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Comparative Study of Electoral Systems

Module 2: Macro Report

Version 2002-10-23

Country (Date of Election): **17. June 2001**

NOTE TO THE COLLABORATORS: The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project- your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated! Any supplementary documents that you can provide (i.e. electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and will be made available with this report to the CSES community on the CSES web page.

Part I: Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was administered

1. Report the number of portfolios (cabinet posts) held by each party in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".)

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Portfolios</u>
UDF– United Democratic Forces	ALL

1a. What was the size of the cabinet before the election?.....**14 ministries**

2. Report the number of portfolios (cabinet posts) held by each party in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all").

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Portfolios</u>
United Democratic Forces (UDF)	None
Coalition for Bulgaria	2 (one resigned later)
National Movement Simeon the Second (NMS II)	16
Movement for Rights & Freedom (MRF)	2

2a. What was the size of the cabinet after the election? **19 ministries**

3. Political Parties (most active during the election in which the module was administered and receiving at least 3%* of the vote):

Party Name/Label	Year Party Founded	Ideological Family	European Parliament Political Group (where applicable)	International Party Organizational Memberships
A. UDF	1989	Christian Democratic	European People's Party European Democratic Union European Christian Democratic Union	
B. George Day	1997	Other Parties		
C. Bulgarian Socialist Party	1990	Socialist Parties	Party of European Socialists	Socialist International
D. National Movement Simeon the Second	2001	Social-Liberal		
E. MFR	1990	Liberal Parties		

* The threshold for a political force to enter the parliament in Bulgaria is 4% of vote i.e. 182728 number of votes for the parliamentary elections held on 17/06/2001

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).

- | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| Ecology Parties | Liberal Parties | Agrarian Parties |
| Communist Parties | Right Liberal Parties | Ethnic Parties |
| Socialist Parties | Christian Democratic Parties | Regional Parties |
| Social Democratic Parties | Conservative Parties | Other Parties |
| Left Liberal Parties | National Parties | Independents |
| | | Single Issue Parties |

The following lists provide examples of political groups and organizations that a particular party might belong to. Please report any and all international affiliations for each party.

European Parliament Political Groups:

European People's Party
European Democrats
Party of European Socialists
European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party
Confederal Group of European United Left
Nordic Green Left
Greens
European Free Alliance
Europe for the Nations
Europe of Democracies and Diversities

International Party Organizations:

Asia Pacific Socialist Organization
Caribbean Democratic Union
Christian Democratic International
Christian Democratic Organization of America
Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
Democratic Union of Africa
Eastern European Social Democratic Forum
Green Movement
Humanist Party
International Communist Union
International Democrat Union
International League of Democratic Socialists
Liberal International
Natural Law Party
Pacific Democratic Union
Organization of African Liberal Parties
Socialist International
Socialist Inter-Africa

3a. Were there any significant parties not represented in parliament *before* the election?

No

3b. Were there any significant parties not represented in parliament *after* the election?

No

3c. Were there any other non-represented parties or independent actors whom you believe to have had a significant effect on the election?

No

4a. Ideological Positions of Parties

Please indicate Parties A-F's positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). If this dimension is not appropriate, please provide an explanation of the salient cleavages, and parties' relative positions.

Party Name	LEFT										RIGHT	
A. UDF	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
B. George Day	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
C. Coalition for Bulgaria	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
D. National Movement Simeon the Second	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
E. MFR	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

4aa. Do you believe there would be general consensus on these placements among informed observers?

No, depends on their political background.
 Some of the parties are rather flexible in their positioning.
 Other parties do not indicate their political or economical views clearly enough to fall under any categorization.

4b. If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on an alternative dimension, other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings of the parties on this dimension.

NO

5. 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)?

1. Continuing and prolonged impoverishment for more than 80% of the population
2. Strong discredit/ distrust in the political elite of the last 10 years / involved in corruption scandals
3. Spread of corruption /including bribe taking/ on all levels
4. Not effective and transparent privatization of state owned enterprises

5a. Do you believe there would be general consensus about the importance of these factors among informed observers in your country?

YES, as a whole

6. Electoral Alliances:

Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the constituency level as, for example, in Finland. Documenting who is allied with whom, and how, in each constituency is a large task and we do not expect you to do more than make some general reference to the existence of constituency-level alliances. Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the national level -- these are the alliances that we would like you will identify. Information is sought on who is allied with whom and on the nature of the electoral alliance.

a) Were electoral alliances permitted during the election campaign?

