

Electoral Systems and Democracy Building in Nepal

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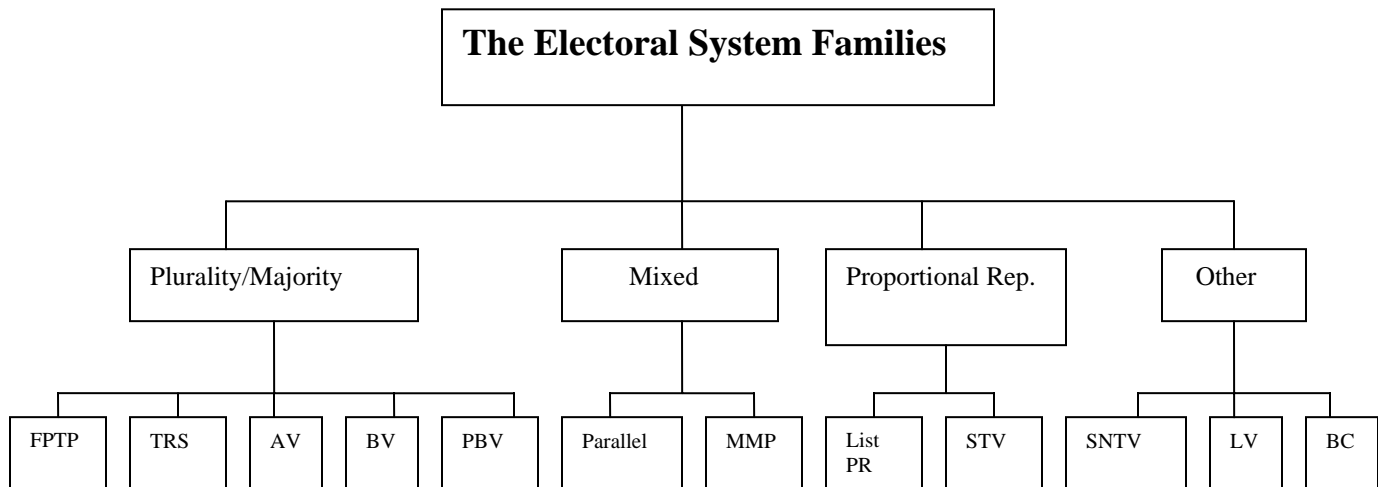
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1. Electoral Systems

The choice of electoral system is one of the most important institutional decisions for any democracy. In almost all cases, the choice of a particular electoral system has a profound effect on the future political life of the country concerned, and electoral systems, once chosen, often remain fairly constant as political interests solidify around and respond to the incentives presented by them (Colomer, 2004; Farrel, 2001; Golder, 2001). However, while conscious design has become far more prevalent recently, traditionally it has been rare for electoral systems to be consciously and deliberately selected. Often the choice was essentially accidental, the result of an unusual combination of circumstances, of a passing trend, or of a quirk of history, with the impact of colonialism and the effects of influential neighbors often being especially strong (IDEA, 2005: 1).

There are a large number of different electoral systems currently in use and many more permutations on each form, but for the sake of simplicity we have categorized electoral systems into three broad families: plurality/majority systems, proportional systems, and mixed systems. Within these three are nine "sub-families": First Past The Post (FPTP), Two-Round System (TRS), Alternative Vote (AV), Block Vote (BV), and Party Block Vote (PBV) are all plurality/majority systems; List Proportional Representation (List PR) and the Single Transferable Vote (STV) are both proportional systems; and Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) and Parallel systems are both examples of the mixed model. In addition, there are other systems such as the Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV), the Limited Vote (LV), and the Borda Count (BC) which do not fit nearly into any particular category given in figure below and can be regarded as three further sub-families.



What is the electoral system and how did it come into being? How does it work in practice? What aspects of the system work well? On what grounds is it criticized? And, if

there was a change at some stage, why was there a change, and does the new system fulfill the requirements expected of it? (IDEA, 2005: 4).

First Past The Post (FPTP) has not facilitated the aggregation of the party system in established democracies such as Canada and India, nor has it led to the formation of strong and lasting parties in Papua New Guinea. Proportional Representation (PR) has seen the election of dominant single-party regimes in Namibia, South Africa and elsewhere. More broadly, the consequences of the choice of electoral system depend on factors such as how a society is structured in terms of ideological, religious, ethnic, racial, regional, linguistic or class divisions; whether the country is an established democracy, a transitional democracy or a new democracy; whether there is an established party system, or parties are embryonic or unformed, and how many "serious" parties there are; and whether a particular party's supporters are geographically concentrated or dispersed over a wide area.

