



EJ095197602105

# Electoral Systems and Ethnic Pluralism in Developing Countries—Introductory Case-Studies in Comparative Geography

## 開發中國家的選舉系統及其種族多元主義

Wolfgang Senftleben \*

桑 立 剛

### 1. Introduction

Since publication of Norbert Krebs's "Vergleichende Länderkunde" <sup>1)</sup> in 1939, Comparative Geography has been a favourite area of geographical research <sup>2)</sup>. In fact, Comparative Geography is certainly not a part-discipline or sub-branch of General or Regional Geography, but it is a method that can be applied in any field of physical and human geography. Unfortunately, comparative studies of global or multi-national nature have become more and more scarce which may result from the fact that comparable data from different areas or countries are difficult to obtain and on-the-ground research or field work is almost an indispensable prerequisite for a scientific study.

This paper originated from the author's article on "The 1974 General Elections in West Malaysia, etc." <sup>3)</sup> and aims to obtain a comparative view how different multi-racial or multi-ethnic countries have tackled the pro-

---

1) Norbert Krebs (1939): Vergleichende Länderkunde; (Stuttgart)

2) Robert B. Hall, jr. (1975): A Call for Comparative Studies; in: Science Reports of the Tohoku University, Tokyo; Seventh Series (Geography), Vol. 25, No.1, June, pp. 1-4.

3) Wolfgang Senftleben (1975): The 1974 General Elections in West Malaysia—A Preliminary Study of Election Prospects and voting Pattern of the Chinese Community; in: Geographical Research, published by the Institute of Geography, National Taiwan Normal University, No.1, pp. 103-140.

\* Associate Professor, Institute of Geography, NTNU.

blem of giving adequate electoral justice to racial and ethnic minority groups. This study is descriptive and deductive in nature and tries to compare nine developing countries with fair representation from different continents: Guiana was taken from South America, Fiji and Papua New Guinea (Papua Niugini) from the Pacific area, Malaysia, Sarawak and Sri Lanka (Ceylon) are Asian examples, and Mauritius, Rhodesia and Uganda (pre-1971 situation before military take-over) from Africa. For the purpose of this study, Sarawak can be regarded as an autonomous country with regard to State elections for the Sarawak Council Negri; the inclusion of Sarawak vis-a-vis Malaysia (West Malaysia) has been chosen because of the different constellation of the ethnic groups in both States.

The case studies on Malaysia, Papua Niugini, Sarawak and Sri Lanka are based on fact-finding tours and on-the-spot observations of the countries concerned; in respect to the remaining cases the author had to rely on primary sources, like the Constitution, Delimitation and Election reports published by various Electoral Commissions.

At the first glance, the heading "Electoral Systems and Ethnic Pluralism ..." may simulate a study in Political Science or Sociology rather than Geography. But the fact that any racial or ethnic minority group can be regionally located and that the election system of the above mentioned countries (with the exception of Guiana) are based on constituencies or electoral districts, may justify calling it a geographical study. Thus, when classifying election systems, this shall be done exclusively according to geographical or area principles regardless of the party or political structure. For geographical purpose, it is only of secondary importance whether we have a one-party system, a multi-party system or candidacy of independents, as long as there the free choice of the electorate according to democratic principles is guaranteed.

The most common electoral system among Asian countries may be called the "multi-member constituency system based on administrative units" (provinces, counties, districts, etc...), or "local government units" (cities, municipalities, towns, rural communities, etc...). This system originated from Switzerland where the 22 cantons and 3 semi-cantons serve as constituencies

for election purposes, with Asian equivalents to be found in the Philippines<sup>1)</sup>, Taiwan (Republic of China) and Thailand. Since administrative divisions vary considerably in size and population, each constituency is returning a different number of representatives. This results in the fact that a few small-sized constituencies electing one deputy are voting according to the majority election system, and all other constituencies are voting according to "proportional representation". The above mentioned system is of minor geographical interest, since constituency boundaries are equal to administrative divisions and therefore not subject to periodical review or redistribution, unless there is a territorial adjustment or administrative reform. Under this system, ethnic minorities seemed to be disfavoured since they are usually located in remote under-populated provinces with only one representative elected.

It is the author's intention to derive some general conclusions and principles from the discussion of the nine case-studies, but to conclude a world-wide and comprehensive classification of election systems with particular regard to area or regional considerations, more research has to be done in the remaining areas of Africa, Asia, the Pacific and the Caribbean.

## 2. Guiana

Table 1 : 1965 Population Estimates of Guiana

East Indians .....	331 094	50.6%
African descent.....	203 213	31.0%
Mixed descent(colored)...	78 121	11.9%
Amerindians .....	30 609	4.7%
Europeans .....	7 778	1.2%
Chinese .....	3 901	0.6%
Total	654 686	100.0%

1) In the Philippines, for instance, membership to the House of Representatives is based on provinces. Each province can elect at least one representative; but if the population of the province exceeds 150,000 there is another representative for each additional 150,000 people. The total number of seats in the House of Representatives will therefore change during each legislative period and will be based on the latest provincial population figure determined by the last census. For the 1969-elections (before introduction of martial law in September, 1972) 44 provinces were sending one member to the legislature (and thus voting according to the majority system); 15 provinces were sending two members; 4 provinces sending three members; the populous provinces of Leyte and Manila sending four members; Pangasinan and Iloilo sending five members; and Cebu Province even sending seven representatives to the House of Representatives respectively.

It is a general rule that in multi-racial countries the unmodified majority election system tends to favour the strongest racial component of the society and minorities often fail to bring their candidates through by wasting precious votes in those constituencies dominated by ethnic stronger races.

Racially divided Guiana (former British Guiana) is an interesting example in this respect and the constitutional and electoral change in the fifties must be seen on the racial background. During the pre-Independence election of April 1953, a modified majority system was still in force in British Guiana, with the result that the Marxist-orientated People's Progressive Party of Guiana which is predominantly supported by the East Indian majority population, won the elections overwhelmingly by gaining 70% of the votes cast and 18 out of 24 seats in the legislature. After the British intervention of October 1953, the political scene has changed radically. Under the new Constitution, the unicameral House of Assembly of 53 seats is elected according to the system of proportional representation: with the effect that the Negro-dominated People's National Congress (at times in coalition with the right-wing party "United Force") won the 1964 and all subsequent elections with a respectable majority.

Racial divisions of the society are still very pronounced in Guiana and to a large extent, political parties are supported by one or the other racial grouping. The (East) Indian community which constitutes more than 50% of the nation's population were in a position to eliminate or weaken the chances of other racial groups (i.e. population of African or mixed descent) if elections were held according to the majority system. On the other side, the system of proportional representation safeguards the interest of minorities to a much larger extent, but it also leads to an excessive fragmentation of the political scenery. The system of proportional representation is of less interest for geographical observations because the whole country forms a single constituency and election returns can not be regionally located unless specifically made public by the election authorities.

### 3. Malaysia

Table 2: 1970 Housing and Population Census, Malaysia

Malays .....	4 886 900	46.8%
Chinese .....	3 555 900	34.1%
Indians .....	942 900	9.0%
Dayaks .....	386 300	3.7%
Kadazan (Dusun).....	184 500	1.8%
Other Natives.....	337 400	3.2%
Orang Asli .....	53 000	0.5%
Others .....	92 600	0.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>10 439 500</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Although Malaysia is a multi-racial country par excellence, the local electoral system never has taken note of this fact. Racial minorities such as Chinese or Indians have neither reservation in the legislature, nor do they receive any consideration in the delimitation of electoral districts. Malaysia still votes according to the unmodified single-member constituency majority system:

In respect to minority groups we have to distinguish clearly between those minorities living together in a defined area, like Kadazan (Dusun) and Muruts in Sabah or Dayaks and Melanau in Sarawak; and on the other side, those minorities living scattered and intermixed with other communities, like the Chinese, Indians or Orang Asli of West Malaysia. The East Malaysian minorities have been given considerable preferences under the Malaysia electoral system. Based on the Malaysia Agreement of 1963, the East Malaysian States of Sabah and Sarawak were able to secure a much stronger representation in the Federal Parliament than they would have been entitled to according population statistics. The present 154-seat Dewan Rakyat includes 16 members from Sabah (10.4% of seats) and 24 members from Sarawak (15.6%), whereas Sabah's population constitutes only 6.2% of the total Federation and Sarawak only 9.0% respectively.<sup>1)</sup> In West Malaysia an average of 30 400 registered voters comes on each Parliamentary seat; whereas the

figure for Sabah is 14 128 and for Sarawak 14 280. This means that the ethnic minorities in East Malaysia are fairly better represented than the population ratio would assume; but due consideration must be also given to the immense area of Borneo.

On the other side, minorities living scattered and intermixed are disfavoured under the Malaysian election system. The Chinese predominantly an urban population are given less electoral weightage since most of the urban constituencies used to have double the number of electors as rural constituencies.

To safeguard the interest of the Chinese and Indian community it would have been necessary to include a special entrenchment clause in the Constitution's schedule that in case of any redistribution of seats or new delimitation of constituencies the proportion of those with a majority of non-Malay voters at the time of delimitation should be the same as the proportion of non-Malays before delimitation for the country as a whole or for each State respectively.

What actually happened during the 1974 redistribution of electoral boundaries was that many Chinese stronghold areas with a non-Malay majority of voters were broken up, and the various fragmented portions were included into different Malay-dominated constituencies with the effect that the proportion of those with a majority of Chinese and Indian voters have been substantially reduced. This trend can be easily observed when examining constituency boundary changes. Figures 1 to 4 of Penang Island have been attached which compare three different delimitations of boundaries: The 1958 Delimitation which served as a basis for the 1959 Elections divided the Island into 4 Parliamentary constituencies with two city-constituencies and two semi-rural constituencies cutting the Island in two halves. The 1960 Delimitation which was never used for any election because it gave too much representation to Chinese areas, increased the number of Parliamentary constituencies from 4

