

**Comparative Study of Electoral Systems**  
**Module 3: Macro Report**

June 05, 2006

Country: Greece

Date of Election: 4<sup>th</sup> October 2009

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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: Unicameral system

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

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election?  
New Democracy (Nea Dimokratia/ND)

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>
New Democracy (ND)	ALL

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.

The cabinet prior to the parliamentary election of the 4<sup>th</sup> October 2009 was composed by 44 cabinet ministers in total: the Prime Minister (Kostas Karamanlis), 16 ministers, 1 alternate minister and 26 deputy ministers. This cabinet composition is based on the latest reshuffling of that government (as of 8/29 January 2009).

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

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election?  
Pan-Hellenic Social Movement (Panellinio Socialistiko Kinima/PASOK)

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>
Pan-Hellenic Social Movement (PASOK)	ALL

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.

The cabinet which was formed after the parliamentary election of the 4<sup>th</sup> October 2011 was composed by 38 cabinet ministers in total: the Prime Minister (George Papandreou), the vice-President of the government (Theodoros Pagalos), 15 ministers (including Papandreou as minister of foreign affairs), 2 alternate ministers and 19 deputy ministers.

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.

The total number of political parties that received votes in the parliamentary election of 4<sup>th</sup> October 2009 was twenty-three (23).

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.

Ministry of Interior, Decentralisation & E- Government, Official results of the Parliamentary Elections of the 4<sup>th</sup> October 2009 (English version)

<http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2009/pages/index.html?lang=en>

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: <http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2009/pages/index.html?lang=en>

Party Name	Number of Votes	% of Vote	Number of Seats	% of Seats
Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement ( <i>Panellinio Socialistiko Kinima</i> /PASOK)	3,012,373	43.92%	160	53.3
New Democracy ( <i>Nea Dimokratia</i> /ND)	2,295,967	33.48%	91	30.3
Communist Party of Greece ( <i>Kommounistiko Komma Ellados</i> /KKE)	517,154	7.54%	21	7.0
Popular Orthodox Rally ( <i>Laikos Orthodoxos Synagermos</i> /LAOS)	386,152	5.63%	15	5.0
Coalition of the Radical Left ( <i>Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras</i> /SYRIZA)	315,627	4.60%	13	4.3
Ecologists Greens ( <i>Oikologoi Prasinoi</i> /OP)	173,449	2.53%		
<b>Total</b>	6,700,722	97.7%	300	100.00

4d. What was the voter turnout in the election? 70,92%

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: 10,737,428 (source: IDEA – Greek data) and provisional results of the national census of 2011 for the total population of Greece: 10.787.690

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

- Total Number of Voting Age Citizens: 9,933,385 (Note: in Greece the total number of voting age citizens is the same with the Number of Registered Voters)

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

- Total Vote: 7,044,479 (70.92 %)

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: 186.137 [invalid: 143,658 / 2.04 % and blank votes: 42,479 / 0.60 %]

- Voting Age Population: 8,889,858 (source: IDEA – Greek data)

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

- Number of Registered Voters: 9,933,385

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).

<b>Party Name</b>	<b>Ideological Family</b>
A. Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)	C
B. New Democracy (ND)	E
C. Communist Party of Greece (KKE)	B
D. Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS)	E (but closer to right-wing populist party family)
E. Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)	F
F. Ecologists Greens (OP)	A
G.	
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. Economic crisis
2. Political corruption
3. Social upheaval-riots
4. Immigration
5. Educational reform



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.

<b>Party Name</b>	<b>Name of Party Leader</b>	<b>Name of Presidential Candidate, if appropriate</b>
A. Pan-Hellenic Social Movement (PASOK)	George Papandreou	
B. New Democracy (ND)	Kostas Karamanlis	
C. Communist Party of Greece (KKE)	Aleka Papariga	
D. Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS)	Georgios Karatzaferis	
E. Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)	Alexis Tsipras	
F. Ecologists Greens (OP)	Led by 6 member elected committee	
G.		
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?

The election was originally scheduled for 2011 (after the period of the four-year term of the Parliament, starting in the aftermath of the Parliamentary election of 16<sup>th</sup> September 2007, thus no earlier than September 2011).

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

The election was actually held on 4<sup>th</sup> October 2009.

On 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2009 Costas Karamanlis (Prime Minister of Greece since 2004) two years into his second term of office, announced an early election, due to the very difficult economic circumstances that the country was experiencing. His declared justification was that he needed to secure a mandate that would enable him to pass austerity measures. The government of New Democracy was deeply unpopular, facing numerous scandals and having been denounced for the incompetent handling of the forest fires in Greece. Therefore, his decision for early elections was also related to the fact that his administration had serious legitimacy problems. In the background of this early election, we should add the prospective election of the President of the Republic, scheduled for few months later. According to the Greek Constitution, the President is elected from the parliament for a five year term. The five year term of Karolos Papoulias presidency was ending in March 2010 and the opposition party of PASOK and its leader, George Papandreou declared that the party would not renew its support for Papoulias presidency. Therefore, an alternative explanation for going to the country is that the PM tried to avoid an unnecessarily prolonged pre-election period.

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.

**Alliance Name**

**Participating Parties**

(please indicate dominant members with an “\*”)

<p><b>Alliance 1: Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)</b></p>	<p><i>The component parties and organizations of SYRIZA are the following (in parenthesis their European and/or international affiliation): <b>Synaspismos*</b>: Coalition of the Left of Movements and Ecology (European Left)    <b>AKOA</b>: Renovative Communist Ecologic Left (European Left)    <b>KOE</b>: Communist Organization of Greece (ICMLPO)    <b>DEA</b>: Internationalist Workers' Left (ISO)    <b>Kokkino</b> (4th International)    <b>Xekinima</b> (CWI)    Rosa    <b>KEDA</b>: Movement for the Unity in Action of the Left    <b>Energoi Polites</b>: Active Citizens    <b>Ecosocialists Greece</b> (Ecosocialist International Network)    <b>DIKKI</b>: Democratic Social Movement, and several independent leftist activists</i></p> <p>Source:  <a href="http://www.syn.gr/en/profile.htm">http://www.syn.gr/en/profile.htm</a></p>
<p>Alliance 2:</p>	
<p>Alliance 3:</p>	
<p>Alliance 4:</p>	

Alliance 5:	
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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

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.

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.)

One segment in the electoral system

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.

One vote

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?

One round

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.

It should be noted that the parties that receive at least three percent of all valid votes cast (see more information on the legally mandated threshold in the next section) are entitled to participate in the so-called first round of proportional allocation of 260 seats at the national level. The remaining 40 seats are awarded to the party that obtained the nation-wide plurality of votes (thus PASOK for the election of 2009), regardless of its obtained percentage or the difference with the second party.

**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 (\*note: the blank votes are excluded)

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.

National tier

**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.

Ministry of Interior, Decentralisation & E- Government (English version)

<http://www.ypes.gr/en/Elections/>

Official results of the Parliamentary Elections of the 4<sup>th</sup> October 2009 (English version)

<http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2009/pages/index.html?lang=en>

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.

Ministry of Interior, Decentralisation & E- Government, Official results of the Parliamentary Elections of the 4<sup>th</sup> October 2009 (English version)

<http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2009/pages/index.html?lang=en>

The General Secretariat of the Greek Government:

<http://www.ggk.gr/governments.php/?ord=num>

Hellenic Statistical Authority (EL.STAT)

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

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)

<http://www.idea.int/>