It is also important not to see electoral systems in isolation. Their design and effects are heavily contingent upon other structures within and outside the constitution. Electoral systems are one square of an interrelated patchwork of government systems, rules and points of access to power. Successful electoral system design comes from looking at the framework of political institutions as a whole: changing one part of this framework is likely to cause adjustments in the way other institutions within it work.

In terms of the number of countries which use them, List PR systems are the most popular, with 70 out of 199 countries and related territories, giving them 35.2 percent of the total, followed by the 47 cases of FPTP systems (23.6 percent of the 199 countries and territories). When it comes to numbers of people, however, FPTP systems are used in countries which contain almost twice as many people as List PR countries. The Block Vote is used in 15 countries and territories, 7.5 percent of the countries included, Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) system are used in only nine countries represents 10.6 percent. The Single Transferable Vote, Limited Vote, Modified Borda Count, Alternative Vote, Party Block Vote and Single Non-Transferable Vote systems are the rarest electoral systems in use today, with only one to four example of each.

Table 1: The Distribution of Electoral System across National Legislatures

Electoral System		Africa	Americas	Asia	Eastern Europe	Western Europe	Oceania	Middle East	Total	%
P/M (91)	FPTP	15	17	5	0	1	7	2	47	23.6
	TRS	8	3	6	1	1	1	2	22	11.1
	AV	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	1.5
	BV	1	3	2	0	3	2	4	15	7.5
	PBV	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	4	2.0
Mixed (30)	Parallel	4	0	8	7	1	1	0	21	10.6
	MMP	1	3	0	2	2	1	0	9	4.5
PR (72)	List PR	16	19	3	13	15	0	4	70	35.2
	STV	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	1.0
Other (6)	SNTV	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	4	2.0
	LV	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.5
	BC	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.5
(199)	Total	48	45	26	23	26	18	13	199	100

2. Who Organizes Elections?

From around the mid-1980s there has been greater interest in, and scrutiny of, the conduct of democratic elections. There has also been an unprecedented commitment around the world to electoral reform. Public interest has been more often focused on reforming electoral systems to enhance representation. Reforms to the machinery for organizing and administering electoral events are, however, equally important. These include a trend towards the establishment of ranging powers and responsibilities, and the improvement of electoral organization so as to deliver higher-quality electoral services more effectively while concurrently enhancing the freeness, fairness and credibility of electoral events, especially in developing democracies (IDEA, 2006).

3. Plurality/Majority Systems

The principle of plurality/majority systems is simple. After votes have been cast and totaled, those candidates or parties with the most votes are declared the winners (there may also be additional conditions). However, the way this is achieved in practice varies widely. Five varieties of plurality/majority systems can be identified: First Past the Post (FPTP), Two-Round System (TRS), Alternative Vote (AV), Block Vote (BV), and the Party Block Vote (PBV).

3.1 First Past The Post (FPTP)

The First Past The Post system is the simplest form of plurality/majority system, using single-member districts and candidate-centered voting. The voter is presented with the names of the nominated candidates and votes by choosing one, and only one, of them. The winning candidate is the one who gains more votes than any other candidate, even if this is not an absolute majority of valid votes. The winner is simply the person who wins most votes; in theory s/he could be elected with two votes, if every other candidate only secured a single vote (Pokharel, 2007: 87).

Table 2: Countries and Territories Using FPTP System

First Past The Post (FPTP)			
Anguilla	Cote D'Ivoire	Micronesia	Sudan
Antigua and Barbuda	Dominica	Nepal	Swaziland
Barbados	Ethiopia	Nigeria	Tanzania
Bahamas	Gambia	Niue	Trinidad and Tobago
Bangladesh	Ghana	Oman	Turks and Caicos
Barbados	Grenada	Palau	Uganda
Belize	India	Saint Kits and Nevis	United Kingdom
Bermuda	Jamaica	Saint Lucia	United States of America
Botswana	Kenya	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Yemen
British Virgin Islands	Madagascar	Samoa	Zambia
Burma	Malawi	Solomon Islands	Zimbabwe
Canada	Malaysia		
Cook Islands	Marshall Islands		

3.2 Two Round System (TRS)

The Two-Round System is a plurality/majority system in which a second election is held if no candidate or party achieves a given level of votes, most commonly an absolute majority (50 percent plus one), in the first election round. A Two-Round System may take a majority-plurality form – more than two candidates contest the second round and

the one who wins the highest number of votes in the second round is elected, regardless of whether they have won an absolute majority – or a majority run-off form – only the top two candidates in the first round contest the second round.

