; and Tiebout mechanism, 22
Feldmann, Fábio, 48
Ferejohn, John, 108n. 1, 169n. 15
Fernandes, Florestan, 248
Fernando Henrique Cardoso: achievements and failures of, 2, 118; cabinet appointments of, 165–67; electoral backing of, 2, 5; failures of, 3; legislative success of, 195; and links to ACM, 133; and move to Finance Ministry, 258; and plan for mixed pension system, 195; prospects of in 1995, 1; and Santa Catarina vote, 111
Fett, Patrick, 191n. 11
Figueiredo, Argelina, 6n. 4, 144n. 13, 189, 190, 206
Figueiredo, João, 127
Finland, and open-list proportional representation, 42
Fiuza, Ricardo, 194
Flanagan, Scott C., 69n. 32
Fleischer, David, 29, 166n. 11, 238n. 11
Fleury, Luis Antônio, ministerial reorganization of, 255
Fontenele, Maria Luiza, 128
Fortaleza, and election of 1982, 128
Franco, Gustavo, 256n. 39
Franco, Itamar, 229; cabinet of, 164–65; grants strategy of, 180–85; legislative success of, 195; ministerial reform of, 5, 37; and reorganization, 240; stabilization policy of, 37; strategy of in 1994, 182
Franzese, Robert John, 13n. 15
Freire, Osvaldo Nunes, 124
Freire, Roberto, 259
Freire, Vitorino, 123, 124
Garman, Christopher, 282
Geddes, Barbara, 6n. 6, 9, 25, 43n. 5, 149n. 21, 159n. 1
Geisel, Ernesto, 130
Germany, electoral regime of, 284
Getis, Art, 100n. 3
Goes, Joaci, 133n. 42
Goldemberg, Jose, 249
Gomes, Ciro, and opposition to paulistas, 118–19, 129, 139n. 1, 168n. 14
Gomes, Vadão, 252
Goulart, João, 28n. 40, 126
governability, 1
Graham, Richard, 24n. 34, 27n. 38, 282n. 23
Gramacho, Wladimir, 278n. 9
grants, intergovernmental: credit claiming, 170; determined by need and capacity, 169; and fragmentation, 171; and problem of identifying targets, 169–70; reflecting cabinet ministers’ personal strategies, 168; reflecting presidential strategy, 167–72
Greenfield, Sidney, 24
Guaretinguetá, 46
Guimarães, Ulysses, 163, 174, 175, 296
Gunther, Richard, 52n. 13
Hage, Jorge, 247–48
Haggard, Stephan, 282
Hagopian, Francis, 29, 109n. 2
Hall, Peter, 8
Hallerberg, Mark, 13n. 15
Handberg, Roger, 291n. 33
Harding, Warren G., 224
Hargreaves, Henrique, 255n. 37; and favoritism toward PFL, 166, 258
Heinz, Jack, 79
Higley, John, 52n. 13
Hingel, Maurílio, 182, 184, 249
historical continuities: and constitution, 27–29; and organizations, 30; and personnel, 29–30
Ibañez, Carlos, 16–17
Iensen, Matheus, 49, 51
Ilhabela, Fábio Feldmann’s vote share from, 48
immigrants, in state politics, 113
Imperatriz, Maranhão, 125
import-substitution industrialization, 26
INESC, 253
innovation in policy, difficulty of, 3
institutional deadlock: argument summarized, 267–76; and cost to Brazil, 276–81; and federalism, 282; and political reform, 281–88; and strengthening of parties, 282
IPMF tax: adoption of, 257–59; and parties, 258; and pork-barrel inducements, 258; and presidential election, 257
issue caucuses: accountability of, 61–65; and authenticity of representation, 62–65; and evangelicals, 63, and rural interests, 63–65
Italy, mixed system in, 285
Jackson, Senator Henry, 146n. 17
Japan, mixed system in, 285
Japanese-Brazilians, and scattered-shared distributions, 48–49
Jefferson, Roberto, 248
Jereisatti, Carlos, 126
Jereisatti, Tasso, 128; and takeover in Ceará, 118–19
Jorje, Eduardo, 48
Jungmann, Raul, 258
Junior, Lomanto, 129
Kara, Ary, 46–47
Katz, Richard, 204n. 14
Keech, William, 217n. 29, 280
Keohane, Robert, 9, 33, 289
Kertész, Mário, 133n. 42
Key, V. O., 43n. 6
King, Gary, 9, 33, 289
Kingdon, John, 204n. 17, 215n. 28
Kingstone, Peter, 5n. 3
Kinzo, Maria D’Alva Gil, 55n. 17, 143
Knight, Jack, 11n. 11, 12n. 13
Kramer, Dora, 2
Krehbiel, Keith, 12n. 13, 37, 226–27
Kreppel, Amie, 13n. 15
Kubitschek, Juscelino, 30, 130
Kulisheck, Michael, 287
Kuster, Francisco, 297

