

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems
Module 4: Macro Report

December 29, 2016

Country: Greece

Date of Election: January 25, 2015

Prepared by: Ioannis Andreadis, Associate Professor

Theodore Chadjipadelis, Professor

Eftichia Teperoglou, Lecturer

Evangelia Kartsounidou, PhD candidate

Laboratory of Applied Political Research

School of Political Sciences, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Date of Preparation: June - December 2015

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: _____

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, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

PASOK (with the support of Nea Dimokratia)

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

Prior to January 25, 2015: Nea Dimokratia (with the support of PASOK)

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. List also cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u>
prior to January 25, 2015:	
Nea Dimokratia	18
PASOK	7
Independent	1

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.

prior to January 25, 2015: 26

3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

Independent (ex ND MP and minister) proposed by SYRIZA and supported by ANEL and ND

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

after January 25, 2015: SYRIZA (with the support of ANEL)

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. List also cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u>
after January 25, 2015: SYRIZA	33
ANEL	2

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.

after January 25, 2015: 35

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. Please provide separate information for elections held contemporaneously (e.g., legislative and presidential voting), when voters cast separate ballots.

January 25, 2015: 29

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.

January 25, 2015:

Source:

[http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{"cls":"level","params":{"level":"epik","id":1}}](http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{)

	Party Name	Number of Votes	% of Vote	Number of Seats
1	Synaspismos tis Rizospatikis Aristeras-SYRIZA	2,245,978	36.34 %	149
2	Nea Dimokratia	1,718,694	27.81 %	76
3	Laikos Syndesmos - Chrisi Avgi	388,387	6.28 %	17
4	To Potami	373,924	6.05 %	17
5	Kommounistiko Komma Ellados	338,188	5.47 %	15
6	Anexartitoi Ellines	293,683	4.75 %	13
7	Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima	289,469	4.68 %	13
8	Kinima Dimokraton Sosialiston	152,557	2.47 %	
9	Enosi Kentroon	110,923	1.79 %	
10	Teleia	109,500	1.77 %	
11	Laikos Orthodoxos Synagermos	63,669	1.58 %	
12	Antarsya	39,497	0.64 %	
13	Prasinoi - Dimokratiki Aristera	29,820	0.48 %	
14	KKE (M-L), (M-L) KKE	7,999	0.13 %	
15	Enosi Dimokratikis Ethnikis Metarrithmisis	7,615	0.12 %	
16	Elliniki Laiki Dimokratiki Apeleftherosi	4,740	0.08 %	
17	EEK Trotskistes - Ergatiko Epanastatiko Komma	2,363	0.04 %	
18	Organosi Kommouniston Diethniston Elladas	1,854	0.03 %	
19	Independent Candidates	1,301	0.02 %	
20	Kinima Ethnikis Antistasis	618		

21	Elliniko Lefko Kinima Simerinis Ideologias	76
22	RO MA Rizospastiko Orthodoxo Metopo Allileggiis	16
23	An. An. Arist. (...)	1

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.

January 25, 2015:

Source:

[http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{"cls":"level","params":{"level":"epik"},"id":1}}](http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{)

	Party Name	Number of Votes	% of Vote	Number of Seats
1	Synaspismos tis Rizospatikis Aristeras-SYRIZA ΣΥΝΑΣΠΙΣΜΟΣ ΡΙΖΟΣΠΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΡΑΣ-ΣΥΡΙΖΑ	2,245,978	36.34%	149
2	Nea Dimokratia ΝΕΑ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ	1,718,694	27.81%	76
3	Laikos Syndesmos - Chrisi Avgi Λαϊκός Σύνδεσμος - Χρυσή Αυγή	388,387	6.28%	17
4	To Potami ΤΟ ΠΟΤΑΜΙ	373,924	6.05%	17
5	Kommounistiko Komma Ellados Κ.Κ.Ε. - ΚΟΜΜΟΥΝΙΣΤΙΚΟ ΚΟΜΜΑ ΕΛΛΑΔΑΣ	338,188	5.47%	15
6	Anexartitoi Ellines Ανεξάρτητοι Έλληνες (Εθν.Πατρ.Συμ.,ΑΚΚΕΛ,ΛΕΥΚΟ,Πυρ.Ελλ.,Χρ.Κομ.Ελλ.,Αν.Ελ. Π.Καμμένος)	293,683	4.75%	13
7	Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima ΠΑ.ΣΟ.Κ	289,469	4.68%	13
8	Kinima Dimokraton Sosialiston ΚΙΝΗΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΩΝ ΣΟΣΙΑΛΙΣΤΩΝ	152,557	2.47%	
9	Enosi Kentroon Ενώση Κεντρώων	110,923	1.79%	
10	Teleia Τελεία - Απόστολος Γκλέτσος	109,5	1.77%	
11	Laikos Orthodoxos Synagermos ΛΑΪΚΟΣ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΣ ΣΥΝΑΓΕΡΜΟΣ (ΛΑ.Ο.Σ.)	63,669	1.58%	
	Total	5,975,472	98.99%	300

