

ESCE

Electoral System Change in Europe since 1945



Electoral System Change in Europe since 1945: Ireland

Authored by: Alan Renwick

Compiled with the assistance of:

With thanks to:





Section 1: Overview of Irish Electoral System Changes since 1945

Ireland has used the Proportional Representation by Single Transferable Vote (PR-STV) electoral system for elections to the lower house of parliament (the Dáil Eireann) ever since independence in 1922. The only change during that time that could be regarded as significant within the terms of this project was a substantial reduction in the average district magnitude (M), from 5.1 to 4.0, in 1935. Though average M has continued to change from time to time since then, none of these changes have passed the 20 per cent criterion. Similarly, though aspects of Irish electoral law have been changed frequently, none of these changes have significantly affected the aspects of the electoral system covered here.

The PR-STV electoral system is enshrined in the Irish constitution as the means of electing the Dáil – meaning that it cannot be amended without public approval in a referendum. The two most significant efforts to move away from PR-STV came in the form of two government proposals, which were put before the Irish public in 1959 and 1968. In both cases it was proposed that PR-STV be replaced with a UK-style 'First Past the Post' system. Both proposals were defeated at the referendum stage.



Section 2: Relevant Electoral System changes in Ireland since 1945

Table 1. Summary of Irish Electoral Laws and Amendments since 1945 – relevant to this project

Law	Amendment	Date of enactment	Location	Relevant for the research
Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) Act		1922	Dublin	Pre-1945
Number 5/1935: Electoral (Revision of Constituencies) Act, 1935		1935	Dublin	Yes, reduced average DM from 5.1 to 4.0.
Constitution of Ireland, 1937		1937	Dublin	No change to PR-STV rules

Section 3: Details of previous electoral systems and electoral system changes.

Constitutional Provisions Relating to the Electoral System

The first post-independence Irish constitution was the [Constitution of the Irish Free State \(Saorstát Eireann\) Act, 1922](#). Article 14 of this Act laid out rules on the franchise. Article 26 set out the framework of the Dáil electoral system, including the provision that “The members [of the Dáil Eireann] shall be elected upon principles of Proportional Representation.” It also established the principles of redistricting. Article 27 made provision for University seats in the Dáil. Article 28 set out rules regarding election timing. Article 29 concerned Dáil by-elections. Articles 32 and 33 set out the principles regarding the part of the Senate that was directly elected.



A 1936 constitutional amendment ([Number 17/1936: Constitution \(Amendment No. 23\) Act, 1936](#)) abolished the University seats in the Dáil (though not in the upper house, the Seanad).

A new Constitution (the [Constitution of Ireland, 1937](#)) was approved by referendum in July 1937. It did not radically alter any of the provisions relating to the electoral system. All are now contained in Article 16. This explicitly states that the elections are by “proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote” (16.2.5). The number of Dáil members must be no less than one member for every 30,000 of the population and not more than one member for every 20,000 of the population (16.2.2). The maximum period between boundary reviews was increased from ten to twelve years. (16.2.4). A minimum district magnitude of three was established (16.2.6).

Three subsequent amendments have affected provisions relating to the electoral system, though none concern the aspects of the electoral system focused on here:

- [Number 4/1972: Fourth Amendment of the Constitution Act, 1972](#). This reduced the voting age from 21 to 18.
- [Number 7/1979: Seventh Amendment of the Constitution \(Election of Members of Seanad Éireann by Institutions of Higher Education\) Act, 1979](#). This made provision for the election of University members to the Senate.
- [Number 9/1984: Ninth Amendment of the Constitution Act, 1984](#). This created scope for non-citizens to be given the franchise, as determined by law.

The Basic Structure of the Electoral System

The STV electoral system was first set out in detail by the [Electoral Act of 1923](#). This was amended often over the following years (see the Appendix) and completely overhauled by the [Electoral Act of 1992](#). With regard to those aspects of STV that are open to variation (except assembly size and district magnitude, which are considered below), the following provisions have been in place:

- *The vote that can be cast.* There has never been any provision for voters to vote “above the line”. The 1923 Act said, that each elector has “one transferable vote” where a transferable vote is a vote “capable of being given so as to indicate the voter's preference for the candidates in order” (Article 17). These exact words are repeated in Article 37 of the 1992 Act. A ballot paper is valid if one clear preference is expressed (Electoral Act, 1923, Article 26; Electoral Act, 1992, Article 118). Thus, voters are free to express as few or as many preferences as they wish
- *The method of counting votes.* There is variation among STV systems in how votes are counted: specifically, how the surpluses of elected candidates are redistributed. Ireland uses and has always used the procedure of transferring at full value only surplus votes. The votes cast for the elected candidate are analysed (if these votes



consist only of original votes, all are analysed; if they consist of original and transferred votes, the last parcel of votes to have been transferred is analysed). They are placed into sub-parcels according to the next preference expressed for a continuing candidate. The number of votes to be transferred is calculated, such that the number of papers transferred from each sub-parcel “bears the same proportion to the number of papers in the sub-parcel as the surplus bears to the total number of transferable papers”. This was set out in Schedule 3 of the 1923 Act and in Article 121 of the 1992 Act.

Assembly Size

The only aspects of the electoral system covered in this project that have seen any change are assembly size and district magnitude (though neither has seen any significant change since before 1945). Until 1997, the precise districts and the apportionment of seats to those districts were decided by government and set out in primary legislation, giving rise sometimes to allegations of political bias. The Electoral Act, 1997 ([Number 25/1997](#)) changed this by establishing a Constituency Commission and setting the framework within which the Constituency Commission should operate. It stipulated that the size of the Dáil should be no less than 164 and no greater than 168 and that all districts should return three, four, or five members (Article 6.2).

The Electoral (Amendment) Act, 2011 ([Number 14/2011](#)) lowered the permitted size range to between 153 and 160 (Article 3). This move was intended to reduce the cost of politics. As the minister responsible, Phil Hogan, said when moving the Bill at Second Reading in the Dáil on 5 July 2011:

I first will turn to the proposal to reduce the number of Members in the Dáil, in respect of which the Government’s position is quite clear. It wishes to reduce the size and cost of government and the programme for Government has identified a “clear need for our political system to embrace change, share the burden and lead by example”. Under the heading political reform — change must start at the top, the programme for Government states “the political system cannot ask others to change and make sacrifices if it is not prepared to do the same”.¹

The government originally proposed a minimum size of 152 members. Initial returns from the 2011 census suggested, however, that a minimum of 153 members would be required to meet the constitutional requirement of no more than 30,000 people per member. The Bill was therefore amended at committee stage to provide for the minimum of 153 members.²

The precise district plan continues to be set out in primary legislation after the Commission has made its recommendations. At the time of writing, the new districting arrangements have not

¹ [Dáil Debates, 5 July 2011 \(vol. 737, no. 3\), p. 19.](#)

² Ibid.



been made: the Commission is expected to make its recommendations by June 2012 (for details, see the [Constituency Commission's website](#)).

The assembly size has changed as shown in Table 2. Note that only those laws that have changed the existing assembly size are mentioned here.

Table 2. Assembly Size (Dáil Éireann), since 1922

Act	Assembly Size
Number 12/1923: Electoral Act, 1923	153 (Article 50), including 6 university seats
Number 5/1935: Electoral (Revision of Constituencies) Act, 1935	138 <i>plus</i> "such number of members (if any) as is for the time being required by law to be returned by university constituencies" (Article 3) – i.e., 144 in total
Number 22/1936: Electoral (University Constituencies) Act, 1936	138 (university seats being abolished)
Number 31/1947: Electoral (Amendment) Act, 1947	147
Number 33/1959: Electoral (Amendment) Act, 1959	144
Number 7/1974: Electoral (Amendment) Act, 1974	148
Number 17/1980: Electoral (Amendment) Act, 1980	166



District Magnitudes

The precise details of the districts are set out in primary legislation. This has been changed frequently, but the only change that passes the 20 per cent criterion used in this project is that of 1935, when the largest districts were abolished and the number of three-member districts was doubled. Full details are given in Table 3.