A Two-Round System may take a majority-plurality form, in which it is possible for more than two candidates to contest the second round. An example is the French system, in which any candidate who has received the votes of over 12.5 percent of the registered electorate in the first round can stand in the second round. The candidate who wins the highest number of votes in the second round is then declared elected, regardless of whether they have won an absolute majority.

Table 3: Countries and Territories Using TRS System

Two-Round System (TRS)			
Bahrain	Egypt	Korea DPR	Montserrat
Belarus	France	Kyrgyzstan	Togo
Central African Republic	Gabon	Mali	Turkmenistan
Comoros	Haiti	Mauritania	Uzbekistan
Congo Republic	Iran	Mongolia	Vietnam
Cuba	Kiribati		

3.3 Alternative Vote (AV)

The Alternative Vote is a preferential plurality/majority system used in single-member districts. Voters use numbers to mark their preferences on the ballot paper. A candidate who receives an absolute majority (50 percent plus one) of valid first preference votes is declared elected. If no candidate achieves an absolute majority of first preferences, the least successful candidates are eliminated and their votes reallocated according to their second preferences until one candidate has an absolute majority-voters vote for candidates rather than political parties.

Table 4: Countries and Territories Using AV System

Alternative Vote (AV)		
Australia	Fiji	Papua New Guinea

3.4 Block Vote (BV)

Block Vote is a plurality/majority system used in multi-member districts. Electors have as many votes as there are candidates to be elected. The candidates with the highest vote totals win the seats. Usually voters vote for candidates rather than parties and in most systems may use as many, or as few, of their votes as they wish.

Table 5: Countries and Territories Using BV System

Block Vote (BV)			
Cayman Islands	Kuwait	Man Isle	Syria
Falkland Islands	Lao PDR	Mauritius	Tonga
Guernsey	Lebanon	Palestine	Tuvalu
Jersey	Maldives	Saint Helena	

3.5 Party Block Vote

Party Block Vote – A plurality/majority system using multi-member districts in which voters cast a single party-centered vote for a party of choice, and do not choose between candidates. The party with most votes will win every seat in the electoral constituency.

Table 6: Countries and Territories Using PBV System

Party Block Vote (PBV)			
Cameroon	Chad	Djibouti	Singapore

4. Mixed Systems

Systems in which the choices expressed by voters are used to elect representatives through two different systems, one proportional representation system and one plurality/majority system. There are two kinds of mixed system: Parallel systems and Mixed Member Proportional Systems.

4.1 Parallel Systems

A Parallel System is a mixed system in which the choices expressed by the voters are used to elect representatives through two different systems – one List PR system and (usually) one plurality/majority system – but where no account is taken of the seats allocated under the first system in calculating the results in the second system.

Table 7: Countries and Territories Using Parallel System

Parallel			
Andorra	Kazakhstan	Philippines	Tajikistan
Armenia	Korea Republic	Russian Federation	Thailand
Azerbaijan	Lithuania	Senegal	Timor-Leste
Georgia	Monaco	Seychelles	Tunisia
Guinea (Conakry)	Pakistan	Taiwan	Ukraine
Japan			

The balance between the number of proportional seats and the number of plurality/majority seats varies greatly as shown in above table. Only in Andorra, Russia and Ukraine, there is 50:50 split. At one extreme, 81 percent of South Korea's 299 seats are elected by FPTP, with only 56 members coming from PR lists. At the opposite extreme, 75 of Timor-Leste's seats are proportionally elected and only 13 are based on FPTP districts. However, in most cases the balance is much closer. For example, Japan elects just over 60 percent of its representatives from single-member districts, with the rest coming from PR lists.

4.2 Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)

The Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) is a proportional system. The system combines the advantages of the elections in single member constituencies with the proportional distribution of seats among the political parties (Vollan, 2006: 1). Mixed Member Proportional is a mixed system in which the choices expressed by the voters are used to elect representatives through two different systems – one List PR system and (usually) one plurality/ majority system – where the List PR system compensates for the disproportionality in the results from the plurality/majority system (Shugart & Wattenberg, 2004).

