

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems

Module 5: Macro Report

Version: September 14, 2016

Country: Romania

Date of Election: December 11, 2016

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NOTES TO COLLABORATORS

- There are eight sections (numbered A-H inclusive) in this report. Please ensure that you complete all the sections.
- The information provided in this report contributes to the macro data portion of the CSES, an important component 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, district data) 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.

A) DATA PERTINENT TO ELECTION AT WHICH 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?

National Liberal Party (PNL)
Partidul Național Liberal

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.

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

Independent

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".)

Please also provide a website link to this data if possible.

(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings. Please also list cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties).

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
<i>Independents</i>	21

<i>Social Democratic Party (PSD)</i> <i>Partidul Social Democrat</i>	1
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2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (i.e.: total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count.

(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings).

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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

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.

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

Social Democratic Party (PSD)

Partidul Social Democrat

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"). Please provide a website link to this data if possible.

(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings. Please also list cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties).

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
<i>Social Democratic Party (PSD)</i> <i>Partidul Social Democrat</i>	22
<i>Alliance of Liberals and Democrats (ALDE)</i>	4

<i>Alianța Liberalilor și Democraților</i>	
<i>Independents</i>	1

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count.

(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings).

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

(Note: There is no requirement to detail the results here. Instead, an official source where this data can be accessed is sufficient).

Central Electoral Bureau 2016:

Senate – votes:

https://parlamentare2016.bec.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/3_RF.pdf

Chamber of Deputies – votes:

https://parlamentare2016.bec.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/4_RF.pdf

Senate – seats:

<https://parlamentare2016.bec.ro/rezultate/procese-verbale-privind-centralizarea-voturilor-constatarea-rezultatelor-alegerilor-si-atribuirea-mandatelor-de-senator/index.html>

Chamber of Deputies – seats:

<https://parlamentare2016.bec.ro/rezultate/procese-verbale-privind-centralizarea-voturilor-constatarea-rezultatelor-alegerilor-si-atribuirea-mandatelor-de-deputat/index.html>

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

(Note: There is no requirement to detail the results here. Instead, an official source where this data can be accessed is sufficient).

Central Electoral Bureau 2016:

Senate – votes and seats:

<https://parlamentare2016.bec.ro/rezultate/procese-verbale-privind-centralizarea-voturilor-constatarea-rezultatelor-alegerilor-si-atribuirea-mandatelor-de-senator/index.html>

Chamber of Deputies – votes and seats:

<https://parlamentare2016.bec.ro/rezultate/procese-verbale-privind-centralizarea-voturilor-constatarea-rezultatelor-alegerilor-si-atribuirea-mandatelor-de-deputat/index.html>

4c. Can voters cast a ballot before Election Day(s)? (i.e.: Is early voting possible)?

Yes, for the whole electorate

Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

Romanian citizens with domicile or residence abroad.

No

4d. Can voters cast a ballot by mail?

Yes, for the whole electorate

Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

Romanian citizens with domicile or residence abroad.

No

4e. Can voters cast a ballot by the Internet?

Yes, for the whole electorate

Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

No

B) PARTY POSITIONS

5a. Ideological family of political parties: Please indicate the ideological party family for each party by using the numbered categories below. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. Social Democratic Party (<i>Partidul Social</i>)	(4) Social Democratic Parties

ALDE)												
D. People's Movement Party (<i>Partidul Mișcarea Populară, PMP</i>)								X				
E. Save Romania Union (<i>Uniunea Salvați România, USR</i>)							X					
F. Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (<i>Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România, UDMR</i>)						X						
G. United Romania Party (<i>Partidul România Unită, PRU</i>)									X			
H. Our Romania Alliance (<i>Alianța Noastră România, ANR</i>)									X			
I. -												

6a2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? *4 national collaborators*

6a3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

6b1. 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. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Name of dimension: *Not applicable*

Label for 0 position: _____

Label for 10 position: _____

Party Name											
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A.											
B.											
C.											
D.											
E.											
F.											
G.											
H.											
I.											

6b2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? *Not applicable.*

6b3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

6c. Populist classification of parties: As Module 5 focuses in part on populism, please indicate the degree to which each of the parties (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator) can be characterized as a populist party? Please use the same parties used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire and label them the same way (A-I). The definition of populism advanced by the Module 5 theme committee is below:

DEFINITION: Populism can be defined as a thin-centred ideology that pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites and dangerous ‘others’ who are depicted as depriving “the people” of their rights, values, prosperity, identity, and voice. The emphasis on anti-elite/anti-establishment rhetoric and the contrast between the “pure people” and the “corrupt elite” are thus indications of the degree to which a party is populist. Populist parties can be found across the left-right ideological spectrum. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “not at all populist” and 10 is “very populist”, where would you place each of the parties in your country?

