

ESCE

Electoral System Change in Europe since 1945



Electoral System Change in Europe since 1945: Greece

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With thanks to:





Section 1: Overview of the Greek Electoral System Changes since 1974

The starting point for analysing electoral system changes in Greece is the electoral reform which was enacted by the 'national unity government' of Konstantinos Karamanlis in September 1974. Following the collapse of the Colonels' regime (1967-1974), an appointed interim government of prominent politicians undertook the task of the democratisation of the Greek state and the declaration of the Third Hellenic Republic. The first democratically elected government since 1967 was formed in November 1974 under a complex form of proportional representation known as 'reinforced' PR. The 'Reinforced' proportional representation system, as enacted on 25 September 1974, was a multi-tier hybrid electoral system that combined elements of plurality and proportionality but with a clear advantage to the first-past-the-post party. The voting system currently used in Greece is still called 'reinforced' proportionality (with a majority-bonus). Although it has been modified several times since the restoration of democracy it retains a complex and hybrid nature.

The 1974 electoral reform was heavily based on the voting system used in Greece before the dictatorship. In fact, a form of reinforced proportionality was first used in the 1951 general election. As a result, one could argue that the implications of the electoral system for voters, parties and parliament in Greece have not changed radically in the post-WWII era. In the period before the dictatorship (1946-1967) the elections in Greece were mainly held under various forms of proportional representation. In more detail, simple proportionality was used in the 1946 and 1950 parliamentary elections while various forms of reinforced proportionality were used in the 1951, 1958, 1961 and 1963 elections; the 1952 general election was held under a majoritarian system, while in the 1956 election a mixed member system combined elements of simple plurality, majoritarian and proportional systems (three phases according to the number of seats available in each constituency). The country was divided into multi-seat electoral districts (the number varied from 38 to 100 depending on the voting system in use). Depending on the magnitude of the constituency voters could select one or two candidates of their choice by putting a cross next to their names on the party ballot. With the exception of the 1951, 1952 and 1956 elections, the allocation of seats was based on a three-tier framework with thresholds for access to the second and/or third tier.

Below is a short list of all legislative orders and amendment laws that determined the character of the electoral systems in use in the period 1945 – 1974:

- Legislative Order 5493/1932
- o Amendment Law 1020/1946
- o Amendment Law 1878/1951
- o Amendment Law 2228/1952
- Legislative Order 3457/1955
- Legislative Order 3822/1958
- Legislative Order 4173/1961
- Legislative Order 4322/1963
- Legislative Order 19/28.08.1974

It should be stressed that although the abovementioned electoral systems and amendments are not directly related to the present project as Greece is not considered a consolidated democracy prior to 1974, they nonetheless provide a very useful/insightful background to examining and understanding the electoral framework upon which the current electoral



systems are based. It should be borne in mind, that since 1974 seven different electoral systems have been used in the Greek parliamentary elections.

Before turning to the detail of the various electoral laws, it should be noted that a constitutional reform in 2001 (article 54) provided that, while the electoral system and district magnitude can be changed by law passed by simple parliamentary majority, such a law comes into enforce only in the second following election. If a two-thirds parliamentary majority is achieved for the reform, however, then the new electoral law is effective immediately. Before 2001 and under article 54 (paragraph 1) of the constitution of 1975 and 1986, changes in the electoral system were introduced by law, which was effective immediately even when passed by simple parliamentary majority. This provision had permitted a series of calculating electoral reforms by the governing parties which changed the electoral system a few months prior to the general election in order to get re-elected in office.

Section 2: Relevant Electoral System changes in Greece since 1974

Table 1. Summary of the Greek Electoral Laws and Amendments since 1974

Law	Amendment	Date of enactment	Location	Relevant for the research
Legislative Order 65/1974	Electoral districts; district magnitude; 'cross of preference'; second tier (major electoral districts); party threshold	25.09.1974		Yes
Presidential Order 650/1974	Codification of: Auxiliary Order 592/1963, Auxiliary Order 689/1963, Auxiliary Order 435/1968, Legislative Order 19/1974 , Legislative Order 65/1974	03.10.1974		Yes
Presidential Order 676/1974	Electoral districts and district	08.10.1974		



	magnitude		
Law 626/1977	Suffrage age; Second tier (Droop quota)	29.06.1977	Yes
Law 789/1978	District magnitude	27.06.1978	
Presidential Order 895/1981	Codification of: presidential order 650/1974, law 626/1974, articles 5 to 18 of law 789/1978, article 50 of law 180/1975, article 11 of law 1180/1981	25.08.1981	Yes
Presidential Order 1122/1981	District Magnitude	22.09.1981	
Law 1224/1981	Suffrage age (amendment of articl 4.1 of the presidential order 895/1981	31.12.1981	
Law 1303/1982	Preference voting replaced by closed party list (article 1.1)	17.11.1982	Yes
Presidential Order 164/1984	Codification of: presidential order 895/1981, Law 124/1981 (article 1) and articles 1 to 15 of Law 1303/1982	03.05.1984	yes
Law 1516/1985	Amendmenting articles to enforcing	20.02.1985	Yes



	simple proportionality		
Presidential Order 218/1985	Districts and district magnitude	08.05.1985	
Presidential Order 152/1985	Codification of article 34 of Law 1516/1985	28.03.1985	Yes
Law 1847/1989	Cross of preference is reinstated (article 1.7); No of major electoral districts is increased to thirteen (13) (article 3.2); allocation of seats at the second tier (articles 3.4 and 3.5)	28.04.1989	Yes
Presidential Order 558/1989	Districts and district magnitude	16.10.1988	Yes
Presidential Order 71/1990	Districts and district magnitude	14.03.1990	
Law 1907/1990	Reintroducing articles 88, 89, 90 and 91 of presidential order 152/1985; amending No of party candidates per list (article 2.1) and No of preference votes (article 2.2);	30.11.1990	Yes



	introducing the threshold of 3% (article 3)		
Presidential Order 353/1993	Codification of presidential order 265/1989, article 11 of Law 1878/1990, Law 1879/1990, articles 1-8 of Law 1907/1990, article 18 of Law 1914/1990, article 36 of Law 2130/1993	11.09.1993	Yes
Presidential Order 381/1993	Districts and district magnitude	17.09.1993	Yes
Presidential Order 92/1994	Codification of presidential order 353/1993, articles 11 and 16 of Law 2196/1994	09.05.1994	Yes
Presidential Order 306/1996	Districts and district magnitude	29.08.1996	Yes
Presidential Order 55/1999	Codification of presidential order 92/1994, article 14.4 of Law 2307/1995, article 3.9 of Law 2408/1996, article 2.7 of Law 2539, article 5 of Law 2623/1998	24.03.1999	Yes
Presidential Order 8/2000	Districts and district magnitude	19.01.2000	



Presidential Order 381/2002	Districts and district magnitude	30.12.2002	Yes
Presidential Order 351/2003	Codification of presidential order 5/1999, articles 1, 5 and 6 of Law 2623/1998, article 14.3 of Law 2307/1995, article 5 of Law 2776/1999, article 77 of Law 2910/2001, articles 9, 10, 11, 12, 28, 297 and 30.2 of Law 3023/2002, presidential order 381/2002 and articles 1 and 2 of Law 3146/2003	31.12.2003	Yes
Law 3231/2004	No and size of lower electoral districts (article 1), No of party candidates per party list (article 2), No of preference votes (article 3), party threshold (article 5), allocation of seats (articles 6, 7 and 8); majority bonus & abolition of multi-tier system	11.02.2004	Yes