Table 8: Countries and Territories Using MMP System

Mixed Member Proportional (MMP)
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Albania	Hungary	Lesotho	New Zealand
Bolivia	Italy	Mexico	Venezuela
Germany			

MMP is used in Albania, Bolivia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Lesotho, Mexico, New Zealand and Venezuela. In all but one of these countries, the district seats are elected using FPTP. Hungary uses TRS and Italy's method is considerably more complicated.

5. Proportional Representation Systems

The rationale underpinning all PR systems is the conscious translation of a party's share of the votes into a corresponding proportion of seats in the legislature. There are two major types of PR system – List PR and Single Transferable Vote (STV). Proportional representation requires the use of electoral districts with more than one member.

5.1 List Proportional Representation (List PR)

Under a List Proportional Representation system, each party or grouping presents a list of candidates for a multi-member electoral district, the voters vote for a party, and parties receive seats in proportion to their overall share of the vote. In some (closed list) systems, the winning candidates are taken from the lists in order of their position on the lists. If the lists are "open" or "free" the voters can influence the order of the candidates by marking individual preferences.

Table 9: Countries and Territories Using List PR System

List Proportional Representation (List PR)			
Algeria	Cyprus	Israel	Portugal
Angola	Cyprus North	Latvia	Romania
Argentina	Czech Republic	Liechtenstein	Rwanda
Aruba	Denmark	Luxembourg	San Marino
Austria	Dominican Republic	Macedonia	Sao Tome and Principe
Belgium	Republic	Moldova	Sierra Leone
Benin	Ecuador	Morocco	Slovakia
Bosnia and Herzegovina	El Salvador	Mozambique	Slovenia
Brazil	Equatorial Guinea	Namibia	South Africa
Bulgaria	Estonia	Netherlands	Spain
	Finland	Netherlands Antilles	

Burkina Faso	Greece	Nicaragua	Sri Lanka
Burundi	Guatemala	Niger	Surinam
Cambodia	Guinea-Bissau	Norway	Sweden
Cape verdict	Guyana	Panama	Switzerland
Chile	Honduras	Paraguay	Turkey
Colombia	Iceland	Peru	Uruguay
Costa Rica	Indonesia	Poland	
Croatia	Iraq		

5.2 Single Transferable Vote (STV)

The Single Transferable Vote is a preferential system in which the voter ranks the candidates in a multi-member district and the candidates the surpass a specified quota of first-preference votes are immediately elected. In successive counts, votes are redistributed from least successful candidates, who are eliminated, and votes surplus to the quota are redistributed from successful candidates, until sufficient candidates are declared elected. Voters normally vote for candidates rather than political parties, although a party-list option is possible.

Table 10: Countries and Territories Using STV System

Single Transferable Vote (STV)	
Ireland Republic	Malta

6. Other Systems

In addition to the plurality/majority, proportional representation and mixed systems there are a number of other systems that do not fall neatly into any particular category. Among these are the Single Non-Transferable Vote, the Limited Vote and the Borda Count. These systems tend to translate votes cast into the results of plurality majority systems.

6.1 Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV)

Under the Single Non-Transferable Vote system, voters cast a single vote in a multi-member district. The candidates with the highest vote totals are declared elected. Voters vote for candidates rather than political parties.

Table 11: Countries and Territories Using SNTV System

Single Non-transferable Vote (SNTV)
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Afghanistan	Jordan	Pitcairn Islands	Vanuatu
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6.2 Limited Vote (LV)

Limited Vote is a candidate-centered electoral system used in multi-member districts in which electors have more than one vote, but fewer votes than there are candidates to be elected. The candidates with the highest vote totals win the seats.

Table 12: Countries and Territories Using LV System

Limited Vote (LV)
Gibraltar

6.3 Borda Count (BC)

Borda Count – A candidate-centered preferential system used in either single – or multi-member districts in which voter use numbers to mark their preferences on the ballot paper and each preference marked is then assigned a value using equal steps. These are summed and the candidate(s) with the highest total(s)/are declared elected.

Table 13: Countries and Territories Using BC System

Modified Borda Count (BC)
Nauru

7. Trends in Electoral System Reform

The Italian referendum in 1993, leading to a change to a Mixed Member Proportional System for the elections the following year, marked the beginning of a series of significant changes in electoral systems all over the world. In the vast majority of the cases, changes have been made on the margins, with a new seat allocation formula, a new number of electoral districts, or an extra few appointed members in the legislature; but as many as 27 other countries have since followed Italy's example and gone through reform processes that have altered their electoral system completely.

