

TABELS

Table 1: District Magnitude (1990-2008)

		Chamber of deputies				Senate			
		1990	1992-2000	2004	2008	1990	1992-2000	2004	2008
1	Alba	7	6		5	2	3	2	
2	Arad	8	7		8		3		
3	Argeş	11	10	9		3	4		
4	Bacău	12	11	10		3	5		4
5	Bihor	11	9			3	4		
6	Bistriţa-Năsăud	6	5		4		2		
7	Botoşani	8	7		6	2	3		
8	Braşov	12	9	9	8	3	4		
9	Brăila	7	6	5			2		
10	Buzău	9	7				3		
11	Caraş-Severin	7	5				2		
12	Călăraşi	6	5				2		
13	Cluj	12	11	10		3	5	4	
14	Constanţa	12	11	10		3	5	4	
15	Covasna		4				2		
16	Dâmboviţa	10		8			3		
17	Dolj	13	11	10		4	5		
18	Galaţi	11		9		3	4		
19	Giurgiu	5	4				2		
20	Gorj		6			2	3	2	
21	Harghita	6		5			2		
22	Hunedoara	9	8	7			3		
23	Ialomiţa	5		4			2		
24	Iaşi	14		12		4	5		
25	Maramureş	9	8	7			3		
26	Mehedinţi		5	4			2		
27	Mureş	10	9	8		3	4		
28	Neamţ	10		8		3	4		3
29	Olt	9		7			3		
30	Prahova	15		12		4	5		
31	Satu-Mare	7	6	5		2	3	2	
32	Sălaj	5		4			2		
33	Sibiu	8		6			3		
34	Suceava	12		10		3	4		
35	Teleorman	8	7	6			3		
36	Timiş	12	10	9	10	3	4		
37	Tulcea	5		4			2		
38	Vaslui	8		7		2	3		
39	Vâlcea	7		6		2	3		
40	Vrancea	7		6			2		
41	Mun. Bucureşti	39	29	28		14	13	12	
42	Sect. Agr. Ilfov	-		4		-	2		
43	Foreign countries	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	2
Total		387	328	314	316	119	143	137	137

In 1990 the numbering of constituencies and the number of deputies and senators was done on the basis of the law-decree no. 92/March 1990, through the Government decision no. 283 of March 19, 1990 (publ. in *Monitorul Oficial*, no. 39/21 March 1990); as the Electoral law tolerated, through art. 14 a deviation of 15% in accordance with the population of the constituencies, the number of deputies was not of 387 as the law-decree mentioned, but of 397. The electoral law of 1992 fixed at its turn the election in constituencies (art. 3. para. 1), and in annex 1 described their magnitude; then appears, as a new constituency, the Agricultural Sector Ilfov. If at the next elections, of 1996, constituencies remained unchanged, in exchange, O.U.G. no. 129/30 June 2000 introduced a new numbering of electoral constituencies: if the numbering of 1992 reproduced the alphabetical order of counties, with the exception of the “Agricultural Sector Ilfov”, which was placed, under number 42, at the end of the list, after “the Municipality of Bucharest”, the June 2000 ordinance introduced the Ilfov constituency between Iași and Maramureș and re-numbered the following sections. The ordinance also modified the magnitude of some of the constituencies; the reform of the magnitude was limited: it consisted in the decrease with one mandate (in the Cluj county) of the number of deputies and the reduction with one unity of the magnitude of the senate constituencies of the Alba, Gorj and Satu Mare counties. The number of deputies of the 2000-2004 legislature is thus of 327 (to which are added the deputies of national minorities), and that of senators is of 140. The 2004 electoral law reduced the magnitude both at the Chamber and at the Senate, limiting in this way the number of organization of minorities that can be represented in the inferior Chamber to 18 (cf. art. 4, para. 2). The 2008 electoral law made some minimal changes: the magnitude was reduced in several counties so as to include in almost the same limits seats for the new constituency created, that of Romanian in foreign countries. For the rest the number of deputies of Arad was increased with a seat after the vote. If the average magnitude can be regarded as an “implicit threshold” and if the reasonable report between the two variables is $S=75\% (M+1)$, where S is the threshold and M the average magnitude (cf. Arend LIJPHART, op.c it, pp. 149-150), than in the Romanian case, the average magnitude constitutes an obstacle for representativeness. At the 2004 elections, we have a level of magnitude of 3.26 for the Senate and 7.9 for the Chamber and, thus, an implicit threshold of over 17% for the Senate (three times bigger than the explicit threshold for parties) and, respectively of over 8% for the Chamber (that is more than the explicit threshold fixed in 2000 for the coalitions of two parties).

Table 2: electoral body and turnout

Election	ALEP	APU	%
AG – 20.05.1990	17.200.722	14.825.017	86,18
AG – 27.09.1992	16.380.663	12.496.430	76,28
AP2 – 11.10.1992	16.380.663	12.153.810	74,19
AG – 03.11.1996	17.218.654	13.088.388	76,01
AP2 – 17.11.1996	17.230.654	13.078.883	75,90
AG – 26.11.2000	17.699.727	11.559.458	65,31
AP2 – 10.12.2000	17.711.757	10.184.715	57,50
AG – 28.10.2004	18.449.676	10.794.653	58,51
AP2 –	18.316.104	10.112.262	55,21

Election	ALEP	APU	%
12.12.2004			
EUR – 25.11.2007	18.224.597	5.370.171	29,47
AG – 30.11.2008	18.464.274	7.238.871	39,20

The first column contains the type (AG = general elections; AP2 = the second tour of presidential elections, EUR = European elections) and the date of the election. The second column indicates the number of electors according to the permanent electoral lists (ALEP), the third the number of voters present at the urns (APU), and the fourth electoral participation, in percentages (%). At the 1990 elections, the Central Electoral Bureau mentioned a different number of voters present at the urns at the three elections for the Chamber of Deputies (CD), Senate (S) and Presidency (P), and so I also calculated participation for each one: in the table appears the number from the CD; for the Senate, APU was 14.825.764 (86,19%), and at the Presidency, 14.826.616 (86,19%).

