Electoral System Change in Europe since 1945: Lithuania

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Compiled with the assistance of:

With thanks to:
Section 1: Overview of the Lithuanian Electoral System Changes since 1990

The elections for the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR were held using a majority system in single-member districts, but with the number of seats reduced from over 300 to 141 (Krupavicius 1997: 543).

Since 1992, the Lithuanian lower house of parliament (the Seimas) has been elected using a mixed-member majority system. 71 seats are elected in SMDs and 70 mandates allocated through nationwide party lists in PR. Lithuanian electoral law has been amended a number of times since 1992, most notably to introduce the semi open-list system of preference voting in 1996, and to change the SMD system from majority to plurality and again back to majority.

Section 2: Relevant Electoral System changes in Lithuania since 1990

The following table summarizes electoral laws that have been introduced and their amendments since 1990. The data in the rightmost column indicates whether or not these laws are relevant to the present research.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Amendment</th>
<th>Date of enactment</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Relevant for the research</th>
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</table>

1 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rimkimų Įstatymas
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------|

2 Lietuvos Respublikos Įstatymas Dėl Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo kai kurių straipsnių pakeitimo ir papildymo.

3 Lietuvos Respublikos Įstatymas Dėl Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo dalinio pakeitimo ir papildymo

4 Lietuvos Respublikos Įstatymas Dėl Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo pakeitimo

5 Lietuvos Respublikos Įstatymas Dėl Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 10, 12 ir 82 straipsnių pakeitimo
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6 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo Pakeitimo Įstatymas

7 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 15 straipsnio Pakeitimo Įstatymas

8 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 21, 36, 93 straipsnių Pakeitimo ir papildymo Įstatymas
The Republic of Lithuania. The amended law on the elections to the Seimas Nr. VIII-1335


The Republic of Lithuania. Amendments to Article 51 of the law on elections to the Seimas Nr. VIII-1913


The Republic of Lithuania. Amendments to Articles 21 and 94 of the law on elections to the Seimas Nr. VIII-1937


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9 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 91 ir 96 straipsnių Pakeitimo Įstatymas
10 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo Pakeitimo Įstatymas
11 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 51 Straipsnio Pakeitimo Įstatymas
12 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 21 ir 94 straipsnių Pakeitimo Įstatymas
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13 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 41 Straipsnio Pakeitimo Įstatymas
14 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 23 straipsnio Pakeitimo ir papildymo Įstatymas
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<tr>
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<th>Amendment Details</th>
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<td>2002-09-17</td>
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<td>2003-12-18</td>
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15 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 2, 7, 9, 19, 20, 23, 25, 29, 95 straipsnių Pakeitimo ir 12, 13, 14 straipsnių pripažinimo netekusiais galios Įstatymas
16 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 58 straipsnio Pakeitimo Įstatymas
17 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 98 straipsnio Pakeitimo Įstatymas
|--------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------------------|-----|

18 Lietuvos Respublikos Prokuratūros Įstatymo, Viešųjų ir privačių interesų derinimo valstybinėje tarnyboje Įstatymo, Prezidento rinkimų Įstatymo, Seimo rinkimų Įstatymo, Piniginės socialinės paramos mažas pajamas Gaunančioms Šeimoms (Vieniems Gyvenantiems asmenims) Įstatymo, Valstybės Garantuojamos Teisinės Pagalbos Įstatymo ir Valstybės Kontrolės Įstatymo Pakeitimo Įstatymas
19 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 6, 58, 88, 91, 92 ir 93 straipsnių Pakeitimo Įstatymas
20 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 30, 34, 38, 39, 51, 67 straipsnių Pakeitimo ir papildymo Įstatymas
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21 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 2, 88 straipsnių Pakeitimo ir papildymo Įstatymas
22 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 51, 88 straipsnių papildymo ir pakeitimo ir Įstatymas
23 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo, Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo, Savivaldybių tarybų rinkimų Įstatymo ir Prezidento Rinkimų Įstatymo pakeitimo Įstatymas

24 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo papildymo 5(1), 67(1) straipsniais ir 6, 18, 26, 27, 30, 31, 34, 35, 38, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 56, 61, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 78, 79 straipsnių pakeitimo bei papildymo Įstatymas
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<td>Nr. XI-616</td>
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Law in Russian (amended to Dec. 2009)  

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25 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 2, 5(1), 6, 7, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 25, 31, 34, 37, 38, 39, 41, 51, 61, 65, 67, 67(1), 72, 74, 78, 82, 90, 91 straipsnių pakeitimo ir papildymo Įstatymas
26 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 48 straipsnio pakeitimo Įstatymas
27 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 96 straipsnio pakeitimo Įstatymas
Section 3: Details of previous electoral systems and electoral system changes.