No **Yes, but need to be registered before the elections** , and the following alliances were formed:

<u>Alliance Name</u>	<u>Participant Parties</u> (please indicate dominant members '*')
Alliance 1: UDF:	UDF+ People’s Union +BDSP + National MRF
Alliance 2: George Day:	George Day + IMRO
Alliance 3: Coalition for Bulgaria:	Bulgarian Socialist Party + BAPU “Alexandar Stamboliiski” + other
Alliance 4: MFR	MRF + Liberal Union + Euro-Roma

* Overall, coalitions bear the name of the biggest party in the alliance

7. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates

In legislative elections, please report the leader of each party.

In presidential elections, list presidential candidates and their parties. If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this below.

<u>Party of Candidate</u>	<u>Name of Party Leader or Presidential Candidate</u>
A. UDF	Ivan Kostov
B. George Day	Lujben Dilov Junior
C Coalition for Bulgaria:	Georgi Parvanov
D MFR	Ahmed Dogan
E. National Movement Simeon the Second:	Simeon Saxe-Coburg Gotha

Part II: 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.

A. QUESTIONS ABOUT ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

Definitions: An electoral district is defined as a geographic area within which votes are counted and seats allocated. If a district cannot be partitioned into smaller districts within which votes are counted and seats allocated, it is called primary. If it can be partitioned into primary districts, and during the counting process there is some transfer of votes and/or seats from the primary districts to the larger district, then the larger district is called secondary. If a district can be partitioned into secondary districts (again with some transfer of votes and/or seats), it is called tertiary.

In some electoral systems, there are electoral districts that are geographically nested but not otherwise related for purposes of seat allocation. In Lithuania, for example, there are 71 single-member districts that operate under a majority runoff system, and also a single nationwide district that operates under proportional representation (the largest remainders method with the Hare quota). Neither votes nor seats from the single-member districts transfer to the nationwide district, however. The two processes are entirely independent (with voters having one vote in each district). In this case, the nationwide district, although it contains the 71 single-member districts, is not considered to be secondary. It is primary. One might say that there are two segments to the electoral system in such cases.

1. How many segments (as just defined) are there in the electoral system?

Based on Excerpt from the Central Electoral Commission's bulletin "Elections for the 39th National Assembly – 17th of June 2001"

For the last 4 parliamentary elections in Bulgaria one and the same form of proportional electoral system was used. The country is divided into 31 electoral regions (each one consisting of several precincts) and each party, registered by the Central Electoral Commission, may nominate **list** of candidates in each region, registered in turn by the respective Regional Electoral Commission. Only parties who collected 4% or more of the total number of valid votes cast nation-wide participate in the distribution of parliamentary seats. Among such parties seats are distributed proportionally to the number of votes obtained in the whole country (by the formula of d'Hondt). The total number of seats won by each individual party nationally is subsequently distributed among its regional lists proportionally to the votes cast for each regional list (again by the d'Hondt formula). Then an algorithm is applied to adjust the results of the above procedure to the number of mandates for each electoral region pre-assigned by the Central Electoral Commission.

Please answer the following questions (questions 2 through 11) for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature:

2. How many primary electoral districts are there? : 31 electoral regions

3. For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from each district? Depends on the size of population in the particular region
(If district variation exists, answer 3a)

3a. If districts elect varying number of members, please list the districts, indicating the number of members elected from that district. (Attach separate sheets, as required).

Electoral Region	Number of Mandates /parliamentary seats/
Blagoevgrad	10
Bourgas	13
Varna	14
Veliko Tarnovo	9
Vidin	4
Vratsa	7
Gabrovo	4
Dobrich	7
Kardzhali	5
Kyustendil	5
Lovech	5
Montana	6
Pazardzhik	9
Pernik	5
Pleven	10
Plovdiv city	10
Plovdiv district	12
Pazgrad	5
Rousse	8
Silistra	4
Sliven	7
Smolyan	4
Sofia 1	12
Sofia 2	11
Sofia 3	12
Sofia district	8
Stara Zagora	11
Targovishte	4
Haskovo	8
Shoumen	6
Yambol	5
Total country:	240

4. How many secondary electoral districts are there?

5. How many tertiary electoral districts are there?

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.

6. Exactly how are votes cast by voters? **Secret voting by a single bulletin containing the party name and list of candidates.**

6a. How many votes do they or can they cast? **One**

6b. Do they vote for candidates, for lists, or for both? (Explain) [for list of candidates from a particular party](#)

C. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

- 11) If there are lists, are they closed, open, or flexible? please code below
- a.) [closed](#)
 - b) flexible, but in practice virtually closed?
 - c) flexible?
 - d) flexible, but in practice virtually open? or
 - e) open?