Table 3: Valid votes expressed at the post 1989 elections

Election	VVE	%VVE – APU	%VVE – ALEP
AG – 20.05.1990	13.707.159 (CD)	92,45 (CD)	79,68 (CD)
	13.956.180 (S)	94,13 (S)	81,13 (S)
	14.378.693 (P)	96,97 (P)	83,59 (P)
AG – 27.09.1992	10.880.252 (CD)	87,06 (CD)	66,42 (CD)
	10.964.818 (S)	87,74 (S)	66,93 (S)
	11.898.856 (P)	95,21 (P)	72,63 (P)
AP2 – 11.10.1992	12.034.636	99,01	73,46
AG – 03.11.1996	12.238.746 (CD)	93,50 (CD)	71,07 (CD)
	12.287.671 (S)	93,88 (S)	71,36 (S)
	12.652.900 (P)	96,67 (P)	73,48 (P)
AP2 – 17. 11.1996	12.972.485	99,18	75,28
AG – 26.11.2000	10.839.424 (CD)	93,77 (CD)	61,24 (CD)
	10.891.910 (S)	94,22 (S)	61,53 (S)
	11.212.974 (P)	97,00 (P)	63,35 (P)
AP2 – 10.12.2000	10.020.870	98,39	56,57
AG – 28.11.2004	10.188.106 (CD)	94,38 (CD)	55,22 (CD)
	10.231.476 (S)	94,78 (S)	55,46 (S)
	10.452.205 (P)	96,83 (P)	56,65
AP2 – 12.12.2004	10.008.314	98,97	54,64
EUR – 25.11.2007	5.122.228	95,38	28,10
AG – 30.11.2008	6.886.794 (CD)	95,14 (CD)	37,29 (CD)
	6.888.055 (S)	95,15 (S)	37,30 (S)

The first column contains the type (AG = general elections; AP2 = the second tour of presidential elections, EUR = European elections) and the date of the election. The second indicates the total number of valid votes expressed (VVE) and the third the percentage of valid votes expressed in relation to the number of electors present at the urns (%VVE – APU), and the fourth column the percentage of valid votes expressed, calculated in relation to the number of electors in the permanent electoral lists (%VVE – ALEP). The data was indicated – where it was the case – separately for the Chamber of Deputies (CD), Senate (S), respectively for the presidential elections (P) and the European ones (EUR).

Table 3 bis: Null votes at the post-1989 elections

Election	TVN	TVN %
AG – 20.05.1990	1.117.858 (CD) 869.584 (S) 447.923 (P)	7,54 (CD) 5,86 (S) 3,02 (P)
AG – 27.09.1992	1.591.071 (CD) 1.507.623 (S) 580.017 (P)	12,73 (CD) 12,06 (S) 4,64 (P)
AP2 – 11.10.1992	116.092	0,95
AG – 3.11.1996	834.687 (CD) 785.977 (S) 426.545 (P)	6,37 (CD) 6,00 (S) 3,25 (P)
AP2 – 17.11.1996	102.579	0,78
AG – 26.12.2000	706.761 (CD) 653.834 (S) 484.643 (P)	6,11 (CD) 5,66 (S) 3,00 (P)
AP2 – 10.12.2000	160.264	1,57
AG – 28.11.2004	599.641 (CD) 556.128 (S) 339.010 (P)	5,55 (CD) 5,15 (S) 3,14 (P)
AP2 – 12.12.2004	103.245	1,02
EUR – 25.11.2007	246.555	4,62
AG – 30.11.2008	210.994 (CD) 172.884 (S)	2,91 (CD) 2,39 (S)

The first column contains the type (AG = general elections; AP2 = the second tour of presidential elections, EUR = European elections) and the date of the election. The second one indicates the total number of null votes (TVN), and the last one the percentage of null votes in comparison to the number of electors present at the urns (TVN%), at the elections for the Chamber of Deputies (CD), Senate (S) and Presidency (P). In 2008, were counted for the first time the blank votes: these were 139.139 at the Chamber (1.92%) and 176.217 for the Senate (2.43%).

Table 4: Electoral volatility

No. participations	Electoral years	NP
One participation	1990	30
	1992	27
	1996	22
	2000	23
	2004	14
	2008	2
Two participations	1990 & 1992	21
	1992 & 1996	3
	1996 & 2000	5
	2000 & 2004	2
	2004 & 2008	1
Three participations	1990 & 1992 & 1996	4
	1990 & 1996 & 2000	1
	1992 & 1996 & 2000	6
	1992 & 2000 & 2004	1
	1996 & 2000 & 2004	3
	1996 & 2004 & 2008	1
	2000 & 2004 & 2008	3
Four participations	1990-2000	3
	1992-2004	2
	1996-2008	3
Five participations	1990-2004	2
	1992-2008	8
Six participations	1990-2008	13
TOTAL		200

The calculation was made keeping in mind the following rules: I numbered the parties and the unions indifferent if they participated with their own lists or on the lists of alliances; the simple change of name of a party does not mean the appearance of a new actor; in exchange, I considered that a party disappears if it is absorbed by another formation under the name of this one or under a new one. I considered that Partidul Democrat Liberal (ex PD (FSN), ex PD) and, respectively Partidul Social Democrat (ex FDSN, ex PDSR) had five electoral participations (1992, 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008); I kept into account the fact that, beyond their common origin – Frontul Salvării Naționale -, each of the two parties followed a path of re-foundation beginning in March 1992.

