VOTE AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION IN ROMANIA: A GEOGRAPHIC-HISTORICAL APPROACH, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE REGIONAL AND LOCAL DEVELOPMENT (part I)

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Abstract: This work proposes to present, in a spatial-temporally prospective, the convergences and the differentiation between the percent of electoral vote and the percent of parliamentary political parties. We considered that spatial-temporally repartition of these electoral realities is necessary for the sustainable regional and local development.


Key words: vote, political parties, parliamentary representation, spatial-temporally prospective, local and regional development

Cuvinte cheie: vot, formaţiuni politice, reprezentare parlamentară, perspectivă spaţio-temporală, dezvoltare locală şi regională

1. PROBLEMATIC

We proposed a comparative presentation from a chrono-spatial perspective, distribution of vote options of the citizens, on the one hand and the distribution of parliamentary seats from the first elections for Common Assemblies of Walachia and Moldova, established by adoption of the Organic Regulations of both principalities (1831-1832) until the last parliamentary consultations at the beginning of the third millennium. We have made this approach and starting from a finding that such an approach was not achieved until now in Romania, at the national level for such a large period of time\(^1\). Starting from

\(^1\) There have been several studies, both nationally and regionally, for various periods. Among those treating the problem at national level, without being exhaustive, mention: I. C. Filitti (for the Organic Regulation), Leonida Colescu (referring to pre-war Romania), Ioan Lăcustă (on inter-war elections), D. C. Giurescu, Virgiliu Țărău Ioan Marius Bucur, Petre Țurlea (dealing elections in 1946), Violette Rey, Octavian Groza, Ion Ianoș, Maria Pătroescu, Voicu Bodocan, Alexandru Iliș, Ion Nicole (for the period after 1990). At regional level, there are works relating to the intra-carpathic regions for Transylvania – Voicu Bodocan, Crișana and Maramureș - Alexandru Iliș and Banat - Remus Crețan.
this premise, we believe that space-time allocations of these realities are political-electoral importance in the context of sustainable development in regional and local levels.

2. METHODOLOGY

The methodology involved gathering information from various sources (especially collection Monitor Journal until 1939 and 1990, a body PCR (Scânteiia) in the period 1945-1989, but some Internet sites: www.transindex.ro, the website of Central Electoral Bureau, etc.). He followed the introduction in computer processing and electronic database, filling the bases, estimates, interpolation made on the basis of existing data, finding a uniform level of representation, as administrative unit, which allegedly recalculation of data, particularly for the post-war period. Finally, the maps were drawn up, at synthesis (emphasizing space-time allocation of various political orientations, both before and after 1918). Due to the large volume of data processed and objective limits imposed by the programs they have been centralized and cartographical representations, but taking into account historical and Romanian space periodisation, we used the “temporal limit” 1918. Thus, two different periods, virtually equal time: a pre-war period, in which data and maps refer to “small Romania” (Moldavia, Muntenia, Oltenia temporarily southern Basarabia - 1857-1878, Dobrogea - since 1878, but the politico-parliamentary only in 1912) and an inter-war and post-war period (1919), the data refers to Great Romania (until 1940), respectively the current territory of the country after World War II\(^2\). On a political-electoral year 1918 is important because it is the last in which the vote was made based cense, 1919, the Parliament of Great Romania being elect on the basis of universal suffrage\(^3\).

Although these intervals are unequal in terms of duration, taking into account the realities of historical, geographical-political and of vote system, these two periods are divided into several sub-periods: They differ, making a sub-period of Organic Regulation (1831-1849\(^4\)), a sub-period of transition, from Assemblies ad-hoc until the end of the reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1857-April 1866\(^5\)), a sub-period of the Principality of autonomous Romania (November 1866-1883\(^6\)) and a sub-period of the independent Kingdom of Romania until 1918\(^7\). On the other hand, after 1918, are distinguished: an inter-war sub-

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\(^2\) Intervals at which we report text and cartographic material refers to the first and last electoral year of the period or sub-period mentioned.

\(^3\) Although there have been and exceptions: in 1864 and 1866, plebiscites organized by Alexandru Ioan Cuza (first), respectively Locotenenta Domnească (second), all citizens adult male have voted. On the other hand, the inter-war period, universal suffrage was granted only adult men, women received the right to vote only in 1939 (when it is reintroduced, but census), it is generalized after World War II.

\(^4\) In 1849 the legislatures of the two Danubian Principalities, established under the Convention from Balta-Limă, concluded between Tsarist Empire and Ottoman Empire were (re) named Assemblies (Divanuri) ad-hoc.