Laakso-Taagapera index, 116n. 18
Labour Party in Britain, 187
Lamounier, Bolivar, 3, 190n. 9, 292
Leão, Odelmo, 252
legislative activism, comparative causes of, 139
legislative careers, shortness of, 142
legislative obstructionism, causes of, 140
legislative turnover, causes of, 141
legislative voting: and career path, 146, 152, 154; and constituency attributes, 145, 150–52, 154; and dominance and clustering, 144, 150–52, 154; and electoral insecurity, 147, 152, 154; and ideology, 148, 153, 154; and party, 148, 153, 154; and pork inducements, 149, 153, 154–55; and seniority, 147, 152, 154; and state interests of, 147, 152–53, 154
legislature: and credit claiming, 12; distributive versus informational perspectives of, 11, 226
Lei Camata, 277n. 7
Leopoldi, Maria Antonieta Parahyba, 278n. 8
Lerner, Jaime, 112; PDT to PFL, 116
Levi, Margaret, 8n. 9, 9
Light, Paul, 280
Lima Junior, Olavo Brasil de, 190n. 9
Limongi, Fernando, 6n. 4, 144n. 13, 189, 190, 206
Lipset, Seymour Martin, 51n. 12
Lobão, Edison, 125
local candidates, in the South, 92
localism, in Paraná, 114
Locke, Richard, 108
Londrina, 113n. 12
Love, Joseph, 20
Lowi, Theodore, 79, 256
Lucas, Jonival, 50–52
Lucena, Humberto, 297
Lula da Silva, Luís Inácio, 5, 176; fear of, 181, 229, 261; and Santa Catarina vote, 32, 111
Lustosa da Costa, Paulo, 127