Presidential Order 96/2007	Codification of: presidential order 351/2003, law 3231/2004, law 3242/2004, law 3274/2004, law 3434/2006	05.06.2007	Yes
Law 3636/2008	Amendment of Article 6.1 and 6.2 of Law 3231/2004 (majority bonus of 50 seats)	01.02.2008	Yes

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

3.1 The 1974 Electoral System

It is regulated in three laws:

- Legislative Order 65/1974
- Presidential Order 650/1974
- Presidential Order 676/1094

Law 65/1974 was issued by the interim national unity government on 25 September 1974 in order to prepare the ground for Greece's peaceful transition to a democratically elected regime after the collapse of the dictatorship. The new law amended the Auxiliary Order 592/1963 in force for the Greek parliamentary elections before the junta regime. The amended law provided for a mixed electoral system, referred to as 'reinforced' proportionality that combined elements of plurality and proportional list systems. The main features of the system are the multi-tier structure used for the allocation of seats where all votes are considered at each tier, the additional twelve (12) Deputies of State who are elected by a national ballot (closed list) and the majority bonus (indirectly apportioned at the second and third tiers) to the first-past-the-post party. The presidential order 650/1974 codified the laws and orders on the election of MPs in one document.

Assembly size. The Greek Parliament consists of 300 deputies; 288 of those are elected in fifty-six single and multi-member districts. The remaining twelve (12) members, the Deputies of State, are elected on a nationwide basis – using a closed party list (Article 2.1, 65/1974 and 650/1974). The distribution of the 288 seats is held in a three-tier structure (first, second and third distribution), whilst the twelve remaining seats of the Deputies of State are distributed to parties entitled to participate in the second distribution.



Districts and district magnitude. In terms of boundaries and magnitude, the electoral districts in Greece are defined by a complex three-tier system. Within this context, for the apportionment of the 288 parliamentary seats, three levels of electoral districts are identified; the lower electoral districts, the major electoral districts and the higher electoral district. In addition, a fourth tier determines the allocation of seats to the Deputies of State nationally. The lower electoral districts coincide with the geographical bounds of prefectures, except for the prefectures of Attiki and Thessaloniki, which are divided in five and two lower districts respectively due to overpopulation (Presidential Order 650/1974, Article 1.2). The major electoral districts are broader geographical regions in which the state is divided (Article 25.2). Finally, the higher electoral district includes the entire country and is used for the tertiary distribution of seats on a national level.

The number of seats (288) in the lower electoral districts is determined by the size of the population in each constituency. To this end, a district magnitude review is held every ten years following the results of the population census. The 1974 district magnitude is determined by the population census of the 14th of March 1971 (Presidential Order 676/1974).

- First tier:

The country is divided in fifty-six (56) lower electoral districts, the vast majority of which are multi-member constituencies. Of those fifty-six (56) lower electoral districts, fifty-two coincide with the administrative regions of prefectures. Under the Presidential Order 650/1974 article 1, the prefecture of Attiki is divided into five lower districts and the prefecture of Thessaloniki into two as follows:

- A' electoral district of Athens which includes the municipality of Athens
- B' electoral district of Athens which includes the remaining municipalities and communities of the former City of Athens
- A' electoral district of Pirea which includes the municipalities of Pirea and Spetses, and the provinces of Aigina, Kythira, Trizina and Ydra
- the B' electoral district of Pirea which includes the remaining municipalities and communities of the former municipality of Pirea, and the island of Salamina
- the electoral district of Attiki which includes the remaining areas of the prefecture of Attiki
- A' electoral district of Thessaloniki which includes the former municipality of Thessaloniki, and
- B' electoral district of Thessaloniki which includes the remaining areas of the prefecture of Thessaloniki.



The electoral measure used for the apportionment of the 288 seats in each lower electoral district is defined by the division of the total number of the population by the number of the parliamentary seats (Article 2.3, 650/1974). The quotient of the division of the total number of the population by the abovementioned electoral measure determines the number of seats in the lower electoral districts (Article 2.4). The remaining seats are added one by one to the electoral districts that have rendered, in order, the largest surplus of the population (Article 2.5, 650/1974; law 65/0974 article 25.2). Finally, under Article 3.4 (650/1974) the number of candidates proposed by each party in each lower electoral district should not exceed the number of seats contested in the district.

- Second tier:

The country is divided into nine major electoral districts, each of which consists of several lower electoral districts (article 89.2 of 650/1974). These lower districts are the following:

1. A' district of Athens, B' district of Athens, A' district of Peireas, B' district of Peireas, the remaining of Attiki, Biotias, Evias, Fthiotidas, Fokidas
2. Argolidas, Arkadias, Korinthias, Lakonias, Messinias
3. Etolias & Akarnanias, Ahaias, Evritanias, Zakynthou, Ilias, kefallinias
4. Artas, Thesprotias, Ioanninon, Kerkiras, Lefkadas, Prevezas
5. Grevenon, Karditsas, Kozanis, Larissas, Magnisias, Trikalon
6. Imathias, Kastorias, kilkis, Pellas, Pierias, Serron, Florinas, Halkidikis, A' district of Thessaloniki, B' district of Thessaloniki
7. Dramas, Evrou, Kavallas, Ksanthis, Rodapis
8. Dodekanissou, Kikladon, Lesvou, Samou, Hiou
9. Irakliou, Lasithiou, Rethimnou, Chanion

- Third tier:

The higher electoral district consists of a single nationwide constituency (Auxiliary Order 592/1963, Article 90; Presidential Order 650/1974, Article 90).



- Fourth Tier (Deputies of State):

These seats are allocated to parties participating in the second tier according to the total share of valid votes cast for each party on a national level (65/1974, Article 3).

Table 2 demonstrates the apportionment of parliamentary seats in the lower electoral districts as defined by the Presidential Order 676/3.10.1974 (Article 1) and the number of 'crosses of preference' in each district. The number of candidates that each party or coalition of parties is allowed to nominate in each lower electoral district equals the number of seats to be allocated (article 34.6, 650/1974).

Nature of votes that can be cast. Under Article 65.7 of the presidential order 650/1974, voters cast their vote by marking a cross next to the name of the candidate of their choice within the party list of their choice (each party has a separate ballot), with the exception of the A' and B' lower electoral districts of Athens and A' district of Thessaloniki where voters can mark up to two crosses on the ballot paper. Voting is compulsory for all Greek citizens aged 21 to 70 (Presidential Order 650/1974, Article 6.2).

Party threshold. Under the Presidential Order 650/1974, Article 88 (paragraphs 3 and 4) in the first tier seats are distributed to all political formations (parties, coalition of parties and independent candidates according to their share of the vote in each lower electoral district.

In the second tier, under article 89 (650/1974), a party or coalition of parties participates in the distribution of seats only if the following conditions are satisfied:

- single parties with a share of votes equal to or greater than seventeen per cent (17%),
- coalitions of two parties with a total vote share equal to or greater of twenty-five per cent (25%)
- coalitions of more than two parties with a total vote share equal to or greater than thirty per cent (30%)
- Independent candidates are excluded from the second distribution.

