

**Comparative Study of Electoral Systems**  
**Module 4: Macro Report**  
September 10, 2012

**Country:** ROMANIA

**Date of Election:** November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2014 (first round), November 16, 2014 (second round)

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**Date of Preparation:** October 15, 2017

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?**

Popular Movement Party (PMP), Partidul Mișcarea Populară

Party D

Note: From a legal point of view, the president is not allowed to be a member of a political party during his term in office. However, he/she may be publically endorsed by a specific party. Traian Băsescu raced for his second term with the endorsement of the Democrat-Liberal Party (PD-L), however during the second half of his last term in office he was perceived as being closest to the PMP, which was created by a splinter group from the PD-L.

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

Social-Democrat Party (PSD), Partidul Social Democrat, dominant party in an alliance of parties supporting a single candidate in this election

Party A (denotes alliance)

**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>
Social-Democrat Party (PSD), Partidul Social Democrat	14 (out of which 2 delegate ministers)
National Union for Romania's Progress (UNPR), Uniunea Națională pentru Progresul României	2 (1)
Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR), Uniunea Democrată a Maghiarilor din România	2
Conservative Party (PC), Partidul Conservator	1
Independent	6 (3)

\*PSD, UNPR and PC are part of an alliance supporting a single candidate in this election

**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.**

26 ministers (including the Prime Minister)

*Note: The number includes the 8 (eight) so-called delegate ministers who, according to Romanian law, are Cabinet members and have voting if they received parliamentary approval.*

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

National Liberal Party (PNL), Partidul Național Liberal

Party B  
(denotes alliance, see note)

*Note: The president elect, Klaus Werner Iohannis, was the candidate of the PNL. After the election, according to law, he resigned from this party. However, he continues to be endorsed by them.*

*Note: During the election campaign the president elect was supported by a coalition of two parties - Christian-Liberal Alliance (Alianța Creștin-Liberală, ACL) comprising the National Liberal Party (Partidul Național Liberal, PNL) and the Liberal Democratic Party (Partidul Democrat Liberal, PDL). At that date the two parties had already initiated a formal process of merger under the name National Liberal Party (PNL), Partidul Național Liberal, which was approved by courts after the deadline for submitting candidacies for the presidency.*

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

Social-Democrat Party (PSD), Partidul Social Democrat

Party A (denotes alliance)

*Note: Prime Minister Victor Ponta. During his time in office he presided over 4 different cabinets. At the time of this election the so-called Ponta 3 Cabinet was in office. It is considered that a cabinet is different from the previous one even if the prime minister is the same if it required parliamentary approval to be installed (cabinet reshuffles are allowed without parliament approval only if the political composition, i.e. political parties represented, of the cabinet stays the same).*

**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.**

Name of Political Party

Number of Cabinet Ministers

Social-Democrat Party (PSD),  
Partidul Social Democrat

14 (out of which 2 delegate ministers)

National Union for Romania's Progress (UNPR),  
Uniunea Națională pentru Progresul României

2 (1)

Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR),  
Uniunea Democrată a Maghiarilor din România

2

Conservative Party (PC), Partidul Conservator	1
Independent	6 (3)

*Note: This Cabinet (so-called Ponta 3 Cabinet) is in office until December 13, 2014. Following the presidential elections, the UDMR decided to leave the governing coalition because of the anti-PSD vote of the Hungarian voters. Because this involved a political change in the Cabinet parliamentary approval was sought and received on December 17, 2014.*

**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.**

*26 ministers (including the Prime Minister)*

**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.**

Presidential elections. 13 political parties supporting between themselves 10 candidates, plus 4 independent candidates.

PARTY A	PSD-UNPR-PC Electoral Alliance (Alianța Electorală PSD-UNPR-PC) It was an alliance of 3 parties: Social Democratic Party (Partidul Social Democrat, PSD), National Union for Romania's Progress (Uniunea Națională pentru Progresul României, UNPR), and Conservative Party (Partidul Conservator, PC)
*PARTY B	Christian-Liberal Alliance (Alianța Creștin-Liberală, ACL) It was an alliance of 2 parties: National Liberal Party (Partidul Național Liberal, PNL) and Liberal Democratic Party (Partidul Democrat Liberal, PDL)
PARTY D	Popular Movement Party (Partidul Mișcarea Populară, PMP)
PARTY F	People's Party – Dan Diaconescu (Partidul Poporului – Dan Diaconescu, PP-DD)
PARTY G	Greater Romania Party (Partidul România Mare, PRM)

PARTY H Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România, UDMR)

Hungarian Popular Party of Transylvania (PPMT), Partidul Popular Maghiar din Transilvania

Romanian Green Party (PER), Partidul Ecologist Român

Socialist Alternative Party (PAS), Partidul Alternativa Socialistă

PRODEMO Party (PRODEMO), Partidul PRODEMO

Notes:

Letters C and E are not allocated, as the corresponding presidential candidates have run as independents.