Maciel, Marco, 255
macroeconomic stabilization: and Asian and Russian crises, 277; and delays in administrative and pension reform, 277; and policies adopted in 1994–95, 256–64; and tax reform, 277
Magalhães, Antonio Carlos: alliances of, 68; and antipathy to state enemies, 174; and Bahian base, 129–33; and budget amendments, 90; and criticism of Pelé appointment, 165n. 10; and education, 77, 118, 249; as Minister of Communications, 102, 163; and polarizing politicians, 153, 165; and power in Cardoso’s cabinet, 165, 244
Magalhães, Jutahy, 129
Magalhães, Luis Eduardo, 118, 259
Magalhães, Rafael Almeida, 174
Magno, Carlos, 117n. 21
Mainwaring, Scott, 52n. 13, 53, 69n. 32, 72n. 36, 190n. 9
Mair, Peter, 51n. 12
malapportionment: and Constitution of 1946, 54; and outcomes in constitutional convention, 54
Malta family, 177n. 30
Maluf, Paulo, 79n. 3, 176; and Sarney candidacy, 125, 280
map construction, 293
Maranhão: and gains in Sarney budget, 174; and importance of José Sarney, 68
March, James, 8, 9
Marinho, Roberto, 133n. 41
Marshall, William, 9, 226
Martínez-Lara, Javier, 157n. 30
Mayer, Kenneth, 289
Mayhew, David, 12, 289
McCubbins, Matthew, 140n. 3, 155, 204
McKelvey, Richard, 225–26
MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement), 148
MDB-PMDB, 94n. 29
Meirelles, Fábio, 253
Meneguello, Rachel, 69
Menem, Carlos, 281n. 18
Menes, Roberta, 114n. 13
Mercadante, Aloízio, 244
mesa, and presiding board, 239
methodology: case study and British elections, 33; case study and theory, 33; chance variables, 32; interviews and their biases, 31–32, 33–34; rational choice and empirical verification, 31
Mexico, federalism in, 282
Mezey, Michael, 139
Minas Gerais: and social match, 91; and concentration, 95n. 32
ministerial reorganization, 254–56
modernization, in Maranhão, 124
monarch, fall of, and effect on patronage, 26
Montinola, Gabriela, 22
Moran’s I, 44, 100n. 3
Morgenstern, Scott, 16n. 21, 140n. 4
Morlino, Leonardo, 285
Motta, Luís Gonzaga, 127–28
multiparty alliances, 68–72
municipal vulnerability, and candidate strategies, 85
Nabor Junior, Senator, 230n. 3
Nacif, Benito, 286
National Bank of Social and Economic Development, 101n. 7
National Forum to Defend Public Schools, 249
Neto, Artur Ribeiro, 43n. 5
Netto, Amaral, example of ideological niche, 61–62
Neves, Tancredo, 117, 125, 162, 172
Nicolau, Jairo, 52n. 14
Nixon, Richard, 77
Nohlen, Dieter, 292
North, Douglass, 6, 7, 8, 11n. 11, 108, 123n. 29
Northeast, economic conditions of, 20
Nory, Walter, 244
Novães, Carlos Alberto Marques, 142, 150, 237, 239
null and blank voting, 65–68
Nunes, Maria Cavaliari, 43
oligarchical power: and rules for political survival, 128; and Santa Catarina versus Paraná, 111; and three families in Ceará, 126
Oliveira, Gesner, 256n. 39
Olsen, David M., 139
Olsen, Johan P., 8
Olsen, Organ, 9, 43
O’Neill, Thomas P. (Tip), 41
open-list proportional representation, and party building, 65–74
Ordeshook, Peter, 268n. 1
Paraná: and localism; 113–15, migrants to, 113; PTB strength in, 112; and scattered-shared vote distributions, 49; strength of left in, 110; and turnover, 82n. 11, 115–16
Paraná versus Santa Catarina, 110–16; and strength of oligarchies, 111
parties: autonomy of, and electoral vulnerability, 208; basis for existence of, in legislatures, 11, 204; Brazilian, compared to Argentinian and Venezuelan, 190; conditional legislative, 205; and constituency pressures to defect, 207; defection and electoral dominance, 208, 221; defection and pork-barrel inducements, 208; and discipline in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Uruguay, and Venezuela, 16; ideological motivations to defect, 207, 220; and importance of whip recommendations, 214; and incumbents, 220; and measuring strength with whip recommendations, 209; motivation, autonomy, and career paths, 218; negotiating abilities of, 237; discipline of, and pork-barrel inducements, 215; and Rice indices of
parties: autonomy of (continued)

discipline, 190; and seniority, 220; and societal and spatial distributions, 72–73; strengthening of, by eliminating two-round elections, 284; strengthening of, through adoption of mixed (German-type) system, 284–88; strengthening of, through enforced loyalty, 283; strengthening of, through reform of campaign financing, 284; and vote clustering, 221

partisan composition of legislatures, 119

party loyalty and citizen response, 69; and party switching, 69–72

party system, characteristics of, 5–6

party switching: and rationality, 69–72; and strength of party, 191

path dependence, 108

PDC, 50

PDS, 29, 94n. 29; and party switching, 73

Pelé, 165

pension reform, 2

Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal, 191

Peronist party, 187

Perosa, António, 298

Peterson, Mark, 191n. 11

PFL, 64n. 28, 94n. 29

Pimentel, Paulo, 112–13

Pindamonhangaba, 45–46

Pinheiro, Daniela, 224, 238

Pires, Waldir, 129, 131, 132; and conflict with ACM, 174

Planning Ministry, and pork programs, 170

PMDB, 29n. 29, 82n. 11, 92, 94

Poisson versus logistic, 87

political institutions: and failures, 3; and historical sociologists, 8; and incentives for pork and patronage, 4; independence of, 7; and organizational theories, 8; and path dependence, 7; and rational choice, 8; and transactions costs, 8; unanticipated consequences of, 7