If only one party or coalition of parties reaches the threshold(s) defined above then the coalitions of parties are excluded and the single party with the second largest share of the popular vote participates in the second distribution. The last condition applies only if the single party's vote share is greater than the mean share of the vote of the parties that form the coalition (Article 89.3). In the case that no single party or coalition of parties reaches the abovementioned thresholds, the two parties or coalitions of parties with the closest to the thresholds (17%, 25% and 30%) share of the vote participate in the second distribution.

Finally, under Article 3.1 (650/1974) only parties that have nominated candidates in at least half of the lower electoral districts (23 out of 56) are allowed to nominate candidates for the closed list national ballot and participate in the distribution of the twelve (12) Deputies of State (Fourth Tier) seats.

Allocation of seats to parties at the first tier. The distribution of seats at the first tier is done according to the total number of votes in each lower district. For this purpose, the electoral measure used is the Hare quota, which is calculated by dividing the total number of valid votes by the number of available seats. The number of seats distributed to each party is the quotient of the division of the electoral measure (disregarding fractions) by the party's share of valid votes. Independent candidates win a seat only if their total number of votes is equal to or



greater than the electoral measure. In single-member constituencies, the seat is distributed on a first-past-the-post basis; that is, the seat is allocated to the party with the largest share of the vote (Presidential Order 650/1974, Article 88.4). In the case of a tie, seats are distributed randomly. If a party or coalition of parties wins more seats than the candidates proposed by the party in the electoral district, then the party receives as many seats as the number of nominated candidates (article 88.6, 650/1974). The remaining seats are allocated in the second distribution.

Party leaders and acting or past prime ministers are exempt from the cross of preference voting; they are placed at the top of the party list and are considered to receive as many votes as the total number of valid votes cast for the party in the electoral district in which they are nominated (article 65.7, 650/1974).

Allocation of seats to parties at the second tier. At the second tier, the remaining unallocated seats are distributed in the nine (9) major districts. In order for parties or coalition of parties to participate in the second distribution, they should have reached the thresholds mentioned above; that is, 17% of the popular vote for single parties, 25% for coalitions of two parties and 30% for coalitions of more than two parties. Independent candidates are not included in the second distribution. Although the allocation of seats is once again based on the Hare method, a new quota is calculated. Adjusted to take into account the vote share of the parties participating in the second tier and number of seats available in the major electoral districts, the new quota is the ratio of the total number of votes of the parties or coalitions that participate in the second distribution, in each major district divided by the unallocated seats in that district. The quotient of the division (disregarding fractions) is the new electoral measure. Parties are allocated as many seats as they have won quotas. In the case that there are still some unallocated seats, then those are distributed to parties or coalitions of parties with the largest remainder of the quotient of the division. In the lower electoral districts with a magnitude of two if there is one unallocated seat at the second distribution, this seat is allocated to the party that has already won the first seat at the first distribution in this district, under the condition that the party's share of valid votes divided by two is greater than the share of valid votes of the remaining parties in this district (Presidential Order 650/1974, Article 89.3, 89.4 and 89.7).

The second stage of the second tier comprises the allocation of the seats of major districts to the lower districts. To this end, the total number of valid votes of the parties or coalition of parties participating in the second distribution in each lower electoral district is divided by the number of the remaining available seats in that district. The quotient of the division (disregarding fractions) is the electoral measure used to divide by each party's or coalition's share of valid votes in each lower district. Parties are allocated as many seats as the quotas won. Any remaining seats are distributed to parties or coalitions of parties with the largest remainder of the abovementioned quotient. In a two-member district, if there is one unallocated seat from the first distribution then the seat is allocated to the single party that won the first seat at the first tier under two conditions; first, the party participates in the second distribution and second, the party's total number of valid votes in the lower district divided by two should be greater than the individual voter share of the other parties participating in the second distribution (article 89.7, 650/1974). If by the end of this secondary allocation (second tier, second stage), a party is allocated more seats than the number of seats won in the first stage of the second tier, the surplus seats are subtracted and re-distributed



one by one. The parties or coalition of parties in the second distribution that have the lowest mean share of valid votes per candidate – calculated by the division of the total number of valid votes of each political formation in the lower district by the total number of seats that the party or coalition won in the first and second distributions – lose the excess seats which are transferred to the party or coalition that has a shortage of seats in the same lower district. If the number of seats available after this process is less than the number of shortage seats, then the allocation is done based on the largest quotient of the division of the number of valid votes of each party or coalition by the total number of seats won by the party or coalition at the first and second tiers (second tier, second stage) (article 89.8, 650/1974).

Allocation of seats to parties at the third tier. At the third tier, if there are remaining seats, these are distributed at the higher electoral district to the parties that participated in the second distribution. The Hare method is also used to define the electoral measure by the division of the vote share of the parties at the national level by the number of unallocated seats nationwide. Parties are allocated as many seats as the quotas they have obtained. Following this distribution, under article 90, 650/1974, if there remain unallocated seats, these are awarded to the party with the largest share of valid votes nationwide (majority bonus to first-past-the-post party).

Allocation of seats of the Deputies of State. The twelve (12) seats of the Deputies of State are awarded to the parties or coalitions of parties that participated in the second and third distributions. Based on the Hare method, the quota used for the distribution of the nationwide seats is defined by the division of aggregate share of valid votes of the parties participating in the distribution, by twelve (12). The quotient is the electoral measure that is divided by each party's share of the national vote. Parties are awarded as many seats as the quotas they have won. The remaining seats (if any) are awarded to the parties or coalitions of parties with the largest remainders of votes (Articles 3.4 and 3.5, 650/1974).

Table 2: Allocation of seats at district level in 1948

Name of the district	Magnitude (First allocation)	Population surplus [additional seats]	Magnitude (final apportionment)	N° of Preference Votes
A' district of Athens	22	3860	22	up to 2
B' district of Athens	28	3596	28	up to 2
A' district of Pireas	7	24944 [1]	8	1
B' district of Pireas	8	217	8	1
The remaining of Attiki	5	18849 [1]	6	1
Biotias	3	29527 [1]	4	1
Evias	6	4615	6	1
Fthotidas	5	21461 [1]	6	1
Fokidos	1	24518 [1]	2	1
Argolidos	3	2406	3	1
Arkadias	4	21693 [1]	5	1
Korinthias	3	28086 [1]	4	1
Laconias	3	20053 [1]	4	1



Messinias	7	2952	7	1
Etolias & Akarnanias	8	19324 [1]	9	1
Achais	8	11082	8	1
Evritanias	1	17136 [1]	2	1
Zakinthou	1	6923	1	1
Ilias	6	22669 [1]	7	1
Kefallinias	1	19761 [1]	2	1
Artis	3	2545	3	1
Thesprotias	1	19634 [1]	2	1
Ioanninon	5	15849	5	1
Kerkiras	3	15784	3	1
Lefkadas	-	30665 [1]	1	1
Prevezis	2	5066	2	1
Grevenon	1	16942	2	1
Karditsas	5	21570 [1]	6	1
Kozanis	5	1195	5	1
+ Larissas	7	24931 [1]	8	1
Magnisias	5	19533 [1]	6	1
Trikalon	5	3553	5	1
Imathias	3	27769 [1]	4	1
A' district of Thessaloniki	12	7463	12	up to 2
B' district of Thessaloniki	6	14313	6	1
Kastorias	1	14810	1	1
Kilkis	3	10631	3	1
Pellis	4	16914 [1]	5	1
Pierias	3	10335	3	1
Serron	7	28138 [1]	8	1
Florinis	1	27029[1]	2	1
Halkidikis	2	27598 [1]	3	1
Dramas	3	14844	3	1
Evrou	5	1953	5	1
Kavalas	4	13597	4	1
Ksanthis	3	379	3	1
Rodopis	3	20834 [1]	4	1
Dodekanisou	3	26898 [1]	4	1
Kikladon	3	27681 [1]	4	1
Lesvou	4	12064	4	1
Samou	1	22407 [1]	2	1
Chiou	2	4662	2	1
Irakliou	7	9854	7	1
Lasithiou	2	18650 [1]	3	1
Rethimnou	2	16269	2	1
Chanion	4	8744	4	1
Total:	260	[28]	288	1



