

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems
Module 3: Macro Report

June 05, 2006

Country: France
Date of Election: 10 and 17 June 2007 (legislative elections)

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Date of Preparation: November 2007

NOTES TO COLLABORATORS:

- The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated! Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g., electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.
- Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.
- Where brackets [] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an “X” within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]
- If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered

1a. Type of Election

- Parliamentary/Legislative
 Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential
 Presidential
 Other; please specify: _____

Note: The legislative election followed presidential elections, held on 22 April and 6 May 2007.

1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?

- Upper House
 Lower House
 Both
 Other; please specify: _____

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election?

UMP

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election?

UMP

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u>
UMP	29
UDF	1
Without affiliation	2

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

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3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election?

UMP

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election?

UMP

3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u>
UMP	14
NC	1
Without affiliation (formerly PS)	1

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

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4a. How many political parties received votes in the election? In this answer, we want political parties, not merely alliances or coalitions of political parties. Please include all parties that received votes, but do not include independents. Where coalitions are present, please count all member parties separately – for instance, a coalition of three parties would count as three parties in your answer, not as one party.

No official figures. However, there were 7634 candidates (in 577 constituencies) and 70 parties were eligible for public subsidies.

4b. Please provide a source of data and link to a website with official, detailed election results (votes and seats) for all parties participating in the election. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format if possible.

http://www.interieur.gouv.fr/sections/a_votre_service/resultats-elections/LG2007/index.html

4c. Please list all parties who received at least 1% of the vote nationally, and the applicable electoral results for each, in the following table. Please indicate the source (even if the same as in Question 4b), and add additional rows to the table as necessary. Please provide party names both in English and in the original language, if applicable.

Source: CEVIPOF – CDSP data banks

Party Name	Number of Votes First round	% of Vote	Number of Votes Second round	% of Vote	Number of Seats	% of Seats
UMP (Union pour un Mouvement Populaire – Union for a Popular Movement)	10 289 028	39.54%	9 463 408	46.37%	313	54.2%
NC (Nouveau Centre – New Center)	416 361	2.04%	432 921	2.12%	17	3.8%
MPF (Mouvement pour la France – Movement for France)	312 587	1.20%	0	0%	1	0.2%
PS (Parti socialiste – Socialist Party)	6 436 136	24.73%	8 622 529	42.25%	186	32.2%
PCF (Parti communiste français – French communist party)	1 115 719	4.29%	464 739	2.28%	15	2.6%
Les Verts (Greens)	845 884	3.25%	90 975	0.45%	4	0.7%
PRG (Parti radical de gauche – Left radical party)	343 580	1.32%	333 189	1.63%	7	1.2%
MoDem (UDF Mouvement démocrate – UDF democratic movement)	1 981 121	7.61%	100 106	0.49%	3	0.5%
FN (Front National –	1 116 005	4.29%	17 107	0.08%	0	0%

National Front)						
LCR (Ligue communiste révolutionnaire – Revolutionary communist league))	528 500	2.03%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	23 384 921	90.3%	19 524 974	95.67%	546	95.4%

4d. What was the voter turnout in the election?

First round: 60.42%

Second round: 59.98%

4e. Please provide the following six statistics for the country at the time of the election studied, so that we may calculate voter turnout in various ways. Some definitions, where provided, are based on those developed by International IDEA.

- Total Population: 67 300 000

Definition: The total population includes all inhabitants, of all ages, both citizens and non-citizens (including illegal aliens).

- Total Number of Voting Age Citizens: 48 488 000

Definition: This number is meant to approximate the eligible voting population.

- Total Vote: 26 521 822 (first round)

Definition: The total number of votes cast in the relevant election. Total vote includes valid and invalid votes, as well as blank votes in cases where these are separated from invalid votes.

- Total Number of Invalid and Blank Votes: 495 357 (first round)

- Voting Age Population: 51 288 000

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

- Number of Registered Voters: 43 895 833

Definition: The figure represents the number of names on the voters' register at the time that the registration process closes, as reported by the electoral management body.

5. Ideological family of political parties. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. Les Verts	Ecology Parties
B. LCR Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire	Communist Parties (Trotskyst)
C. PCF Parti communiste	Communist Parties
D. PS Parti socialiste	Socialist Parties
E. UDF Modem Mouvement des Démocrates	Christian Democratic Parties
F. UMP	Conservative Parties
G. Front National	National Parties
H.	
I.	

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation.)

(A) Ecology Parties

(B) Communist Parties

(C) Socialist Parties

(D) Social Democratic Parties

(E) Conservative Parties

(F) Left Liberal Parties

(G) Liberal Parties

(H) Right Liberal Parties

(I) Christian Democratic Parties

(J) National Parties

(K) Independents

(L) Agrarian Parties

(M) Ethnic Parties

(N) Regional Parties

(O) Other Parties

7. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)? Rank them according to their salience (1 = most salient).

1. Result of the previous presidential election (won by Nicolas Sarkozy, UMP)
2. Change in party strategy from the UDF (embodied by the change of name UDF MoDem): left the traditional right-wing alliance but no agreement came to force with the left wing parties.
3. Debate about 'social VAT' (new government appointed by the new President reasserted that an increase of VAT to decrease salary charges was possible); more salient between first and second round.
4. Environment (new government was created with a particularly large ministerial department for the environment; sustainable growth was put to the fore)
5. European integration (after the no to the European constitutional treaty in May 2005, debates about how should the new treaty be designed and consequently ratified in France)

8. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates:

In the table below, report the leader(s) of each party. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I). If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this.