Definitions: A list is closed if the seats that are awarded to that list are always occupied by the candidates in order of their appearance on the list (i.e., if the list gets x seats then necessarily the top x names on the list get the seats). A list is open if the question of which candidates on the list get the seats that are awarded to the list is determined solely by the votes that each candidate receives. A list is flexible if parties place their candidates in the order they would like to see them elected, but voters can, with varying degrees of ease, change this order through votes they cast for individual candidates.

Please repeat questions 2 through 11 of this section for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature.

D. 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.

12) What are the possibilities of alliance in the system?

12a. Can parties run joint lists?[Yes](#)No

12b. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?Yes[No](#)

12c. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?Yes
.....[No](#)

12d. Do parties withdraw their lists or candidates in some constituencies, urging their supporters there to vote for an ally's list or candidate?[Yes](#)No

[Possible but only if done 7 days before elections. Not possible to transfer votes after the elections.](#)

Are joint lists possible?

Yes as far as the coalition of parties is registered as such before the elections are held.

13a. 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.

NO

Part III: Data on Regime Type

Below are various questions about the type of regime--presidential, parliamentary, semi-presidential--in your country. There are two potential problems with these questions that should be noted at the outset. First, in some countries there may be a discrepancy between the *de jure* (or legal) situation and the *de facto* (or practical) situation. For example, in Great Britain the Queen still possesses a legal right to veto legislation, but this right has not been exercised since 1707. In the case of such obviously obsolete powers, please answer according to the *de facto* situation. Otherwise, describe the *de jure* situation. A second potential problem is that the questions may not be phrased optimally for the situation in your particular country. In such cases, please answer as best you can, providing some indication of the difficulties as you see them.

A. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE HEAD OF STATE.

Definitions: The Head of State is typically the highest ranking official in the executive branch of government. Often, this position is held by a president or a monarch, and may be more ceremonial than effective. The Head of Government is usually the highest ranking official in the legislative branch of government. In some systems, this may be someone other than the Head of State (i.e. the prime minister in the Westminster systems), while in other cases, the roles of the Head of State and Head of Government are combined (i.e. in the United States, the president serves as both the Head of State and the Head of Government).

1. Who is the Head of State?

- President
- Monarch
- Prime Minister serves as ceremonial head of state
- Other (please specify)

2. How is the head of state selected?

- Direct election
- Indirect election
- Birth right
- Divine right
- Other (Explain)

2a. If by direct election, by what process?

Plurality election
Elections are eligible when more than half of the citizens eligible to vote have participated in the elections.

To win, the candidate needs to collect more than half of the votes nation-wide. Otherwise, within a period of 7 days elections are held again with the participation of the two candidates who collected the greatest number of votes. The one who collects more of the votes is the new president.

- Run-off or two-ballot system
- Other (Explain)

If by run-off system, how are the candidates selected for the final round?

- The (#) candidates with the highest vote totals advance to the second round
- Any candidate with at least% of the popular vote advances to the second round

2b. If by indirect election, by what process?

- Electoral college
- Selection by the legislature
- Other (Explain)

If by electoral college, how are electors chosen?.....

Does the electoral college deliberate? Yes No

What is the voting procedure used by the electoral college?
.....
.....

If by the legislature, by which chamber(s) of the legislature? What is the voting procedure used?
.....
.....

3. Does the Head of State have the following powers? [Check all that apply.]

3a. Introduce legislation?YesNo

3b. Require expedited action on specific legislation? (i.e., set a deadline by which the legislature is required to act on the bill)?YesNo

Definitions: A Head of State possesses a partial veto when he or she can target specific clauses of a piece of legislation for veto, while promulgating the rest. In the U.S., such vetoes are sometimes called line item vetoes. A Head of State possesses a package veto when he or she can veto the entire piece of legislation submitted by the legislature, but cannot veto some parts and accept others.

The president possesses both – partial and package veto. He may return twice (the second time needs to be a motivated veto) a legislation partially or entirely to the National Assembly for further debating.

3c. Package veto? NoYes, and the requirement to override the veto is
.....

3d. Partial veto? NoYes, and the requirement to override the veto is
.....

3e. Issue decrees with the power of law?YesNo

- 3f. Emergency powers? Yes No
- 3g. Negotiate treaties and international agreements? Yes, in cases defined by law
- 3h. Commander of the armed forces?YesNo
- 3j. Initiate referenda or plebiscites?YesNo
- 3k. Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality?YesNo
- 3m. Convene special legislative sessions?YesNo

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT.