politicians, goals of, 3

Polsby, Nelson, 141n. 6

Pombal, Marquis de, 19

Ponte, Luís Roberto, 243, 262

Portugal, and weakness and federalism, 19

Power, Timothy, 65, 148, 152n. 27, 207n. 19, 283

pork and patronage: and clientelism, 24; hyperdemocratic quality of, 51; and ideological niches, 61–62; and issue-oriented legislators, 27; in Italy, 26; and malapportionment, 52–56; and median voter, 77; in nineteenth century, 25; and operation of open-list version in Brazil, 41–43; pervasiveness of, 24; and propensities of Brazilian political structure, 79; proportional representation and candidate behavior, 11; and public employment, 25; and school food programs, 26n. 37; and spending laws, 43; and TV time, 43; in the United States, 24

Prata, Rosa, 298

presidential power, in Brazil, 4; compared to other Latin American countries, 159–60; limitations of, 6, 160

presidential proposals, tracking success of, 191–204

presidential versus parliamentary regimes, 13

Procópio, Margarida, 194

PSD (Social Democratic Party), 162n. 6; in Santa Catarina, 111

PSDB, 46; in Ceará, 48, 67, 165

PT, voting as a unified bloc, 55, 81n. 8

PTB, 64n. 28

Putnam, Robert, 123n. 29

Qian, Yingyi, 22

Quadros, Jânio, 112

Quércia, Orestes, 29, 244; and defections, 46; and interests in macro policy, 139, 260; and ministerial reorganization, 255; and power over PMDB and PFL in São Paulo, 68, 82n. 11, 92
Quércia-Fleury wing of PMDB, 165, 181n. 38