Table 5: Parties inscribed and lists submitted at the general elections

Date	Parties inscribed	Lists submitted	
		Chamber	Senate
28 January 1990	30		
20 May 1990	80	71	59
27 September 1992	155	79	65
15 July 1993	159		
1 October 1994	161		
1 January 1996	200		
3 November 1996	75	64	37
26 November 2000	73	68	37
28 November 2004	64	52	25
30 November 2008	38	29	10

The information about the parties inscribed comes from several sources: George VOICU, *Pluripartidismul. O teorie a democrației*, All, București, 1998, p. 213 (for 1990 and 1994), from the collection *Partide politice*, Agenția de presă Rompres, București, 1993 (for 1992 and 1993); Alexandru RADU, *Nevoia schimbării. Un deceniu de pluripartidism în România*, Editura „Ion Cristoiu“, București, 2000, p. 16 (for 1996; at pp. 341-345, the same author indicated 45 de parties existing in mid April 1999, without including in this number the formations of minorities, included in the data for 1990-1996); the Central Electoral Bureau (for the data of 2000 and 2004). If after 2000, the number of minorities legally recognized was fixed at 18 (the number of organizations being bigger, in the conditions where some of the minorities are represented by several formations), in exchange, the number of parties was reduced: January 1st 2003 there were 37 (cf. Roxana ANDRONIC & Bogdana PĂUN, „Legea partidelor nu sperie nici formațiunile de buzunar“, *Ziua*, 23 ianuarie 2003), at the fixed term for the re-registration of parties – that is July 18 2003 – there were 27 left, and July 15, 2004 there were 30 inscribed (cf. Stan STOICA, *Dicționarul partidelor politice din România 1989-2004*, IVth edition, Editura Meronia, București, 2004, pp. 139-144). The column for the Chamber includes the formations of minorities. Since the European elections of 2007 BBC began to publish on each site of elections the list of the formations inscribed at the Tribunal.

Table 6: Party sympathizers

	Name of the party	01.07.2003	31.12.2007
1	Partidul Național Liberal	120.115	116.134
2	Partidul Ecologist Român	34.810	28.705
3	P. Național Țărănesc Creștin Democrat	56.163	35.602
4	Partidul Democrat	148.000	86.461
5	Partidul Social Democrat	300.000	290.116
6	Partidul Conservator	95.314	90.663
7	Acțiunea Populară	33.365	-
8	Federația Ecologistă din România	44.348	R
9	Partidul România Mare	201.827	106.797
10	Partidul Național Liberal Câmpeanu	28.391	R
11	Partidul Socialist al Muncii	61.052	R
12	Partidul Socialist al Renașterii Naționale	35.469	R
13	Partidul Unității Națiunii Române	54.402	R
14	Partidul Alternativa Ecologistă	31.041	26.588
15	Uniunea pentru Reconstrucția României	32.380	R
16	Partidul Socialist Unit	44.081	R
17	Partidul Muncitoresc Român	32.657	R
18	Partidul Lege și Ordine	28.440	-
19	Partidul Social Democrat C.Titel Petrescu	29.743	29.503
20	Partidul Noua Generație	32.000	92.499
21	Partidul Socialist Român	31.292	28.187
22	Partidul Popular și al Protecției Sociale	50.000	38.836
23	Partidul Popular Creștin	27.696	R
24	Partidul Forța Dreptății	65.994	-
25	Partidul Popular din România	65.000	26.068
26	Partidul Național Democrat Creștin	26.138	29.031
27	Partidul Creștin Democrat	25.712	-
28	Partidul Renașterea României	-	26.844
29	Partidul Alianța Socialistă	-	36.517
30	Partidul Republican	-	63.295
31	Forța Democrată	-	31.724
32	Partidul Inițiativa Națională	-	25.941
33	Partidul Verde	-	26.034
34	Partidul Liberal Democrat	-	66.872
	Total	1.735.430	1.302.417

The information in the table is taken from *The register of political parties* of April 2004, of the article of Lucian

GHEORGHIU, “27 de partide au rămas în viață“, *Cotidianul*, July 18, 2003 as from the documents entitled *The register of political parties. Law no. 14/2003*, published by the Central Electoral Bureau with the occasion of the elections of June and November 2008. Of the 27 parties existing on July 1st, 2003, nine were erased from the Register of political parties, (a fact noted with an R in the table) because they have undergone processes of merger/absorption: it is the case of **Federația Ecologistă din România** and **Partidul Popular Creștin** (erased at 27.11.2003 following its fusion with PNL), the **Partidul Național Liberal Câmpeanu** (erased 27.11.2003, following its fusion with PNL), the **Partidul Socialist al Renașterii Naționale** and **Partidul Socialist al Muncii** (erased 22.10.2003 and respectively 05.12.2003, after they were absorbed by Partidul Social Democrat), the **Partidul Unității Națiunii Române** (erased la 09.08.2006, after it was absorbed by the Partidul Conservator), the **Uniunea pentru Reconstrucția României** (erased 10.03.2006, after it was absorbed by PNȚCD), the **Partidul Socialist Unit** and **Partidul Muncitoresc Român** (erased 07.04.2006 after they united under the name Partidul Stângii Unite). Other four parties, being quoted in the table with their actual denominations: it is the case of Partidul Umanist din România Social-Liberal which became since October 2005 **Partidul Conservator**, the Partidul Noua Democrație which changed its name in January 2007 in **Partidul Alternativa Ecologistă**, the Partidul Pensionarilor și Protecției Sociale, which preferred since October 2005 to be called **Partidul Popular și al Protecției Sociale** and the Partidul Tineretului Democrat, which became since 2005 **Partidul Lege și Ordine**. Four existing parties in 2003 did not submit lists at the end of 2007; in exchange, at the positions 28-34 of the table appear parties created after July 1st 2003, which presented signatures of the adherents in the term imposed by art. 27 of the law 14/2003. In total, January 1st, 2008 there were 21 parties politically active which declared the number of their members. In the spring of 2008, there were in the Register of parties, 11 political formations without having submitted lists with supporters at the end of 2007: **Partidul Tinerilor din România** (created in 2003 in the commune Voinești of Dâmbovița), **Partidul Demnității Naționale** (created in February 2004 by an ex candidate for the presidential, Eduard Gheorghe Manole), **Partidul Pentru Patrie** (politically active in the period 1996-2004), **Uniunea Creștin Socială** (established in 2004 under the name Blocul Național Democrat), **Forța Civică** (created in 2004 under the name of Partidul Creștin), **Partidul Comuniștilor Nepeceriști** (created in 2006 in the village Urechești of the commune Cicănești in the county Argeș), **Partidul Popular Agrar** (created in February 2006 in Bucharest), **Mișcarea Conservatoare din România** (established in December 2006), **Uniunea Populară Social-Creștină** (created in November 2006), **Partidul României Europene** (created in January 2007), as the already recalled **Partid al Stângii Unite**, resulted from the merger of PSU-PMR. The Register records also the registration in March 2008 of the **Partidul Civic Maghiar – Magyar Polgari Part**, and in August 2008 of the **Partidului Uniunea Ecologistă din România**, as the existence of four political alliances (**Alianța Dreptate și Adevăr – Partidul Național Liberal – Partidul Democrat**, then **Alianța Partidul Popular European (Creștini Democrați) și Democrați Europeni**, **Alianța Uniunea Verde Ecologistă** and **Alianța Politică PSD+PC**). The decrease in the number of members from 1.735.430 to 1.302.417 is explained by the reduction of these numbers for all parties, with the exception of two: PNG, which increases three times and PNȚCD, with an increase of 3000 members. In some cases, the phenomenon is hard to explain: for example, even though PSD absorbed two parties – PSM and PSRN – that had together almost 100 thousand members, the social-democrats decrease however from 300 to 290 thousand of sympathizers. With important quotas of confidence and on the first place at the Europeans of 2007, PD has a decrease from 148 thousands to 86 thousands of members: that is a diminution of over 40%, explained probably by the fact that the formation submitted lists only from 21 counties. The record belongs to PRM with a reduction of almost 50%. The distribution on counties holds its own surprises as results from table 6 bis.