As table 14 shows, the trend is rather clear. Most countries that have changed electoral systems have done so in the direction of more proportionality, either by adding a PR element to a plurality system (making it a Parallel or MMP system) or by completely replacing their old system with List PR. The most common switch has been from a plurality/majority system to a mixed system, and there is not one example of a change in the opposite direction. The new plurality/majority systems all come from within the same family except for the case of Madagascar, which moved from a List PR system, not to a pure plurality/majority system, but to a hybrid where the FPTP share is larger than the List PR share (IDEA, 2005: 23).

Table 14: Recent Changes to Electoral Systems

	New System (Family)			
Previous 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 Leon (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)	
		Nepal (FPTP to Mixed?)	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 (SNTV to MMP)		
Other		Japan (SNTV to Parallel)		

Source: IDEA, 2005: 24.

8. Nepal: A Case Study

The political turmoil that has seen tumbling down seven governments since 1990 is the result of obnoxious rivalries among the country's political parties or the often unscrupulous, self-serving game of political leaders. In contrast, the most crucial are profound political changes taking place in thousands of villages where most of the nation's 25 million people live and vote. Dalits, Madeshi, women, poor, peasants, proletariats and illiterate- who were in the fringe of the nations' political life are organizing into groups, exerting pressure in political parties, interest groups and civil societies. Since the restoration of multiparty democracy, the Nepali electorates have exercised their political choice in national elections three times- 1991, 1994 and 1999 and have got valuable experiences in two local elections. The conceptions of ideologies previously espoused by various political parties are also disclosed in actual practice. So do their utopias which too failed to stabilize the political order as majority of citizens daily encounter false consciousness?

The first past the post plurality system has certain peculiarities. For example, Nepali Congress (NC) party which had comfortable majority of seats in the parliament in 1991 elections (110 seats) had only 37.75 percent of popular votes. But it formed the government. In 1994 mid-term elections, Nepali Congress had lesser number of seats (83) than the Communist Party of Nepal Unified Marxist-Leninist (CPN-UML) (88) but NC garnered higher percentage in popular votes – 33.38 percent than CPN (UML) 30.85 percent but it latter formed the government. In 1999 election, two national political parties, Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist) and Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (Chand) could not send any member in the parliament. This suggests that representation in parliament does not always accurately reflect the popular support which a party may enjoy. From 1991 to 2001, governments were less stable, and a number of prime ministers had to resign as a result of party splits or votes of no confidence before completing their full term.

Table 15: Party position in first, second and third parliamentary elections

Parties	Number of Seats Elected		
	1991	1994	1999
NC Nepali Congress	110 (37.75)	83 (33.38)	112 (36.14)
CPN (UML) Communist Party of Nepal (Unified Marxist-Leninist)	69 (27.98)	88 (30.85)	70 (30.74)
RPP Rashtriya Prajatantra Party	4 (11.94)	20 (17.93)	11 (13.46)
NSP Nepal Sadbhavana Party	6 (4.1)	3 (3.49)	5 (3.13)
NPF National People's Front	-	-	5 (1.36)
NWPP Nepal Workers and Peasants Party	2 (1.25)	4 (0.98)	1 (0.54)
UPF United People's Front	9 (4.35)	0 (1.32)	1 (0.83)
CPN(D) Communist Party of Nepal (Democratic)	2 (2.43)	0 (0.38)	0 (0.06)
CPN (ML)	-	-	0

Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist)			(6.38)
Independents	3 (4.17)	7 (6.18)	0 (2.83)
Other Parties	0 (6.04)	0 (5.49)	0 (4.54)
Total	205 (100)	205 (100)	205 (100)

Source: Election Commission, 1995, 2006; Numbers in parentheses are percentage

The six-point agreement of 2006, November 8, called up by the 21 November Peace Agreement, states that the elections to the Constituent Assembly to be held by mid-June 2007 should be based upon the "mixed system." 205 members are to be elected through a First Past The Post (FPTP) system in single member constituencies (SMCs), 204 members are to be elected by a system of proportional representation (PR) based upon votes won by political parties and 16 professional members are to be selected by the government. The total number of constituent assembly members was 425. After the second amendment of the constitution of Nepal in 2007 June, 240 members are to be elected through a FPTP system, 240 members by a system of proportional representation and 17 professional members are to be selected by the government. The total number of members in constituent assembly would be 497. The date of constituent assembly has been declared by the government in November 22, 2007.