4d. What was the voter turnout in the election? Please also provide an official Internet address (preferably) or other official source where this information is available.

January 25, 2015:

Source:

[http://ekloges-
prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{"cls":"level","params":{"level":"epik"
."id":1}}](http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{)

Voted	6,330,356	63.94 %
Registered	9,900,403	

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. Please also provide an official Internet address (preferably) or other official source where this information is available.

▪ Total Population:

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

Total Population 10,940,777

Note: The inhabitants according to the 2011 census are 8,194,089.

Source:

<http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE/PAGE-census2011>

▪ Total Number of Voting Age Citizens:

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

January 25, 2015:

Source:

[http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{"cls":"level","params":{"level":"epik","id":1}}](http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{)

Total Number of Voting Age Citizens 9,900,403

- Total Vote:

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.

January 25, 2015:

Source:

[http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{"cls":"level","params":{"level":"epik","id":1}}](http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{)

Voted	6,330,356
--------------	------------------

- Total Number of Invalid and Blank Votes:

January 25, 2015:

Source:

[http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{"cls":"level","params":{"level":"epik","id":1}}](http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{)

Invalid	114,654
Blank	34,830

- **Voting Age Population:**

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

Voting Age Population 8,184,089

Source:

<http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE/PAGE-census2011tables>

- **Number of Registered Voters:**

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.

January 25, 2015:

Source:

[http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{"cls":"level","params":{"level":"epik","id":1}}](http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{)

Registered 9,900,403

5. Ideological family of political parties. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. Synaspismos tis Rizospatikis Aristeras [SY.RIZ.A]	(F)
B. Nea Dimokratia [N.D.]	(E)
C. Laikos Syndesmos - Chrisi Avgi [L.S. - X.A.]	(O): Extreme right-wing
D. Potami	(G)
E. Kommounistiko Komma Ellados [K.K.E.]	(B)
F. Anexartitoi Ellines [AN.EL.]	(O): Right wing populist party
G. Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima [PA.SO.K.]	(D)
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 | (F) Left Liberal Parties | (K) Independents |
| (B) Communist Parties | (G) Liberal Parties | (L) Agrarian Parties |
| (C) Socialist Parties | (H) Right Liberal Parties | (M) Ethnic Parties |
| (D) Social Democratic Parties | (I) Christian Democratic Parties | (N) Regional Parties |
| (E) Conservative Parties | (J) National Parties | (O) Other Parties |

Note: We assume that the category left liberal parties (F) captures the New Left/radical left party family. Under this category the party of SYRIZA can be included.

If the category “National Parties” (J) captures nationalist parties, then the party of ANEL fits into this category since it belongs to the right-wing populist party family.