Table 6 bis: Distribution of sympathizers in counties

Name	NJ	Minimal			Maximum		
PNL	41	CV 311	IF 724	SV 860	DJ 5.141	BV 5.176	CT 6.519
PER	37	TM 1	HD 1	GJ 6	BR 1.721	BC 2.211	B 2.862
PNȚCD	40	VN 16	BR 80	MH	CL 2.555	TN 2.995	B 40.35
PD	21	CL 761	CV 927	BH 992	HD 6.673	B 10.967	BV 11.932
PSD	42	CV 772	HR 798	TR	NT16.074	DB 18.459	B 31.641
PC	40	TL 80	HR 157	CJ 257	VL 8.030	BC 8.900	GL 11.091
PRM	42	HR 194	SM 420	GR 710	NT 6.083	CT 6.455	SV 9.269
PAE	23	SB 724	MH	BZ 741	BV 1.755	TL 1.830	GL 5.249
PSDCTP	38	CS 1	GJ 1	SJ 2	AR 2.068	CT 2.240	B 4.648
PNG	41	CV 392	SJ 854	TM 879	OT 4.703	VN 4.867	B 5.166
PSR	33	GR 6	IS 9	SV 23	VL 1.704	GL 1.793	B 2.506
PPPS	30	SJ 294	BH 364	VS 455	TR 2.536	AG 2.658	B 4.455
PPR	36	AR 40	AG 40	BR 40	VL 1.520	BN 1.700	B 2.180
PNDC	34	BH 12	CJ 13	HR 24	DB 2.030	PH 2.459	DJ 4.497
PRR	23	TM 703	BR 720	TL 822	IS 1.492	B 2.457	VS 3.277
PAS	37	CV 20	SM 60	BV 75	GJ 1.828	CJ 2.175	HD 2.763
PR	25	TM 95	MH	BH 320	GR 3.653	VL 16.840	BT 17.340
FD	20	IF 337	BR 707	GJ 825	VN 2.010	B 2.241	TM 3.811
PIN	20	VL 797	BV 861	GL 904	IS 1.640	TM 1.640	MS 1.890
PV	25	TL 53	BC 283	BR 501	BV 1.635	B 2.056	GL 2.495
PLD	39	TL 119	SJ 146	IF 153	DB 3.674	VL 4.180	SV 4.505

In table, I noted with NJ=the number of constituencies/counties from where come the sympathizers; Minim = the 3 counties with the smallest number of sympathizers (county/their number). At PNL lack all together the lists from Harghita and in Bucharest the liberals only have 1.769 members. PSD has lists in all the counties. At PNȚCD, lists in 40 counties, without Harghita and Covasna. At PRM all the counties but in Bucharest only 3.583. At PSDCTP are missing the counties Bihor, Covasna, Maramureș și Sibiu. At PC, without Sălaj and Satu Mare and in Bucharest 1.409 members. At PNG is missing Harghita. PAS has in Bucharest only 1.872 (the fourth filial as dimension). At PR exists only two over-dimensioned branches: In Vâlcea and Botoșani. PLD has no lists at Covasna, Buzău and Caraș Severin, and in Bucharest it has 3.363 members.

Table 7: Parliamentary forces (1990-2004)

Year of election	Senate		Chamber of Deputies		
	A	B	A	B	C
1990	7	7	16	16	11
1992	8	12	7	12	13
1996	6	12	6	12	15
2000	5	7	5	7	18
2004	4	6	4	6	18
2008	4	5	4	5	18

The table indicates for the two Chambers of Parliament the total number of political forces that passed the electoral threshold, coalitions and alliances taken as a whole (A), the number of parties that entered the Senate or the Chamber, each member of the coalition taken separately (B) and the number of minority organizations other than UDMR that entered the Chamber even though they did not pass the threshold (C). For 1990 the threshold was 0 but UDMR was still counted separately of the other minority formations.