9. Democracy Building

Democracy is nothing but the collective control of the exercise of political power by all those affected by the exercise of this power. Democracy is not a luxury to be indulged in by rich countries or rich citizens but an indispensable instrument of control for ensuring a development that satisfies the basic needs in every country (Meyer, 2002: 2). Democracy is complete only when backed by the rule of law. Democracy is a complex concept. To develop an understanding, one has to look at each of its components.

9.1 Human Rights

Human rights need democracy and democracy needs human rights. Democracy and human rights are mutually dependent and guarantors for each other. Both human rights and democracy are founded on the same fundamental ideas of the equality and dignity of every individual. We can include five sub-components in human rights: civil rights, political rights, economic rights, social rights and cultural rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives." The United Nations has thus been involved in the field of electoral assistance since its founding in 1945, working to establish and advance the principles of democracy and political rights.

9.2 Rule of Law

Legal frameworks are fair and enforced impartially. In particular the laws on human rights, public security and safety are placed at a high level. The predominant thinking is that policy alone cannot save the society if resources and will are missing. While the

primary responsibility of the government is to galvanize social capital for purposeful action, the rule of law is, without doubt, a reliable means to secure the predictability of the government and the behavior of the non-governmental sector (Pokharel, 2004: 94-5). Democracy is based on equal value and equal dignity of all citizens. Hence, the power of the majority is not unlimited. It ends where it infringes upon basic rights of individual. The majority must not make any decisions that violate the dignity and value of the individual or pervert it from participating freely in the democratic process. Anything else would be nothing less than a dictatorship of the majority. The rule of law in a democratic state should be understood as meaning all the basic rights and procedures that ensure individual freedoms and guarantee the individual's participation in the political process.

9.3 Separation of Powers

Control and public impetus would hardly be possible, where all state power resides in the hands of only a few people. Effective control and influence over the power of the state is only possible through state power itself. Therefore, a free society must divide power among different independent state authorities. They monitor each other reciprocally and prevent a concentration and monopolization of power. This is the basis of a system of checks and balances. There are three pillars of state power: executive (government and administration), legislative (parliament) and judiciary (courts, attorney general).

9.4 Pluralism

People are different. They have different ideas, opinions and goals. Different interests, values and perceptions compete. There will never be a homogeneous society, nor total agreement on important issues. Pluralisms is about accepting these differences and using them constructively. Political pluralism is always a pluralism of varying groups. A decision making process that gives a fair say to all groups and mirrors the pluralism in society is most acceptable by citizens. The state is responsible for identifying weaknesses in the process and intervening in a regulatory way.

9.5 Regional Autonomy

Regional autonomy means dividing power between national and regional authorities. Fundamental decisions, e.g. relating foreign policy, defense and economic policy are typically taken on the national level, while for instance decisions regarding culture, internal security or education are often settled on a regional level.

9.6 Elections

There is hardly any other institution in today's countries which is as wide-spread as the holding of elections. An election is a procedure by which members of communities and/or organizations choose representatives to hold an office. At the same time, there hardly exists any other political institution whose actual significance can vary so much. Elections that take place in different political systems have to be distinguished conceptually from each other, considering the fact that in certain countries the voters may choose from among several parties and reach their decision freely, while in others, voters can only give their vote to a single party since no other parties are allowed to put up candidates. The notion of election in its proper sense implies competitiveness as well

as freedom of choice. Suffrage is really in practice only when voters have a choice between at least two options. By distinguishing between elections according to the degree of competition which they permit, we can more accurately draw inferences about the structure of a particular political system, based on the type of election (Nohlen, 1996: 11).

A democracy is characterized by the fact that all state authority is derived from the people. The people decide. Thus, elections are an essential part of democracy. Elections should be free, equal (every vote counts the same), general (including all citizens above a certain age), and secret. Elections have to be held regularly within a certain period. After all, the people must have the opportunity to vote a government out of office when they are no longer satisfied.