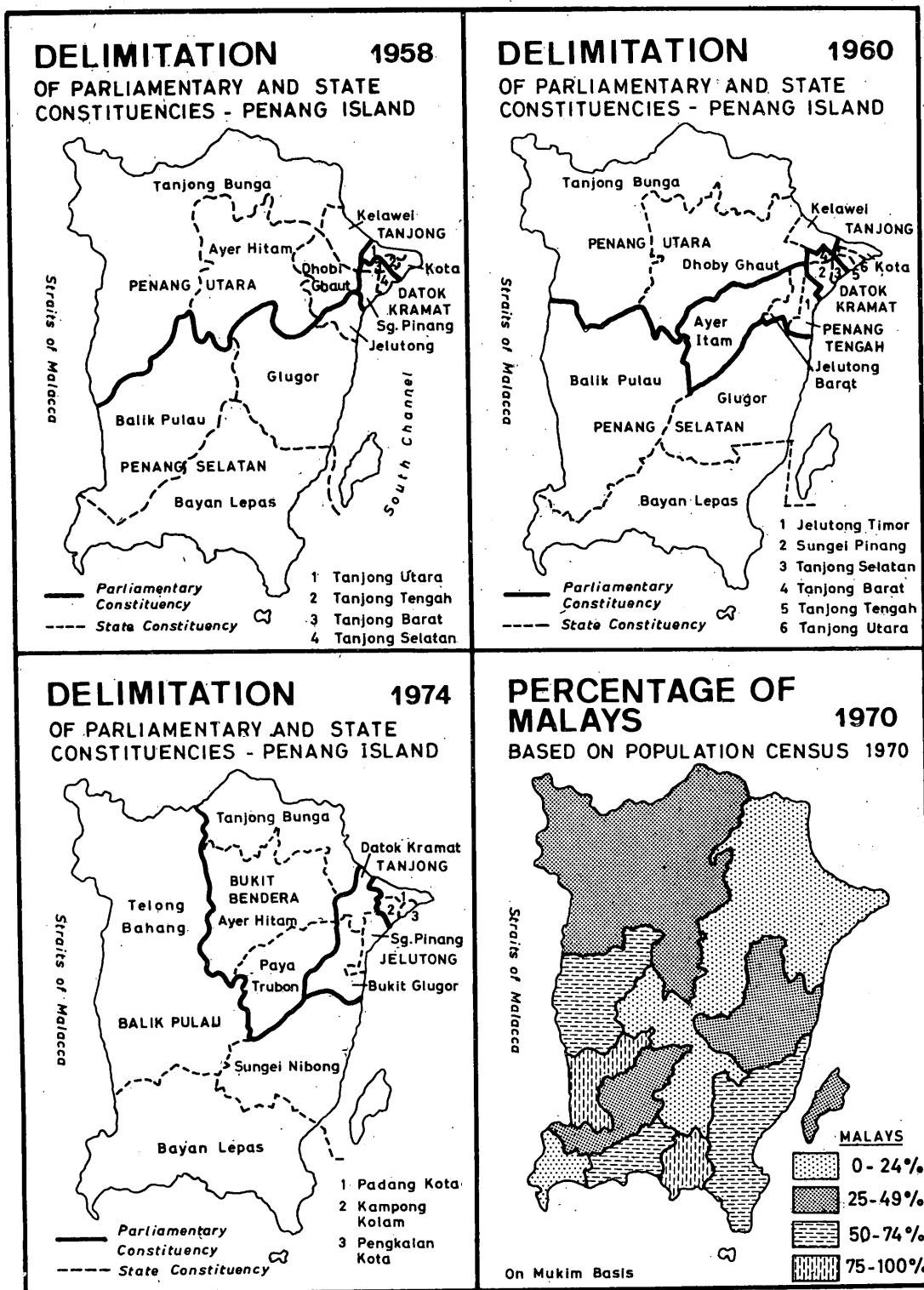
---

1) Before the 1974-redistribution of seats the ratio was even more favourable to East Malaysia. The 144-seat Dewan Rakyat included similarly 16 seats for Sabah (=11.1%) and 24 seats to Sarawak (=16.7%).

Figure 1

**PENANG. MALAYSIA**

Figure 2



to 5 despite the fact that the total number of seats in the Dewan Rakyat had been reduced from 104 to 100. According to the 1974 Delimitation, Penang Island (not including Province Wellesley) was given only 4 Parliamentary seats whereas the overall membership of the Dewan Rakyat now stands at 154. In addition to that, one constituency has been carved out (Balik Pulau) which includes most of the areas of Malay domination.

Malacca, another area of massive Chinese concentration along Malaya's West coast, reflects a similar treatment. As we may learn from Table 3, the 1960 Delimitation has increased the number of representatives for Malacca from 4 to 5 whereas most Malay-dominated States like Johore, Pahang or Trengganu received a lower allocation.

Table 3 : Allocation of Parliamentary Seats to various States of Malaysia (1958, 1960 and 1974 Delimitations )

	1958	1960*	1974
Perlis	2	2	2
Kedah	12	12	13
Penang Penang Island	4	5	4
Penang Province Wellesley	4	4	5
Perak	20	19	21
Selangor Rest Selangor	14	14	11
Selangor Federal Territory			5
Negri Sembilan	6	5	6
Malacca	4	5	4
Johore	16	14	16
Pahang	6	5	8
Trengganu	6	5	7
Kelantan	10	10	12
West Malaysia	104	100	114
Sabah	-	-	16
Sarawak	-	-	24
MALAYSIA	-	-	154

\*Note : The 1960 Delimitation of Constituencies has never been used for any election in Malaysia.

The interesting problem of general methods and principles adopted for the redistribution of electoral boundaries that centre on size (area), residential population and electoral population may not be discussed in this paper.

In many cases it may be difficult to provide a conclusive statistical proof of any gerrymandering practices, as the Election Commission of Malaysia has ordered all statistical data relating to racial distributions of each constituency to be destroyed prior to the election; thus population figures must be taken from the latest Census of Housing and Population and will be on the basis of administrative division, i.e. mukims or districts.

Small ethnic minorities such as the Orang Asli (senoid and negroid aborigines living scattered in the jungle) do not have much chance of being represented in the Malaysia Dewan Rakyat, but the Yang di-Pertuan Agong (King) may appoint such representatives of minorities to the Upper House (Senate).

## 4. Sarawak

Table 4 : 1970 Housing and Population Census, Sarawak

Sea Dayaks (Iban) .....	303 000	31.1 %
Land Dayaks .....	83 200	8.5 %
Melanau.....	53 200	5.4 %
Malays .....	182 700	18.7 %
Other Natives .....	50 000	5.1 %
Chinese.....	294 000	30.1 %
Others .....	9 700	1.0 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>975 900</b>	<b>99.9 %</b>

For the purpose of State elections to the 48-seat Sarawak Council Negri, Sarawak, although a member of the Federation of Malaysia, may be taken as a separate political entity. The electoral system is equal to that of West Malaysia and is based on single-member constituencies with voting according to the majority system, but favourable weightage has been given rural and remote areas <sup>1)</sup>. The first delimitation of constituencies was carried out in

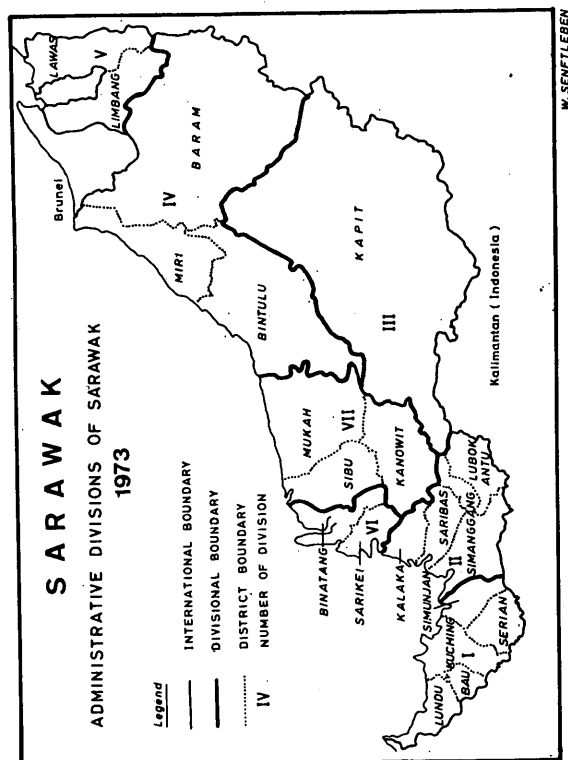
1) The State constituency of Belaga has the smallest estimated population (1965: 7 200) ; whereas Kuching Timor has the State's highest with 39 500.

1967 and served as a basis for the 1969/70 and the 1974 general elections, whereas previous Council Negri composition was determined through indirect elections.

Voting based on racial or ethnic affinity still plays an important role in Sarawak, although the political scenery and the basic problems are much different from West Malaysia. In Sarawak, the Chinese which constitute more than 30 per cent of the State's population are united with the Malays in supporting the ruling National Front parties. In pursuance of a multi-racial policy, the Sarawak Chinese Association has been voluntarily dissolved and most of the Chinese have joined the Sarawak United People's Party which was able to win 12 of 15 seats contested during the 1974-election. The Chinese feel that they are better off on the side of the Malay-dominated National Front and their economic interests are better guarded by the Malays than the national-minded Natives. The Sarawak Malays (18.7% of the population) and ethnically related Melanau (5.4%) won 11 out of 12 seats contested; thus a Malay and Chinese political unity appeared to have an unbeatable combination and the "battle for the longhouses" has been won long before the elections.

The Natives of Sarawak never have been united and even the Iban community (31.1% of population) never spoke with one voice. The fact that forefathers of many Iban were headhunters two generations ago and many of them still live together in longhouses as a measure of safety and protection from neighbours, may explain the fragmentation of the political thinking. With regard to Natives, elections are carried out less on party lines, but the political choice is based on the personality and background of the candidate. During the 1974-general elections, the Iban votes have been split between Party Pesaka (now a member party of the ruling National Front) and the Sarawak National Party (SNAP) which is in opposition since the 1965 defeat in the Council Negri. The SNAP was partly fighting on racial lines under the slogan "Sarawak for Sarawakians" which reminds of the slogan "Malaysian Malaysia" used by the DAP in West Malaysia. Figures 6 and 8 demonstrate clearly that SNAP gained most of its success and support in the Iban strongholds of the interior of Sarawak.

**Figure 5**



**Figure 6**

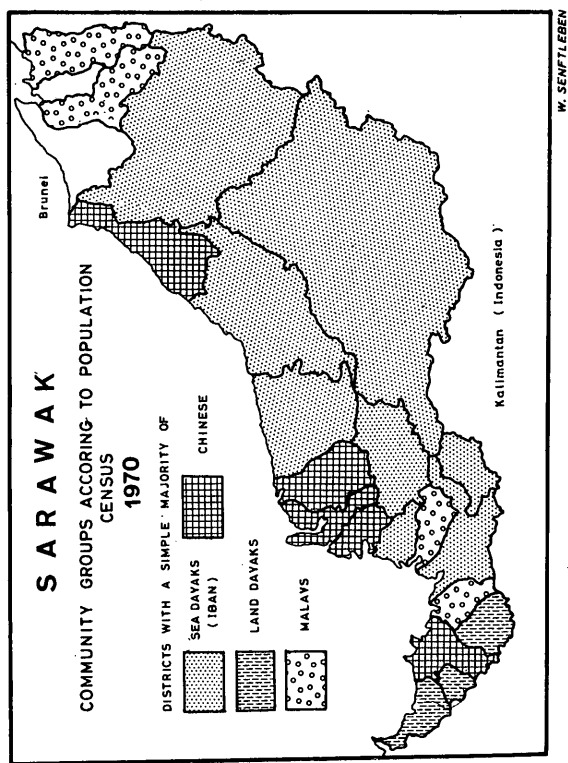
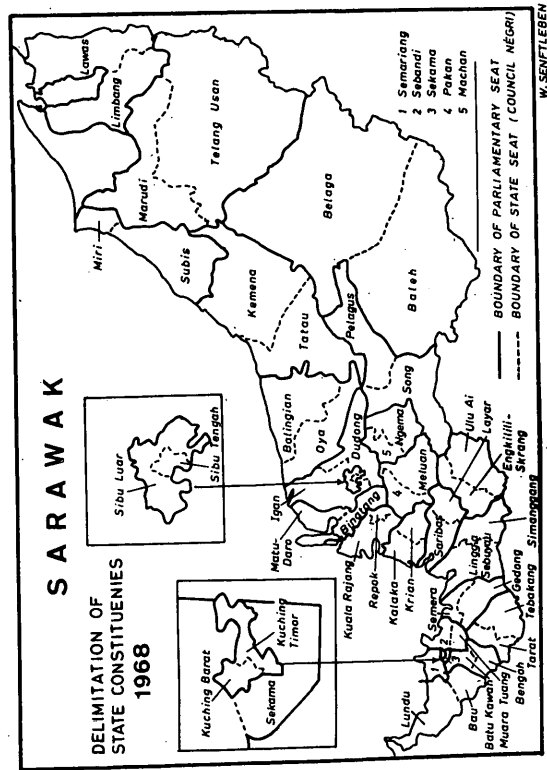
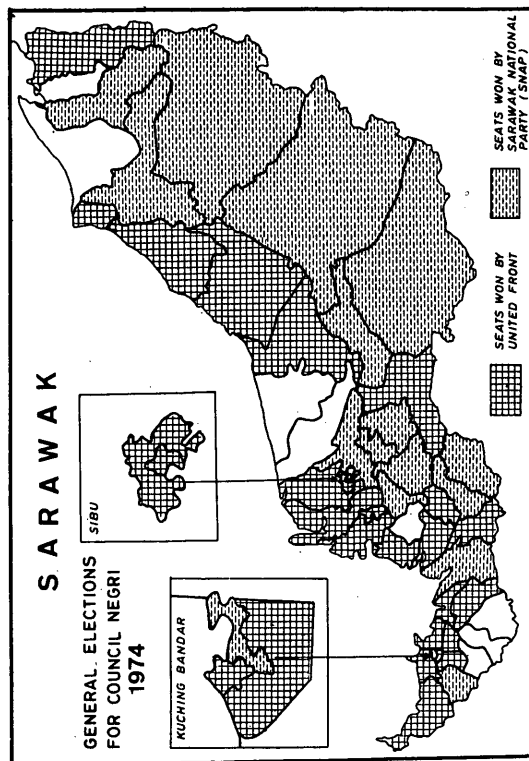