3.2 The 1977 Electoral Reform

Law 626/1977 enacted on 29 June 1977 in order to modify article 88.4 of the Presidential Order 650/1974. The new law, which was in force in the 1977 and 1981 general elections, amended the method used to define the electoral measure in the first distribution (Article 2.4). The Hare quota was replaced by a variation of the Droop quota, the Hagenbach-Bischoff quota (total number of valid votes cast divided by the number of seats in each lower electoral district plus one (1)). The formula is known in Greece as 'plus one'.

Allocation of seats to parties at the first tier. Under Law 626/1977, Article 2.4, a new electoral formula is used for the distribution of seats in the lower electoral districts (first distribution); a variation of the Droop quota, the Hagenbach-Bischoff quota or 'plus one' as it is widely known in Greece. Under that method, the electoral quota is calculated by dividing the total number of valid votes in each lower electoral district is by the number of seats to be allocated plus one (1). The number of votes cast for each party (coalition of parties or independents) is then divided by the electoral measure and the result (disregarding fractions) is the number of seats allocated to the party. In single-member lower districts the seat is allocated by the first-past-the-post method, in which the party or candidate with the largest vote share is elected in office. A seat is distributed to an independent candidate who has reached the electoral quota

No other change

3.3 The 1981 Electoral Reform.

- Presidential Order 895/1981
- Presidential Order 1121/1981
- Law 789/1981
- Law 1180/1981
- Law 1224/1981

Overall, the electoral system in the 1981 general election is the one used in the 1977 election. In the interim period 1977-1981 the electoral legislative framework was enriched under the Presidential Order 895/1981 (a single text codifying previous orders and laws), laws 789/1978 and 1180/1981 (modifying and supplementing the framework for the election of MEPs) and law 1224/1981 (lowering the voting age to 18). The only change relevant to the dimensions discussed in this report was the amendment of Article 34.6 of 650/1974 (number of proposed candidates per party lists).

Districts and district magnitude. Under Article 34.6 of the Presidential Order 895/1981 (and law 1180/1981, article 11) each party or coalition of parties is allowed to nominate in each lower electoral district as many candidates as the number of seats to be allocated, increased by one (1) in districts electing up to three (3) members of parliament and by two in all other lower electoral districts.

The Presidential Order 1122/1981 indicated the number of seats and geographical boundaries of each lower electoral district based on the population census of 14 March 1971. There was no change to either dimension.



Allocation of seats to parties at the first tier. No change. As in 1977 the Droop/Hagenbach-Bischoff quota is used.

No other change

3.4 The 1985 Electoral Reform

- Presidential Order 164/1984
- Presidential Order 152/1985
- Presidential Order 218/1985
- Law 1303/1982
- Law 1516/1985

In 1985 the electoral system in use was a significantly modified form of 'reinforced' proportional representation with majoritarian elements. The electoral legislative framework was once again substantially amended. In May 1982, law 1303/1982 changed the way votes were cast. The new law repealed preferential voting by putting a cross next to the name of the candidate on the ballot paper and introduced closed party lists (article 1.1). Seats are distributed at a three tier system but there are no thresholds in the second and third distributions. Moreover the party with the largest share of the popular vote is rewarded with a majority premium. Further amendments were also introduced to the 1981 electoral legislative framework (including articles on unelected candidates and reserves, parties and coalitions of parties, ballot papers, name and emblem of parties, etc.) but these are not directly related to the dimensions examined in the present report.

Assembly size. No change (Presidential order 164/1984 Article 2).

Districts and district magnitude. No changes in the geographical boundaries of the districts.

Under Article 34.6 of the presidential order 164/1984 (codifying law 1303/1982, article 3.6), the number of candidates each party nominates in the lower electoral districts should not be greater than the number of seats to be allocated; the only exception applies to single- and two-member districts in which parties can nominate two and three candidates respectively.

The apportionment of parliamentary seats in each lower electoral district as determined by the population census on 5 April 1981 is defined by the presidential order 218/1985 (article 1).

Nature of votes that can be cast. Under article 1.1 of law 1303/1982, preference voting by crossing the name of the candidate is repealed. Instead, voters vote for the party or coalition of parties and thus, for the list as a whole. Candidates are elected in the order they appear on the party list as determined by the party.



Party threshold. Law 1516/1985, article 3 (article 89, presidential order 152/1985) abolished party thresholds in the second distribution. To this end, all parties and coalition of parties are allowed to participate in the second and third tiers.

Allocation of seats to parties at the first tier. Under the Presidential Order 152/1985, Article 88, at the first tier (lower electoral districts) the seats are distributed among all parties, coalitions of parties and independent candidates according to the total number of votes cast for each one. In single-member districts plurality rule applies; the party with the largest share of the vote wins the seat. The allocation of seats in multi-member constituencies is based on the Droop/Hagenbach-Bischoff method (as in 1977 and 1981). The total number of valid votes is divided by the number of seats contested in each lower electoral district plus one. This provides the electoral measure used to award the available seats to parties. Seats are awarded to independent candidates only if the number of valid votes they polled is equal to or greater than the electoral measure (article 88.4). Given that the preference vote used in previous elections is repealed, winning candidates are taken from closed party lists (article 88.5).

Allocation of seats to parties at the second tier. At the second tier the remaining seats are distributed in the nine major electoral districts. The second distribution in 1985 is done under the presidential order 152/1985, article 89 (based on law 1516/1985 (article 3) and the presidential order of 164/1984 (article 89.1,2,4,7-9)). In terms of article 89.3 (152/1985) seats are distributed to all parties according to the number of votes they polled in the major districts (no threshold is applied). As in previous elections (1974, 1977, the Hare method is used for the distribution of the remaining seats (article 89.3, 152/1985).

The next step in this procedure is the secondary distribution of seats in the lower electoral districts (second stage of second distribution); that is, how the number of seats each party won in the major districts are distributed among the remaining seats at the lower district. For this purpose, once again the Hare method is used; that is, the total number of valid votes of parties and coalitions of parties in each lower district is divided by the number of remaining seats in the district. The quotient (disregarding fractions) is the electoral measure used to determine the number of seats allocated to each party. Each party (or coalition) is awarded as many seats as the quotas reached (article 89.4, 152/1985). If there are still unallocated seats, these are distributed to the parties with the largest unused remainder of the above division (the number of the party's valid votes divided by the district's electoral measure).