Definitions: In some countries, the Head of Government is directly elected, in elections that may or may not occur concurrently with legislative elections. In these cases, the Head of Government is said to be elected independently of the legislature. In others, the Head of Government is the leader of the governing party or governing coalition in the legislature, and so, the selection of the Head of Government depends upon the distribution of seats in the legislature. In these cases, the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature.

1. Is the Head of Government elected independently of the legislature? Yes No

1a. Is the Head of Government also the Head of State? Yes No

1b. If the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature, how is the Head of Government selected?

..... Appointed by the head of state alone

..... Appointed by the legislature alone

..... Nominated by the head of state, and approved by the legislature

..... Nominated by the legislature, and approved by the head of state

..... Other (Explain):

2. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the composition of the cabinet?

[Check all that apply.]

..... Names ministers and assigns portfolios which further should be approved by the National Assembly

..... Nominates ministers for approval by the president

..... Reviews and approves ministerial nominations made by the president

..... Dismisses ministers and reassigns portfolios at own discretion which further should be approved by the National Assembly

..... Other (Explain):

The candidate for a prime minister is suggested to the President by the biggest parliamentary group (i.e. party/ coalition with the greatest number of mandates in the parliament after the parliamentary elections are held). The President introduces the candidate to the National Assembly for approval. After that the new Prime Minister nominates the ministers and assigns portfolios.

3. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the policy making process?

[Check all that apply.]

- Chairs cabinet meetings
- Determines schedule of issues to be considered by the legislature
- Determines which alternatives will be voted on by the legislature, and in which order
- Refers legislative proposals to party or legislative committees
- Calls votes of confidence in government
- Other (Explain): Assigns/ dismisses the vice prime ministers. Directs/ coordinates and is responsible for the overall government policy.

C. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE CABINET

1. By what method(s) can the cabinet be dismissed? [Check all that apply.]

- By the head of state **acting** alone
- By the prime minister **acting** alone (in case the prime minister resigns)
- By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of all legislators is required
- By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of those legislators voting is required (majority of votes of all attending legislators)
- By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Explain)
- Other (Explain):

D. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE LEGISLATURE

1. Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections?No

.....Yes,

- By the head of state **acting** alone
- By the prime minister **acting** alone
- By majority vote of the legislature: In case the cabinet is dismissed due to vote of mistrust, the President invites the second biggest parliamentary group to make a cabinet within 7 days. Failing that, the President invites the next parliamentary group. Failing that, the Presidents assigns a cabinet at his/hers discretion and at the same time announces the date for the next parliamentary elections (no later than two months)

2. If the legislature can be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections, are there restrictions on when and how the legislature can be dissolved?

[Check all that apply.]

See the above paragraph

.....On the timing of dissolution (e.g. not within one year after a legislative election) (Explain).....

.....As a response to action/inaction by the legislature (e.g. only when the legislature has censured the cabinet; only if the legislature fails to pass the budget)

(Explain).....

3. Is there a second chamber of the legislature?

No

3a. If there is a second chamber and it is indirectly elected, are those who choose its members:

- wholly regional and/or local officials?
- partly regional and/or local officials?
- not necessarily regional and/or local officials?

3b. If there is a second chamber, does it have specific and exclusive legislative powers (i.e. the power to reject the executive's proposed budget)? No..... Yes,

.....

3c. If there is a second chamber, does it have the power to remove the cabinet or censure its ministers? Yes No

E. FEDERALISM

1. Is there a constitutionally guaranteed division of power between the central government and regional and/or local governments? Yes No

The country is divided into two general types of territorial administrative units.

A. Municipalities – the unit of local self government. Local municipal authorities are elected every 4 years directly by the citizens registered to live in the particular municipality.

B. (28) Administrative regions/ districts. The district authorities are assigned by the government. The district authorities are responsible for implementation of the central government's policy.

2. Does the central government have the power to remove elected officials of regional and/or local governments? Yes with regards to the administrative districts authorities
..... No with regards to the municipal authorities

F. REFERENCE MATERIALS:

The Bulgarian Constitution and Electoral Law /as well as other materials concerning the National Assembly History/Activities, etc. are available at:

Site of the Bulgarian Government

<http://www.government.bg>

Official site of the Bulgarian National Assembly

<http://www.parliament.bg>

Official site of the Bulgarian Socialist party

<http://www.bsp.bg>

Official site of the National Movement Simeon the Second

<http://www.ndsv.bg>

Official site of the United Democratic Forces

<http://www.sds.bg>

Official site of National Movement George Day

<http://www.gergiovdn.com>

Official site of the Movement for Rights and Freedom

<http://www.dps.bg>

Information System of the Bulgarian Laws in English Language

<http://ciela.net>