Figure 7



**Figure 8**



Under the prevailing electoral system in Sarawak, small ethnic minorities have very little chance of bringing their candidate through if voting is carried out on community lines. The Bidayuh-based Party Bisamah for instance, failed to bring any candidate through, because the small Bidayuh minority is scattered over a large area. The strong weightage in favour of remote rural areas contributed much to the respectable success of Sarawak's opposition SNAP by gaining 18 out of the 48 State seats in the Council Negri.

## 5. Sri Lanka (Ceylon)

Table 5 : 1963 Census of Population, Ceylon

Singhalese .....	7 513 000	64.6%
Ceylon Tamils .....	1 165 000	10.0%
Ceylon Moors .....	625 000	5.4%
Burghers & Eurasians.....	46 000	0.4%
Indian Tamils .....	1 123 000	9.7%
Indian Moors .....	57 000	0.5%
Others .....	1 045 000	9.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>11 674 000</b>	<b>99.4%</b>

Ceylon's multi-racial structure is very much different from the Malaysian conditions. In Ceylon, the Singhalese ethnic element forms a clear two-thirds majority of the entire residential population and an almost three-quarter majority of the electoral population (excluding non-citizens). The racial or ethnic groups of Ceylon are scattered all over the country, but nevertheless they show an obvious concentration in one or the other district.

In Ceylon, the concept of representation is through the creation of electoral district and may be called "territorial representation". The 1972 Constitution of Sri Lanka does not provide for communal representation, but certain provisions are contained in the Constitution to give due consideration to racial minority groups. The Constitution stipulates that constituencies may be carved out to group together persons united by a community of interest; but in most cases this is not always possible, as racial or religious groups are living mixed together, and ( with the exception of the Jaffna and East Coast area ) racial minorities are not grouped together occupying a separate closed

area:

"Where it appears to the Delimitation Commission that there is in any area of a Province a substantial concentration of persons united by a community of interest, whether racial, religious or otherwise, but differing in one or more of these respects from the majority of the inhabitants of that area, the Commission may make such division of the Province into electoral districts as may be necessary to render possible the representation of that interest. In making such division the Commission shall have due regard to the desirability of reducing to the minimum the disproportion in the number of persons residing in the several districts in that Province."

In special cases it is permitted to create two or multi-member constituencies to give a fair chance to substantial minorities to bring their candidates through:

"... , the Delimitation Commission shall have power to create in any Province one or more electoral districts returning two or more members; Provided that in any such case the number of electoral districts for that Province, as ascertained in accordance with the provisions ... shall be reduced so that the total number of members to be returned for that Province shall not exceed the total number of electoral districts so ascertained."

The creation of multi-member constituencies ( returning two or more members) is confined, however, only to cases where the racial composition of the citizens of Sri Lanka in that Province is such as to make it desirable to render possible the representation of any substantial concentration of citizens of Ceylon in that Province. The 1959 delimitation of constituencies provided for the creation of only 5 multi-member constituencies with the following racial composition:

Table 6 : Multi-member constituencies and their racial background ( in per cent )

No.	Name	Lowland Singhal.	Kandyan Singhal.	Ceylon Tamils	Ceylon Moors	Others
2	Colombo Central	54.1	1.6	16.6	6.3	21.4
4	Colombo South	51.0	3.4	15.5	5.6	24.5
38	Akurana	5.0	70.0	0.9	17.4	6.7
88	Mutur	9.5	5.6	33.2	49.0	2.7
90	Batticaloa	4.0	1.2	53.3	36.0	3.5

Similar to Malaysian conditions, a large number of the immigrant population does not possess the citizenship of Sri Lanka. The 1959 Report of the Delimitation Commission states that out of a total population of 9.36 millions roughly 1.15 millions ( or 12 per cent ) are non-citizens and therefore not eligible for voting. Particularly in the Central Highlands of Ceylon ( Central Province, Uva Province and Sabaragamuwa Province ) there is a considerable number of persons of Indian origin, most of them are non-citizens. Unlike Malaysia where the division of the country into electoral districts is based on the actual number of voters (electorate ), it is the entire residential population in Ceylon, whether nationals or not, that counts for delimitation purposes; and for each group of 75 000+ one electoral district was allotted to the Province.

On the other hand, when creating multi-member constituencies in Provinces, only substantial concentration of minorities of citizens of Sri Lanka belonging to a race different to the race of the majority inhabiting that Province, are considered. A number of constituencies which formed multi-member electoral districts under previous delimitations have been reverted into single-member constituencies:

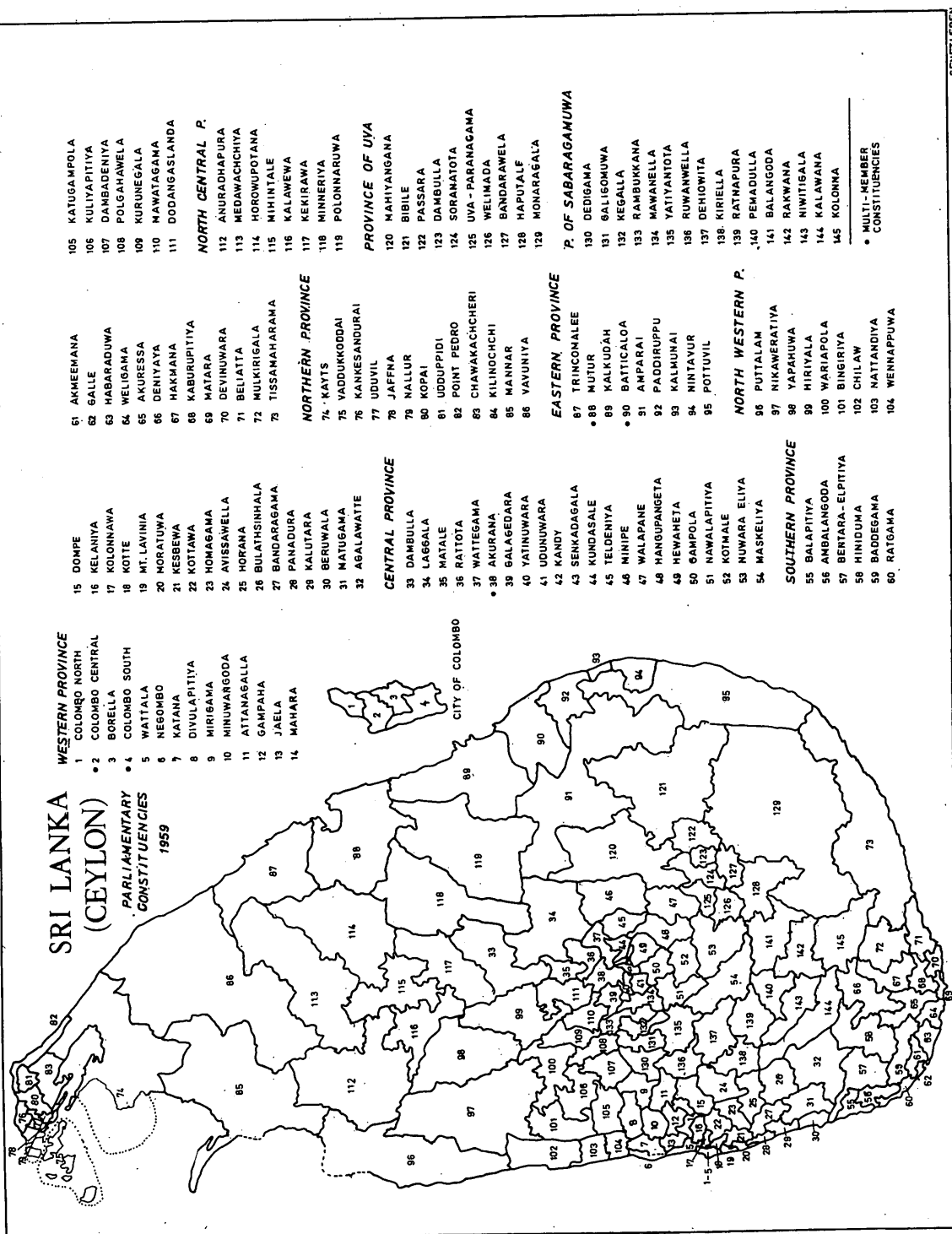
**Table 7 : Electoral districts with a substantial number of minority race population not being citizens of Sri Lanka (in percent)**