Table 8: The effective number of parties (1990-2008)

ELECTION	N _A	N _B	N
1990	1,6297	1,6297	1,6297
1992	4,7502	5,6116	5,1809
1996	3,8936	5,9900	4,8293
2000	3,2273	3,6791	3,4532
2004	3,0321	4,6882	3,8602
2008	3,1986	3,1986	3,1986
MEDIE			3,6920

The table contains the values of the effective number of parties (N) calculated – to describe the party system – after the formula of Markku Laakso and Rein Taagepera $N = 1/\sum s_i^2$, where s_i is the proportion of the seats of the party i (cf. Lijphart, *op.cit.*, p. 79). Keeping in mind that the presence of minorities in the inferior Chamber complicates the system of representation, I made the calculation departing from the Senate (see Cristian PREDA, *România postcomunistă și România interbelică*, Meridiane, București, 2002, pp. 51-52); I calculated two parameters: N_A and N_B, taking into account first coalitions/alliances as a whole (N_A) and then taking into account parliamentary parties separately (N_B), more precisely those parties that obtained at least 1% of parliamentary seats (cf. Lijphart, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-80); I determined then the parameter of the effective number of parties (N) as an arithmetic mean of N_A and N_B. For 2004 I also calculated the parameter for the Senate (the values are inscribed in the table), but also for the Chamber; in this second case I took into consideration first the group of minorities as such, neglecting in the case of the second parameter each formation taken separately, as none obtained 1% of mandates; the values obtained this way (N_A = 3.3322; N_B = 4.0717 and N = 3.7019) are very close of the ones that resulted from the calculation made on the basis of the mandates of the Senate. More than this, the calculation N can be made by taking into account the Chambers reunited, more precisely the weight of parliamentary groups at the level of the Parliament reunited; the calculation is relevant because, although after the 2004 elections, parties have quasi-identical power at the Senate and in the inferior Chamber, ensuring the majority involves, in fact, different constraints in each Chamber as at the level of the Parliament reunited. Departing from the observation that of the 469 seats of Parliament

reunited at the end of 2004 PSD held 159 (33.9%) PNL – 92 (19.62%), PD – 69 (14.71%), PRM also 69 (14.71%), UDMR – 32 (6.82%), PUR – 30 (6.40%), and the group of minorities 18 mandates (that is 3.84%), the value of N is 4.8333, indicating – as the other values taken separately for the Senate and the Chamber – that we are dealing with a multi-party system without a dominant party. For 2008 I ignored the mandates of PC from the alliance Alianța PSD+PC, because the number was negligible – one mandate at the Senate (the 4 of the Chamber representing a little over 1%).

Table 9: Oversize of the legislative

Year	Mandates
1990	397
1992	341
1996	343
2000	345
2004	332
2008	334
Optimum	282

The table indicate the mandates of the inferior Chamber, including the places granted to the minority formations and, on the last row the optimum dimensions of the legislative, departing from the rule “of the cubic root” (cf. Arend Lijphart, *op.cit.*, p. 151).

Table 10: “Squandered” votes (1992-2008)

	Senate				Chamber of deputies			
	VVEPP	VVE	VI	VI%	VVEPP	VVE	VI	VI%
1992	9.360.739	10.964.818	1.604.079	14,63	8.765.014	10.880.252	2.115.238	19,45
1996	10.239.125	12.287.671	2.048.546	16,67	10.049.643	12.238.746	2.189.103	17,89
2000	8.723.251	10.891.910	2.168.659	19,92	8.464.543	10.839.424	2.374.881	21,91
2004	9.081.077	10.231.476	1.150.399	11,24	8.866.774	10.188.106	1.321.332	12,96
2008	6.396.804	6.888.055	491.251	7,13	6.466.288	6.886.794	420.506	6,10

In the first column is indicated the year of the election. VVEPP indicates the total number of valid votes expressed for the parties that passed the electoral threshold. VVE is the total number of valid votes expressed. VI means squandered votes, that is, granted to parties that could not pass the threshold, in absolute numbers (VI). VI% is the percentage of squandered votes from the total of valid votes expressed.

Table 11: Electoral bonus for the winners of elections

Year	Chamber	Senate
1990	- 0,07	+10,29
1992	+6,60	+5,97
1996	+5,40	+6,37
2000	+8,31	+9,33
2004	+4,48	+3,13
2008	+1,04	+1,61

We indicate here the bonus granted to the party that was first in the classification - Frontul Salvării Naționale (1990), Frontul Democrat al Salvării Naționale (1992), Convenția Democrată Română (1996), Polul Democrat-Social din România (2000), Uniunea națională PSD+PUR (2004), Alianța Politică PSD+PC (2008) – calculated as a difference between the percentage of seats and the percentage of votes obtained.

Table 12: The number of mandates and their allocation (1992-2008)

	Senate			Chamber of deputies		
	MS	MSR	%MSR	MD	MDR	%MDR
1992	143	94	65,74	341	125	36,66
1996	143	85	59,45	343	118	34,41
2000	140	72	51,43	345	110	31,89
2004	137	71	51,82	314	71	22,61
2008	137	65	47,44	315	70	22,22

The first column indicates the year of elections. The following three specify the total number of senator mandates (MS), the number of mandates of senator allocated after the redistribution of votes obtained by the formations that do not reach the threshold (MSR) and, respectively the percentage of mandates of senator allocated as a result of redistribution (%MSR). The last three columns contain the total number of mandates of deputy, without the ones of minorities (MD), the number of mandates of deputy allocated after redistribution (MDR) and the percentage of mandates of deputy allocated as a result of redistribution (%MDR). For 2008 I introduced in the columns MSR and MDR all the mandates allocated in the second stage of allocation, at the national level.

Table 13: Electoral disproportionality (1990-2008)

	G_L	G_P
1990	7,86	93,19
1992	5,88	38,66
1996	7,03	45,59
2000	9,38	33,17
2004	4,98	48,77
2008	4,36	-
Means	6,58	51,88

The table contains the parameters of legislative disproportionality (G_L) and presidential disproportionality (G_P) for the period 1990-2008, as well as, on the last row, the average values of these ones; the general value of G , calculated as a geometrical mean of the two parameters is $G=18.47$. The parameter of legislative disproportionality was calculated after the formula of Michael Gallagher $G_L = \sqrt{1/2 \sum (v_i - l_i)^2}$, where v_i = the percentage of votes obtained by a party and l_i = the percentage of seats obtained by that party, taking into account all the parties that obtained minimum 1%; for the entire period, the table contains the data calculated departing from the result of elections at the Senate; in fact, for 2004, the parameter of legislative disproportionality has values very close if it is calculated for the Senate (4.98), respectively for the Chamber (4.31). In 2008 the difference is somewhat bigger: 3.27 for the Chamber and 4.36 for the Senate. Presidential disproportionality is equal to the score of the defeated candidate in the second tour of elections. For 1990-2000 the calculations can be found in the volume Cristian PREDA, *România postcomunistă și România interbelică*, Meridiane, București, 2002, pp. 59-60.