\* *Christian Liberal Alliance (ACL), Alianța Creștin Liberală: The two parties decided to merge on July 26, 2014 under the name National Liberal Party (PNL), Partidul Național Liberal. However, the legal recognition of the merger could not be completed before the presidential election. Consequently, the candidate of the party was formally supported by this coalition.*

**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://alegeri.roaep.ro/?alegeri=alegeri-presedintele-romaniei-2014>

*Webpage in Romanian. Contains elections results for each polling station in Romania and aggregated results for different levels (municipalities, counties, national). Webpage can easily be used by those not speaking Romanian by using Google Translate or other similar tools.*

**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://alegeri.roaep.ro/?alegeri=alegeri-presedintele-romaniei-2014>

FIRST ROUND OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS	Number of Votes	% of Vote	Number of Seats	% of Seats
<b>Party Name</b>				
<i>Candidate Victor Viorel PONTA (Leader A)</i>				
*PSD-UNPR-PC Electoral Alliance (Alianța Electorală PSD-UNPR-PC)				
Social-Democrat Party (PSD), Partidul Social Democrat	3,836,093	40.44	NA	NA
National Union for Romania's Progress (UNPR), Uniunea Națională pentru				

Progresul României				
Conservative Party (PC), Partidul Conservator				
<b>Candidate Klaus Werner IOHANNIS (Leader B)</b>				
*Christian-Liberal Alliance (Alianța Creștin-Liberală, ACL)	2,881,406	30.37	NA	NA
National Liberal Party (PNL), Partidul Național Liberal Democrat-Liberal Party (PD-L), Partidul Democrat Liberal				
<b>Candidate Călin Constantin Anton POPESCU-TĂRICEANU (Leader C)</b>	508,572	5.36	NA	NA
Independent				
<b>Candidate Elena Gabriela UDREA (Leader D)</b>				
Popular Movement Party (PMP), Partidul Mișcarea Populară	493,376	5.20	NA	NA
<b>Candidate Monica Luisa MACOVEI (Leader E)</b>				
Independent	421,648	4.44	NA	NA
<b>Candidate Dan DIACONESCU (Leader F)</b>				
People's Party – Dan Diaconescu (PP-DD), Partidul Poporului Dan Diaconescu	382,526	4.03	NA	NA
<b>Candidate Corneliu VADIM-TUDOR (Leader G)</b>				
Greater Romania Party (PRM), Partidul România Mare	349,416	3.68	NA	NA
<b>Candidate Hunor KELEMEN (Leader H)</b>				
Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR), Uniunea Democrată a Maghiarilor din România	329,727	3.47	NA	NA
<b>Candidate Teodor-Viorel MELEȘCANU</b>				
Independent	104,131	1.09	NA	NA
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,376,675</b>	<b>88.28</b>		

SECOND ROUND OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS	Number of Votes	% of Vote	Number of Seats	% of Seats
Party Name				
<b>Candidate Victor Viorel PONTA (Leader A)</b>				
PSD-UNPR-PC Electoral Alliance (Alianța Electorală PSD-UNPR-PC)				
Social-Democrat Party (PSD), Partidul Social Democrat	5,264,383	45.56	NA	NA
National Union for Romania's Progress (UNPR), Uniunea Națională pentru Progresul României				
Conservative Party (PC), Partidul Conservator				

<b>Candidate Klaus Werner IOHANNIS (Leader B)</b> Christian-Liberal Alliance (Alianța Creștin-Liberală, ACL)	6,288,769	54.43	NA	NA
National Liberal Party (PNL), Partidul Național Liberal Democrat-Liberal Party (PD-L), Partidul Democrat Liberal				
<b>Total</b>	<b>11,553,152</b>	<b>100.00</b>		

Notes: The results of the last parliamentary elections for both chambers of Parliament, held in 2012, can be found at [http://alegeri.roaep.ro/?alegeri=alegeri-parlamentul-romaniei-2012-14\\_05\\_2014](http://alegeri.roaep.ro/?alegeri=alegeri-parlamentul-romaniei-2012-14_05_2014)

**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.**

*First round of elections*

Turnout: 9,723,232

Turnout %: 53.18%

*Second round of elections*

Turnout: 11,719,344

Turnout %: 64.11%

Source: <http://alegeri.roaep.ro/?alegeri=alegeri-presedintele-romaniei-2014>

**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).

19,947,311 (estimated, Eurostat)

▪ **Total Number of Voting Age Citizens:**

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

First round: 18,313,698 as provided by the Permanent Electoral Authority

(<http://www.bec2014.ro/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Adresa-AEP.pdf>)

Second round: 18,281,625 as provided by the Permanent Electoral Authority

(<http://www.bec2014.ro/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/1706C.pdf>)

▪ **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.