Party Name	Name of Party Leader	Name of Presidential Candidate, if appropriate
A. Les Verts	Cécile Duflot	Dominique Voynet
B. LCR Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire	Collegial leadership	Olivier Besancenot
C. PCF Parti communiste	Marie-George Buffet	Marie-George Buffet
D. PS Parti socialiste	François Hollande	Ségolène Royal
E. UDF Modem Mouvement des Démocrates	François Bayrou	François Bayrou
F. UMP	Formerly Nicolas Sarkozy, who resigned after his presidential victory in May	Nicolas Sarkozy
G. Front National	Jean-Marie Le Pen	Jean-Marie Le Pen
H.		
I.		

9a. Fairness of the Election

How impartial was the body that administered the election law?

- Very impartial
- Mostly impartial
- Not very impartial
- Not impartial at all

9b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?

- Yes
- No

9c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?

- Yes
- No
- No international election observers

9d. On what date was the election originally scheduled to be held?

June, 10 and 17, 2007

9e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 1d, please explain why.

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10a. Election Violence

To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation during the election campaign and the election day?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?

- Geographically concentrated
- National

10c. Post-Election (and election-related) Violence

To what extent was there violence following the election?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10d. Post-Election (and election-related) Protest

To what extent was there protest following the election?

- No protest at all
- Sporadic protest
- Significant protest

Questions about the Possibilities of Electoral Alliance

Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

11. Joint Lists/Candidates

There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are explicitly interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.

Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

- Yes
 No, but neither forbidden

Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

- Yes, across constituencies (single member districts)
 No

If “Yes” was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

Alliance Name	Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an “*”)
Alliance 1: Presidential majority	UMP*, New Center
Alliance 2: Left	PS*, PRG, Verts
Alliance 3:	
Alliance 4:	
Alliance 5:	

12. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc.

(please mark all applicable responses)

- Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
- Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
- Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the regulations governing independent parties; please specify: _____
- No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
- Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

13a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

- Yes
- No (SMD)

13b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:

- lists of the same party in the same constituency
- lists of the same party from different constituencies
- lists of different parties in the same constituency

14a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

- Yes; yet, a main endorsement has to be chosen to allocate public funding for parties
- No

14b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
[depends in fact on candidates' will]
- Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other; please explain: _____

Data on Electoral Institutions

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.

Electoral Tier (Segment) and House

15a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

First round

15b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

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Questions about Voting

16a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

Only 1.

16b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)

(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)

- Candidates
- Party Lists
- Party Bloc Voting
- Other; please explain: _____

16c. How many rounds of voting are there?

2

16d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?

- Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)
- Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)
- Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)

17. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are *transferred* from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

Yes

No

18. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

Yes

No

19. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions

Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions

Yes; Without Sanction for Violation

No

20. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

There is a second round only if no candidate garners more than 50%, which represent at least 25% of the registered voters. To move to the second round, the threshold is 12.5% of the registered voters in the constituency. Yet, if less than two candidates are above this threshold, the two candidates with more votes move to the second round.

Official texts:

- ordonnance du 13 octobre 1958 ("scrutin d'arrondissement") : appliqué pour toutes les élections (modifications en 1966, 1976 et temporairement 1985) sur le territoire métropolitain (régime différent outre mer jusqu'à l'alignement de 1973).

"Art. 1 : Les députés [...] sont élus au scrutin uninominal majoritaire à deux tours.

Art. 4 [article L126 du code électoral] : Nul n'est élu au premier tour s'il n'a réuni : 1° la majorité absolue des suffrages exprimés; 2° un nombre de suffrages égal au quart du nombre des électeurs inscrits. / Au deuxième tour, la majorité relative suffit.

Art. 14 [article L162 du code électoral] : sous réserve des dispositions de l'article 15, nul ne peut être candidat au deuxième tour s'il ne s'est présenté au premier tour et s'il n'a obtenu au moins 5% des suffrages exprimés."

- loi du 19 juillet 1976 (modification des seuils) : toujours applicable.

"Art. 1, modifiant l'article L162 du code électoral. Sous réserve des dispositions de l'article L163, nul ne peut être candidat au deuxième tour s'il ne s'est présenté au premier tour et s'il n'a obtenu un nombre de suffrages au moins égal à 12,5% du nombre des électeurs inscrits. / Dans le cas où un seul candidat remplit ces conditions, le candidat ayant obtenu après celui-ci le plus grand nombre de suffrages au premier tour peut se maintenir au second. / Dans le cas où aucun candidat ne remplit ces conditions, les deux candidats ayant obtenu le plus grand nombre de suffrages au premier tour peuvent se maintenir au second."

Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

21a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

- Yes
 No

21b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

21c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?

- Percent of total votes
 Percent of valid votes
 Percent of the total electorate
 Other; please explain: _____

21d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature. Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.

References

22. Please provide an official source for district-level election results. English language sources are especially helpful. Include website links or contact information if applicable.

www.interieur.gouv.fr , www.assemblee-nationale.fr

23. Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described. Include website links if applicable.

Blais, André and Peter John Loewen, 2009, The Electoral System and its Effects, *West European Politics*, 32 (2), forthcoming.

Perrineau, Pascal (éd.), 2008, *Le vote de rupture*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po.

Sauger, Nicolas, 2007, The French Presidential and Legislative Elections of 2007, *West European Politics*, 30 (5), pp. 1166-1175.

Sauger, Nicolas, 2008, “The French Party System: Fifty Years of Change”, in S. Brouard, A. Appleton and A. Mazur (eds), *The French Fifth Republic at Fifty*, London, Palgrave, forthcoming.

<http://www.france-politique.fr/> , cdsp.sciences-po.fr , www.cevipof.msh-paris.fr