Party Name	Not at all populist					Very populist					
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. Social Democratic Party (<i>Partidul Social Democrat, PSD</i>)						X					
B. National Liberal Party (<i>Partidul Național Liberal, PNL</i>)					X						
C. Alliance of Liberals and Democrats (<i>Partidul Alianța Liberalilor și Democraților, ALDE</i>)					X						
D. People’s Movement Party (<i>Partidul Mișcarea Populară, PMP</i>)						X					
E. Save Romania Union (<i>Uniunea Salvați România, USR</i>)						X					
F. Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (<i>Uniunea Democrată Maghiară din România, UDMR</i>)				X							
G. United Romania Party (<i>Partidul România Unită, PRU</i>)										X	
H. Our Romania Alliance (<i>Alianța Noastră România, ANR</i>)										X	
I. -											

6c2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? *4 national collaborators*

6c3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

C) SALIENT ISSUES IN THE ELECTION

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)?

Note: Please rank the issues according to their salience (1 = most salient).

1. The Colectiv nightclub fire on October 30, 2015, that led to the death of 64 people and raised a series of anti-corruption protests in Romania. As a result, Prime Minister Victor Ponta resigned on November 4, 2015. His Cabinet (formed by three parties – Social Democratic Party, Alliance of Liberals and Democrats, and National Union for Romania's Progress) was replaced by a technocratic Cabinet led by the former European Commissioner Dacian Cioloș.

2. The Dacian Cioloș technocratic Cabinet, in office for one year prior to the 2016 General Election (November 17, 2015 – January 4, 2017).

3. The reluctance of Prime Minister Dacian Cioloș to formally associate with the National Liberal Party in the electoral campaign.

4. The rise of the Save Romania Union, with roots in the civil society, as an anti-system and loudly anti-corruption political contender.

5. The return to the PR electoral system for the 2016 Parliamentary Elections as a consequence of Law no. 208/2015, passed by the Parliament with a large majority.

D) FAIRNESS OF THE ELECTION & ELECTION SCHEDULING

8a. How impartial was the body that administered the election law?

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

8b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?

- Yes
- No

8c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?

- Yes
- No
- No international election observers

8d. On what date was the election originally legally scheduled to be held?

December 11, 2016

8e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 8d, please explain why.

December 11, 2016

E) ELECTION VIOLENCE

9a. To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation **during** the election campaign and on 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

9b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?

There was no violence.

- Geographically concentrated
- National

9c. 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

9d. To what extent was there protest following the election?

- No protest at all
- Sporadic protest
- Significant protest

F) ELECTORAL ALLIANCES

10. Joint Lists/Candidates

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

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.

10a. Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

Yes

No

10b. Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

Yes

No

10c. 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.

Although joint lists electoral alliances are quite common in Romania, no electoral alliance competed in the 2016 Parliamentary Elections.

Alliance Name

Participating Parties

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

Alliance 1:	
Alliance 2:	
Alliance 3:	
Alliance 4:	
Alliance 5:	

11. 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 normal threshold for single-party lists is 5%. For alliances, 3% is added to the normal threshold for the second party and 1% for each other additional party in the alliance. However, the requested threshold for alliances cannot exceed 10%.

12a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

- Yes
- No

12b. 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

13a. 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.

13b. 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: _____

G) 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.

Please note: 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

14a. 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.

14b. 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

15a. 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

15b. 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: _____

15c. How many rounds of voting are there?

Senate: One

Chamber of Deputies: One

15d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?

Senate:

- 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)

Chamber of Deputies:

- 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)

16. 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

17. 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

There is only one vote to cast for each Chamber of the Parliament.

18. 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

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

It is a rather typical PR electoral system. For a complete perspective on it, please refer to the English version of the Law No. 208 of July 20, 2015 on the election of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, as well as on the organisation and functioning of the Permanent Electoral Authority, available here:

<https://www.roaep.ro/legislatie/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Law-no.-208.pdf>

Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

20a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

Yes

No

20b. If YES in Question 20a, what is the threshold?

The normal threshold for single-party lists is 5% of the total number of votes validly cast at national level. There is also the alternative route of receiving 20% of the total number of validly cast votes in at least 4 electoral constituencies.

For alliances, 3% is added to the normal threshold for the second party and 1% for each other additional party in the alliance. However, the requested threshold for alliances cannot exceed 10%.

20c. If YES in Question 20a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 20b?

Percent of total votes

Percent of valid votes

Percent of the total electorate

Other; please explain: _____

20d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

Both Houses of the Parliament (Senate and Chamber of Deputies).

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.

H) References

21. 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.

The Romanian Permanent Electoral Authority website:

<https://www.roaep.ro/>

Law No. 208 of July 20, 2015 on the election of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, as well as on the organisation and functioning of the Permanent Electoral Authority:

<https://www.roaep.ro/legislatie/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Law-no.-208.pdf>

Central Electoral Bureau – legislative elections of December 16, 2016 website:

<https://parlamentare2016.bec.ro/>