First round: 9,485,340

Second round: 11,719,344

Source: <http://alegeri.roaep.ro/?alegeri=alegeri-presedintele-romaniei-2014>

▪ **Total Number of Invalid and Blank Votes:**

First round: 237,761

Second round: 166,111

Source: <http://alegeri.roaep.ro/?alegeri=alegeri-presedintele-romaniei-2014>

▪ **Voting Age Population:**

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

First round: 18,313,698 (<http://www.bec2014.ro/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Adresa-AEP.pdf>)

Second round: 18,281,625 (<http://www.bec2014.ro/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/1706C.pdf>)

▪ **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.

First round: 18,284,066, as reported in the official election results by the Central Electoral Bureau.

Second round: 18,280,994, as reported in the official election results

*Note: Registration is automatic, consequently all voting age population should be registered. The Permanent Electoral Authority reports on the list of registered citizens all those who, according to local government records, are resident in Romania. However, the electoral register is poorly updated, holds many errors and includes at least a part of the voters residing abroad. Taking these aspects into account the Central Electoral Bureau reported different numbers for the Total voting age population and the Number of registered voters.*



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
<b>A. PSD-UNPR-PC Electoral Alliance (Alianța Electorală PSD-UNPR-PC)</b>	Social Democratic
Social-Democrat Party, Partidul Social Democrat (PSD)	Social-Democratic Parties
National Union for Romania's Progress, Uniunea Națională pentru Progresul României (UNPR)	Other: combines Social-Democratic and Progressivism elements
Conservative Party, Partidul Conservator (PC)	Conservative Parties
<b>B. Christian-Liberal Alliance (Alianța Creștin-Liberală, ACL)</b>	Right Liberal
National Liberal Party, Partidul Național Liberal (PNL)	Liberal Parties
Democrat-Liberal Party, Partidul Democrat Liberal (PDL)	Christian Democratic Parties
<b>C. Not allocated</b>	NA
<b>D. Popular Movement Party (Partidul Mișcarea Populară, PMP)</b>	Christian Democratic Parties
<b>E. Not allocated</b>	NA
<b>F. People's Party – Dan Diaconescu (Partidul Poporului – Dan Diaconescu, PP-DD)</b>	Other: Populist Left.
<b>G. Greater Romania Party (Partidul România Mare, PRM)</b>	Other: Nationalist Left
<b>H. Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România, UDMR)</b>	Ethnic Parties

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

**6a. Ideological Positions of Parties:**

Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). 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	Left					Right					
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>A. PSD-UNPR-PC Electoral Alliance (Alianța Electorală PSD-UNPR-PC)</b>					X						
*Social-Democrat Party, Partidul Social Democrat (PSD)					X						
National Union for Romania's Progress, Uniunea Națională pentru Progresul României (UNPR)						X					
Conservative Party, Partidul Conservator (PC)							X				
<b>B. Christian-Liberal Alliance (Alianța Creștin-Liberală, ACL)</b>							X				
**National Liberal Party, Partidul Național Liberal (PNL)							X				
**Democrat-Liberal Party, Partidul Democrat Liberal (PDL)							X				
<b>C. Independent candidate - Popescu-Tăriceanu Călin-Constantin-Anton</b>								X			
<b>D. Popular Movement Party (Partidul Mișcarea Populară, PMP)</b>								X			
<b>E. Independent candidate - Macovei Monica-Luisa</b>									X		
<b>F. People's Party – Dan Diaconescu (Partidul Poporului – Dan Diaconescu, PP-DD)</b>				X							
<b>G. Greater Romania Party (Partidul România Mare, PRM)</b>					X						
<b>H. Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România, UDMR)</b>						X					

Notes:

\* Dominant party.

\*\* None of the two parties can be defined as dominant.



