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政改的前路：制度改革和精英取態 The Way Forward for Constitutional Development: Institutional Reform and Elite Orientation

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Outline

- Four critical cleavages
- Growth of franchise (UK and Europe)
- Modes of political transition
- Foundational pact
- Balanced participation
- Some instruments
 - Formal institutions
 - Political arrangements
- Concluding remarks



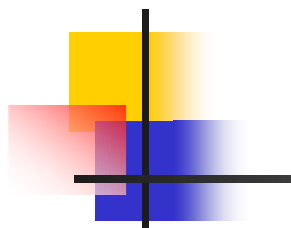
Four Critical Cleavages

- Lipset & Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignment: An Introduction" → four critical cleavages emerged in the 19th century Europe:
 - Subject-dominant culture
 - Church-government (church-state)
 - Primary-secondary economy (land-industry)
 - Workers-employers (worker-owner)
- The first two → direct products of national revolution; the latter two → direct products of industrial revolution



Growth of the British Franchise

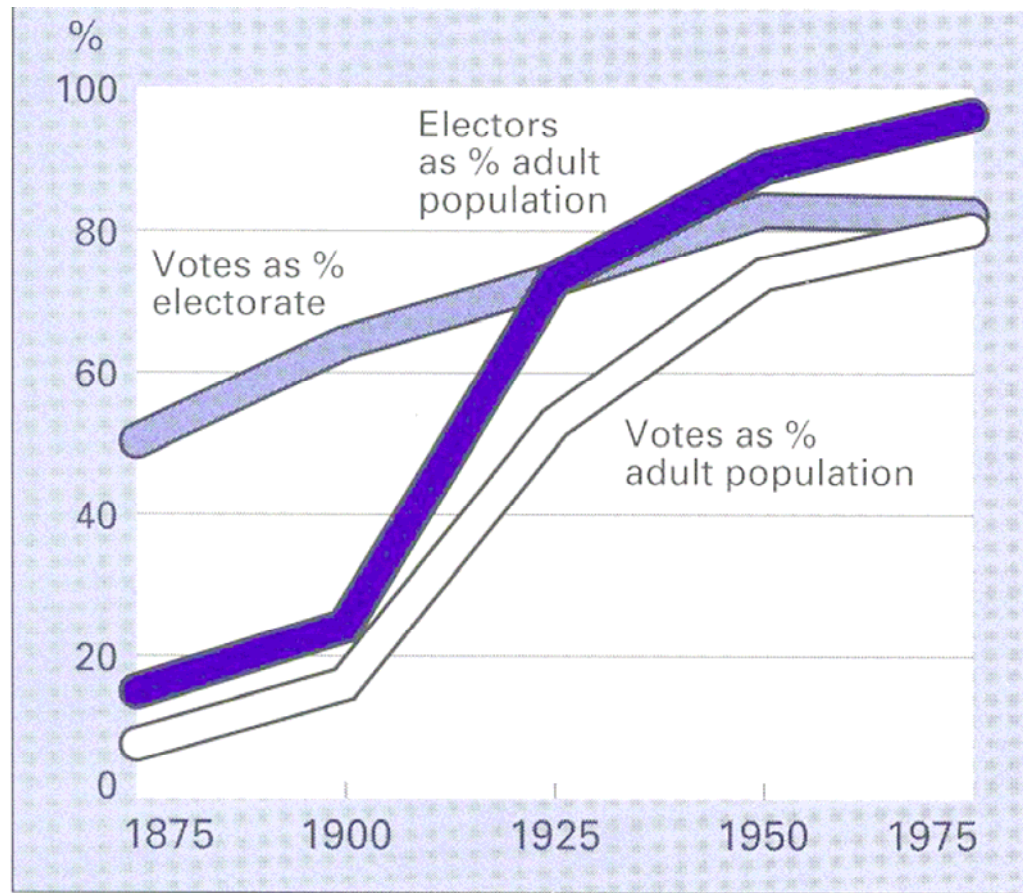
<i>Representation of the People Acts</i>	<i>Provisions relating to voters' qualifications</i>	<i>Total Electorate</i>	<i>Percentage of popula- tion over 20 years of age</i>
Prior to 1832	Counties—40s. freeholders. Boroughs—various and unequal franchises	509,000	5
1832	Counties—40s. freeholders, £10 copyholders, £10 leaseholders £50 tenants at will. Boroughs—£10 householders.	720,000	7
1867	Counties—40s. freeholders, £5 copyholders, £5 leaseholders, £12 tenants at will. Boroughs—All occupiers of rated dwelling houses, lodgers occupying £10 lodgings.	2,231,000	16
1884	Counties—A uniform franchise for householders and lodgers, giving a vote to every man over 21 who had a home. Boroughs	4,965,000	28