Table 3. Districts and district magnitudes

Act	Enactment date	Number of districts with magnitude of ...							Number of districts	Mean M	Total assembly size
		3	4	5	6	7	8	9			
12/1923	17/04/1923	8	4	9	0	5	3	1	30 (incl. 2 uni.)	5.1	153 (incl. 6 uni.)
5/1935	27/02/1935	17	8	8	0	3	0	0	36 (incl. 2 uni.)	4.0	144 (incl. 6 uni.)
22/1936	29/06/1936	15	8	8	0	3	0	0	34	4.1	138
31/1947	27/11/1947	22	9	9	0	0	0	0	40	3.7	147
33/1959	26/11/1959	21	9	9	0	0	0	0	39	3.7	144
19/1961	14/07/1961	17	12	9	0	0	0	0	38	3.8	144
3/1969	26/03/1969	26	14	2	0	0	0	0	42	3.4	144
7/1974	07/05/1974	26	10	6	0	0	0	0	42	3.5	148
17/1980	01/07/1980	13	13	15	0	0	0	0	41	4.0	166
36/1983	14/12/1983	13	13	15	0	0	0	0	41	4.0	166
36/1990	26/12/1990	12	15	14	0	0	0	0	41	4.0	166
21/1995	20/07/1995	12	15	14	0	0	0	0	41	4.0	166
19/1998	16/06/1998	16	12	14	0	0	0	0	42	4.0	166
16/2005	09/07/2005	18	13	12	0	0	0	0	43	3.9	166
4/2009	24/02/2009	17	15	11	0	0	0	0	43	3.9	166



Appendix

Constitutional Provisions Relating to the Electoral System

[Constitution of the Irish Free State \(Saorstát Eireann\) Act, 1922](#)

Article 14 of the 1922 Constitution laid out rules on the franchise. Article 26 set out the framework of the Dáil electoral system, including the provision that elections would be by proportional representation. It also established the principles of redistricting. Article 27 made provision for University seats in the Dáil. Article 28 set out rules regarding election timing. Article 29 concerned Dáil by-elections. Articles 32 and 33 set out the principles regarding the part of the Senate that was directly elected.

The full text of all of these articles is given below.

Article 14.

All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) without distinction of sex, who have reached the age of twenty-one years and who comply with the provisions of the prevailing electoral laws, shall have the right to vote for members of Dáil Eireann, and to take part in the Referendum and Initiative. All citizens of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) without distinction of sex who have reached the age of thirty years and who comply with the provisions of the prevailing electoral laws, shall have the right to vote for members of Seanad Eireann. No voter may exercise more than one vote at an election to either House, and the voting shall be by secret ballot. The mode and place of exercising this right shall be determined by law.

Article 26.

Dáil Eireann shall be composed of members who represent constituencies determined by law. The number of members shall be fixed from time to time by the Oireachtas, but the total number of members of Dáil Eireann (exclusive of members for the Universities) shall not be fixed at less than one member for each thirty thousand of the population, or at more than one member for each twenty thousand of the population: Provided that the proportion between the number of members to be elected at any time for each constituency and the population of each constituency, as ascertained at the last preceding census, shall, so far as possible, be identical throughout the country. The members shall be elected upon principles of Proportional Representation. The Oireachtas shall revise the constituencies at least once in every ten years, with due regard to changes in distribution of the population, but any



alterations in the constituencies shall not take effect during the life of Dáil Eireann sitting when such revision is made.

Article 27.

Each University in the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann), which was in existence at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution, shall be entitled to elect three representatives to Dáil Eireann upon a franchise and in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article 28.

At a General Election for Dáil Eireann the polls (exclusive of those for members for the Universities) shall be held on the same day throughout the country, and that day shall be a day not later than thirty days after the date of the dissolution, and shall be proclaimed a public holiday. Dáil Eireann shall meet within one month of such day, and shall, unless earlier dissolved, continue for four years from the date of its first meeting, and not longer. Dáil Eireann may not at any time be dissolved except on the advice of the Executive Council.

Article 29.

In case of death, resignation or disqualification of a member of Dáil Eireann, the vacancy shall be filled by election in manner to be determined by law.

Article 32.

One-fourth of the members of Seanad Eireann shall be elected every three years from a panel constituted as hereinafter mentioned at an election at which the area of the jurisdiction of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) shall form one electoral area, and the elections shall be held on principles of Proportional Representation.

Article 33.

Before each election of members of Seanad Eireann a panel shall be formed consisting of:—

(a) Three times as many qualified persons as there are members to be elected, of whom two-thirds shall be nominated by Dáil Eireann voting according to principles of Proportional Representation and one-third shall be nominated by Seanad Eireann voting according to principles of Proportional Representation; and



(b) Such persons who have at any time been members of Seanad Éireann (including members about to retire) as signify by notice in writing addressed to the President of the Executive Council their desire to be included in the panel.