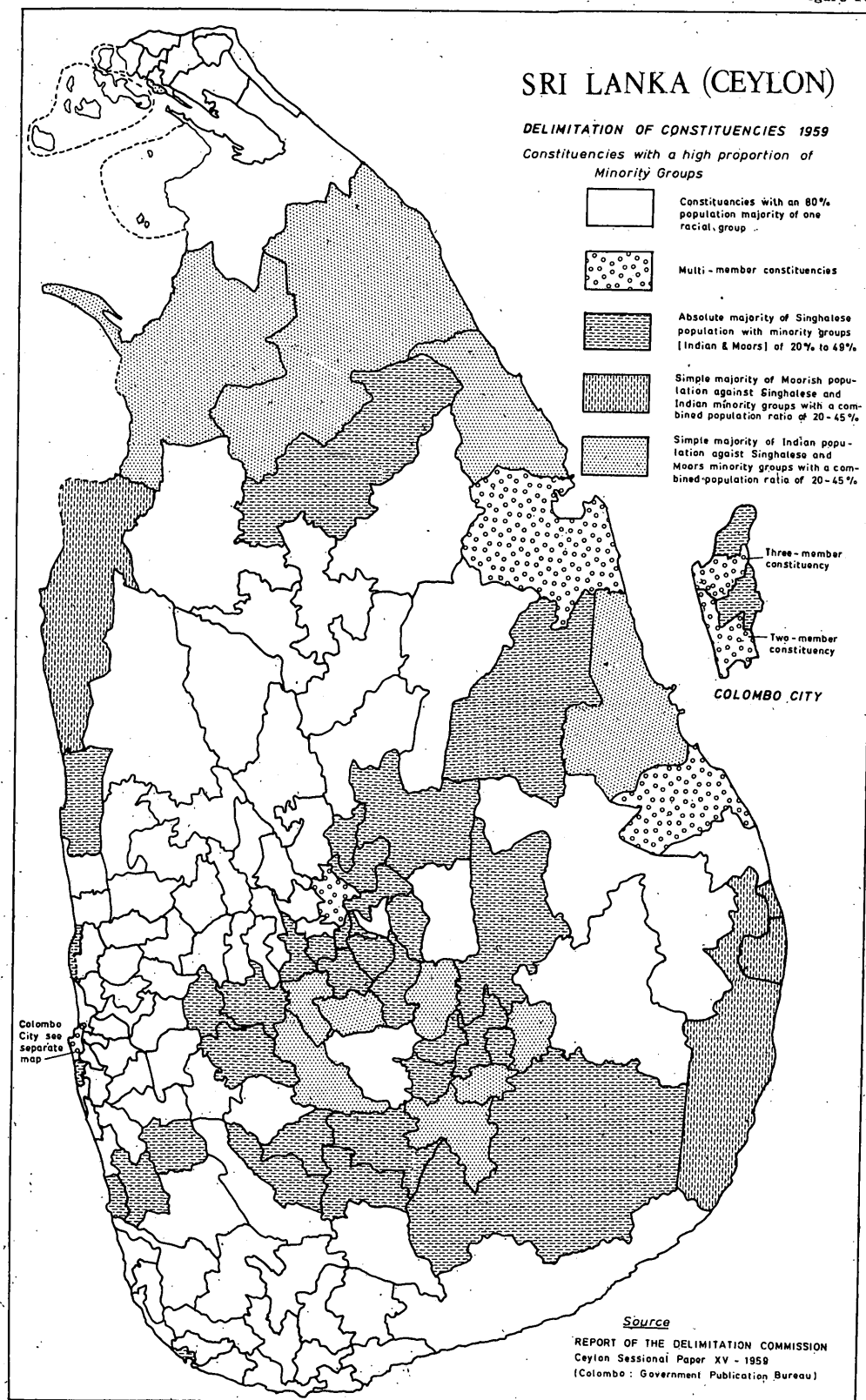
No.	Name	Lowland Sinhalese	Kandyan Sinhalese	Ceylon Tamils	Ceylon Moors	Others
123	Badulla	13.5	41.7	4.2	4.2	36.4
128	Haputale	10.0	22.7	5.4	2.3	59.6
137	Dehiowita	15.6	54.0	1.4	1.2	27.8
141	Balangoda	9.9	56.1	2.0	1.4	30.6

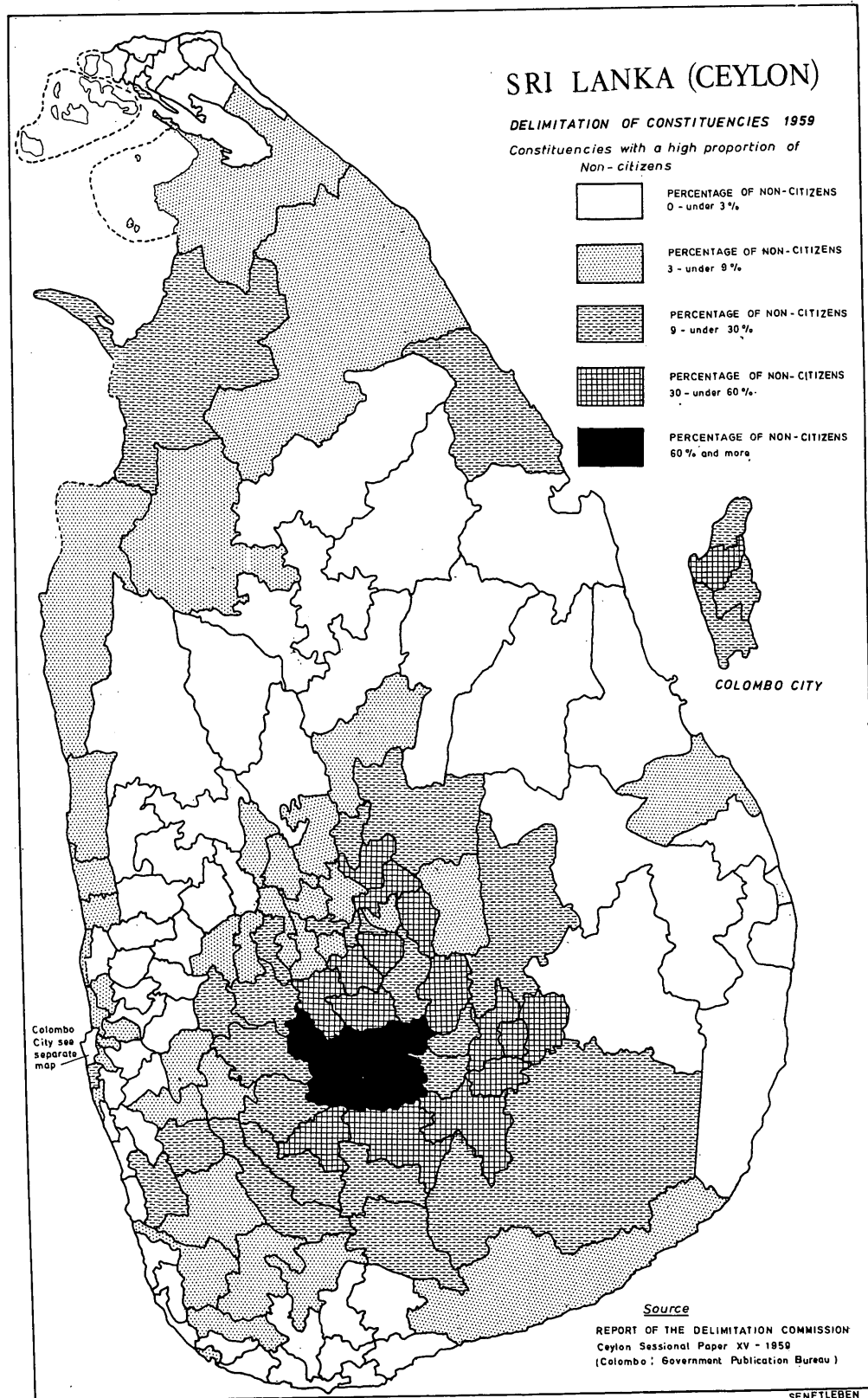
Other constituencies having similarly a substantial number of racial minorities being citizens of Sri Lanka, have not been given the status of multi-member electorates. If voting is carried out in these areas on a communal

<sup>+</sup>) The First Amendment to the Constitution of Sri Lanka (certified on 11th February, 1975) raised the quota from 75,00 to 90,000, as a result of the population increase in recent years.

Figure 9







basis rather than party voting, a large number of votes of minority groups are wasted.

Table 8 : Electoral districts with a substantial number of racial minorities being citizens of Sri Lanka (in per cent)

No.	Name	Lowland Singhalese	Kandyan Singhalese	Ceylon Tamils	Ceylon Moors	Others
41	Udunuwara	7.0	68.0	1.0	17.0	7.0
78	Jaffna	3.0	1.0	75.0	11.0	10.0
87	Trincomalee	15.2	6.5	50.1	13.7	14.5
89	Kalkudah	2.9	1.3	64.2	30.6	1.0
95	Pottuvil	7.6	7.6	35.7	56.0	0.7
119	Polonnaruwa	17.0	56.0	9.0	16.0	2.0

Figure 10 demonstrates that a large number of constituencies has racial minorities between 20 and 45 per cent of the total constituency's population, regardless whether citizens or non-citizens. Corresponding Figure 11 gives the percentage of non-citizens in each constituency. In this case, non-citizens are counted when constituency boundaries are formed on the basis of a fairly equal population distribution, but non-citizens are not eligible for voting and they are not considered for the creation multi-member constituencies.

The idea of allowing a small number of multi-member constituencies among a predominant single-member constituency system originates from Great Britain where usually large cities (City of London) are kept as one electoral unit.

The Election Commission of Sri Lanka presently undertakes a new delimitation of constituencies on the basis of the latest population census for the next elections in Sri Lanka which will not be later than early 1977 (if there are any elections!). It is not known at present whether there will be a major change in the law governing the delimitation with particular reference to the representation of minority groups. But to give an adequate consideration of those minorities being Nationals of Sri Lanka it would be necessary to enlarge the number of multi-member constituencies.

In how far the majority election system can distort the voters' will is clearly shown in the 1970-General elections of Ceylon when the Sri Lanka

United National Party (UNP) now in opposition could gain almost 40% of the votes cast, but has won only 10 of the 157 Parliamentary seats.

## 6. Mauritius

Table 9 : 1962 Census of Population ,Mauritius

Indians .....	463 550	68%
Africans, Madagassians and Creoles .....	184 050	27%
White Franco-Mauritians .....	13 600	2%
Chinese .....	20 500	3%
Total	681 700	100%

The election system of Mauritius must be seen on the background of the racial composition. More than two-thirds of the population are Indian Hindus brought in by the British as indentured labourers on the sugar-cane plantations-and the majority of the Indians are until today predominantly agriculturists. On the other side, many Creoles, African and Indian Muslims as well as Chinese immigrants are urban dwellers with their occupation in trade, commerce and industry.

The present election system of Mauritius was recommended by the BANWELL Commission in 1966 and most of their recommendations were adopted in principle after certain corrections were made by the British Colonial Government on request of Mauritian pressure groups. Separate communal rolls for the various racial groups were ruled out from the very beginning. In view of the multi-racial structure, the Electoral Commission suggested a multi-member constituency system as the best form of representation of all racial groups. Mauritius was therefore divided into 20 three-member constituencies <sup>1)</sup>, with each voter required to cast three votes. Rodrigues, a Mauritian dependency 350 miles to the East and mainly settled with decedents of African

1) The creation of three-member constituencies (Dreierwahlkreise) was under consideration in the Federal Republic of Germany for a long time, but was put off indefinitely under the protest of the Liberals (Free Democratic Party). The three-member constituency system satisfies two major advantages in safeguarding a fair representation of substantial minorities (whether racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, denominational or other sociological differences), and secondly, in creating clear political majorities in the legislature after the elections.

slaves and French evacuationists after the British takeover, was made a separate constituency returning two members. In addition to these 62 directly elected members in their respective constituencies, another eight specially elected members should be returned from amongst unsuccessful candidates who had made the best showing in the election. This was to ensure fair and adequate representation of each racial community in the unicameral Assembly. Thus, the eight "best loser" seats would partly go to those underrepresented minorities to give them a fair share in accordance with their population strength.

The election system was tested for the first time in the 1967 elections. The political parties are still based on racial communities, with the Independence Party (I.P.) (a coalition of the Labour Party, Independence Forward Bloc and Moslem Committee of Action) to receive their main support from the Indian electorate in rural constituencies; and on the other side, Parti Mauricien Social Democrate (PMSD) which is based on the francophon Creole population. During the 1967 elections, the I.P. won 39 seats, and PMSD 23 seats with an additional four seats for each party from the specially elected "best loser" seats. If voting is carried out on racial lines, the franco-Mauritians together with the African descendents (Negroes, Mulattoes and Creoles) will always have to take the backseat. In order to avoid to take over the permanent role of an opposition party, the PMSD has entered into a "grand coalition" since 1969.

In comparison to other electoral systems of multi-racial countries, it may be stressed that the multi-member constituency system with certain correctives can be considered a suitable form to ensure electoral justice to minorities.