\(^5\) Although Prince Cuza abdicated in February 11 elections in April 1866 were not conducted according to the voting censitar system in 4 colleges, which was implemented in the autumn the same year. As in other sub-periods, elections have all been based census, including a very small portion of the Romanian adult electorate.

\(^6\) Although Romania was proclaimed independent in May 1877, the Declaration of Independence being recognized at the international Conference on Peace in Berlin (1878), and the proclamation of the Kingdom occurred at 10 May 1881, we considered that such a limit of this sub-period year 1883, the last in which elections were held in 4 electoral colleges.

\(^7\) Since 1884, the censitar system of voting applied to 3 electoral colleges, including the year 1918, when elections are held (by signing the Peace of Bucharest).
period (1919-1939⁸), a totalitarian sub-period (1946-1985⁹) and a post-Decembrist democracy sub-period¹⁰.

On the other hand, as regards the achievement of maps, regardless of the size of the Romanian state, the average profile of classes and dendrograms, the scale on which they are represented is the same.

3. PROBLEMS

In the work of documentation, making the database and maps, we had solved several problems:

- No, for certain intervals, of detailed data at the level administrative units taken into account;
- Extraordinary instability at political-administrative divisions, both external (continuous change in the boundaries between 1831 and 1945) and internal (frequently intervention of the authorities which have changed both the outlines and size of these administrative units, became, successively, ținuturi and counties - 1831-1859, and then only counties - until 1939, ținuturi - 1939, the county again - until 1950, regions - 1950-1968, with repeated changes of their number and size and again counties, in 1968, without all those previous to reappear and changes in the number and their status: 1981: the emergence of Călărași and Giurgiu counties and the establishment of the agricultural sector Ițiof, subordinated capital and said, and he, county, in 1996¹¹;
- Changes occurring both in terms of political formations related to certain guidelines (especially after 1919) and linked to one party or another to a certain political orientation (employment difficulties of PNȚ conservatism in the interwar period, PD "migration" from socialism into communism, PUR / PC from socialism to liberalism, etc.);
- We included in this sub-period and the year 1939, when the only political force participating in elections was "unique royal party", the Front of National Rebirth. We resorted to this solution because the territory to which they relate electoral results is that of Great Romania.

³ We included in this sub-period and the year 1939, when the only political force participating in elections was "unique royal party", the Front of National Rebirth. We resorted to this solution because the territory to which they relate electoral results is that of Great Romania.

⁹ This sub-period can be divided into two intervals: one of transition (1946-1948), during which his mimed the pluri-partitism and one dominated by "single party" (1952-1985), which is subordinated Front of Popular Democracy (1952-1965), Front of Socialist Unity (1969-1975), Front of Democracy and Socialist Unity (1980-1985). In the latter period, under scrutiny were recorded and a number of "votes against the" little insignificant in the plan of percentages.

¹⁰ And this sub-period can be split into two: a period of transition from totalitarianism to democracy (1990-1992), dominated by the (Democratic) Front of National Salvation and another before the integration into NATO and the European Union (1996-2007).

¹¹ We called for these cases to a "synthetic" fund map, based on administrative limits of inter-war Romania (which, however, has been taken into account and borders the country at that time). Although it had been perhaps better to use existing county limits, we resorted to this cartographic base for several reasons: until 1948, including data related to the old districts (in Moldova - ținuturi before 1862), small territorial changes between them; the administrative inter-war limits, and several counties, so the smaller sizes than those currently allows a slightly greater detail cartographic representations and for the totalitarian sub-period, given that there was practically a single "competitor", which obtain over 95% of the votes and all the mandates, conducting assessments until 1985 was much simplified; finally, after 1990, of the voting were published in detail until the communal level (except only elections in 1990, when, but there was a winner posted - FSN), which allowed the use of the same administrative borders.
- Falsification of results of elections in 1946 has compelled us that, based upon the correct existing (very incomplete) to try estimates\(^\text{12}\) of actual weights of the political orientations to this poll, which is why, for political orientations represented then, we have prepared three maps\(^\text{13}\).