3.1 The 1992 Electoral System

The 1992 law introduced a mixed member majority system, comprised of 70 mandates elected in closed lists in one nationwide constituency, and the remaining 71 mandates elected in SMDs. Candidates could run for mandates in one SMD and in the PR lists but could only run for one party etc.

Thresholds and allocation of mandates in the SMD election. Voter turnout needed to exceed 40% in the SMD elections for an election to be declared valid. In the event that more than two candidates competed, and no one candidate secured more than 50% of the vote, then a re-run was to take place between the two candidates with the highest number of votes. In the event of a tie in the second round then a third election was to take place.

Thresholds in the PR election. These elections required a minimum voter turnout (nationwide) of 25% to be deemed valid. Parties were required to secure a minimum of 4% of all votes cast. There was a less stringent provision for those parties or organisations registered as representing ethnic minorities, which required they attain a minimum of one ‘quota’ to be

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28 Lietuvos Respublikos Seimo Rinkimų Įstatymo 38, 39, 41, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52 ir 53 straipsnių pakeitimo Įstatymas
29 Article 8, 1992 Law
30 Articles 33; 75, 1992 Law
31 Article 33, 1992 Law
32 Article 75, 1992 Law
allocated mandates. This amounted, therefore, to a threshold of just 1/70 that is 1.4% of the total votes cast.\textsuperscript{33}

\textit{Allocation of seats in PR.} Mandates were allocated according to the Hare quota (that is the total number of votes cast divided by the number of mandates, that is, 70) and then from the remainder, second tier allocation was conducted using the Hagenbach-Bischoff method (that is the remainder + 1 divided by the number of mandates). Any mandates left over following this procedure were to be distributed to parties, successively, with the largest remainders. In the event that parties secured the same remainder, then the party with the largest share of the vote from the party list elections was to be granted the mandate. In the event that these parties also secured the same number of votes in the party list elections, then the mandate was to be allocated to the party that had secured the most votes overall: in the SMD and party list elections combined. In the event that a party secured more votes, and entitlement to more mandates than candidates on their list, then these mandates were to be allocated to other parties according to the same procedure.\textsuperscript{34}

\textit{Vacant mandates.} In the event that a mandate won in an SMD was to become vacant, then there was to be a by-election for a replacement. In the event that a mandate secured from one of the party lists was to become vacant, then the next candidate on the list was to be appointed.\textsuperscript{35}

Table 2: Allocation of seats

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the district</th>
<th>District Magnitude</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single Member Districts</td>
<td>71 districts calculated on the basis of the size of the electorate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>1 nationwide constituency with 70 members</td>
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</table>

3.2 The 1993 Amendments

\textit{Franchise.} The minimum age requirement for candidates was raised from 21 to 25.\textsuperscript{36}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{33} Article 76, 1992 Law \\
\textsuperscript{34} Article 76, 1992 Law \\
\textsuperscript{35} Article 81, 1992 Law \\
\textsuperscript{36} Article 2, March 1993 Amendments to 1992 Law
\end{flushright}
No other change

### 3.3 The 1996 Law

*Calling elections.* A new provision was introduced whereby the President, in accordance with Article 58 of the Constitution, or the Seimas could vote for an early election with a 3/5 majority. At the same time, the new law provided that in the event elections were held during war-time, then the President or Seimas would decide whether or not the term of the existing Seimas should be extended. The maximum term the Seimas could be extended under these conditions was 3 months after the end of the war.

*Thresholds.* The threshold for parties was increased from 4% to 5% and for coalitions (or joint lists of candidates from two or more parties etc.) to 7%. The concession for parties representing ethnic minorities of a significantly lower threshold (of 1.4%) was removed from the 1996 law. A new provision was introduced, whereby in the event all those parties that had qualified for mandates secured, among them, less than 60% of the total votes cast, then the next party or parties with the greatest number of votes would be included in the allocation of seats until this 60% threshold was met. The normal thresholds would therefore not apply in these cases.

*Preference voting in party lists.* Whereas before, party lists were closed, the 1996 law introduced preference voting. This allowed voters to deselect candidates by striking through a name or registering their approval of a particular candidate by rating them positively. There was no apparent limit to the number of preferences that a voter could express on their ballot paper. At the same time, this provision was optional, such that parties (etc.) submitting lists could choose not to take preference votes into account, but would need, in that event, to intimate this to their members in advance of an election.