In two-member districts if there is one undistributed seat, this is allocated to the party that won the first seat, in the first distribution, only if the party's total number of valid votes divided by two is greater than the valid vote share of each of the other parties in this district. This distribution applies only to the number of seats each party won in the second distribution (major districts). Article 89.5 defines that if, following the above procedure, a party is allocated more seats than those won in the first stage of the second distribution, the surplus of seats is subtracted from the party (or coalition) which has the lowest quotient of the total number of valid votes divided by the total number of seats allocated to the party in the first and second distributions. These seats are then allocated to the party or parties (or coalition of parties) with a shortage of seat(s) in the electoral district in which the party (parties or coalitions) mentioned above had a surplus of seat(s). However, seats are not subtracted if these have been allocated a) according to the electoral measure determined in the first stage of the second distribution and b) in two-member lower districts (article 89.4, 152/1985).



Allocation of seats to parties at the third tier. If there are remaining seats, those are distributed at the third tier to the parties or coalition of parties that participated in the second distribution (independent candidates are excluded). Article 90.2 defines that the remaining seats in each lower district are awarded to the party (or coalition) with the largest vote share in this district (plurality or relative majority) only if the party has also polled the largest share of the vote nationwide. The distribution of the remaining unallocated seats uses the electoral measure defined by the division of the total share of valid votes nationwide by the number of undisposed seats. The division of the electoral measure by the total share of the vote of each party (or coalition) determines the number of seats allocated to each party (article 90.3). Following this process, if there are still remaining seats, these are awarded to the party with the largest share of the vote at the national level (article 90.5).

Allocation of seats of the Deputies of State. The seats of the Deputies of State are distributed to the parties or coalition of parties that participated in the second distribution in two phases using the Hare and D'hondt methods. As in previous elections (1974, 1977, 1981) the Hare quota is used in order to define the electoral measure, upon which the allocation of seats is based. Parties are awarded as many seats as the quotas reached. There is no change in the way the seats are allocated to party candidates.

However, if there are still unallocated seats then according to Law 1516/1985 (article 1), these are awarded to parties according to the largest mean of valid votes each party polled nationwide (article 1.6; presidential order 152/1985, article 3.6). The formula used is the following: each party's total number of valid votes is divided by the number of seats of deputies of state allocated to the party plus one (1). The first of the unallocated seats is awarded to the party with the largest quotient and the procedure is followed until all remaining seats are distributed.

No other change

Table 3: Allocation of seats in 1981

Name of the district	Magnitude (First allocation)	Population surplus [additional seats]	Magnitude (final apportionment)	N° of Preference Votes
A' district of Athens	21	11038	21	-
B' district of Athens	32	9846	32	-
A' district of Pireas	7	22761 [1]	8	-
B' district of Pireas	8	5118	8	-
The remaining of Attiki	6	25155 [1]	7	-
Biotias	3	27097 [1]	4	-
Evias	6	10068	6	-
Fthotidas	5	20998 [1]	6	-
Fokidos	1	23112 [1]	2	-
Argolidos	2	31460 [1]	3	-
Arkadias	4	9534	4	-
Korinthias	4	951	4	-



Laonias	3	12356	3	-
Messinias	6	17374 [1]	7	-
Etolias & Akarnanias	8	16458	8	-
Achais	816573 [1]	16573 [1]	9	-
Evritanias	1	8696	1	-
Zakinthou	1	4417	1	-
Ilias	6	15997	6	-
Kefallinias	1	12603	1	-
Artis	3	5806	3	-
Thesprotias	1	20802 [1]	2	-
Ioanninon	5	19650 [1]	6	-
Kerkiras	3	9920	3	-
Lefkadas	-	31088 [1]	1	-
Prevezis	2	4195	2	-
Grevenon	1	19096 [1]	2	-
Karditsas	5	11338	5	-
Kozanis	4	33134 [1]	5	-
Larissas	7	28200 [1]	8	-
Magnisias	5	18961 [1]	6	-
Trikalon	5	3951	5	-
Imathias	4	4961	4	-
A' district of Thessaloniki	12	18089 [1]	13	-
B' district of Thessaloniki	6	16784 [1]	7	-
Kastorias	1	18514 [1]	2	-
Kilkis	3	7100	3	-
Pellis	4	20742 [1]	5	-
Pierias	3	17668 [1]	4	-
Serron	7	29843 [1]	8	-
Florinis	1	29467 [1]	2	-
Halkidikis	2	30653 [1]	3	-
Dramas	3	18429[1]	4	-
Evrou	4	27052 [1]	5	-
Kavalas	4	16141	4	-
Ksanthis	2	30866 [1]	3	-
Rodopis	3	13859	3	-
Dodekanisou	4	406	4	-
Kikladon	3	14683	3	-
Lesvou	3	27786 [1]	4	-
Samou	1	15818	1	-
Chiou	1	26753 [1]	2	-
Irakliou	7	14368	7	-
Lasithiou	2	15098	2	-
Rethimnou	2	13927	2	-
Chanion	4	3256	4	-
Total:	260	[28]	288	



3.5 The 1989 Electoral Reform

- Law 1847/1989
- Presidential Order 265/1989
- Presidential Order 558/1989

The two consecutive general elections of 1989 (June and November) took place under a thoroughly reformed electoral system. Law 1847/1989, which was enacted on 28th April 1989, amended many articles of the presidential order 152/1985. 'Reinforced' proportionality is replaced by simple proportionality; a more straightforward multi-tier system of proportional representation. Under the new system seats are allocated in a two-tier system (the third tier is abolished); most importantly, only the remainder votes from the first distribution of parties and coalition of parties participating in the second distribution are used for the allocation of the seats in the major electoral districts. Some further changes include the increase in the number of major districts from nine (9) to thirteen (13) and the number of preference/cross votes cast in the lower districts. Law 1847/1989 was incorporated into the presidential order 265/1989 that defined the legislative framework of the 1989 general elections.

Assembly size. No change in the size and apportionment of seats (P.O 265/1989, article 2.1). Article 1.2 of law 1847/1989 amended the way that party leaders (or the leaders of the coalitions of parties) are elected by allowing them to participate in the ballots of two electoral districts (supplementing article 32.2 of presidential order 152/1985).

Districts and district magnitude. Under article 89.2 of the presidential order 265/1989 (article 3.2 of law 1847/1989), the number of major districts (second tier) is increased to thirteen (13). These are the electoral districts of:

1. East Macedonia and Thrace; including the lower electoral districts of Evros, Rodopis, Ksanthis, Dramas and Kavallas
2. Central Macedonia; including the lower electoral districts of A' Thessaloniki, B' Thessaloniki, Serron, Chalkidikis, Kilkis, Pellas, Imathias and Pierias
3. East Macedonia; including the lower electoral districts of Florinas, Kozanis, Kastorias and Grevenon
4. Ipiros; including the lower electoral districts of Ioanninon, Artas, Thesprotias and Prevezas
5. Thessalias; including the lower electoral districts of Larissas, Magnisias, Trikalon, Karditsas
6. Ionian Islands; including the lower electoral districts of Kerkiras, Lefkadas, Kefallinias and Zakynthou
7. Western Greece; including the lower electoral districts of Etolias & Akarnanias, Achaias and Ilias
8. Sterea Greece; including the lower electoral districts of Fthiotidas, Evritanias, Fokidas, Biotias and Evias
9. Attiki; including the lower electoral districts of A' Athens, B' Athens, A' Pireos, B' Pireos and the remaining parts of Attiki
10. Peloponnisos; including the lower electoral districts of Korinthias, Argolidas, Arkadias, Messinias and Laconias



11. North Aegean; including the lower electoral districts of Lesbos, Chios and Samos
12. South Aegean; including the lower electoral districts of Kikladon and Dodekanisou
13. Crete; including the lower electoral districts of Chanion, Rethymnou, Irakliou and Lasithiou

The number of candidates that each party is allowed to nominate should not exceed the number of seats contested in the electoral district, with the exception of all electoral districts that elect up to five candidates in which the number of permitted candidates is increased by one (265/1989, 36.6). The lower electoral districts and the district magnitude were determined by the presidential order 558/1989 as follows: [Short description].