- The disparity since the inter-war period, between the vote (granted to coalitions, unions, blocs, federations, etc.) and seats (usually broken down by political formations related to certain orientations), it makes some political orientations are not reflected among options to vote, even if that political orientation is represented in parliament, votes for a particular orientation have been allocated taking into account the strongest formation, which printed the direction and emphasis of the alliance (e.g. National Union - 1931-1932, liberal orientation, being led by the PNL; block of Democratic Parties - 1946-1948, targeting communist, PCR is imposing and well before much best ally, PSD, which he obliged, two years later to the merger, resulting " the party's unique working class ", PMR; Democratic Convention of Romania - 1992-2000, targeting popular, controlled by PNT-CD, D.A. Alliance PNL-PD - 2004-2007, in which PNL tried to be "prime violin", by its leader, who remained at the head of the Government etc.);

- Centralized data, processed and represented cartografic not refer to the Senate, primarily due time discontinuity of its existence (appeared in 1864 and was abolished during the communist interval), but also that a fairly significant part of its members was designated by appointment or take the place designated by law, under these circumstances, this information relates to the votes for and mandates assigned in Common Assemblies (1831-1847), Assemblies ad-hoc (1849-1857), Electives Assemblies (1858-April 1866), the Assembly of Deputies (November 1866-1946), Great National Assembly (1948-1985) and the Chamber of Deputies (1990-2004).

The material is presented, and in these cases, a preliminary character, and the findings have the same status, and there is the possibility of flaws, for which we apologize with anticipation.

### 4. VOTE AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION (1831-2007)

#### 4.1. Pre-war/modern period (1831-1918)

He characterized the right to vote granted a small part of the electorate, mostly based census\(^\text{14}\), the main purpose being, initially, control of boyars on parliamentary life, and then, after 1880, sharing power between conservative and liberals, they finally -

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\(^{12}\) These estimates are based on the results closer to reality, the two sources of an inestimable value. It is the work published by Virgiliu Țărău and Ioan Marius Bucur, *Electoral strategies and policies in the parliamentary elections of 19 November 1946*, p. 204-212. On the other hand, we used very documented work history D. C. Giurescu, *The falsifiers. “Elections” in 1946*, where, at p. 337-339, is a table containing percent, “intermediary” between real data and published officially percent who were notified by PCR, with internal movement. To have real data presumptive reconstituted percentages in each county level from the table at p. 341 of the same work, taking into account the weight of the item in each Romanian county population and urban / rural (taking as the basis of 1941 data censuses - Romanian and Hungarian - and 1948).

\(^{13}\) It is a map (starting each from official data, communicated by PCR, respectively estimates), for all ranges including the year 1946.

\(^{14}\) The constitutional-electoral reform in 1884 allowing citizens to vote and literate adults (this being equivalent to census), which led to the expansion of the electoral college body of the third, both in rural and urban in that.
exponents of the Romanian emerging bourgeoisie. That is why, the parliamentary majority, clearly defined, was recruited from these political orientations.

4.1.1. Sub-period of Organic Regulations

The reforms carried out under the control of Russian Gen. Pavel Kiseleff, completed in the politico-legal promulgation by Organic Regulation (1 July 1831 - in Wallachia and 1 January 1832 - in Moldavia), have provided and designation for the Danubian Principalities with elected legislative institutions\textsuperscript{15}. The second Common Assemblies were, in reality, some "parliaments of boyars", chosen basically, a small number of vote (a few thousand voters).\textsuperscript{16} The statistical data related to ținuturi (Moldavia) and counties (Wallachia).\textsuperscript{17} Spatial distribution of votes for the period 1831-1849 shows the level of most administrative units, a preference, slightly above average, the electorate guidance for liberal candidates, while in the two capitals, Bucharest and Iași, one notes preponderance of votes for the conservative.\textsuperscript{18} The legislative assemblies have been part and the two metropolits - who were appointed as its new president - and bishops, vote for them in making the counties in which they were established.\textsuperscript{19} Because nobody knows which groups they belonged, we included these representatives of the clergy under "others and independent."

Parliamentary Seats in the same period have a crono-spatial distribution virtually identical.

\textsuperscript{15} Previously, Sfatul (Divanul) Domnesc was based on appointment by the ruler of its members, or heritage site by those boyars, about inherited.

\textsuperscript{16} For this period we based largely on paper published by I. C. Filitti, Romanian Reigns under Organic Regulation. 1834-1848. More comprehensive information can be found in Annals of Parliamentary, but the current state of documentation, we appeal, in large part, on estimates.

\textsuperscript{17} Until 1834 there were in Moldavia and (mut of Herta (unified with Dorohoi), Hârlău (divided between Iași and Botoșani) and Cârligătura (shared between Iași and Roman), while in Wallachia, the county Baltă (and divided between Mehedinți and Dolj) and Secuieni (with the territory assigned neighbors Prahova and Buzău) have disappeared in 1841. Data relating to these administrative units were reallocated ținuturi / counties that were unified.