rational-choice theories, 6–12
Real Plan, 2, 180, 182
redo, defined, 44
reelection of president: and coalition supporting, 278; and costs to broader program, 278–81; and limitations as legislators’ goal, 141; in milieu of weak parties, 280; and piling up of strong politicians, 281; and pork-barrel inducements, 279; and potential gains to executive, 280
regime of 1946–64, 3
relator, defined, 244
Resende-Santos, João, 2n. 1
Revolutionary Institutional Party in Mexico, 282
Rezende, Fernando, 31n. 44
Ribeiro, Darcy, 250
Ribeiro Neto, Artur, 149n. 21
Rice index, 190
Richa, José, 112
Righi, Gastone, 41
right-wing parties: Paraná versus Santa Catarina, 109; strength of, in Bahia, 130
Riker, William, 19, 21
Rio de Janeiro: and gains in Sarney cabinet, 81n. 6, 174; and industrial growth, 30
Rio Grande do Norte, and vote distribution, 45
Roberts, Timmons, 65
Rocha, Leonel, 279
Rockman, Bert, 288, 292
Rodden, Jonathan, 22n. 31
Roett, Riordan, 118
Rogers, Will, 187
Rokkan, Stein, 51n. 12
Rolim, Francisco Sales Cartaxo, 124, 127
roll-call votes: and absentee deputies, 211; bandwagon effects of, 189; contested versus uncontested, 210; and costs of coalition formation, 188; and nondecisions, 188; and varying legislative processes, 189; and weighting votes, 210
Roraima, and malapportionment, 19, 52
Rosado Maia, Laire, 44
Rose-Ackerman, Susan, 22n. 31
Rosenmann, Max, 115n. 15
Rua, Maria das Graças, 207
Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, 8
Russia: economic crisis in, 2, 267; and mixed electoral system, 285
Sabino, Mário, 278
Saboia, Cid, 298
salário educação, defined, 247n. 23
Salisbury, Robert, 79
Salomão, Luiz, 244, 262
Sampson, Paul, 293
Samuels, David, 148n. 20
Santa Catarina: and candidates per seat, 116; and null and blank voting, 66–67; PTB strength in, 112; and Ramos, Konder, and Bornhausen families, 111; right-wing parties in, 110; versus Paraná, 110–16
Santana, Carlos, 249
Santos, Fabiano Guilherme M., 5n. 2, 6n. 6, 97n. 35, 171n. 18
Santos, Roberto, 130
São Paulo, 30; and industrial growth, 30; and losses in budget, 173; and malapportionment, 19, 42; and model problems, 95n. 30, 95n. 31; political families in, 21, 81n. 6; and social match, 91
Sarney Filho, 118, 167
Sarney, José, 16n. 22; and abandonment of PMDB, 175; cabinet of, 162–63; conciliatory style of, 153; hostility toward, in South, 145; Maranhão career of, 123–25; modelling strategy of, 172–75; party strategy of, 172–73; pork recruitment tactics of, 149; and presidentialism, and five-year term, 29, 55, 117; state targets of, 173–74
Sarney, Roseana, 118
Scalco, Euclides, 238
scattered-dominant distributions, 49–52
scattered-shared distribution, 48–49
Schneider, Ben Ross, 35n. 47, 159n. 1, 291n. 33
Scully, Timothy, 52n. 13, 72n. 36
Seabra, Cátia, 287n. 31
Seligman, Albert, 285
SEPLAN, and pork programs, 150
Serra, José, 165, 229, 263
Shepsle, Kenneth, 11n. 11, 37, 226–27, 268n. 2
Shugart, Matthew, 6n. 6, 13, 52n. 13, 159
Shvetsova, Olga, 268n. 1
Silva, Simone Rodrigues da, 221n. 35
Simon, Senator Pedro, 244
Skidmore, Thomas, 278n. 9
Skocpol, Theda, 8
Smyth, Regina, 284–85
Snipp, Joe, 85n. 15
Soares, Gláucio, 5n. 2
Social Emergency Fund, 259–64
Society for the Progress of Science, 250
Sola, Lourdes, 172n. 23
Sousa, David, 69n. 31
Souto, Humberto, 108
Souza, Celina, 77n. 1, 81n. 9, 131n. 37, 132n. 39, 133, 141n. 8, 157n. 30, 174n. 25, 282n. 22
Souza, Maria do Carmo Campello de, 5n. 2
spatial patterns in elections for Chamber of Deputies, 43–52
Stallings, Barbara, 17, 17n. 23
Stein, Robert, 24n. 33, 169n. 15
Steinmo, Sven, 8, 10
Stepan, Alfred, 19n. 27, 23
Stephanes, Reinhold, 194
Straubhaar, Joseph, 43
subnational politics, and historical institutionalism, 108
SUDENE, 244, 256
Sullivan, John, 189n. 3
Systematization Committee in Constituent Assembly, 295
Taubaté, 46–47
Tavares, José Reinaldo, 163
Távora, Virgílio, 126–27
Távoras, as colonels in Ceará, 118
tax reform, 2
Taylor, Rosemary, 8
Teixeira, Miro, 262
Tendler, Judith, 119n. 23
Thelen, Kathleen, 8, 10, 108
Tiebout, Charles, 22
Tinoco, Eraldo, 248–49
Treisman, Daniel, 13n. 15
Tsebelis, George, 9, 10n. 11, 13, 15, 42n. 3, 180n. 32, 190n. 8, 205, 276n. 3
Tullock, Gordon, 226
Twain, Mark, 139
UDN (National Democratic Union), 129; in Santa Catarina, 111
Ueno, Antonio, 49
Ukraine, mixed system in, 285
Vale do Rio Doce, 200
Valenzuela, 43n. 4
VanDoren, Peter, 189n. 4
Vargas, Getúlio, 20, 123, 129
Vasconcelos, José Carlos, 57
Venezuela: party unity in, 190; mixed system in, 286
Verba, Sidney, 9, 33, 289
veto players: and absorption rule, 15; and agenda control, 17; in Brazil, compared to other Latin American countries, 15; and Brazilian institutions, 11; in Chile, Ecuador, and Bolivia, 16; collective players, 14; compared to excess of parties, 18; and Constitution of 1988, 28; and counting, 14; fundamental argument of, 13; institutional and partisan players, 15; and other theories, 13; and problem of innovation, 11; in Sarney period, 16n. 22; and supermajorities, 15; in Uruguay, 16
Index

Vianna Filho, Luis, 129
Viola, Eduardo, 111n. 6
Weaver, R. Kent, 288, 292
Weingast, Barry, 9, 22, 37, 226–27
Weyland, Kurt, 157n. 31, 281n. 18

Williamson, Oliver, 8
Willis, Eliza, 282
Wilson, Bruce, 291n. 33
Workers’ Party, disciplined, 16n. 20
World Bank, and interests in bidding reform, 245n. 20