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. *Issue: ensuring voting rights for the diaspora.* Romania grants its citizens living abroad the right to vote in parliamentary and presidential elections. The incumbent government, led by PSD leader and presidential candidate Victor Ponta, was perceived as trying to hinder the access to voting of the diaspora, which usually votes for the PSD in small numbers. This has led to significant protests between the two rounds of the elections, intensified by the refusal of the government to do more in order to facilitate voting for the diaspora. Against this background, the second round of the elections has seen a significantly higher turnout and has led to the victory of the opposition candidate. Some details at <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-romania-election-protests-idUSKCN0IY29920141114>, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/central-europe/news/romania-rocked-by-protests-ahead-of-presidential-election-runoff/>. This issue overshadows by far any other factors.
2. *Issue: involvement of secret services in politics, media and the judicial system.* In the months prior to the elections there have been intense discussions on the fact that Romanian secret services have placed undercover officers with the judicial system (prosecutors, courts), media outlets and political parties. The discussions were initiated once a reputed journalist has publicly admitted to have been an undercover officer and culminated with unproven accusations (made by incumbent president Traian Băsescu during the electoral campaign) that the incumbent Prime Minister and presidential candidate Victor Ponta had also been an undercover officer of the External Informations Service (SIE, Serviciul de Informații Externe).
3. *Negative campaign:* The campaign of Victor Ponta and the PSD has been very negative in tone with multiple attacks towards the main opposition candidate (ethnic German, Protestant Klaus Iohannis) on issues related to religion, ethnicity and personal life. Accusations and attacks included among others references to involvement in child trafficking and being unfit for office because the Iohannis family has no children.
4. *Issue: widespread corruption.* The 2014 presidential campaign took place in a context marred by citizens' perception of widespread political corruption, enforced by the increasing number of arrests and accusations made by the National Anti-Corruption Department (DNA). Many politicians accused of wrongdoing by the DNA have claimed they are wrongly accused and that accusations are politically motivated.
5. *Scandal : Victor Ponta's plagiarized PhD thesis.* In 2012 Victor Ponta was accused of plagiarizing large portions on his PhD thesis. The Prime Minister had denied wrongdoing. However, his government has used various legal and administrative measures to ensure he is not officially declared guilty of plagiarism and stripped of his PhD title. This topic has persisted on the public agenda and was specifically mentioned during the electoral campaign for the presidential election.

**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. PSD-UNPR-PC Electoral Alliance (Alianța Electorală PSD-UNPR-PC)	Victor Viorel Ponta, Gabriel Oprea and Daniel Constantin – co-chairs of alliance	Victor Viorel Ponta
B. Christian-Liberal Alliance (Alianța Creștin-Liberală, ACL)	Klaus Werner Iohannis and Vasile Blaga – co-chairs of alliance	Klaus Werner Iohannis
C. Independent candidate		Călin Popescu-Tăriceanu
D. Popular Movement Party (Partidul Mișcarea Populară, PMP)	Elena Gabriela Udrea	Elena Gabriela Udrea
E. Independent candidate		Macovei Monica Luisa
F. People's Party – Dan Diaconescu (Partidul Poporului – Dan Diaconescu, PP-DD)	Simona Man	Dan Diaconescu*
G. Greater Romania Party (Partidul România Mare, PRM)	Corneliu Vadim-Tudor	Corneliu Vadim-Tudor
H. Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România, UDMR)	Hunor Kelemen	Hunor Kelemen

\* Occupied the position of Honorary President, widely perceived as the *de facto* executive leader of the party.

**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

*Note: One international election observation network requested to observe the elections. It did not produce a report.*

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

*November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2014 (first round), November 16, 2014 (second round)*

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

*November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2014 (first round), November 16, 2014 (second round)*

**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

*Note: The CSES survey was conducted for the 2014 Presidential Election. Joint candidates are allowed both in Parliamentary and Presidential elections. However, the alliance has to be legally registered.*

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 (Party A): <i>PSD-UNPR-PC Electoral Alliance (Alianța Electorală PSD-UNPR-PC)</i>	<b>*Social-Democrat Party (PSD), Partidul Social Democrat</b> <i>National Union for Romania's Progress (UNPR), Uniunea Națională pentru Progresul României</i> <i>Conservative Party (PC), Partidul Conservator</i>
Alliance 2 (Party B): <i>Christian-Liberal Alliance (Alianța Creștin-Liberală, ACL)</i>	<i>National Liberal Party (PNL), Partidul Național Liberal</i> <i>Democrat-Liberal Party (PD-L), Partidul Democrat Liberal</i>



**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

*The CSES survey was conducted for the 2014 Presidential Election, where joint candidates are not subject to different regulations. For the last Parliamentary Elections in November 2012, in the case of alliances 3% was added to the normal 5% threshold for the second party and 1% for each additional party in the alliance. However, the requested threshold for alliances could not exceed 10%.*

**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

*Note: The only exception is the case of parties that form a registered electoral alliance and have joint candidates.*

**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.**

*Note: The CSES survey was conducted for the 2014 Presidential Election. All answers (Q15A to Q21d) refer to the last Parliamentary Election in November 2012.*

#### **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.)**

Voters cast a single vote for each Chamber of the Parliament, thus all answers refer to both tiers.