The method of proposal and selection for nomination shall be decided by Dáil Éireann and Seanad Éireann respectively, with special reference to the necessity for arranging for the representation of important interests and institutions in the country: Provided that each proposal shall be in writing and shall state the qualifications of the person proposed and that no person shall be proposed without his own consent. As soon as the panel has been formed a list of the names of the members of the panel arranged in alphabetical order with their qualifications shall be published.

[Number 17/1936: Constitution \(Amendment No. 23\) Act, 1936](#)

This amendment abolished the University seats in the Dáil.

[Constitution of Ireland, 1937](#)

The new Constitution approved by referendum in July 1937 did not radically alter any of the provisions relating to the electoral system. All are now contained in Article 16. This explicitly states that the elections are by “proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote” (16.2.5). The maximum period between boundary reviews was increased from ten to twelve years. (16.2.4). A minimum district magnitude of three was established (16.2.6).

Article 16

1. 1° Every citizen without distinction of sex who has reached the age of twenty-one years, and who is not placed under disability or incapacity by this Constitution or by law, shall be eligible for membership of Dáil Éireann.

2° i All citizens, and

ii such other persons in the State as may be determined by law,

without distinction of sex who have reached the age of eighteen years who are not disqualified by law and comply with the provisions of the law relating to the election of members of Dáil Éireann, shall have the right to vote at an election for members of Dáil Éireann.

3° No law shall be enacted placing any citizen under disability or incapacity for membership of Dáil Éireann on the ground of sex or disqualifying any citizen or other person from voting at an election for members of Dáil Éireann on that ground.



- 4° No voter may exercise more than one vote at an election for Dáil Éireann, and the voting shall be by secret ballot.
2. 1° Dáil Éireann shall be composed of members who represent constituencies determined by law. 2° The number of members shall from time to time be fixed by law, but the total number of members of Dáil Éireann shall not be fixed at less than one member for each thirty thousand of the population, or at more than one member for each twenty thousand of the population.
- 3° The ratio between the number of members to be elected at any time for each constituency and the population of each constituency, as ascertained at the last preceding census, shall, so far as it is practicable, be the same throughout the country.
- 4° The Oireachtas shall revise the constituencies at least once in every twelve years, with due regard to changes in distribution of the population, but any alterations in the constituencies shall not take effect during the life of Dáil Éireann sitting when such revision is made.
- 5° The members shall be elected on the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.
- 6° No law shall be enacted whereby the number of members to be returned for any constituency shall be less than three.
3. 1° Dáil Éireann shall be summoned and dissolved as provided by section 2 of Article 13 of this Constitution. 2° A general election for members of Dáil Éireann shall take place not later than thirty days after a dissolution of Dáil Éireann.
4. 1° Polling at every general election for Dáil Éireann shall as far as practicable take place on the same day throughout the country.
- 2° Dáil Éireann shall meet within thirty days from that polling day.
5. The same Dáil Éireann shall not continue for a longer period than seven years from the date of its first meeting: a shorter period may be fixed by law.
6. Provision shall be made by law to enable the member of Dáil Éireann who is the Chairman immediately before a dissolution of Dáil Éireann to be deemed without any actual election to be elected a member of Dáil Éireann at the ensuing general election.
7. Subject to the foregoing provisions of this Article, elections for membership of Dáil Éireann, including the filling of casual vacancies, shall be regulated in accordance with law.

[Number 4/1972: Fourth Amendment of the Constitution Act, 1972](#)

Reduced the voting age from 21 to 18.

[Number 7/1979: Seventh Amendment of the Constitution \(Election of Members of Seanad Éireann by Institutions of Higher Education\) Act, 1979](#)

Made provision for the election of University members to the Senate.



[Number 9/1984: Ninth Amendment of the Constitution Act, 1984](#)

Created scope for non-citizens to be given the franchise, as determined by law.

Ordinary Law Relating to the Electoral System

[Number 12/1923: Electoral Act, 1923](#)

This is the Republic of Ireland's first electoral law. It determines the electoral system for the Dáil (lower house) as being that of single transferable vote (STV) (Article 17 and Schedule 3). It also defines each district and the number of seats elected in each (Schedule 8). In addition, it covers rules for Seanad (upper house) elections and referendums.