Nature of votes that can be cast. Preference voting by marking a cross next to the name of the candidate or candidates within the party list of choice is reintroduced (article 1.7, law 1847/1989). In the lower electoral districts of A' Athens and B' Athens voters can 'cross' up to three candidates and in the A' and B' districts of Thessaloniki up to two candidates. In all other districts voters can vote for one candidate. Former PMs and serving party leaders are excluded from the 'cross of preference' and their election is based on the total number of votes cast for their party in the electoral district in which they are nominated (article 1.8, law 1847/1989).

Party threshold. No change (presidential order 265/1989, 89.3 as per 152/1985, article 89.3).

Allocation of seats to candidates at the first tier. As in the previous elections, at the first tier seats are allocated a) under plurality rule in single-member districts and b) by using the Hagenbach-Bischoff quota ('plus one') in multi-member districts (presidential order 152/1985, article 88.3 and 4). The main change introduced at the first tier is the apportionment of seats among party candidates. In terms of article 2.5 (law 18447/1989), the allocation of seats is based on the number of votes the candidates of each party polled (replaced article 88.5 of 152/1985).

Allocation of seats to candidates at the second tier. The remaining seats are distributed among all parties and coalition of parties (independent candidates are excluded) according to the remainder votes of each party from the first distribution (with the exception of the votes from single-member constituencies). For this purpose, the aggregate of the remainder of the votes of all parties and coalitions participating in the second distribution is divided by the number of the remaining (unallocated) seats in each major electoral district. The quotient is the electoral measure used to define the number of seats awarded to each party; as in previous elections the number of seats each party is allocated corresponds to the number of quotas captured. If there are more unallocated seats, these are awarded to parties or coalitions according to the largest remainder of valid votes from the above allocation and the first distribution (article 3.3, law 1847/1989).

Moreover, under article 3.4, all parties or coalitions of parties contesting seats in more than three quarters of the electoral districts that poll a number of valid votes equal to or greater than two percent (2%) nationwide are awarded at least three seats nationwide; whilst parties or coalition of parties that poll a vote share smaller than two percent (2%) but larger than one percent (1%) nationwide are allocated at least one (1) seat. In the case that those parties have not managed to obtain the three seats in the second distribution, they are awarded one seat



per major electoral district in which they polled the largest number of votes (excluding the major districts in which the party or coalition has already won one seat). In a major district in which there are fewer seats available to be allocated than the ones obtained by the parties, then the seats are allocated to the parties that polled the largest number of valid votes in the district. The remaining parties are awarded seats in other major districts. Finally, if there are more seats available these are distributed to the other parties or coalitions of parties following the procedure described above (under article 3.3); the electoral measure is calculated by subtracting the number of seats allocated under article 3.4.

Finally, seats won in the second distribution (major districts) are allocated to the parties or coalitions in the lower districts as follows (article 3.5):

- Parties that won seats under article 3.4 (1% and 2% thresholds) are awarded these seats in the lower districts in which they polled the largest number of votes
- If the seats in that particular district are fewer than those won by parties, then the parties are allocated seats in the lower electoral districts in which they polled the second largest number of votes
- In all other cases, the procedure used is the same as in the first stage of the second tier (total number of votes cast for parties or coalitions divided by the number of unallocated seats to define the electoral measure upon which the seat distribution is based).

Allocation of seats to candidates at the third tier. The third tier is abolished.

Allocation of seats of the Deputies of State. No change (presidential order 152/1985, article 3.6).

No other change

Table 4: Allocation of seats at district [and provincial] level in [year]

Name of the district	Magnitude (First allocation)	Population surplus [additional seats]	Magnitude (final apportionment)	N° of Preference Votes
A' district of Athens	21	11038	21	up to 3
B' district of Athens	32	9846	32	up to 3
A' district of Pireas	7	22761 [1]	8	1
B' district of Pireas	8	5118	8	1
The remaining of Attiki	6	25155 [1]	7	1
Biotias	3	27097 [1]	4	1
Evias	6	10068	6	1
Fthotidas	5	20998 [1]	6	1
Fokidos	1	23112 [1]	2	1
Argolidos	2	31460 [1]	3	1
Arkadias	4	9534	4	1
Korinthias	4	951	4	1
Laconias	3	12356	3	1



Messinias	6	17374 [1]	7	1
Etolias & Akarnanias	8	16458	8	1
Achais	8 [1]	16573 [1]	9	1
Evritanias	1	8696	1	1
Zakinthou	1	4417	1	1
Ilias	6	15997	6	1
Kefallinias	1	12603	1	1
Artis	3	5806	3	1
Thesprotias	1	20802 [1]	2	1
Ioanninon	5	19650 [1]	6	1
Kerkiras	3	9920	3	1
Lefkadas	-	31088 [1]	1	1
Prevezis	2	4195	2	1
Grevenon	1	19096 [1]	2	1
Karditsas	5	11338	5	1
Kozanis	4	33134 [1]	5	1
Larissas	7	28200 [1]	8	1
Magnisias	5	18961 [1]	6	1
Trikalon	5	3951	5	1
Imathias	4	4961	4	1
A' district of Thessaloniki	12	18089 [1]	13	up to 2
B' district of Thessaloniki	6	16784 [1]	7	up to 2
Kastorias	1	18514 [1]	2	1
Kilkis	3	7100	3	1
Pellis	4	20742 [1]	5	1
Pierias	3	17668 [1]	4	1
Serron	7	29843 [1]	8	1
Florinis	1	29467 [1]	2	1
Halkidikis	2	30653 [1]	3	1
Dramas	3	18429[1]	4	1
Evrou	4	27052 [1]	5	1
Kavalas	4	16141	4	1
Ksanthis	2	30866 [1]	3	1
Rodopis	3	13859	3	1
Dodekanisou	4	406	4	1
Kikladon	3	14683	3	1
Lesvou	3	27786 [1]	4	1
Samou	1	15818	1	1
Chiou	1	26753 [1]	2	1
Irakliou	7	14368	7	1
Lasithiou	2	15098	2	1
Rethimnou	2	13927	2	1
Chanion	4	3256	4	1
Total:	260	[28]	288	



3.6 The 1990 Electoral Reform.

- Law 1907/1990
- Presidential Order 353/1993
- Presidential Order 71/1990
- Presidential Order 306/1996

A new legislative framework was introduced on 30 November 1990 and was used in the general election of 1993 and in 1996, 2000 and 2004. Law 1907/1990 repealed the electoral law of 1989 (1847/1989), with the exception of the increase in number of major electoral districts (article 89.2 of presidential order 265/1989) and the re-introduction of preference voting (article 89.2 of 265/1989); it restored most articles of the 152/1985 presidential order; it amended the way the second distribution is done and the number of party nominees and preference/cross votes; and introduced new thresholds for the allocation of parliamentary seats. On the whole, the 1990 electoral framework formally restored 'reinforced' proportional representation as the formal electoral system in Greece; however, as in all previous election years the 'reinforced' proportionality appeared slightly modified. The amendments introduced by 1907/1990 were incorporated into the presidential order 353/1993, which defined the legislative framework for the election of MPs.