## 7. Uganda

Table 10 : 1959 Population Estimates of Uganda

Bantu tribes .....	4 223 000	65.7 %
Nilotic tribes .....	939 000	14.5 %
Nilohamitic tribes .....	829 000	12.7 %
Sudanic tribes.....	321 000	5.0 %
Indians & Pakistanis.....	88 000	1.4 %
Others.....	46 000	0.7 %
Total	6 446 000	100.0 %

Despite the military coup d'état and military assumption of power by Idi Amin in January, 1971 Uganda under the previous regime of A. Milton Obote may serve as an excellent example of an election system which tried to eliminate regionalism and tribalism<sup>1)</sup> in the process of nation-building.

Uganda is characterized by multi-tribal diversity par-excellence which show similar strong disparities in race, culture and language as many Asian and Caribbean countries. The four racial African groups (Bantu, Nilotic Nilohamites and Sudanese tribes) are further sub-divided into a multitude of tribes of which the Baganda, Banyankore, Bakiga, Banyaruanda, Lango, Acholi, Iteso and Karamojong are the most numerous and powerful<sup>2)</sup>.

The first step to overcome tribal thinking was the abolition of Uganda's Federal structure and the elimination of the four hereditary Kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole in September 1967, and the creation of four administrative regions not being identical with the former Kingdoms. Uganda's first general election since she gained independence was scheduled to be held in April 1971 under an entirely new electoral system personally designed by Obote in July 1970 to suit African and Ugandan conditions<sup>3)</sup>. Unfortunately, the election system never had a chance to be tested in the election due to the military takeover three months before the elections, but for academic purposes a short description of this entirely unique system may be allowed:

Since the British-style majority system always tends to lead towards regional fractionalism or even to separatism, Obote's system was designed to elect representatives by a cross-section of all people of Uganda as a whole. In order to minimize tribal favouritism each candidate for the 82-member Assembly has to stand in his basic constituency as well as in three

- 1) Tribalism is the African equivalent to racialism and is prevalent in almost all African countries south of the Sahara. Whereas racial minorities usually live scattered and inter-mixed among other racial community groups, different tribes generally occupy a common geographical area.
- 2) The Asian minority (Indians, Pakistani, Goanese and Arabs) though economically powerful, are politically negligible as they constitute less than 1% of the population. In 1972/3 most of them have been expelled from Uganda.
- 3) Already in the Fifties of this century it had been suggested that nothing important in Africa, including the western-style election systems, would survive the withdrawal of the colonial powers except the game of foot-ball.

other constituencies each of which belonging to a different administrative region. Thus, the votes he receives in each of the four constituencies will be computed on a percentage basis with each percentage counting as an electoral vote. The candidate with the highest total Electorate percentage will be elected to represent all four constituencies.

Table 11 : Practical example of the multi-constituency-system of Uganda \*)

Region	Constituency	Candidate	Votes cast	Electoral Percentage
Buganda	1	A	7 931	25.7
	1	B	8 815	28.5
	1	C	14 148	45.8
	1	Total	30 894	100.0
Eastern	2	A	16 889	46.4
	2	B	15 221	41.9
	2	C	4 261	11.7
	2	Total	36 371	100.0
Western	3	A	6 840	33.8
	3	B	5 474	27.1
	3	C	7 901	39.1
	3	Total	20 215	100.0
Northern	4	A	3 971	26.4
	4	B	4 241	28.2
	4	C	6 839	45.4
	4	Total	15 051	100.0
Candidate		Total Votes cast	Total Electoral Percentage	
A		35 631	132.3	
B		33 751	125.9	
C		33 149	142.0	

\* Source: Kashyap (editor) : Elections and Electoral Reforms in India, 1971, p.247

With reference to Table 11, Candidate C will be elected because he receives the highest total Electoral Percentage (142.0), but the lowest number of votes. That means, only those candidates will be successful who can secure a fairly good result in each of the four constituencies and whose policy is acceptable in other regions with different tribal and ethnic background.

Despite the overall objective to minimize tribal considerations, the Ugandan electoral system of Obote bears two disadvantages: Representing four constituencies simultaneously, which are very far away from each other, requires a lot of travelling and campaigning expenditure-and nobody can serve four masters at the same time. Secondly, the elected member would naturally favour his basic constituency from which he normally comes and whose electorate belongs to same tribe : whereas the other three constituencies located in remote distance tend to be neglected.

## 8. Papua Niugini

Table 12 : 1971 Population Estimates, Papua Niugini

New Guineans .....	1 771 300	69.8%
Papuans.....	680 600	26.8%
Bougainvilleans .....	85 200	3.4%
Expatriates .....	35 000	1.4%
Total	2 537 100	100.0%

Papua Niugini ( engl. Papua New Guinea ) since September 1975 independent, forms an indefinable medley of different racial and tribal ethnic groups with more than 700 different languages and dialects spoken, but three main divisions can be observed apart from the Australian Expatriates who are still engaged in almost every sector of the economy: Papuans settling in the southwestern lowland who are to some extent related to the Australian aborigines, are in the minority and feel being neglected by the Australian colonial government and handicapped in the newly independent State. New Guinea ( originally under German colonization ) later became Australian Trust Territory of the United Nations and the Australians spent more effort for the development of New Guinea than Papua. New Guineans are generally more advanced, despite the fact that many are still living under stone-age conditions. Bougainville's population is of dark-skinned Melanesian origin and ethnically more related to the Solomon Islanders. A strong tendency for separatistic movements is only too understandable in the heterogeneous structure of PNG<sup>1)</sup>.

Papua Niugini has an interesting two-tier election system of so-called

"Open Electorates" and "Regional Electorates" with each of them covering the whole country. Regional Electorates follow administrative boundaries (districts) with some minor deviations; and Open Electorates are a subdivision of Regional Electorates (see Figure 12).

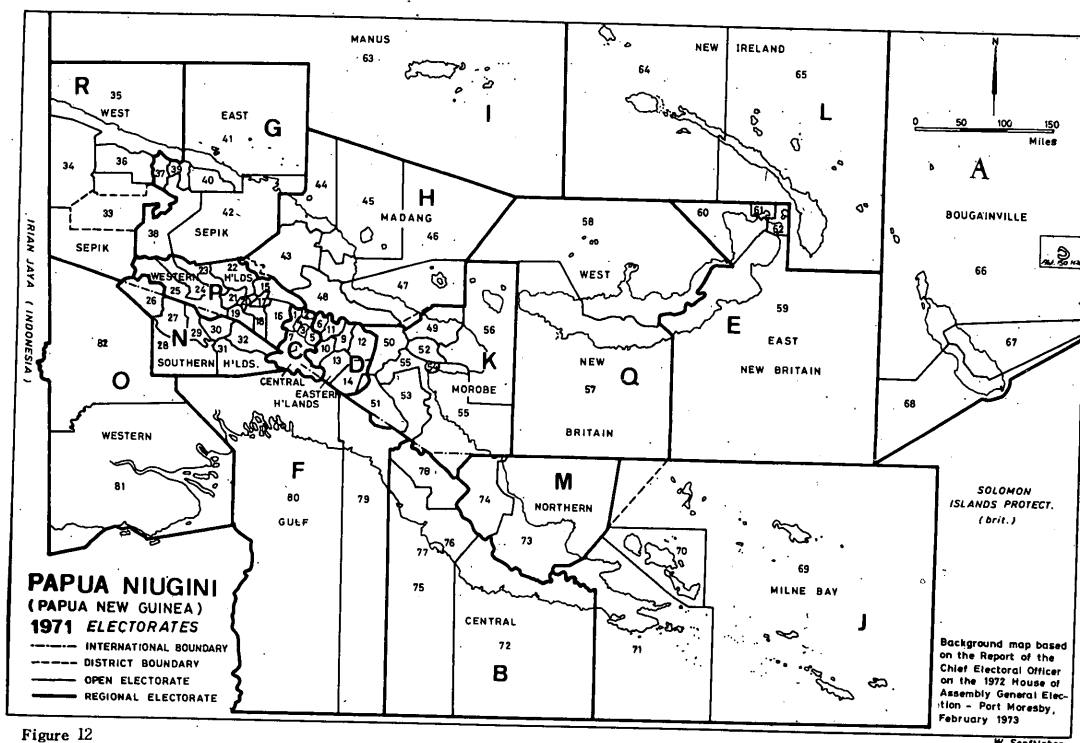


Figure 12

Table 13 : Composition of the House of Assembly (1964-1972)

Legislative Period	1964-1968	1968-1972	1972-1976
Total Membership	64	94	107
Elected Members			
Open Electorates	44	69	82
Elected Members			
Regional Electorates	10	15	18
Appointed + ex-officio Members	10	10	10

- 1) At present there are 26 separatistic groups active, the main ones are the "BenaHotive Association" in the Eastern H'lds., the "Mataungan Association" on the Gazelle Island, the "BlackLiberation Front" of Wewak, the "Republican Fighters Army" of Papua, the "Papua Besena" fighting for Papuan independence, and the "Bougainvillean separatists" who declared unilateral independence of their copper-rich island under the name of the "Republic of the Northern Solomons" in August 1975.

a) "Open Electorates" are open to candidates of all ethnic groups without regard to their educational standard. They have been first introduced in 1964 and cover the entire country. The original number of 44 has been gradually increased to 69 and 82 (see Table 13) which required a redistribution of constituency boundaries every four years. Since most of the ethnic and tribal groups are living together and forming a defined residential area, no special problems for the protection of minorities arise. On the other side, the ethnic fragmentation into a multitude of mini-tribes is so excessive, that one Open Electorate often comprises several areas of completely different tribes who have virtually nothing in common and may not even communicate with each other. The enlargement of the number of constituencies is therefore welcomed. One principle set by the Electoral Boundaries Distribution Committee was that, as a guideline, the population contained in each Open Electorate should be ascertained to be approximately 30 000 people. The largest Open Electorate is FINSCHHAFEN with 46 200 inhabitants, the smallest OBURA with only 18 144. It seems that constituencies in the Highland regions have been given a stronger weightage (smaller electoral population) than the coastal and insular electorates. Secondly, the capital city of Port Moresby, an almost uninhabited place before colonial times, is now characterized by a large number of non-indigenous people, most of them being working migrants from New Guinea beside the European Expatriates. The conversion of Port Moresby into a two-member constituency, giving representation to both, Papuans and New Guineans, would be advisable.

b) "Regional Electorates" (or Special Electorates) similarly cover the entire country and are almost congruent with the administrative Districts. When Special Electorates were introduced in 1964, they were reserved for candidates who were not indigenous inhabitants of PNG. The Regional Electorates were later opened to candidates of all races provided that the candidate had the minimum qualification of the PNG Intermediate Certificate of Education or its equivalent. Since few indigenous people acquired the Intermediate School Certificate, the Regional Electorates were usually reserved for Europeans, but this is rapidly changing now. For the 1972-election

51 candidates (16 Europeans and 35 PNGs) were nominated for the 18 Regional Electorates. The two-tier electoral system is a relict from the Colonial times and there are considerations to abolish the Regional Electorates at all. The 1972-report on election results states in this connection:

"that many voters, particularly Papuans and New Guineans, tend to regard Regional Electorates as something belonging to the educated elite and therefore they do not bother to vote for a Regional Electorate candidate. The Open Electorates are well accepted by the voter as something personal".

Nevertheless, the Regional Electorates might be out-dated after achieving independence, but they also have their positive justifications. Candidates for Open Electorates usually pursue narrow-minded local politics, but for the development of large regions it is advantageous to retain Regional Electorate representatives. In fact, most of the well-known and influential politicians, like P.M. Somare or Miss Abaijah (the only woman member) were elected through Regional Electorates.