[Number 38/1923: The Prevention of Electoral Abuses Act, 1923](#)

Defines a range of electoral offences and establishes penalties.

[Number 34/1925: Electoral \(Seanad Elections\) Act, 1925](#)

Very short act clarifying certain minor aspects of the Seanad electoral system.

[Number 21/1927: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1927](#)

Very short act dealing with a range of issues. Defines the maximum duration of the Oireachtas as five years (Article 7).

[Number 33/1927: Electoral \(Amendment\) \(No. 2\) Act, 1927](#)

Requires candidates for the Dáil or Seanad to make a declaration on oath of their intention to take up their seats if elected.

[Number 29/1928: Seanad Electoral Act, 1928](#)

A new act setting out the Seanad electoral laws and thus replacing most of the 1923 Electoral Act in so far as it applied to the Seanad.

[Number 29/1932: Electoral \(Registration Appeals\) Act, 1932](#)

Very short act changing procedures for dealing with some appeals.

[Number 14/1933: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1933](#)

Minor changes to deposits and the disqualification and resignation of Dáil members.

[Number 5/1935: Electoral \(Revision of Constituencies\) Act, 1935](#)



This act defined new districts for the Dáil, significantly reducing the average magnitude from 5.1 to exactly 4 (including the university constituencies, which were not affected by the act). Details are given in Table 1.*

[Number 22/1936: Electoral \(University Constituencies\) Act, 1936](#)

Abolished the two university constituencies in the Dáil (which had elected three members each). (Consequent effects upon district magnitudes are shown in Table 1.*

[Number 25/1937: Electoral \(Chairman of Dail Eireann\) Act, 1937](#)

Allows the Ceann Comhairle (Chairman of the Dáil) to be deemed elected to the Dáil without actually going through election.

[Number 30/1937: Seanad Electoral \(University Members\) Act, 1937](#)

Sets out full provisions for the election of the university members of the Seanad.

[Number 43/1937: Seanad Electoral \(Panel Members\) Act, 1937](#)

Sets out full provisions for the election of the panel members of the Seanad.

[Number 20/1940: Seanad Electoral \(Panel Members\) \(Bye-Elections\) Act, 1940](#)

Full provisions for by-elections when vacancies exist for panel members of the Seanad.

[Number 28/1941: Electoral Act, 1941](#)

Short act setting the minimum voting age at 21 (though Article 1 of the 1923 Electoral Act had already set it at 21).

[Number 15/1943: Electoral \(Polling Cards\) Act, 1943](#)

On sending polling cards to voters when there is an election during the period of national emergency.

[Number 6/1945: Electoral \(Dail Eireann and Local Authorities\) Act, 1945](#)

Changes the qualifying date for the electoral register and make other consequent changes.

[Number 31/1946: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1946](#)

Various changes to the administration of elections.

[Number 31/1947: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1947](#)

Sets the size of the Dáil at 147 members and redefined the districts. This increased the number of districts from 34 to 40 and reduced the mean district magnitude from 4.1 to 3.7 (see Table 1*).



[Number 42/1947: Seanad Electoral \(Panel Members\) Act, 1947](#)

Full provisions for the election of panel members of the Seanad.

[Number 1/1954: Seanad Electoral \(Panel Members\) Act, 1954](#)

Minor amendments to law 42/1947.

[Number 33/1959: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1959](#)

This amendment changed the Dáil assembly size from 147 to 144. It also revised the constituency structure very slightly, as detailed in Table 1*.

[Number 43/1960: Electoral Act, 1960](#)

This act amended previous legislation in various ways, notably in relation to postal voting and voting by blind and incapacitated persons.

[Number 19/1961: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1961](#)

While keeping the size of the Dáil unchanged, this act slightly changed the district structure, thereby marginally increasing mean district magnitude (see Table 1*).

[Number 19/1963: Electoral Act, 1963](#)

This act repealed large parts of the Electoral Act, 1923 as well as much earlier (UK) legislation and later legislation. It set out regulations for Dáil, presidential, and local elections and for referendums. But it made no changes to the essence of the Dáil system that is our focus here.

[Number 1/1966: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1966](#)

Small amendment related to those with mental disabilities.

[Number 3/1969: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1969](#)

This act kept the size of the Dáil unchanged but revised the district structure, increasing the number of districts to 42 and reducing average district magnitude to 3.4. For the first time, the majority of Dáil members were to be elected in three-member districts.