Note: It should be noted that although the electoral reform of 1990 defined the electoral system used in Greece for four consecutive general elections in the interim period a number of presidential orders on the election of MPs were issued. These are the following:

- Presidential Order 92/1994 (codification of law 2196/1994 and 353/1993 presidential order)
- Presidential Order 55/1999 (codification of law 2623/1998)
- Presidential Order 351/2003 (codification of laws 2623/1998, 2307/1995, 2776/1999, 2910/2001, 3023/2000 and presidential order 55/1999, 8/2000, 381/2002)

However, as the modifications have no effect on the dimension discussed in the present reform, the abovementioned legislative orders are not considered in the analysis.

Assembly size. No change (presidential order 353, article 2.1)

Districts and district magnitude. No change. There are fifty-six lower electoral districts (presidential order 353/1993, article 1) and thirteen (13) major electoral districts (presidential order 353/1993, article 89.2).

The lower electoral districts and the district magnitude for the general election of April 8th 1990 were defined by the presidential order 71/1990. The district magnitude is based on the population census of April 5th, 1981 (article 2, paragraphs 2, 3, 4 and 5 of presidential order 353/1993). The number of preference (cross) votes is defined by article 2.1 of law 1907/1990. Finally, under 1907/1991 (article 2.1), the number of candidates on the party list in each electoral district may be no more than the number of seats allocated in each lower district increased by:

- One in the lower electoral districts that elect up to 5 candidates
- Two in the lower electoral districts that elect from six to ten candidates
- Three in the lower electoral district of A' Thessaloniki
- Four in the lower electoral district of A' Athens
- Five in the lower electoral district of B' Athens



Nature of votes that can be cast. No change; voters mark a cross next to the name of the candidate or candidates of their choice (article 65 of presidential order 353/1993 as per article 65 of presidential order 265/1989 and articles 2 and 5 of law 1907/1990) as follows:

- In the lower electoral districts that elect up to five candidates, one cross
- In the lower electoral districts that elect six to ten candidates, up to two crosses
- In the lower electoral district of A' Thessaloniki, up to three crosses
- In the lower electoral district of A' Athens, up to four crosses
- In the lower electoral district of B' Athens up to five crosses

Former PMs and serving party leaders are elected according to the total number of votes cast for their party in the electoral district in which they are nominated.

Party threshold. Law 1907/1990, article 3 (codified in presidential order 353/1993, article 88.10) introduced an electoral threshold of three percent (3%); that is, a party, coalition of parties or independent candidates must receive a minimum of 3% of the valid votes nationally to obtain seats in parliament (applies in all districts, at all tiers). If they reach the threshold then they are awarded the minimum number of seats in the districts in which they polled the largest share of the vote. That is, the number of seats each party (or coalition) is awarded must not be less than the integer of seventy percent (70%) of the seats that correspond to the party's share of valid votes nationally multiplied by three hundred (300). This process is called 'standardisation' of the vote and ensures that all parties that have reached the electoral threshold are always awarded the number of seats tallied up in the first and second distributions (article 4; presidential order 353/1993, article 88.11 and 88.12).

Allocation of seats to parties at the first tier. Law 1907/1990 reinstated article 88 of the presidential order 152/1985 regarding the apportionment of seats at the first tier, with the exception of paragraph 5 (allocation of seats according to closed party lists) and the introduction of the new article 3 (electoral threshold). In short, the distribution of seats at the first tier is as follows (Presidential order 353-1993, article 88):

- Parties participate in the distribution of seats only if they have reached the 3% threshold (article 88.10)
- The Hagenbach-Bischoff quota is used to distribute seats in each lower electoral district (article 88.4)
- If the number of seats allocated according to the quota exceeds the district magnitude then the surplus seats are subtracted by the party (or coalition or independents) with the smallest remainder (article 88.4)
- First-past-the-post is used in single member constituencies (article 88.4)
- Seats are distributed to candidates within party lists according to the number of votes they have won (article 88.5)

Allocation of seats to parties at the second tier. Article 89 of the presidential order 152/1985 was reinstated under law 1907/1997 with the exception of paragraph 2 which defines the number of major electoral districts as thirteen (13), according to article 89.2 of the presidential order 265/1990. In short, the distribution of seats in the second tier is as follows (presidential order 353/1993):



- The remaining seats are allocated to parties or coalition of parties (independents are excluded) according to the Hare method (article 89.3)
- Parties are awarded as many seats as the times the electoral measure is contained in their share of the vote in each major district; in two-member constituencies the seats are allocated to the party (or coalition) that won the first seat as long as the party's mean share of votes in the district is larger than the share of the vote of the other parties in the electoral district; unfilled seats are distributed to the parties with the larger remainders and surplus seats are subtracted by the party (or parties) with the smallest remainder (article 89.4)

Allocation of seats to parties at the third tier. The third tier is reintroduced (presidential order 353/1993 article 90) as per article 90 of the presidential order 152/1985 with the exception of paragraphs 90.2 and 90.5. Under the amended articles 90.2 and 90.5 at the third tier, if there are remaining seats, these are distributed to single parties (coalition of parties are excluded) which polled the largest number of votes nationally. The allocation of seats at the third tier takes place in two phases. First, a party qualifies for a seat only if the party polled the largest number of votes nationally and in the major electoral district in which there are remaining seats (article 90.2). Second, if there are more unallocated seats, then the Hare method is used to define the electoral measure for the distribution of seats (article 90.3). Finally, if there are still more seats to be allocated then these are distributed to a party or a coalition of parties on the condition that the average of valid votes of the coalition parties is greater than the vote share of the largest single party (article 90.5)

Allocation of seats of the Deputies of State. Only the parties and coalition of parties that have reached the electoral threshold (3%) participate in this distribution. There is no further change regarding the method used for the apportionment of seats (presidential order 353/1993 (3.6) as per 265/1989 (3.6) and 152/1989 (3.6)).