*Allocation of mandates.* The way in which voter preferences were to be taken into account was as follows: Where parties opt to take into account the electorate’s preferences, the list of candidates is rated by multiplying two figures: the electorate’s preferences and the party’s preferences, according to the ranking of candidates by the party on the ballot paper. The first figure is calculated by adding up all the positive preferences and subtracting from this all the negative preferences. The figure for the party rating is calculated by adding 1 to the number of candidates on the list and subtracting the rank in which the candidate appears on the list (so that the candidate listed ‘1’ for example will receive the highest score of n+1-1, rather than the lowest score of 1). This formula clearly ensured that the party’s preference was the

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37 Article 6(4), 1996 Law
38 Article 6(3), 1996 Law
39 Article 88, 1996 Law
40 Article 88, 1996 Law
41 Article 88(8), 1996 Law
42 Article 89, 1996 Law
predominant factor in the choice of candidates for mandates. For example, candidate no.1 (in a list of 30 candidates) would have a party score of 30, whereas candidate no. 30 would have a party score of 1. Even if, however, candidate no. 30 received more preference votes than candidate no.1, the only way that this candidate could receive sufficient votes to equal the score of candidate no.1 would be if they garnered 30 times the number of votes candidate no.1 received. For example, say candidate no.1 secures 300 preference votes, then their score would be 30 x 300 = 9000. While if, however, candidate 30 secured 500 preference votes (200 more than candidate no.1), their score would still only be 1 x 500 = 500. To supersede candidate no.1 in this case would require that they secured at least 9000 preference votes.

The more candidates on the list, the smaller is the ratio between party rank number of one candidate and that of the candidate immediately below, and the fewer votes, therefore, are required to overturn their ordering. Higher district magnitude in this system therefore implies that higher weight is attached to voters' preferences.

*Party lists.* The number of candidates that a party or coalition could place on a candidate list was restricted to 120. The minimum number of candidates remained at 20.43

*Vacant mandates.* The new law provided that in the event that a mandate from an SMD became vacant then there was only to be a by-election in the event that parliamentary elections were not to be held within the next 6 months.44 A new provision was added concerning the vacant mandates from the party lists, whereby in the event that there were no more candidates on the party list to replace the vacant seat, then the mandate was to be allocated to the next party that had secured the most votes.45

*No other change*

### 3.4 The September 1999 Amendments to the 1996 Law

*Vacant mandates.* The provision, whereby in the event that a mandate from a SMD becomes vacant, then there is to be a by-election within 6 months, was supplemented with the provision that no such by-election would be held in the event that parliamentary elections were already scheduled within a year.46

### 3.5 The July 2000 law

43 Article 37(2), 1996 Law
44 Article 96, 1996 Law
45 Article 96, 1996 Law
46 Articles 91(4) and 96(1), 1999 Amendments to the 1996 Law
**Party Lists.** Lists were to propose no fewer than 25 candidates and were raised to a maximum of 141.\(^\text{47}\)

Allocation of mandates in SMDs. The law was amended to change the system from majority to plurality. Candidates that were allocated mandates were those that had simply secured ‘the most’ votes, rather than the majority (50%) of votes.\(^\text{48}\) While the minimum threshold for an election to be deemed valid remained 40% turnout (which suggests that in the event this threshold was not met then another election was to be held), the provision concerning re-runs of elections in the event that no one candidate received a majority, was removed.

Preference voting. Instead of marking candidates on ballots by crossing them out or designating a positive indication next to a name, voters were invited to enter the electoral numbers of candidates they preferred in a separate section of the ballot paper, and to restrict this to a choice of 5.\(^\text{49}\) The provision for parties (etc.) to choose not to solicit their supporters’ preferences as to which candidates should serve in Parliament remained.\(^\text{50}\) At the same time, the weighting of party preferences for candidates was amended to grant the electorate slightly more influence over candidate selection. Within the party list, party preferences were to be weighted in such a way that the first candidate’s ranking was to be ‘worth’ only twenty times that of the last candidate. This figure was to be calculated according to the number of candidates on the list. The last candidate on the list was to be \(n - 1\), and the first \(n - 1\) multiplied by 20. The difference between each candidate, successively placed on the list, was 19. Candidates receiving fewer than 70 preference votes received an overall ranking of 0.\(^\text{51}\) So, for example, in the event that a list contained 51 candidates, the last candidate, no. 51, would have a score of 50, and the first on the list would have a score of 1000 (that is, 50 x 20). Again, candidates were ranked according to the product of these two scores – party rating and voters’ rating. For example, if as in our previous example of a list of 30 candidates, if candidate 1 received 300 preference votes, while candidate 30 received 500 preference votes, then the overall score for candidate no.1 would be \(20 \times (30 - 1) \times 300 = 174,000\) and the score for candidate 30 would by \((30 - 1) \times 500 = 14,500\).