1918	Men	—Abolition of property qualification in counties. Qualification by either six months' residence or the occupation of a £10 business premises.	19,984,000	74
	Women	—Enfranchised at the age of 30. Plural voting by university graduates and the holders of the business premises qualification restricted to two votes including the one for residence.		
1928	Women enfranchised at 21.	Male and female adult suffrage.	29,175,000	96.9
1948	University constituencies and all plural voting abolished. "One man—one vote."		34,915,000	96.7*

*The elimination of plural voting led to an apparent but not a real reduction in the percentage qualified to vote. This table is taken from *The Student Guide to Parliament* by Alfred J. Junz (London, Hansard Society, 1960).

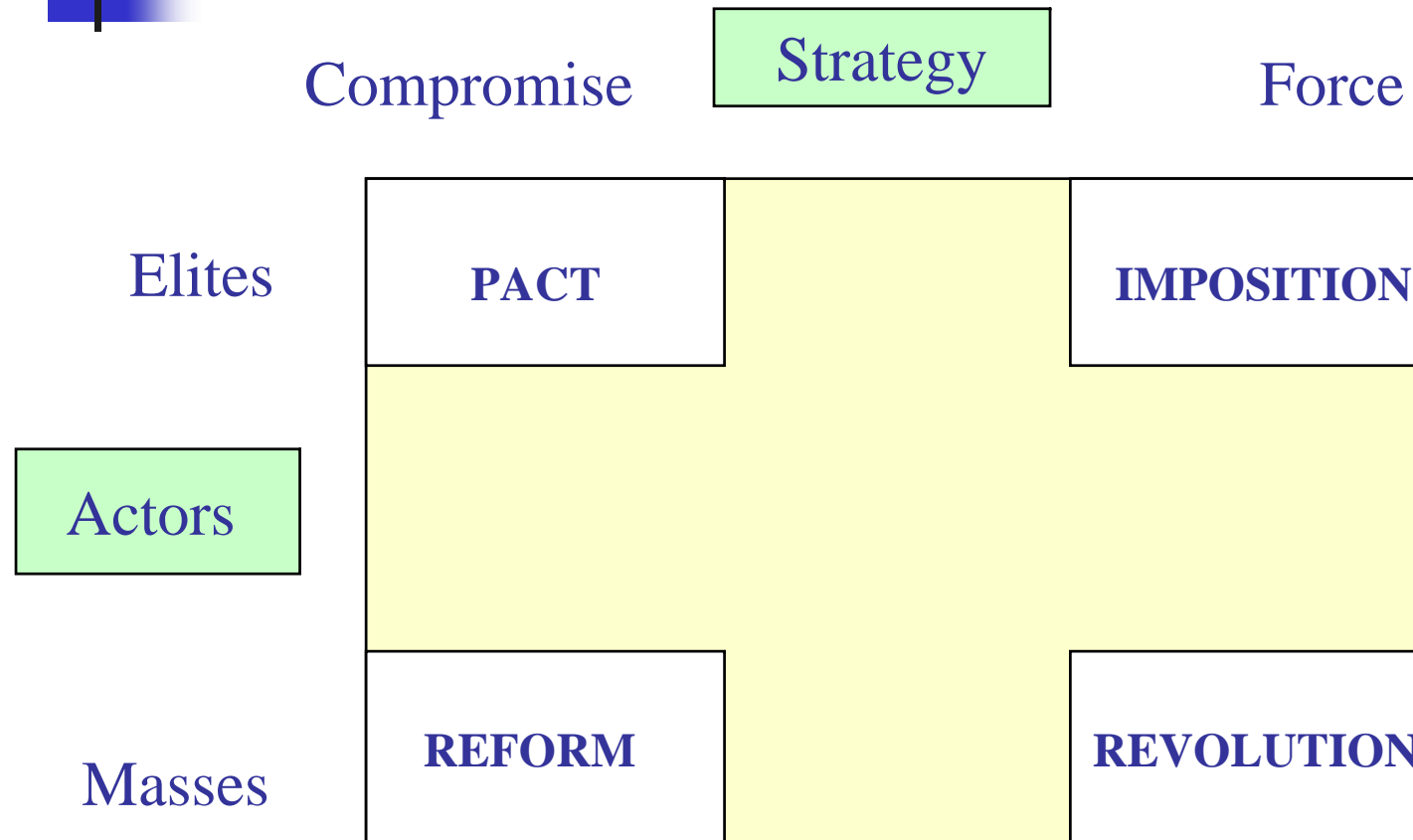
European Trends in Extending Franchise and Turnout