\textsuperscript{18} Until after principalities Union is difficult to talk about the shape of political orientations for the purposes of future parliamentary parties, which will cluster in the first years of the reign of Carol I. main goal of most political leaders of Wallachia and Moldova was Union (they being grouped in the so-called "National Party"), embraced the creed and a significant part of the great boyars of which will recruit representatives of the current conservative future. However, taking into account that the vast boyars have their residence in the two capitals, and considering that it had visions conservative, we included representatives from its conservative orientation.

\textsuperscript{19} Precise information relating to vote for the representatives of clergy found I. C. Filitti, op. cit., p. 42.
Fig. 1. Crono-spatial distribution of votes on political formations in the Danubian Principalities (1831-1849). Ascending hierarchical classification.

4.1.2. Sub-period of transition from Assemblies ad-hoc at the beginning of the reign of Carol I (1857-April 1866)

This is a "sub-period of transition" and because of the difficulty of finding a certain continuity of the electorate voting for one or other of the orientations. Also, following the Peace Conference in Paris (1856), which took in question and the Romanian principalities, following the wishes of the two ad-hoc Assembly (1857) of Union of two Romanian states, the Electives Assemblies Elective, chosen on under the Paris Convention (1858), voted the same ruler, Alexandru Ioan Cuza, realize the Union (January 1859). All his reign, and those few months of his abdication Cuza and promulgation of the 1866 Constitution have, in the constitutional law, under the sign of the Paris Convention (amended in 1864, Cuza, that "Developer Statute"). All the mentioned Peace Conference, the principalities (1862 - Romania) plus 3 southern counties of Bessarabia, awarded in 185620.

With respect to the voters preferences are notes, however, the shape of a predominantly liberal area around Bucharest and southern Moldavia, Northern, Western Wallachia and a great part of Oltenia, preferred shy the conservative (this class have over half of the number of administrative units: 18 of 33). There are several administrative units - Bacău, Râmnicul Sărat, Muscel, Mehedinți - where one finds "alternance" vote conservative-liberals.

In broadly follows parliamentary representation of voter preferences, the fund of oscillations between the two current political mentioned distinguish, however, one of the dominant conservative mandates. Administrative Divisions mainly over the average liberal mandates are only Vaslui, Cahul, Covurlui - in the old Principality of Moldavia - Ialomîta, Dâmboviţa and Dolj in southern of new Principality of united Romania. The distinguished and several administrative units with alternance a political dominance between liberals and conservative, broadly the same as the distribution of votes (plus Putna). Seats allocated to church representatives’ sides are allocated in the both Assemblies until the Union before 1864, the parliamentary seats being assigned clergy included in the composition of the Ponderator Corps (called Senate, 1866).

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20 Given that later (during 1918-1940), its territory was unified with county Ismail, we combined data for the county Bolgrad for mentioned administrative unit.
Fig. 2. Crono-spatial distribution of votes on political formations in the Romanian United Principalities (1857-April 1866). Ascending hierarchical classification.

Fig. 3. Crono-spatial distribution of seats on the political formations in the Romanian United Principalities (1857-April 1866).
Ascending hierarchical classification.
4.1.3. Sub-period of transition from the autonomous Principality to independence and proclamation of the Kingdom (November 1866-1883)

After voting in the 1866 Constitution, which enshrined the same census vote, in 4 colleges, socio-professional category remained the boyars assisted with conservative political preferences, but with an emerging bourgeoisie, adept of liberal ideas. Actually, towards the end of sub-period appear and the first parliamentary political parties itself: the National Liberal Party (1875) and the Conservative Party (1880), both dominated with authority the pre-war Romanian political life. Although, as the following sub-period, this overlap is a part of the long reign of Carol I, we have taken action to separate the two sub-periods, circumscribed to the leadership for several reasons. The first years of rule have meant early modernizing Romania, which has moved from the Principality autonomous tributary still ottoman Empire, Independence (1877), an internationally recognized year later, which in the same year, he received Dobrogea (but had to return to the Tsarist Empire southern Basarabia) and proclaimed Kingdom in 1881. The end of this first part of the reign of Carol I is the constitutional reform of 1883, following which, in the election of 1884, from 4 colleges are moving to 3, the system of voting remaining, but based on census vote.

In view of these coordinated historical-political-electoral, the vote reflected a preference for the two major current political: liberal and conservative. What, timid, begun to distinguish a sub-period in the previous contour catch now clearly: west and south of Wallachia, west of Oltenia, but also southern Moldavia were targeted specifically to vote for the Liberals, while the rest of the counties preferably to the vote, more than average, conservative. Against this background, it is noted some counties - few, however - from passing pro-conservative vote, to tend, after 1879, to transform the mostly Oltenia and a large part of Wallachia in the fief-liberals.21 It states of counties Gorj, Vâlcea, Olt, Dâmbovița, Brăila, which, timid, and join the two Moldavian counties: Neamț and Botoșani.