**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.)**

Regulations are similar for the two Chambers of the Parliament. Wherever differences occur, they will be highlighted.

#### **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 for the Senate

One vote for the Chamber of Deputies

**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.)**

*Senate*

Candidates

Party Lists

- Party Bloc Voting
- Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

*Chamber of Deputies*

- Candidates
- Party Lists
- Party Bloc Voting
- Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

**16c. How many rounds of voting are there?**

Senate: One

Chamber of Deputies: 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.)**

*Senate*

- Yes
- No

*Chamber of Deputies*

- 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.)**

*Senate*

- Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions
- Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions
- Yes; Without Sanction for Violation
- No

*Chamber of Deputies*

- 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.**

The new electoral legislation (Law no. 35/2008) established a two-tier seat allocation for both Chambers of the Parliament. However, the voter casts only one vote for each of the Chambers. The division of seats between tiers is variable and depends on the actual result of voting. In extreme theoretical circumstances, it is possible for one tier not to receive seats at all. Overhang seats are allowed.

The country is divided into a fix number of electoral colleges (representation districts) for each of the two Chambers of the Parliament. For the Chamber of Deputies one seat is allocated for every 70,000 inhabitants, while for the Senate it is allocated for 160,000 inhabitants. Each electoral college elects one MP.

How are seats allocated?

On the first tier, seats are allocated to candidates receiving a majority of 50%+1 of the votes cast within the representation district. This district-level candidate threshold is cumulated to a national-level party one: either (a) 5% for individual parties, 8% for two-party electoral alliances, 9% for three-party electoral alliances, 10% for 4+ parties alliances; or (b) gaining simultaneously 6 districts for the Chamber of Deputies and 3 for the Senate.

On the second tier, the remaining seats are allocated according to a complicated algorithm (for details, see Marian and King 2010) to other candidates based on candidate results at district level and party results at constituency level. At this level the same threshold (alternatives (a) or (b) above) remains in place.

Overall results (first plus second tier) of the seat allocation are very similar to a PR formula. A corrective mechanism of additional seat allocation at constituency level is designed to compensate for deviations from proportionality.

### Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

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

*Senate:*

Yes

No

*Chamber of Deputies:*

Yes

No

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

*Senate:*

The electoral legislation states two alternative national-level party thresholds (both tiers): either (a) 5% for individual parties, 8% for two-party electoral alliances, 9% for three-party electoral alliances, 10% for 4+ parties alliances; or (b) gaining simultaneously 6 districts for the Chamber of Deputies and 3 for the Senate.

On the first tier, seats are allocated only to candidates receiving a majority of 50%+1 of the votes cast within the representation district.

*Chamber of Deputies:*

The electoral legislation states two alternative national-level party thresholds (both tiers): either (a) 5% for individual parties, 8% for two-party electoral alliances, 9% for three-party electoral alliances, 10% for 4+ parties alliances; or (b) gaining simultaneously 6 districts for the Chamber of Deputies and 3 for the Senate.

On the first tier, seats are allocated only to candidates receiving a majority of 50%+1 of the votes cast within the representation district.

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

*Senate:*

Alternative thresholds:

(a)  Percent of total votes

Percent of valid votes

Percent of the total electorate

Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

- (b)  Percent of total votes  
 Percent of valid votes  
 Percent of the total electorate  
 Other; please explain: *Number of representation districts gained.*

*Chamber of Deputies:*

Alternative thresholds:

- (a)  Percent of total votes  
 Percent of valid votes  
 Percent of the total electorate  
 Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_
- (b)  Percent of total votes  
 Percent of valid votes  
 Percent of the total electorate  
 Other; please explain: *Number of representation districts gained.*

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

Both Chambers of the Parliament, both tiers

**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.**

Romanian Permanent Electoral Authority, official election results in Romanian at

<http://alegeri.roaep.ro/?alegeri=alegeri-presedintele-romaniei-2014>

Romanian Permanent Electoral Authority generic website (in Romanian): [www.roaep.ro](http://www.roaep.ro)

Central Electoral Bureau for the 2014 Presidential Elections website at <http://www.bec2014.ro/>

**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.**

For an excellent presentation of the electoral legislation in the case of 2012 Parliamentary Elections in Romania, please refer to:

Marian, Cosmin Gabriel & Ronald F. King. 2010. Plus ça change: Electoral law reform and the 2008 Romanian parliamentary elections. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 43(1), pp. 7-18.

<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0967067X1000005X>