The effect of all of this was that, although the party retained predominant influence over the selection of candidates, this predominance was less than under the previous formula. Previously, if (as was often the case) a party had 100 or more candidates on its list, the bottom candidate would need 100 or more times more preference votes than the top candidate in order to come out ahead of the top candidate. Under the new rules, this candidate would need only 20 times the number of votes.

Some examples from the 2000 elections help clarify this. For example, the Lithuanian Liberal Union had a list of 132 candidates, and the candidate ranked last on the list, Eugenijus

\(^{47}\) Article 37(2), 2000 Law

\(^{48}\) Article 88(3), 2000 Law

\(^{49}\) Articles 58(4); 66(3); 2000 Law

\(^{50}\) Article 89(8), 2000 Law

\(^{51}\) Article 90(3), 2000 Law
Gentvilas, had a party rating of 131 (that is, 132-1), while the candidate listed first has a party rating of 2620 (that is 131 x 20). Alternatively, the following formula may be used to calculate the party rating of each candidate:

\[(n - \text{candidate number}) \times 19 + (n - 1).\]

So for example, candidate no. 115 on the party list was calculated as follows: 132 – 115, which equals 17, multiplied by 19 and to which is added 131, to produce a party number of 454.

Preference votes did to some degree affect the ranking of candidates at this election, but one example in particular indicates the extent to which the influence of the electorate was restricted: The candidate listed last, Eugenijus Gentvilas, received 11,555 preference votes, which moved him from the rank of 132\textsuperscript{nd} to 37\textsuperscript{th} place. In terms of preference votes alone, Gentvilas was in 11\textsuperscript{th} place, but this support was still insufficient for him to win a mandate when the formula for ranking candidates had been applied. He did not run as a candidate in the SMD elections. In total 16 mandates were allocated to the Lithuanian Liberal Union through the party list elections, 3 of which were moved up the party list to secure mandates as the result of preference votes (Lydeka, Sedlickas and Velicka). The maximum number of candidates (that is, 71) ran in both SMD and in the party list elections. So, we can see some limited influence on candidate selection as a result of preference votes.

**Allocation of mandates.** A minor amendment was introduced into the calculation of the SMD election results, whereby in the event of a tie between candidates with the most votes, the oldest candidate was to be elected.

No other change

### 3.6 May 2004 Amendments to the 2000 Law

**Allocation of mandates in SMD.** The system for allocating mandates in the SMD elections was changed back from plurality to majority. In the event that voter turnout reached the threshold of 40%, a candidate required more than half of the votes cast to be declared the winner. In the event that less than 40% of the constituency voted, a candidate would be elected only if he or she secured no less than 20% of the electorate. Thus, if only 30 per cent of the electorate voted, a candidate would need the support of two thirds of actual voters before being elected. For example in a constituency of 5000 voters, 30 per cent of the electorate is 1500. For any

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54 Article 88(4), 2000 Law
55 Article 88(2), July 2004 Amendments (No. 2374) to the 2000 Law
one party to be elected required that they secure 20 per cent of the electorate, that is 1000 votes, or 1000/1500, which is equal to two thirds of all votes cast. Provisions were changed concerning the re-run of elections, in the event that these criteria were not met. As before, the two candidates with the most votes were to compete again, but this time the candidate with the most votes was declared the winner, regardless of the turnout. In the event that both were to secure the same number of votes, then the matter was to be decided by drawing lots, rather than on the basis of age. 56

No other change

3.7 December 2009 Amendments to the 2000 Law.

Preference votes
The way in which preference voting was to be taken into account was once again changed, this time, to grant the electorate almost complete influence over candidate selection. The final order in which candidates were to be ranked on the lists, was to be determined on the basis of the number of preference votes. In the event that two candidates received the same number of preference votes, then the candidate that had been listed first on the party list was to be declared the winner. 57 At the same time, the provision remained that parties could choose not to solicit their supporters’ preferences in ranking candidates, in which case they would notify their party members in advance of an election to this effect. 58

No other change

Appendix

References


56 Article 88(3), July 2004 Amendments (No. 2374) to the 2000 Law
57 Article 90(3) December 2009 Amendments to the 2000 Law
58 Article 89(8) December 2009 Amendments to the 2000 Law


**Project funding provisions**

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