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. Austerity policies (linked to the Memorandum between the Greek government and its creditors, economic recession and levels of unemployment)**
- 2. The possibility of withdrawal / expulsion from the Euro zone**
- 3. Rejection of old two-party system and old political personnel; against corruption and vested interests.**
- 4. The refugee crisis and illegal immigration**
- 5. Restoration of role of Parliament: against growing democratic deficit in Greece under the crisis**

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 4 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. Synaspismos tis Rizospatikis Aristeras [SY.RIZ.A]	Tsipras, Alexios	
B. Nea Dimokratia [N.D.]	Samaras, Antonios	
C. Laikos Syndesmos - Chrisi Avgi [L.S. - X.A.]	Michaloliakos, Nikos	
D. Potami	Theodorakis, Stavros	
E. Kommounistiko Komma Ellados [K.K.E.]	Koutsoumbas, Dimitrios	
F. Anexartitoi Ellines [AN.EL.]	Kammenos, Panayiotis	
G. Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima [PA.SO.K.]	Venizelos, Evangelos	
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 2016. The election of 25 January 2015 was a snap election.

Note: the presidential election due in February 2015 was moved up by the coalition government of ND and PASOK to December 2014. According to the Greek Constitution, the president is elected by parliament by a two-thirds supermajority (on the first or second round) or, failing that, by a three-fifths majority on the third round of voting. The candidate nominated by the two governmental parties was Stavros Dimas, a former European Union (EU) commissioner and deputy leader of ND. However, the opposition parties had already declared that they would vote against the government nominee regardless of the choice. The leaders of SYRIZA and ANEL were fairly forthcoming in regard to their motivation to use the election of the president as a tool to force an election that would oust the ND–PASOK government. As stipulated by the Greek Constitution, the failure to elect a new president led to **snap parliamentary elections held on 25 January 2015**.

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

January 25, 2015

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

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

Yes

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.

January 25, 2015

Alliance Name	Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an “*”)
Alliance 1: Anexartitoi Ellines Ανεξάρτητοι Έλληνες (Εθν.Πατρ.Συμ.,ΑΚΚΕΛ,ΛΕΥΚΟ, Πορ.Ελλ.,Χρ.Κομ.Ελλ.,Αν.Ελ. Π.Καμμένος)	i. Ethniki Patriotiki Simmachia (Εθνική Πατριωτική Συμμαχία) ii. Agrotiko Ktinotrofiko Komma Elladas (Αγροτικό Κτηνοτροφικό Κόμμα Ελλάδας) iii. Lefko (ΛΕΥΚΟ) iv. Pyrikafstos Ellada (Πυρικός Ελλάδα) v. Christianodimokratiko Komma Anatrofis (Χριστιανοδημοκρατικό Κόμμα Ανατροπής)

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: (see below)
 No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
 Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

***Excerpt from Law 3636/2008: Article 1, Paragraph 2a
(Amendment of law 3231/2004 “Election of the Members of the Parliament”)***

*2.a. The independent Party that came first in valid votes in the electoral District of Greece, beside the seats that are allocated to it according to paragraph 1, gains fifty (50) additional seats, which are derived from the electoral districts that have seats not allocated after the conclusion of the procedure in accordance with the provisions of article 6. These additional fifty (50) seats can be also gained by a party coalition, **under the condition that the average of vote shares gained by the parties of the coalition is higher than the vote share of the largest independent party.** This average is obtained by the division of the percentage that the fore mentioned party coalition gained divided by the number of Parties that it consists of.*

13a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

- Yes
 No

~~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
 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
—— 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.

01. Law No. 3231/2004 (FEK 45/A, 11.02.2004)

02. Law No. 3636/2008 (FEK 11/A, 01.02.2008)

03. Presidential Decree No. 26 (FEK 57/A, 15.03.2012)

04. Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Interior, Election Department, Bulletin No.19 (19.04.2012)

05. Hellenic Republic, Ministry of Interior, Election Department, Bulletin No.36 (24.05.2012)

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.)~~

~~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.)~~

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.

1 (one)

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?

1 (one)

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.

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?

3%

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.

Hellenic Parliament (Βουλή των Ελλήνων)

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.

District-level election results:

January 25, 2015:

Source:

[http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{"cls":"eps","params":{}}](http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{)

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.

Elections Result:

Source: Υπουργείο Εσωτερικών

[http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{"cls":"level","params":{"level":"epik","id":1}}](http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2015a/v/public/index.html#{)

Hellenic Government / Cabinet:

Source: Γενική Γραμματεία της Κυβέρνησης

<http://www.ggk.gr/>

Demographic data:

Source: Hellenic Statistics

<http://www.statistics.gr/>