The population size of each Regional Electorate varies greatly, the smallest being MANUS with 21 951 inhabitants, the largest MOROBE with 271 675. If both Regional and Open Electorates are combined together, we can observe strong regional variations in the people's representation:

MANUS District : 1 representative = 10 975 people

MOROBE DISTRICT : 1 representative = 30 186 people

BOUGAINVILLE DISTRICT : 1 representative = 21 310 people;

but between Papua as a whole and New Guinea as a whole the representation ratio is fairly equal :

PAPUA : 1 representative = 23 091 people

NEW GUINEA : 1 representative = 23 984 people.

The two-tier electoral system of PNG is different from the Rhodesian and Fijian example in one major respect. In PNG there is a common Electoral Roll for voters and only the nomination of candidates is subject to certain educational conditions and qualifications.

## 9. Fiji

Table 14 : 1966 Census of Population, Fiji

Indians .....	256 000	53.0%
Fijians ( Melanesians ) .....	215 000	44.5%
Europeans .....	6 600	1.4%
Chinese .....	5 000	1.0%
Total	482 600	99.9%

In Fiji, the indigenous population of Melanesians (or Fijians) has been outnumbered by Indians who were brought in by the British as indentured labourers to work on the sugar-cane plantations. Besides that, there is a small European and Chinese minority. In fear of being overruled by an Indian majority, the Melanesians tried to remain under British Colonial rule as long as possible; they further succeeded in creating "land reservations" ( i.e. most of the agricultural land may not be leased or given to non-Fijians ), the army consisting of two battalions is predominantly Melanesian and they were able to retain a franchise system with voting based on separate ballots for the different communities ( Fijians, Indians and Europeans ).

Fiji's election system has a long history dating back to 1904 with many changes and improvements, but it was basically always a separate representation of the three racial communities. In April 1970 the Independence Conference agreed on an interim (provisional) election system until a final solution has been worked out between the main racial groups. The retention of voting on separate ballots for 27 out of 52 seats was a major achievement of the Fijian community, but at the same time the proportion of cross-voting seats elected through a National (non-communal roll) was increased to 25 out of 52.

Under regional aspects, the Fijian interim election system can be described as a six-tier constituency system with the whole of the country being divided into six sets of constituencies.

Table 15 : Qualifications for Candidacy and Voting in Fiji, 1970

Face	number of constituencies	Voters' Qualifications	Candidacy Qualifications
Fijian	12 10	Fijian Communal Roll National Roll	only Fijians only Fijians
Indian	12 10	Indian Communal Roll National Roll	only Indians only Indians
General	3 5	General Communal Roll National Roll	Europeans, Chinese Europeans, Chinese

There are four different Electoral Rolls: Fijian Communal Roll, Indian Communal Roll, General Communal Roll which includes all persons not being of Fijian and Indian origin (i.e. Europeans, Chinese and other Pacific races), and a National Roll which is a combination of all registered electors on the three communal rolls. The introduction of a National Roll is usually called "cross-voting" because it gives electors of one race the chance to vote for a candidate of a different race. The inclusion of 25 (out of 52) cross-voting seats has been done on the grounds to give those candidates an advantage whose policy is multi-racial orientated and can command support of all races.

The Constituency Boundary Commission has divided the whole country into 12 one-member constituencies each returning a communally elected Fijian member, into 12 one-member constituencies each returning a communally elected Indian member, and into 3 one-member constituencies each returning a communally elected General member. The three sets of constituencies will each cover the entire country, but they are not congruent or identical, because of the different concentration of racial groups and the general delimitation principle to carve out constituencies with an almost equal number of electors. For National Roll elections, the country is divided into 10 two-member constituencies each returning one Fijian and one Indian candidate. For the election of the five General members elected through National Roll, two of the previous mentioned constituencies are combined forming 5 one-member constituencies.

In the elections of April 1972, the Fiji Alliance Party, a multi-racial combination of organizations but with their main support from Melanesian and European circles, won 33 of the 52 seats of the House of Representatives (former Legislative Council), the Indian-based National Federation Party won 19 seats. The Indian community is pressing hard that communal voting shall be gradually abolished and replaced by a non-racial majority system based on one-member constituencies, which would give the Indian part an automatic domination of the political scene.

## 10. Rhodesia

Table 16 : 1973 Population Estimates, Rhodesia

Africans .....	5 590 000	94.9%
Asians & Coloured .....	27 600	0.5%
Europeans .....	270 000	4.6%
Total	5 887 600	100.0%

Rhodesia's present election system could be characterized by the term "Sham Elections". In 1970, only 95 350 persons (out of a population of more than 5 1/2 millions), i.e. 1.6% were entitled to vote and registered as voters, but actually a small fraction of this would make use of their right to vote due to the widespread African boycott of elections. The Africans although forming 95% of the population are entitled to elect only 8 out of 66 members to the Legislative Assembly<sup>1)</sup> plus another 8 indirect representatives elected through "tribal electoral colleges", but the latter ones are usually "bought" by the White Rhodesian government. The distribution of political power on the background of the population ratio is so obvious that no further comment seems to be necessary.

Until 1965, the Colonial British government of Southern Rhodesia

1) Similar sham elections occur in Hongkong where the British Colonial Government permits elections to half of the seats on the Urban Council. But less than 10 per cent of the population of Hongkong are eligible to vote; there are 23 categories of voters. Of those eligible, fewer than 40 000 go through the rather complicated registration process and fewer than 10 000 actually vote. Thus, 1/4 per cent of the 4 million population of Hongkong is actually participating in the Urban Council elections.

RHODESIA		1962 DELIMITATION	1970 DELIMITATION
POPULATION	AFRICAN	3 618 000	4 930 000
	EUROPEAN	221 000	234 000
	ASIAN	18 000	25 000
GENERAL DESCRIPTION		NON-COMMUNAL ROLLS AND QUALIFIED NON-RACIAL FRANCHISE BASED LARGELY ON EDUCATION INCOME AND PROPERTY QUALIFICATION	RACIAL VOTING BASED ON SEPARATE ELECTORAL ROLLS FOR EUROPEANS AND AFRICANS
CROSS-VOTING		CROSS-VOTING WAS PROVIDED FOR, BUT IF THE "B" ROLL VOTES CAST IN A CONSTITUENCY ELECTION EXCEEDS 1/4 OF THE VOTES CAST BY "A" ROLL VOTERS IN THE CONSTITUENCY, THE "B" VOTES ARE PROPORTIONALLY DEVALUED SO THAT THE TOTAL DOES NOT EXCEED 1/4 OF "A" VOTES (AND VICE VERSA)	CROSS-VOTING WAS ABOLISHED
SEATS IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY		65	66
EUROPEAN CONSTITUENCIES	TERMINOLOGY	"A" ROLL CONSTITUENCIES	EUROPEAN CONSTITUENCIES
	QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING	no data	RESTRICTED TO EUROPEANS WHO HAVE AN ANNUAL INCOME OF R£ 900 OR PROPERTY WORTH R£ 1 800 OR FOUR YEARS SECONDARY EDUCATION PLUS CERTAIN INCOME AND PROPERTY.
	QUALIFICATIONS FOR CANDIDACY	OPEN TO PERSONS OF ALL RACES, BUT VIRTUALLY EUROPEAN	RESTRICTED TO EUROPEANS
	NUMBER OF CONST.	50	50
	RURAL CONSTITUENCIES	19	18
	URBAN CONSTITUENCIES	31	32
	DEFINITION OF RURAL CONSTITUENCY	ONE IN WHICH THE MAJORITY OF VOTERS RESIDE OUTSIDE AN "URBAN AREA"	
	DEFINITION OF URBAN AREA	AREA UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF A MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OR TOWN COUNCIL	
	REGISTERED VOTERS	90 393	87 020
	CONSTITUENCY AVERAGE	1 808	1 740
AFRICAN ELECTORAL DISTRICTS	POSSIBLE MARGIN	± 15 %	± 20 %
	PERMISSIBLE MAXIMUM	2 079	2 088
	PERMISSIBLE MINIMUM	1 537	1 393
	RURAL AVERAGE	1 743	1 594
	TERMINOLOGY	"B" ROLL ELECTORAL DISTRICT	AFRICAN ELECTORAL DISTRICT
	QUALIFICATIONS FOR VOTING	no data	RESTRICTED TO AFRICANS WHO HAVE AN ANNUAL INCOME OF R£ 300 OR PROPERTY WORTH R£ 600 OR TWO YEARS SECONDARY EDUCATION PLUS CERTAIN INCOME OR PROPERTY
	QUALIFICATIONS FOR CANDIDACY	OPEN TO PERSONS OF ALL RACES SATISFYING CERTAIN CONDITIONS, BUT VIRTUALLY AFRICAN	RESTRICTED TO AFRICANS
	NUMBER OF ELECTORAL DISTRICTS	15	8 (4 IN MASHONALAND and 4 IN MATABELELAND)
	REGISTERED VOTERS	9 814	8 326
	CONSTITUENCY AVERAGE	654	1 040
	ELECTED MEMBERS THROUGH TRIBAL ELECTORAL COLLEGES	NONE	8 (4 FOR MASHONALAND and 4 FOR MATABELELAND - WITH BOUNDARIES TO COINCIDE WITH ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS INSIDE TRIBAL TRUST LAND)

1975

W. Senftleben

Table 17 : Comparison between 1962 and 1970 Election Systems

still maintained a non-racial qualified voting system which was based on qualification of education, income and property. The white Rhodesian regime of Ian Smith introduced an "Apartheid style" racial voting system. The main characteristics and features of the two systems have been compared and reproduced in Table 17. The 1962 Delimitation distinguished between "A" Roll Constituencies which virtually comprised the European electorate, and "B" Roll Electoral Districts with a pre-dominant African electorate. But to underline the non-racial character of the 1962 election system, much emphasis was laid on the retention of Cross-voting, i.e. voting by "B" Roll voters in "A" Roll constituencies, and by "A" Roll voters in "B" Roll electoral districts.

It was hoped that the cross-voting provision would assist those candidates whose policy could command support from both groups.

Under spatial aspects, the system may be described as a two-tier system of constituencies, where the whole of the country is subdivided into two different sets of electoral divisions. A comparison of the 1962 Delimitation and the 1970 Delimitation as shown in Figures 13 to 16 indicates that the spatial configuration almost remained the same, but the election justice has gone from bad to worse. Some attention may be given to the distribution between Rural and Urban constituencies of the European electorate. Both the 1961 and 1969 Constitutions stipulate that at least 18 out of 50 constituencies must be rural constituencies. Unlike other election systems, the Rhodesian one does not give any favourable weightage to rural constituencies, but envisages an equal population with a possible deviation of  $\pm 20\%$ . With a rapidly growing process of urbanization and a rural exodus of White farmers due to African terrorism this provision may not be able to be retained without difficulty.