9.7 Parties

Parties are central organizations in the political decision making process. On the one hand, parties are rooted in the political life of civil society. On the other hand, they represent state institutions, parliaments and governments. Thus, they can mediate between social interests and state action. Parties also organize compromises for the entire society (FES, 2007). In democracy, leadership is an outcome of the party's deliberate choice and people's preference. In multiparty competitive system, particularly in the Nepali experience, non-party candidates were almost rejected by the people. So the crucial role of parties has been vindicated by such electoral trends. The more the party leadership is constituted by men/women of different social and economic strata, the more diversified is its social basis. The composition of party leaders in terms of their socio economic backgrounds is considered as a mirror of the party's social bases (Baral et al., 2001: 72).

9.8 Civil Society

Civil societies gives impetus to a community building project within and across the national borders to both universalize individual and national life and motivates the citizens, governments and the states towards regional and international cooperation (Dahal, 2001: 14). Citizens are free to form associations and societies with fellow citizens in order to preserve their social, cultural, regional or economic interests. Freedom of association is a basic human right and an essential part of democracy. Civil society is the sum of all initiatives, unions, associations, organizations and networks in which people are voluntarily engaged and people pursue the welfare of the community, not only their own.

9.9 Public Sphere

Democracy is based on public discourse and on the exchange of information, opinions, arguments, alternatives and criticism. The public sphere includes all places and occasions where this exchange on political issues takes place: Most prominently mass media, but also for a civil society, debates in parties and associations, and even discussions in the neighborhood. All citizens, even those living in remote areas, have to have access to information and have to have the chance to participate in political

debates. The public sphere is the sum total of all publicly accessible communication on political affairs in a society.

9.10 Political Culture

Democratic culture can be promoted by school and adult education and through mass media. However, the most effective contribution to a political culture has to come from the political practice of the citizens themselves. The citizens' experiences in politics and with institutions and political actors shape their perception, understanding and attitude towards democracy. Thus, political elites should not underestimate their significance: After all, they are role models.

9.11 Good Governance

Simply governance means the process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented (or not implemented). Generally we can state eight characteristics of good governance: rule of law, transparency, consensus orientation, participation, equity and inclusiveness, responsiveness, accountability and effectiveness and efficiency. Good governance is an ideal which is difficult to achieve in its totality. Very few societies have come close to achieving good governance in its totality. However, to ensure sustainable human development, actions must be taken to work towards this ideal with the aim of making it a reality.

Good governance is a normatively designed order that seeks to strike equilibrium between local, national and international norms, procedures and institutions and help people to organize their life, liberty and prosperity. Good governance implies not only democratic governance, conceived as the capacity of leaders to maintain the political system's stability and credibility, but also in the sense of resolving conflicts and achieving sound development performance. Governance explicitly includes government institutions. But, it also comprises voluntary, non-state, non-government and market institutions operating within the private and public spheres (Dahal et al., 2002: 7; Pokharel, 2004: 90).

Good governance has become a buzzword in the development discourse of Nepal. Development professionals and political leaders frequently articulate this word in everyday life and public speeches. If government performances are assessed, it seems that Nepal has a long way to go to achieve a good governance or effective governance (Subedi, 2003: 126). Good governance is commonly defined as "political authority" vested with the ability and power used in the "management of economic and social resources" to rationally "design, formulate, and implement sound public policies" (Bongartz & Dahal, 1996: 56).

9.12 Economy

Economy of a country is a definite historical aggregate of the relations of production, the economic basis of society. The economy of a certain country includes all industries and types of production. By economics, people understand certain economic sciences (industrial economics, agricultural economics, etc). Inherent in every mode of production is its own economy, which is distinguished by the character of ownership of the means of production and the forms and methods of economic management. An economy is the base and politics, law, culture, are superstructure.

10. Conclusion

Elections do not take place on the pages of academic books but in the real world, and for this reason the choice of any electoral system is, to some degree, dependent on the cost and administrative capacities of the country involved. Electoral systems are very rarely designed on a blank slate where no precedents exist. The design of electoral systems is a vital component of these processes. It cannot be considered in isolation from the wider context of constitutional and institutional design, and it can be critical for areas as diverse as conflict management, Janajati, Adibashi, Madeshi, Dalit and Gender representation and the development of political party systems. Done well, electoral system design can add to the momentum of political change, encourage popular participation, and enable the emergence of legitimate representatives who are capable of handling a wide range of needs and expectations, immediately and in the future. Done badly, it can derail progress towards democracy or even political stability. Democracy is sustained by a political public sphere in which every citizen can freely obtain information and freely express his/her opinion. Democracy is a universally valid form of political rule in the world today.

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