[Number 4/1972: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1972](#)

Amended provisions relating to the design of ballot papers, including ballot paper templates.

[Number 3/1973: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1973](#)

Reduced the voting age from 21 to 18.

[Number 7/1974: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1974](#)



This act increased the size of the Dáil from 144 to 148 and amended the structure of constituencies. Average district magnitude increased very marginally (see Table 1*).

[Number 17/1980: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1980](#)

This act increased the size of the Dáil to 166 and further amended the structure of districts, reducing the number of districts by one. The mean district magnitude rose from 3.5 to 4.0 (see Table 1*).

[Number 40/1980: Electoral \(Amendment\) \(No. 2\) Act, 1980](#)

Minor changes relating to the re-election of the Chairman of the Dáil.

[Number 5/1982: Prevention of Electoral Abuses Act, 1982](#)

Very slight change to the rules on personation.

[Number 36/1983: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1983](#)

This updated the districts but left assembly size and the distribution of district magnitudes unchanged (see Table 1*).

[Number 12/1985: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1985](#)

On the voting rights of members of EC member states who are resident in Ireland.

[Number 12/1986: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1986](#)

Administrative changes

[Number 35/1986: Electoral \(Amendment\) \(No. 2\) Act, 1986](#)

On voting arrangements for physically ill or disabled people and on postal votes for voters resident abroad.

[Number 8/1989: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1989](#)

Very minor administrative change.

[Number 36/1990: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1990](#)

This updated the districts but left assembly size unchanged and the distribution of district magnitudes almost unchanged (see Table 1*).

[Number 23/1992: Electoral Act, 1992](#)

This act completely overhauled the electoral law, repealing the 1923 Electoral Act and large parts of the 1963 Act. But it made no changes of substance to the aspects of the electoral system focused on in this project. It also left the 1990 act, relating to districts, untouched.



[Number 21/1995: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1995](#)

This updated the districts but left assembly size and the distribution of district magnitudes unchanged (see Table 1*).

[Number 43/1996: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1996](#)

On the accessibility of voting and places where votes are counted to disabled persons.

[Number 25/1997: Electoral Act, 1997](#)

This act did not change the aspects of the electoral system focused on in this project, but it did introduce a number of significant changes. First, it established a Constituency Commission (Part II). In doing so, it stipulated that the size of the Dáil should be no less than 164 and no greater than 168 and that all districts should return three, four, or five members (Article 6.2). The Commission was to report, recommending the structure of constituencies, within six months of its establishment (Article 9).

Second, the act provided for payments to political parties and the reimbursement of candidates' election expenses. Third, it required the disclosure of certain donations. Fourth, it further regulated the expenditure of parties and candidates.

[Number 4/1998: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 1998](#)

This made various amendments to the 1997 act in respect of disclosure of donations and the regulation of expenditure.

[Number 19/1998: Electoral \(Amendment\) \(No. 2\) Act, 1998](#)

This changed the district structure, leaving the assembly size unchanged and only very marginally affecting mean district magnitude.

[Number 38/2001: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 2001](#)

Many technical changes relating to registration, postal voting, and other issues.

[Number 4/2002: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act, 2002](#)

Various changes relating to nomination of candidates, voter registration, and regulation of donations.

[Number 23/2002: Electoral \(Amendment\) \(No. 2\) Act, 2002](#)

Small changes to the regulation of election expenses.

[Number 15/2004: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act 2004](#)

Extensive provisions relating to electronic voting.



[Number 16/2005: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act 2005](#)

This changed the district structure, leaving the assembly size unchanged and marginally reducing mean district magnitude (see Table 1*).

[Number 33/2006: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act 2006](#)

On postal votes for prisoners.

[Number 14/2007: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act 2007](#)

Mostly on candidate nomination procedures.

[Number 4/2009: Electoral \(Amendment\) Act 2009](#)

This updated the districts but left assembly size and the distribution of district magnitudes unchanged (see Table 1*).

[Number 9/2009: Electoral \(Amendment\) \(No. 2\) Act 2009](#)

On the regulation of party and candidate spending.

Project funding provisions

The ESCE project team wishes to acknowledge that this research was made possible due to the financial support that the project has received from: the FRS-FNRS, the McDougall Trust and the Nuffield Foundation.