Table 14: Mandates, first places and majorities in 2008

Party	Cham. dep.			Senate		
	M	L1	MAJ	M	L1	MAJ
PSD	11	11	40	51	55	12
	4	7				
PDL	11	13	27	49	58	11

	5	8				
PNL	65	37	4	28	15	1
UDMR	22	23	14	9	9	7
Total	31	31	85	13	13	31
	6	5		7	7	

M is the number of mandates, L1 is the number of first places won in colleges. MAJ is the number of colleges won with more than half of the votes in colleges. In the table, PSD appears together with its ally, PC. The difference between L1 and M in the case of the Chamber of deputies is explained by the increase of the magnitude of the constituency of Arad with one seat.

Table 14 bis: Allocation of mandates on counties in 2008

County	Chamber of deputies			Senate		
	M	JUD	50%+1	M	JUD	50%+1
AB	5	4	3 PDL	2	0	0
AR	8	5	5 PDL	3	2	2 PDL
AG	9	7	3 PSD	4	3	2 PSD
BC	10	9	2 PSD	4	3	1 PSD
BH	9	7	2 UDMR	4	2	1 UDMR
BN	4	2	1 PDL	2	0	0
BT	6	4	0	3	2	0
BV	8	6	1 PDL	4	2	0
BR	5	3	1 PSD	2	1	1 PSD
BZ	7	6	1 PSD + 1 PNL	3	1	0
CS	5	3	0	2	0	0
CL	5	4	1 PNL	2	0	0
CJ	10	8	2 PDL	4	1	1 PDL
CT	10	9	4 PSD	4	3	1 PSD
CV	4	3	3 UDMR	2	2	2 UDMR
DB	8	6	4 PDL + 1 PSD	3	2	2 PDL
DJ	10	9	4 PSD	5	3	2 PSD
GL	9	7	3 PSD	4	2	1 PSD
GR	4	3	1 PNL	2	1	1 PNL
GJ	6	4	3 PSD	2	0	0
HR	5	4	4 UDMR	2	2	2 UDMR
HD	7	5	1 PDL	3	1	0
IL	4	2	1 PSD	2	0	0
IS	12	11	0	5	3	0
IF	4	3	0	2	0	0
MM	7	5	0	3	2	0
MH	4	2	1 PDL	2	1	1 PDL
MS	8	6	3 UDMR	4	1	1 UDMR
NT	8	7	2 PSD + 2 PDL	3	2	1 PDL

OT	7	6	3 PSD + 1 PDL	3	2	1 PSD
PH	12	10	1 PSD + 1 PDL	5	4	0
SM	5	3	1 UDMR	2	1	1 UDMR
SJ	4	3	1 UDMR	2	0	0
SB	6	4	1 PDL + 1 PSD	3	1	0
SV	10	8	2 PDL	4	3	2 PDL
TR	6	4	2 PSD + 1 PNL	3	1	1 PSD
TM	10	8	1 PDL	4	2	1 PDL
TU	4	2	0	2	1	1 PDL
VS	7	5	1 PSD	3	1	0
VL	6	4	2 PSD	3	1	1 PSD
VN	6	5	3 PSD	2	1	1 PSD
B	28	27	2 PSD + 1 PDL	12	11	0
43	4	2	0	2	1	0
Total	31 5	245	85	13 7	72	31

M is the magnitude, that is, the number of deputies/senators on constituency. JUD designates the number of mandates allocated at the level of the county. On the column 50%+1 appears the number of mandates allocated following the “direct” victory, with minimum 50%+1 of the votes of the college. In Arad, the magnitude for CD fixed by the law was 7, being increased with one mandate after the elections. In what regards the numbers of the column JUD, they differ from the data of BEC in the case of CV for the Chamber and in the cases of AR, CV, HR, MH, SM, and TL for the Senate in the sense in which at BEC appears in each case with one unity less. The explication is simple: in these cases, BEC ignored one directly won mandate because the party of winners did not reunite at the level of the county the corresponding electoral coefficient. The mandates won with minimum 50%+1 are still won at the level of the constituency and thus they appear in the table. The 85 mandates won “directly” at the Chamber pertain 40 PSD 27 PDL, 14 UDMR and 4 PNL, while the 31 of the Senate were won 12 by PSD, 11 by PDL, 7 by UDMR and one by PNL.

Table 14 -3: Parties and mandates in the Bucharest constituency

Col	I	II	III	M
1	PDL 4.828	PSD 4.182	PNL 3.793	PNL
2	PDL 4.778	PSD 3.931	PNL 3.653	PNL
3	PDL 5.431	PNL 4.749	PSD 4.711	PNL
4	PDL 10.845	PSD 8.093	PNL 5.195	PDL
5	PDL 6.577	PSD 6.013	PNL 3.249	PSD
6	PSD 8.790	PDL 7.070	PNL 2.393	PSD
7	PDL 6.930	PSD 6.711	PNL 2.690	PSD
8	PDL 7.936	PSD	PNG 4.101	PDL

		5.809		
9	PDL 8.531	PSD 6.069	PNL 3.781	PDL
10	PDL 7.004	PSD 4.659	PNL 2.837	PDL
11	PDL 8.127	PSD 4.379	PNL 2.394	PDL
12	PDL 8.362	PSD 5.445	PNL 2.246	PDL
13	PDL 8.160	PSD 5.429	PNL 1.700	PDL
14	PDL 8.019	PSD 5.656	PNL 2.333	PDL
15	PDL 8.723	PSD 3.616	PNL 1.188	<i>PDL</i>
16	PDL 5.730	PSD 5.128	PNL 2.639	PSD
17	PSD 4.773	PDL 4.607	PNL 2.011	PSD
18	PSD 9.038	PDL 7.066	PNL 3.441	PSD
19	PSD 11.530	PDL 9.774	PNL 2.599	PSD
20	PSD 12.214	PDL 5.301	PNG 3.600	<i>PSD</i>
21	PSD 5.557	PDL 4.853	PNL 2.593	PSD
22	PSD 3.938	PDL 3.323	PNL 3.315	PNL
23	PSD 10.415	PDL 4.907	PNL 2.144	<i>PSD</i>
24	PDL 8.729	PSD 7.023	PNL 3.819	PDL
25	PDL 11.385	PSD 7.471	PNL 4.313	PDL
26	PDL 6.234	PSD 4.919	PNL 3.642	PSD
27	PDL 6.291	PSD 4.706	PNL 3.069	PNL
28	PDL 7.546	PSD 5.213	PNL 2.452	PDL

On the first column (Col) appears the number of the college. On columns I, II and III – the occupiers of the first place, the second and the third, as the number of votes obtained. M indicates the party to which the mandate was allocated with italics being marked the cases in which candidates obtained the mandate with minimum 50%+1.