Crono-spatial distribution of seats is practically identical, and explaining it, the proclamation of the Independence of state of Romania, dominance over a decade of Liberal-level parliamentary and government. The shape, actually, a mostly conservative Moldavia and left a space of Muntenia and Oltenia more favorable liberal ideas.

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21 Between 1876 and 1888 is the longest period of government in the history of democratic parliamentary life in Romania, not only of a single party (PNL), but even the same Prime Minister (I. C. Brătianu).
Fig. 4. Crono-spatial distribution of votes on political formations in Romania (November 1866-1883). Ascending hierarchical classification.

Repartiţia crono-spaţială a voturilor pe formaţii politice în România (noiembrie 1866-1883). Clasificare ascendent ierarhică.
Fig. 5. Crono-spatial distribution of seats on the political formations in Romania (November 1866-1883). Ascending hierarchical classification.
Repartiția crono- spațială a mandatelor pe formațiuni politice în România (noiembrie 1866-1883). Clasificare ascendent ierarhică.
4.1.4. Sub-period of pre-war Kingdom of Romania (1884-1918)

This overlap, for the most part, over the same rule Carol I as king of Romania, adding the long-range and the last 4 years of "Small Romania", overlapping over the first World War and over the first years of the reign of Ferdinand, because keeping the same electoral system based on census vote in 3 colleges. The country continued the process of modernization, in which not only political, Dobrogea has a separate note. Thus, in the election, voters have not voted Dobrogea’s electors than in 1912 and the Quadrilater - at all, until after World War I (although he had been assigned to southern Dobrogea at Romania in 1913). Actually, all four counties of Dobrogea have not had how to vote in 1918, because at that time, no longer belonged practically Romania, being occupied by the Central Powers. Although decided the country already Union (March 1918), has abstained Basarabia at the beginning of summer the same year from a vote which gave net gain of conservatives concerned, the conditions under which voters in Muntenia and Oltenia were presented at turnout among the Austro-German occupation. Modernization of Romanian life meant and numerical growth, modest, yet the urban proletariat, and the backdrop of granting voting rights of literate electors, allowed the beginning of diversification Romanian political spectrum, shy, to end of the XIX century (one, two deputies social-democrats), but more and more clear after 1910, when it occurs and the first big split one of the major parties: the emergence of the Conservative-Democratic Party seem revocation signal the beginning of the Conservative Party, produced by Great Union. Still now, while a quarter of the century, social-democracy will do, often, the emergence of Parliament, although the modest share. Appear at the same time, and the first symptoms of nationalist-extremist, as a preamble of the inter-war right-extremist.

Against this background, political-historical, there are two classes: a trend with an easy to vote more than the national average for liberals until 1905, and then - for conservative and a second - with a somewhat opposite behavior. From the first class are, this time, many counties in western Moldova, but also traditional South Wallachian (including capital) and county Mehedinți, and the second - frame eastern Moldavia (including the former capital, Iași, the conservative tradition), Northern Wallachia and some counties located the one hand and across the Olt. It is, and a third class, with a vote, somewhat equally, a long time, liberals and / or conservatives (that, every ballot will be titled "balance" the vote that made the PNL and the PC and to share almost "between brothers" the years of government) west of Muntenia, Dolj County, the counties of the "axis" of Siret in Moldavia (Botoșani, Roman, Tecuci). Almost constantly liberal were kept Gorj and Râmnicul Sărat, while class consists of the counties of northern Dobrogea is difficult to falling somewhere, due to the presence of the vote in only two polls (1912 and 1914). The vote in 1912 and PCD, consisting of conservative dissidents, liberal reforms favorable (agrarian reform and universal suffrage) and PNL (1914) there is a slight preference to liberals and their allies.

The voting system done and this time as a political mandate to reflect practically the same space-time distribution, and specifies the electorate vote.
Fig. 6. Crono-spatial distribution of votes on political formations in Romania (1884-1918). Ascending hierarchical classification.

Repartiția crono-spațială a voturilor pe formațiuni politice în România (1884-1918). Clasificare ascendentă hierarhică.
Fig. 7. Crono-spatial distribution of seats on the political formations in Romania (1884-1918). Ascending hierarchical classification.

Repartiția crono-spațială a mandatei pe formațiuni politice în România (1884-1918). Clasificare ascendent ierarhică.
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