

wanted its own gains and the other three parties' losses to be reflected in the composition of the government. This was firmly opposed by the three junior coalition partners. In the end a compromise was reached whereby the three smaller parties maintained their absolute numbers of ministers but the total size of the cabinet was increased to 24 in order to give the Moderates a higher share of the posts. The Moderates got 13 ministerial posts, the Centre and Liberal parties four each, and the Christian Democrats three. There were 13 male and 11 female ministers.

The Alliance government's second term in office looks liable to become more difficult than the 2006–2010 term. The Sweden Democrats are represented in all standing parliamentary committees and the party's potentially pivotal position will be a factor to be reckoned with throughout the forthcoming term. In order to get its bills through, the government has to secure cross-bloc support from the Social Democrats or the Greens or to hope that the Sweden Democrats do not side with the opposition. Any kind of deal with the latter party is out of the question: the

government, like the red-green parties, has explicitly ruled out all forms of co-operation with the Sweden Democrats. Ad hoc cross-bloc deals were made somewhat easier when the red-green pact was discontinued in late October, but far-reaching agreements between the government and the Social Democrats or Greens are unlikely. Political instability could increase in the coming years.

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The parliamentary and presidential elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, October 2010

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1. Background

From 1992 to 1995, the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina claimed the lives of about 100,000 people (Research and Documentation Center, n.d.) and dominated the headlines in European newspapers. The blood was shed over the question of whether the state should be split or continue to exist in its internationally recognized borders. While most Bosniacs (44% of the pre-war population) preferred a single state with a unitary system, most Serbs (31%) and also many Croats (17%) favoured secession from Bosnia-Herzegovina (Burg and Shoup, 1999). The General

Framework Agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina, signed in Dayton, Ohio, in 1995, ended the war but fulfilled neither the call for a single, unitary state nor the separatist ambitions. Instead, the peace accords prescribed the establishment of democratic institutions with rigid provisions for power-sharing between Bosniacs, Serbs, and Croats. Moreover, the 'institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina' in the capital Sarajevo received only few responsibilities, whereas the two federal units or 'Entities', the Federation¹ and Republika Srpska, obtained most competencies

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¹ The Entity's full name is Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The article, however, only uses the abbreviated name in order to avoid confusion about whether the state level or the Entity level is meant.

Table 1

The major parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(Predominantly) Bosniac parties	(Predominantly) Serb parties	(Predominantly) Croat parties	Multi-ethnic parties
Party of Democratic Action (SDA)	Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	Croat Democratic Community (HDZ)	Social Democratic Party (SDP)
Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SBiH)	Serb Democratic Party (SDS)	Croat Democratic Commonness 1990 (HDZ 1990)	
Alliance for a Better Future (SBB)	Party of Democratic Progress (PDP)		

including defence policy. While Republika Srpska is a centralised Entity, the Federation consists of ten Cantons.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is characterised not only by a complex political system but also by an enormous number of political parties. Within all of the three constituent peoples (Bosniacs, Serbs, and Croats), dozens of parties compete for the votes of their respective ethnic group. The most important of these are listed in Table 1. In the Bosniac camp, the most relevant formations are the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), once dominated by the late Alija Izetbegović, and the Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina (SBiH). The Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD), with Milorad Dodik at its head, has been the largest Serb party since the elections in 2006. The Serb Democratic Party (SDS), once the party of Radovan Karadžić, had dominated the Serb political scene during the war and most post-Dayton years. The Croat Democratic Community (HDZ) has always been the most influential Croat political organisation. The Croat Democratic Commonness 1990 (HDZ 1990) emerged as the largest HDZ splinter party. Moreover, some political parties claim to have a multi-ethnic or non-ethnic orientation – for instance, the Social Democratic Party (SDP).

After the war, the international peace missions perceived elections as an indicator of whether political parties and citizens accepted the Dayton Agreement and the resulting shared state. Peace-builders inferred progress when the votes for pro-Dayton parties increased, and perceived a setback in the case of a triumph by anti-Dayton parties or candidates. The results of parliamentary and presidential elections in 2006 bore out the warnings of experts that elections can deepen the cleavages in ethnically divided post-war societies (Reilly, 2002). During the campaign, the biggest Bosniac parties frequently demanded the abolition of Republika Srpska and the curtailment or even the repeal of power-sharing in the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Republika Srpska's Prime Minister, on the other hand, repeated threats to organize a referendum on his Entity's independence (Gromes, 2006).

Due to the power-sharing provisions, the largest Bosniac, Serb, and Croat parties have had to co-operate in order to build majorities in Sarajevo as well as at the Entity level. Nevertheless, since the elections in 2006, these parties have continued their disputes over the existence and the structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and have thus led their state into a permanent crisis. Thus, the ethnic cleavages within the governments have been much more prominent than struggles between government and opposition.

2. Electoral systems

Six elections were held on 3 October 2010:

- to the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina;
- to the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina;
- to the House of Representatives of the Federation;
- to the Cantonal Assemblies in the Federation (not dealt within this note);
- to the Presidency of Republika Srpska;
- to the National Assembly of Republika Srpska.

Bosnia and Herzegovina's Presidency consists of three members. The citizens in Republika Srpska elect the Serb member, while the voters in the Federation elect the Bosniac member and the Croat member by a simple majority. Any citizen in the Federation can decide whether he or she votes for a Bosniac or a Croat member. Thus, Bosniacs can vote for the Croat seat in the Presidency and Croats may play a part in electing the Bosniac member (*Centralna Izborna Komisija*, 2010, ch. 8). As noted below, this cross-over played an important part in the 2010 election.

The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina consists of two chambers: the House of Peoples and the House of Representatives. The delegates in the House of Peoples are elected indirectly. The second chamber of the Federation's parliament elects five Bosniac and five Croat members to the House of Peoples, while Republika Srpska's National Assembly elects five Serb delegates. Bosnia and Herzegovina's House of Representatives is elected by the citizens. The voters in the Federation (FBiH) elect 28 members, while the citizens in Republika Srpska (RS) elect 14 representatives. In the Federation, 21 seats are elected from five multi-member constituencies by a proportional representation formula (Sainte-Laguë method). Mandates are only allocated to parties which cross a 3% threshold in the constituency. Additionally, seven compensatory mandates are allocated among parties or coalitions which win more than 3% of the valid votes in the entire Entity. Applying the same procedures in Republika Srpska, citizens elect nine representatives from three multi-member constituencies and five representatives with a compensatory mandate (*Centralna Izborna Komisija*, 2010, ch. 9).

The House of Representatives in the Federation comprises 98 seats. About three quarters of seats are elected via multi-member constituencies; the remaining quarter is reserved for compensatory mandates. Again, the proportional representation formula and 3% thresholds apply. Additionally, the election law tries to guarantee

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