Table 15: Parties that passed at least 3 electoral tests

Party	1990		1992		1996		2000		2004		2008	
	CD	S	CD	S	CD	S	CD	S	CD	S	CD	S
PSD	263	92	117	49	91	41	139	59	113	46	110	48
PDL			43	18	43	22	31	13	48	21	115	51
PRM	-	-	16	6	19	8	84	37	48	21	-	-
PNL	29	9	-	-	25	16	30	13	64	28	65	28
PSDR	2	-	10	1	10	1	10	3	-	-	-	-
UDMR	29	12	27	12	25	11	27	12	22	10	22	9

PNTCD	12	1	41	21	83	27	-	-	-	-	-	-
PUNR	9	2	30	14	18	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
PER	8	1	4	-	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
PC	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	3	19	11	4	1

The table indicates the number of parliamentary mandates obtained either individually, either in coalitions by the parties that passed three out of the five electoral tests, indifferently if they are still in Parliament or not (this is how is explained the fact that appear here PNTCD and PUNR, absent of the first two legislatures) and indifferent of the fact if they still exist or not (PSDR, for example merged in 2001 with PSDR under the name PSD). I used the present acronyms (and not, for example FDSN – the name that PDSR had at the 1992 elections). For the year 1990 I mentioned, both at the Chamber (CD) as in the Senate (S), the mandates obtained by FSN, of which were detached PSD and PD.

Table 16: The scores of the political families of Romania (1990-2008)

	1990	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	MEDIE
Greens	2,62 MER	0,98 PER*	1,24 PER*	0,84 PER	0,72 FER	0,26	1,81
	1,69 PER	2,25 MER	0,25 FER*			PVE	
	4,31	3,23	1,49	0,84	0,72	0,26	
Communists & extreme left	0,38 PDM	3,04 PSM	2,29 PS	0,71 PSM	0,44 PSU	0	2,02
			2,15 PSM	0,48 PMR	0,35 PMR		
			1,73 PSMR		0,25 PAS		
	0,38	3,04	6,17	1,19	1,32	0	
Agrarian minimalists	1,83 PDAR	2,99 PDAR	0,84 PNTȚ	0,43 PNTȚ	0	0	1,09
		0,45 PNTȚ					
	1,83	3,44	0,84	0,43	0	0	
Social-democrats	66,31 FSN	27,72 FDSN	21,52 PDSR	36,61 PDSR	36,61 PSD	33,09	43,07
	1,05 PSoDR	2,40 PSDR*	10,48 PD*	7,03 PD	0,78 FD	PSD	
	0,53 PSDR	10,19 FSN	2,44 PSDR*		0,21 PND		
	67,89	41,18	34,44	43,64	0,2 PSDCTP	37,80	33,09
Liberals and conservatives maximalist and modernist	6,41 PNL	3,12 PAC*	6,18 PNL*	6,89 PNL	31, 33 ADA	18,57	20,33
	0,27 ULB	2,64 PNLAT*	1,24 PNLCD*	4,07 APR		PNL	
	0,15 PLLR	2,63 PNL	1,57 ANL	1,40 PNLC		32,36	
		0,72 PNLCD*	0,79 ANLE	0,45 PLDR		PDL	
		0,58 NPL	0,08 PLC	0,03 ULB			
	6,83	10,20	9,86	12, 84	31,33	50,93	
Agrarian, Christian populists and/or identitarian right	2,56 PNTȚCD	10,01	20,51	5,04 CDR	1,86 PNTȚCD	0	6,92
		PNTȚCD*	PNTȚCD*	2000	0,47 AP		
			0,74 PAR*		0,32 URR		
	2,56	10,01	21,25	5,04	2,65	0	

	1990	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	MEDIE
National-populists on an ethnic or religious basis, extreme right	2,12 PUNR	7,72 PUNR 3,89 PRM	4,46 PRM 4,35 PUNR	19,48 PRM 1,38 PAN	12,99 PRM 2,24 PNG 0,52 PUNR 0,27 PNDC	3,15 PRM 2,27 PNG	10,81
	2,12	11,61	8,81	20,86	16,02	5,42	
Defenders of specific interests, diverse	0,48 GDC 0,34 PLS 0,32 PRNR 0,32 PTLDR	1,63 PR 0,73 SND	1,44 PPR 0,87 GDC	0,66 PPR	0,18 APCD 0,16 PTD 0,18 alții	0,12 PPCD	1,24
	1,46	2,36	2,31	0,66	0,52	0,12	
Minorities	7,23 UDMR 0,99 other	7,46 UDMR 1,43 other	6,63 UDMR 1,71 other	6,80 UDMR 2,57 other	6,19 UDMR 2,88 other	6,17 UDMR 3,45 other	8,92
	8,22	8,89	8,34	9,37	9,07	9,62	