Source: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, *Voter Turnout from 1945 to 1997*, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: IDEA, 1997), p. 38.



Modes of Political Transition



Source: Terry Lynn Karl and Philippe C. Schmitter, "Modes of Transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe" *International Social Science Journal* 128 (1991): 275.



Foundational Pact

- Inclusiveness
- A series of accords
- Procedural legitimacy (rule-making)
- institutional design → winners & losers → uncertain



Balanced Participation?

- Opportunity vs outcome
- Social composition vs economic power
- Individual vs group representation



Some Instruments

A. Formal institutions

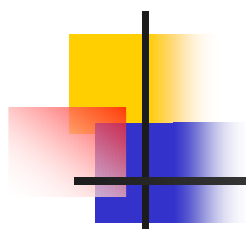
- ① Electoral systems
- ② Reserved seats
- ③ Districting

B. Political arrangements

- ① Corporatism (at policy level)
- ② Empowerment
- ③ Capacity-building

Table 1: Recent Changes to Electoral Systems

Previous System (Family)	New System(Family)			
	Plurality/Majority	Mixed	Proportional Representation	Other
Plurality /Majority	Bermuda (BV to FPTP)	Lesotho (FPTP to MMP)	Iraq (TRS to List PR)	Jordan (BV to SNTV)
	Fiji (FPTP to AV)	Monaco (TRS to Parallel)	Rwanda (FPTP to List PR)	Afghanistan (FPTP to SNTV)
	Montserrat (FPTP to TRS)	New Zealand (FPTP to MMP)	Sierra Leone (FPTP to List PR)	
	Papua New Guinea (FPTP to AV)	Philippines (BV to Parallel)	South Africa (FPTP to List PR)	
	Mongolia (BV to TRS)	Thailand (BV to Parallel)	Moldova (TRS to List PR)	
		Ukraine (TRS to Parallel)		
		Russian Federation (TRS to Parallel)		



Mixed		Mexico (Parallel to MMP)	Macedonia (Parallel to List PR)	
			Croatia (Parallel to List PR)	
Proportional Representation	Madagascar (List PR to FPTP & List PR)	Bolivia (List PR to MMP)		
		Italy (List PR to MMP)		
		Venezuela (List PR to MMP)		
Other		Japan (SNTV to Parallel)		

Source: Reynolds, Andrew, Ben Reilly and Andrew Ellis, *Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook* (Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2005), p. 24.



Reserved Seats

- Women
 - Afghanistan (roughly 25% of the total)
 - Uganda (roughly 18% of the total)
- Minority groups
 - India (the scheduled tribes and castes)
 - Pakistan (non-Muslim minorities)
 - Taiwan (the aboriginal community)
 - New Zealand (Maori)



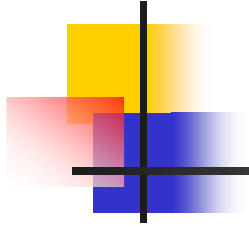
Reserved Seats

- Functional groups
 - Ireland
 - Taiwan before 1995
- Religious groups
 - Brunei
 - Bhutan
 - Iran
 - UK (House of Lords)



Districting

- Race-based districting
- African-Americans (12.6% of total, 1996)
- Majority-Minority Districts



- The End -