In October 1968 the British government presented proposals for a settlement of the Rhodesian dispute by offering a compromise electoral system which virtually would have gone back to the 1962-situation (so-called "Fearless Proposals"). It was recommended to introduce a

Figure 15

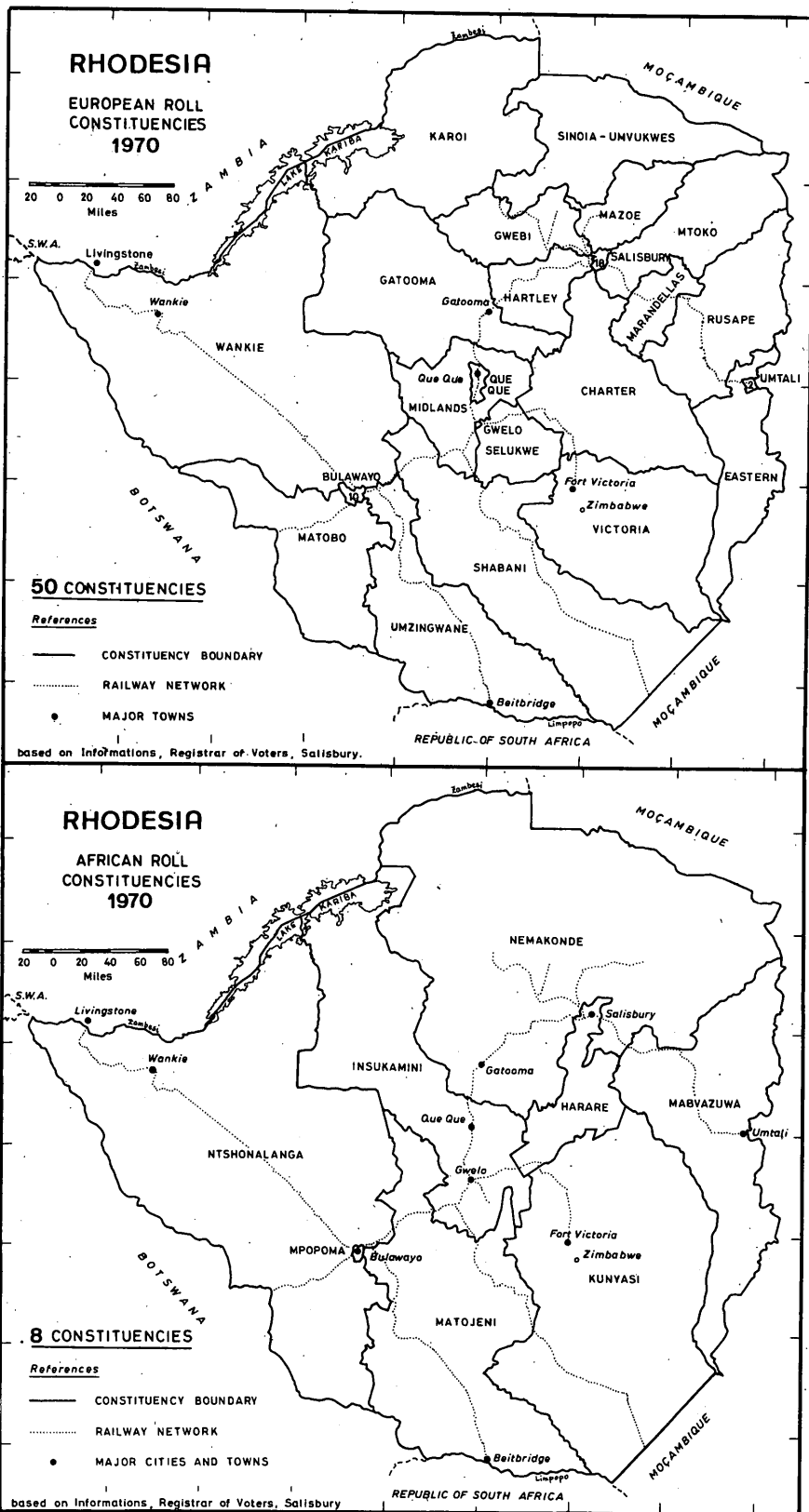


Figure 16

W. Senthilben

Figure 13

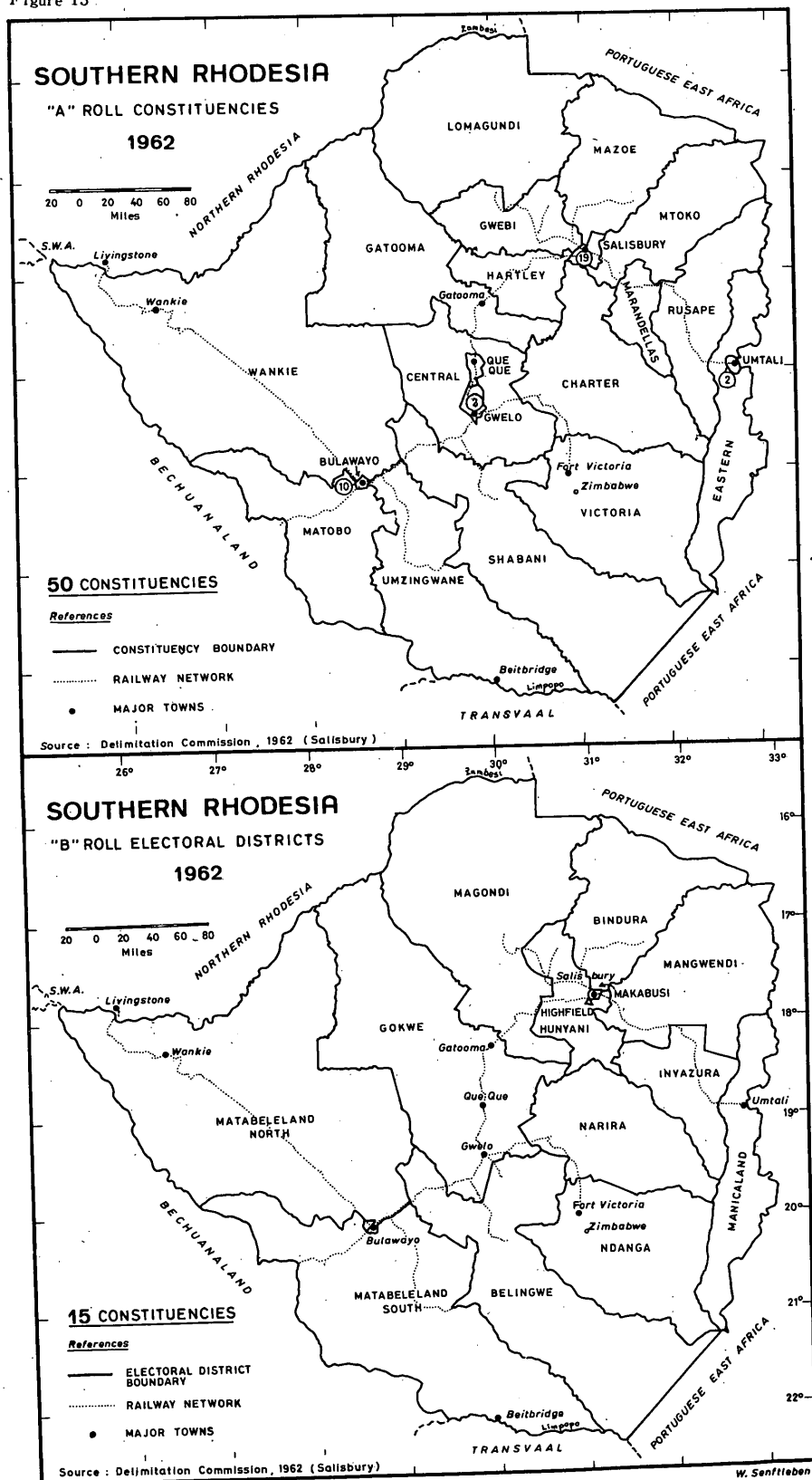


Figure 14

three-tier system with three sets of electoral divisions each covering the entire country, with cross-voting to be retained at 25%.

33 seats elected from "A" Rolls with certain educational, ownership and professional qualifications which gradually may be reduced;

17 seats for "B" Roll franchise which should include all Africans over 30 years of age satisfying the Citizenship and residence qualifications; and

17 Reserved European seats.

The racist regime under Ian Smith rejected this offer of a peaceful settlement. With the recent independence of Mocambique under a leftist government, the increasing guerrilla activities inside Rhodesia and the possibility of withdrawal of South African support, the days of the present racist regime may be numbered. What would be most welcomed, is a gradual and steady shift into direction of majority rule with certain entrenchment clauses for the protection of the minority.

## 11. Conclusion

The investigation into electoral systems is usually considered to be a domain of Political Science. If a geographer engages in any discussion, analysis or classification of election systems, special emphasis has to be given to regional aspects and the spatial configuration of electoral divisions or constituencies. For geographical purposes, it can be only of secondary importance whether elections are carried out on party-lines, on individual candidacy without party or political affiliation, or according to a one-party system, because these criteria are objects of investigation of Political Science or Socio-politics.

This introductory study tries to compare spatial aspects of election systems with special regard to the representation of racial and ethnic minorities. Nine different multi-racial developing countries from South America, Africa, Asia and the Pacific have been selected for this study. This shall be an initial attempt to develop a rough classification or typology of election systems according to geographical criteria; and seven different principal types have been distinguished:

- 1) One-constituency system with the whole country forming a single electoral entity is generally known as "Proportional Representation". This system seems to protect minority groups in the best possible way and

reflects a fairly true representation in the constituent bodies according to the proportion of votes cast by the electorate; but it tends to lead to excessive fragmentation of political parties and interest groups and seldom creates a working majority to form a Government. Many multi-racial developing countries therefore have desisted from adopting the "proportional representation" system; but it can be found in a slightly modified form in Guiana and Israel. The system of "proportional representation" seems to be of less interest for geographical investigations since regional aspects of elections can not be satisfactorily located.

- 2) The single-member constituency type based on the majority system has been copied from the British experience and can be found in many former dependencies of Great Britain. The whole country is sub-divided into a certain number of constituencies each one returning a single member to the legislature. The boundaries of each electoral unit are artificially delineated and are subject to a periodical revision in accordance with the latest demographic development. This system seems to favour the ethnic and political majority, and minority groups often fail to bring a candidate through by spoiling a large number of votes. From the geographical point of view, the periodically undertaken delimitation of constituencies provides excellent material for geographical studies. Two sub-types can be distinguished :
  - a) the unitarian system which is practised in Singapore;
  - b) the federal system which further sub-divides each National constituency into a certain number of State constituencies. Malaysia and India may serve as an example for this category.
- 3) The single-member constituency type with a few intermingled multi-member constituencies is found in Sri Lanka (Ceylon). Under this system, certain constituencies may be converted into multi-member ones provided that electorate contains a substantial proportion of minority groups being citizens of the country. For different reasons, this system was also known in England where large cities were kept as one undivided electoral unit with multi-member representation.
- 4) The multi-member constituency system based on administrative territorial units (provinces, districts, townships, local government bodies

etc.) seems to be most prevalent in many Asian countries and is particularly suitable for insular or archipelagic States consisting of a multitude of isolated islands. Two main types can be distinguished:

a) equal-member constituencies where each administrative unit sends an equal number of representatives to the legislature. The Republic of Maldives may serve as an example where the whole island State is sub-divided for administrative purposes into 19 atoll groups with each atoll being entitled to send two members to the Majlis.

b) variable-member constituencies where each administrative unit elects a variable number of representatives depending on area and population. The Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand and Switzerland fall into this category.

For both cases, electoral boundaries of constituencies remain static unless there is an administrative reform. It is not the boundary of an electoral district that is subject to periodical review, but the number of representatives. Any judgment in how far minorities are fairly well represented must be based on the method of territorial sub-division, but it seems that minorities in remote and underpopulated areas are generally handicapped.

5) The multi-member constituency system based on individual delimitation of electoral units which are different from administrative divisions, is subject to a periodical revision in accordance with the changing demographic structure. This system tends to represent substantial minorities fairly well and may be classified into two sub-types:

a) equal-member constituencies where each electoral unit elects an equal number of representatives. The most common example is the "three-member constituency system" which is currently practised in Mauritius with some minor modifications (Two-member constituency for Rodrigues dependency).

b) variable-member constituencies are found in the Republic of Ireland: the 148-seat Assembly (Dail Eireann), for instance, consists of 26 "Three-member constituencies", 10 "Four-member constituencies"

and 6 "Five-member constituencies".