I took into consideration the categories of party families defined by Christian VANDERMOTTEN and Pablo MEDINA LOCKHART, „La géographie électorale de l'Europe centre-orientale”, in Jean-Michel DE WAELE (ed.), *Partis politiques et démocraties en Europe Centrale et Orientale*, Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, Bruxelles, 2002, pp. 17-34. The results are those for the Chamber of Deputies, the scores being calculated on the basis of performances of one or several parties that participated alone or in alliances (this last case is indicated with the help of an asterisk, the score being deducted proportionally with the weight of the respective formation in alliance). I used the following acronyms: ADA = Alianța Dreptate și Adevăr (PNL-PD); ANL = Alianța Națională Liberală; ANLE = Alianța Național-Liberală Ecologistă; AP = Acțiunea Populară; APCD = Alianța Popular Creștin Democrată (PPR+Partidul Renașterea României); APR = Alianța pentru România; CDR 2000 = Convenția Democrată Română 2000; FD = Forța Democrată din România; FDSN = Frontul Democrat al Salvării Naționale; FER = Federația Ecologistă din România; FSN = Frontul Salvării Naționale; GDC = Gruparea Democratică de Centru;; NPL = Noul Partid Liberal; MER = Mișcarea Ecologistă din România; PAC = Partidul Alianței Civice; PAN = Partidul Alianța Națională (ex-PUNR + PNR = Partidul Național Român); PAR = Partidul Alternativa României; PAS = Partidul Alianța Socialistă; PD = Partidul Democrat (ex-FSN); PDAR = Partidul Democrat-Agrar din România; PDM = Partidul Democrat al Muncii; PDSR = Partidul Democrației Sociale din România (ex-FDSN); PER = Partidul Ecologist din România; PLC= Partidul Liberal Creștin; PLDR = Partidul Liberal Democrat Român (ex-PNLCD); PLLR = Partidul Liberal (al Libertății) din România; PLS = Partidul Liber-Schimbist; PMR = Partidul Muncitoresc Român; PND = Partidul Noua Democrație; PNDC = Partidul Național Democrat Creștin; PNG = Partidul Noua Generație; PNL = Partidul Național Liberal; PNLAT = Partidul Național-Liberal Aripa Tânără; PNLCD = Partidul Național Liberal Convenția Democrată; PNT = Partidul Național Țărănesc; PNTCD = Partidul Național Țărănesc Creștin-Democrat; PPCD = Partidul Popular și al Protecției Sociale din România; PPR = Partidul Pensionarilor din România; PR = Partidul Republican; PRM = Partidul România Mare; PRNR = Partidul Reconstrucției Naționale din România; PS = Partidul Socialist; PSD = Partidul Social Democrat (PDSR+PSDR); PSDCTP = Partidul Social Democrat Constantin Titel Petrescu; PSDR = Partidul Social-Democrat Român; PSM = Partidul Socialist al Muncii; PSMR = Partidul Socialist Muncitoresc Român; PSoDR = Partidul Socialist Democratic Român; PSR = Partidul Socialist Român; PSU = Partidul Socialist Unit; PTD = Partidul Tineretului Democrat; PTLDR = Partidul Tineretului Liber Democrat din România; PUNR = Partidul Unității Naționale a Românilor/Partidul Unității Națiunii Române; PUR = Partidul Umanist din România; PVE = Partidul Verde Ecologist, alianță a PER și Partidului Verde;

UDMR = Uniunea Democrată a Maghiarilor din România; SND = Solidaritatea Național-Democrată; ULB = Uniunea Liberală Brătianu; URR = Uniunea pentru Reconstrucția României.

Table 17: Governmental formulas and parliamentary majorities (1990-2004)

	Government formula			Parliamentary majority		
	Composition	Votes	Mandates	Composition	Votes	Mandates
1990-1991	FSN	66,31	66,24	FSN	66,31	66,24
1991-1992	FSN+PNL	72,72	73,54	FSN+PNL	72,72	73,54
1992-1996	FDSN	27,71	34,31	FDSN+PRM+PUNR+PSM	42,34	51,60
1996-2000	CDR+USD+UDMR	49,71	58,29	CDR+USD+UDMR	49,71	58,29
2000-2004	PSD+PUR	36,61	44,92	PSD+PUR+UDMR	43,40	52,74
2004-2007	DA+UDMR+PUR	44,70	46,18	DA+UDMR+PUR+minorities	46,87	51,60
2007-2008	PNL+UDMR	24,18	22,50	PNL+UDMR+PSD+PC+minorities	63,66	79,00
2008-	PDL+PSD	65,65	66,96	PDL+PSD	65,65	66,96

The table designates the votes and mandates obtained in the Chamber of Deputies. I took into account the composition of governments as that of majorities at the beginning of the mandate without considering neither the intra-parliament mobility, nor the repositioning such as that of PUR – which remained in the government formula of 2000-2004 with PSD only until 2003. I did not distinguish between the three governments of 1996-2000 (led by Victor Ciorbea, Radu Vasile and Mugur Isărescu), because their parliamentary support was identical. I distinguished nonetheless between the two Tăriceanu governments very different one from another.

Table 18: The evolution of the mandates of parties in the period 2004-2008

PARTID	28.12.2004	03.04.2007	01.12.2008
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	CD	S	CD+S	CD	S	CD+S	CD	S	CD+S
PSD	113	46	159	107	43	150	105	43	146
PNL	64	28	92	51	22	73	60	24	78
PD*	48	21	69	50	21	71	67	23	76
PRM	48	21	69	30	17	47	21	16	45
UDMR	22	10	32	22	10	32	22	10	32
PUR (PC)	19	11	30	19	12	31	19	10	26
Minorities	18	0	18	18	0	18	18	0	18
Indep.**	0	0	0	32	12	44	13	11	42
Total***	332	137	469	329	137	466	323	137	460

The data considered in the table are 28.12.2004 – the investiture of the 2nd Tăriceanu cabinet; 03.09.2007 – the beginning of the last parliamentary session of the 2004-2008 legislature and, respectively 01.12.2008, the end of the legislature. Some supplementary specifications: * of February 2008 – PDL; ** among the independents April 3, 2007, 26 belonged to PLD, 18 at the Chamber and 8 at the Senate; *** – the 3 missing mandates at 03.04.2007, respectively the 6 missing mandates at 03.09.2007 are a consequence of the freeing of some posts occupied by the members of the Alianța DA. At the end of the legislature there were 9 vacant mandates at the Chamber.