- 6) The multi-constituency system where one candidate has to seek elections in several constituencies simultaneously, has been reported from Uganda under OBOTE's presidency. Although it was never put on trial, it was aiming to wipe out regionalism and tribalism, since every candidate was forced to obtain support from four different constituencies each of which located in a different administrative region.
- 7) Multi-tier electoral systems with different sets of constituencies each of which covering the whole country, are reported from many multi-racial countries. These are rudimentary forms of electoral systems with elections usually carried out on separate ballots for each racial or ethnic group, and they are designed to be of temporary nature and might be altered in the process of advanced racial integration and nation-building. Three principal sub-types can be distinguished:
  - a) Registration of the electorate is based on a single non-communal roll, but candidacy is restricted to a racial quota or is based on other qualifications. Papua Niugini may serve as an example for a "two-tier system" where so-called "open electorates" are open to any candidate, whereas "regional electorates" are subject to certain restrictions.
  - b) Voting qualifications as well as qualifications for candidacy are based on race and ethnic affiliation with different racial groups voting on separate ballots and without any provisions for "cross-voting". "Independent" Rhodesia has adopted such an "Apartheid-style" election system. The fact that 95% of the country's (African) population can elect only 25% of the Assemblies seats, may justify the term "sham elections".
  - c) A mixed system of communal and non-communal voting simultaneously is practised in Fiji for instance. The country is subdivided into six sets of constituencies each covering the whole State. Whereas candidacy is restricted to a racial quota (22 Fijians, 22 Indians, 8 Europeans), registration of the electorate is based on four different

rolls (Fijian roll, Indian roll, General communal roll, and National roll which is a combination of all communal rolls). The creation of a National non-communal roll has a similar effect as "cross-voting" provisions which were in force in Colonial Southern Rhodesia prior to 1969.

This study has been restricted to the discussion of a limited number of case-studies, but to conclude a comprehensive standardization of electoral systems according to geographical criteria, a larger number of cases have to be considered.

## 12. Selected Bibliography

### A. Primary Sources

- (1) CEYLON (1959): Report of the Delimitation Commission, Sessional Paper XV-1959, (Colombo: Government Press)
- (2) CEYLON (1971): Results of Parliamentary General Elections in Ceylon, 1947-1970; published by the Department of Elections, (Colombo: Government Printer)
- (3) GHANA (1967): Part I and II of the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Electoral and Local Government Reform in Ghana, (Accra: State Publishing Corporation)
- (4) MALAYA (1954): Report of the Constituency Delimitation Commission, 1954, (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer)
- (5) MALAYA (1958): Report of the Election Commission on the Delimitation of Constituencies for the First Elections to the House of Representatives and the State Legislative Assemblies, (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer)
- (6) MALAYA (1960): Report of the Election Commission on the Delimitation of Parliamentary and State Constituencies under the Provisions of the Constitution of the Persekutuan Tanah Melayu, 1960, (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer)
- (7) MALAYSIA (1969): Report of the Election Commission on the Delimitation of Parliamentary and State Constituencies in the State of Sarawak, (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer)
- (8) MALAYSIA (1974): Laporan Suruhanjaya Pilihanraya Malaysia atas Persempadanan Bahagian-Bahagian Pilihanraya Persekutuan dan Negri bagi Negri-Negri Tanah Melayu (Semenanjung Malaysia), Tahun 1974, (Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Cetak Kerajaan)
- (9) PAPUA NEW GUINEA (1967): Electoral Ordinance, 1963-67, (Port Moresby: Government Printer)
- (10) PAPUA NEW GUINEA (1967): Report to His Honour, the Administrator by the Distribution Committee appointed for the Purpose of Redistributing the Territory of Papua New Guinea into Electorates, (Port Moresby: Government Printer)
- (11) PAPUA NEW GUINEA (1971): Report to His Honour, the Administrator by the Electoral Boundaries Distribution Committee appointed for the Purpose of Redistributing the Electoral Boundaries for Papua New Guinea to Create 82 Open Electorates, (Port Moresby: Government Printer)

- (12) PAPUA NEW GUINEA (1971): Maps of Electoral Boundaries, published under the authority of the Chairman, Electoral Boundaries Distribution Committee, (Port Moresby: Government Printer)
- (13) PAPUA NEW GUINEA (1973): Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the 1972 House of Assembly General Election, (Port Moresby: Government Printer)
- (14) PHILIPPINES (1971): Report of the Commission on Elections to the President of the Philippines and the Congress on the Manner the Elections were held on November 11th, 1969, (Manila: Bureau of Printing)
- (15) RHODESIA (1969): Electoral Act, No. 56 of 1969, (Salisbury: Government Printer)
- (16) RHODESIA (1970): Report of the Delimitation Commission, 1970, (Salisbury: Government Printer)
- (17) SINGAPORE (1971): White Paper on the Report of the Electoral Boundaries Delineation Committee on the Review of the Boundaries of the present Fifty-eight Parliament Electoral Divisions, Cmnd Paper 21 of 1971, (Singapore: Government Printer)
- (18) SOUTHERN RHODESIA (1962): Report of the Commission appointed to Divide the Colony into Constituencies and Electoral Districts, 1962, (Salisbury: Government Printer)
- (19) UNITED KINGDOM (1919): Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into Electoral Systems, (London: H.M.S.O.)
- (20) UNITED KINGDOM (1948): Representation of the People Act, 1948 (Chapter 65)
- (21) UNITED KINGDOM (1958): House of Commons (Redistribution of Seats) Act, 1958, (Chapter 26) (London: H.M.S.O.)
- (22) UNITED KINGDOM (1966): Mauritius: Report of the Banwell Commission on the Electoral System, (London: H.M.S.O.)
- (23) UNITED KINGDOM (1968): Mauritius. Central Office of Information Reference Pamphlet No. 83, (London: H.M.S.O.)
- (24) UNITED KINGDOM (1969): Second Periodical Report of the Boundary Commission for Scotland, (Cmnd. Paper 4085), (Edinburgh: H.M.S.O.)
- (25) UNITED KINGDOM (1969): Second Periodical Report of the Boundary Commission for England, (Cmnd. Paper 4086), (London: H. M. S. O.) (With map supplement)
- (26) UNITED KINGDOM (1969): Second Periodical Report of the Boundary Commission for Northern Ireland, (Cmnd. Paper 4087), (Belfast: H.M.S.O.)
- (27) UNITED KINGDOM (1969): Second Periodical Report of the Boundary Commission for Wales, (Cmnd. Paper 4088), (Cardiff: H.M.S.O.)
- (28) UNITED KINGDOM (1970): Rhodesia. Reference Pamphlet prepared for British Information Services by the Central Office of Information, (London)
- (29) UNITED KINGDOM (1970): Fiji. Central Office of Information Reference Pamphlet No. 95, (London: H.M.S.O.)
- (30) UNITED KINGDOM (1970): Report of the Fiji Constitutional Conference, 1970, (Cmnd. Paper 4389), (London: H.M.S.O.)

## B. Secondary Sources

- (31) AHMAD, H. (1966): Election Data Analysis as Tool of Research in Political Geography; in: *Pakistan Geographical Review*, No. 21, pp. 34-40
- (32) BENEDICT BURTON (1965): *Mauritius, Problems of a Plural Society*, (London: Pall Mall Press)
- (33) BUTLER, D.E. (1963): *The Electoral Systems in Britain since 1918*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2nd edit.)
- (34) CHANDIDAS, R. (1969): Elections in Developing Countries, The Electoral System and its Impact on Political Development; in: *Seminar on Electoral Reforms, India*, December 6-7th, 1969, Background Papers published by the Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, (New Delhi)
- (35) CLARK, M.F. (1964): *The Malaya Alliance and its Accommodation to Communal Pressures, 1952-1962*. M.A. thesis, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur (unpublished)
- (36) DAGLI, V. (1951): *The Racial Triangle in Malaya*. M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley (unpublished)
- (37) ENCLOE, C.H. (1967): *The Politics of Ethnic Pluralism: The Case of Malaysia*. Ph. D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley (unpublished)
- (38) FAZL-UD-DIN, J. (1956): *Separate Electorates-the Lifeblood of Pakistan*, (Lahore: Punjabi Darbar Publishing House)
- (39) KASHYAP, S.C. (Editor) (1971): *Elections and Electoral Reforms in India*; published by the Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, (New Delhi)
- (40) LE BRAS, G. (1947): *Geographie electorale et Geographie religieuse*; in: *Etude de Sociologie electorale*, (Paris: Cahier de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, No. 1)
- (41) MACKENZIE, W.J.M. & ROBINSON, K. (1960): *Five Elections in Africa, a Group of Electoral Studies*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- (42) MC PHAIL, I.R. (1970): *Recent Trends in Electoral Geography*; in: *Sixth New Zealand Geography Conference*, (Christchurch: N.Z. Geographical Society)
- (43) MILNE, R.S. (1964-5): *Elections in Developing Countries*; in: *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. XVIII, No. 1, pp. 59 ff.
- (44) MILNE, R.S. & RATNAM, K.J. (1969): *Pattern and Peculiarities of Ethnic Voting in Sabah, 1967*; in: *Asian Survey*, vol. 9, No. 5, May, pp. 374-381
- (45) MILNE, R.S. & RATNAM, K.J. (1974): *Malaysia-New States in a New Nation-Political Development of Sarawak and Sabah, Malaysia*, (London: Frank Cass)
- (46) PRESCOTT, J.R.V. (1959): *The Functions and Methods of Electoral Geography*; in: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 49, pp. 296-304
- (47) PRESCOTT, J.R.V. (1972): *Political Geography*, (London: Methuen)
- (47a) PRESCOTT, J.R.V. (1972): *Einführung in die Politische Geographie* (translated into German by C. Spiel) (München: Beck'sche Elementarbücher)
- (48) PREWITT, K. (1968): *Political Perspectives of Opinion Leaders in Uganda*; in: *Social Science Information*, vol. 7, No. 3, June, pp. 53-78

- (49) ROWLEY, G. (1975): The Redistribution of Parliamentary Seats in the United Kingdom: Themes and Opinions; in: *Area*, Institute of British Geographers, vol.7, No.1, pp.16-21
- (50) SENFTLEBEN, W. (1975): The 1974 General Elections in West Malaysia-A Preliminary Study of Election Prospects and Voting Pattern of the Chinese Community; in: *Geographical Research*, Vol.1, January, published by the Institute of Geography, National Taiwan Normal University, pp.103-140
- (50a) SENFTLEBEN, W. (1974): Die Wahlen in Malaysia 1974 - Mit besonderer Beruecksichtigung der Neueinteilung der Wahlkreise - Ein Beitrag zur Geographie der Wahlen; *Mitteilungen des Instituts fuer Asienkunde*, Heft 60, (Hamburg)
- (51) SMITH, T.E. (1960): Elections in Developing Countries-A Study of Electoral procedures Used in Tropical Africa, Southeast Asia, and the British Caribbean, (London: Macmillan)
- (52) TAYLOR, P.J. (1973): Some Implications of the Spatial Organization of Elections; in: *Institute of British Geographers, Transactions*, No.60, November, pp.121-136
- (53) VAN DEN BERGH, G. (1955): *Unity in Diversity: A Systematic Critical Analysis of all Election Systems*; (London: B.T. Batsford)
- (54) VASIL, R.K. (1971): *Politics in a Plural Society-A Study of non-communal political Parties in West Malaysia*, (Kuala Lumpur: O.U.P.)