No other change

Table 5: Allocation of seats at lower electoral districts in 1990 and 1993 general elections

Name of the district	Magnitude (First Allocation)	Population surplus [additional seats]	Magnitude (final apportionment)	N ^o of Preference Votes
Evros	4	27052 [1]	5	1
Rhodopis	3	13859	3	1
Ksanthi	2	30866 [1]	3	1
Dramas	3	18429 [1]	4	1
Kavalas	4	16141	4	1
A' Thessaloniki	12	18089 [1]	13	up to 3
B' Thessaloniki	6	16784 [1]	7	up to 2
Serron	7	29843 [1]	8	up to 2
Chalkidikis	2	30653 [1]	3	1
Kilkis	3	7100	3	1



Pellas	4	20742 [1]	5	1
Imathias	4	4961	4	1
Pierias	3	17668 [1]	4	1
Florinas	1	29467 [1]	2	1
Kozanis	4	33134 [1]	5	1
Kastorias	1	18514 [1]	2	1
Grevenon	1	19096 [1]	2	1
Ioanninon	5	19650 [1]	6	up to 2
Artas	3	5806	3	1
Thesprotias	1	20802 [1]	2	1
Prevezas	2	4195	2	1
Larissas	7	28200 [1]	8	up to 2
Magnisias	5	18961 [1]	6	up to 2
Trikalon	5	3951	5	1
Karditsas	5	11338	5	1
Kerkiras	3	9920	3	1
Lefkadas	-	31088 [1]	1	1
Kefalonias	1	12603	1	1
Zakynthos	1	4417	1	1
Etolias & Akarnanias	8	16458	8	up to 2
Achaias	8	16573 [1]	9	up to 2
Ilias	6	15997	6	up to 2
Fthiotidas	5	20998 [1]	6	up to 2
Evritanias	1	8696	1	1
Fokidas	1	23112 [1]	2	1
Viotias	3	27097 [1]	4	1
Evias	6	10068	6	up to 2
A' Athens	21	11038	21	up to 4
B' Athens	32	9846	32	up to 5
A' Pireos	7	22761 [1]	8	up to 2
B' Pireos	8	5118	8	up to 2
Attikis	6	25155 [1]	7	up to 2
Korinthias	4	951	4	1
Argolidas	2	31460 [1]	3	1
Arcadias	4	9534	4	1
Messinias	6	17374 [1]	7	up to 2
Laconias	3	12356	3	1
Lesvos	3	27786 [1]	4	1
Chiou	1	26753 [1]	2	1
Samos	1	15818	1	1
Kykladon	3	14683	3	1
Dodekanisou	4	406	4	1
Chanion	4	3256	4	1
Rethymnou	2	13927	2	1
Irakliou	7	14368	7	up to 2
Lasithiou	2	15098	2	1
Total:	260		[28]	288



Presidential Order 306/1996 defined the lower electoral districts and district magnitude according to the population census of March 17th, 1991:

Table 6: Allocation of seats at lower electoral districts in 1996 and 2000 general elections

Name of the district	Magnitude (First Allocation)	Population surplus [additional seats]	Magnitude (final apportionment)	N ^o of Preference Votes
Evros	4	13014	4	1
Rhodopis	3	2613	3	1
Ksanthis	2	28082 [1]	3	1
Dramas	3	10891	3	1
Kavalas	4	8979	4	1
A' Thessaloniki	14	351	14	up to 3
B' Thessaloniki	6	27709 [1]	7	up to 2
Serron	7	7212	7	up to 2
Chalkidikis	3	246	3	1
Kilkis	3	810	3	1
Pellas	4	19094 [1]	5	1
Imathias	4	6861	4	1
Pierias	3	20647 [1]	4	1
Florinas	1	27192 [1]	2	1
Kozanis	4	30399 [1]	5	1
Kastorias	1	17602 [1]	2	1
Grevenon	1	16150	1	1
Ioanninon	5	7868	5	1
Artas	3	347	3	1
Thesprotias	1	18693 [1]	2	1
Prevezas	2	2341	2	1
Larissas	7	35158 [1]	8	up to 2
Magnisias	5	21936 [1]	6	up to 2
Trikalon	4	32332 [1]	5	1
Karditsas	4	33823 [1]	5	1
Kerkiras	3	2671	3	1
Lefkadas	-	28650	1	1
Kefalonias	1	7585	1	1
Zakynthos	1	2638	1	1
Etolias & Akarnanias	8	7580	8	up to 2
Achaias	8	21039 [1]	9	up to 2
Ilias	6	15729	6	up to 2
Fthiotidas	5	17955 [1]	6	up to 2
Evritanias	1	1354	1	1
Fokidas	1	16965 [1]	2	1
Viotias	3	26552 [1]	4	1
Evias	6	9878	6	up to 2
A' Athens	19	13044	19	up to 4
B' Athens	38	11764	38	up to 5



A' Pireos	6	34877 [1]	7	up to 2
B' Pireos	8	621	8	up to 2
Attikis	9	6319	9	up to 2
Korinthias	4	2638	4	1
Argolidas	2	30848 [1]	3	1
Arcadias	3	24497 [1]	4	1
Messinias	5	33729 [1]	6	up to 2
Laconias	3	2340	3	1
Lesvos	3	11054	3	1
Chiou	1	21680 [1]	2	1
Samos	1	10705	1	1
Kykladon	3	5951	3	1
Dodekanisou	4	9618	4	1
Chanion	3	33842 [1]	4	1
Rethymnou	2	10779	2	1
Irakliou	7	22007 [1]	8	up to 2
Lasithiou	2	9352	2	1
Total:	260	[28]	288	

Under the presidential order 381/2002 the districts and district magnitude are defined according to the population census of March 18th, 2001 as follows:

Table 7: Allocation of seats at lower electoral districts in 2004 general election

Name of the district	Magnitude (First Allocation)	Population surplus [additional seats]	Magnitude (final apportionment)	N° of Preference Votes
Evros	4	11428	4	1
Rhodopis	3	5171	3	1
Ksanthis	2	33878 [1]	3	1
Dramas	3	10626	3	1
Kavalas	4	5340	4	1
A' Thessaloniki	15	29121 [1]	16	up to 3
B' Thessaloniki	7	15964	7	up to 2
Serron	6	31413 [1]	7	up to 2
Chalkidikis	3	877	3	1
Kilkis	3	351	3	1
Pellas	4	16167	4	1
Imathias	4	8048	4	1
Pierias	3	25596 [1]	4	1
Florinas	1	23564 [1]	2	1
Kozanis	4	26827 [1]	5	1
Kastorias	1	18443 [1]	2	1
Grevenon	1	10890	1	1
Ioanninon	4	35401 [1]	5	1
Artas	2	26397 [1]	3	1
Thesprotias	1	17153	1	1



Prevezas	1	34309 [1]	2	1
Larissas	7	30125 [1]	8	up to 2
Magnisias	5	18366	5	up to 2
Trikalon	4	20200 [1]	5	1
Karditsas	4	18803 [1]	5	1
Kerkiras	3	1292	3	1
Lefkadas	-	26941 [1]	1	1
Kefalonias	1	6963	1	1
Zakynthos	1	2545	1	1
Etolias & Akarnanias	7	19336 [1]	8	up to 2
Achaias	8	23714 [1]	9	up to 2
Ilias	6	2292	6	up to 2
Fthiotidas	5	4043	5	up to 2
Evritanias	-	32592 [1]	1	1
Fokidas	1	12948	1	1
Viotias	3	19030 [1]	4	1
Evias	6	3735	6	up to 2
A' Athens	16	28056 [1]	17	up to 4
B' Athens	41	30859 [1]	42	up to 5
A' Pireos	6	9470	6	up to 2
B' Pireos	8	6606	8	up to 2
Attikis	11	22401 [1]	12	up to 2
Korinthias	3	35194 [1]	4	1
Argolidas	2	30521 [1]	3	1
Arcadias	3	9687	3	1
Messinias	5	15679	5	1
Laconias	2	30243 [1]	3	1
Lesvos	3	4738	3	1
Chiou	1	19030 [1]	2	1
Samos	1	8147	1	1
Kykladon	3	7809	3	1
Dodekanisou	4	21748 [1]	5	1
Chanion	4	1273	4	1
Rethymnou	2	1067	2	1
Irakliou	7	28315 [1]	8	up to 2
Lasithiou	2	6474	2	1
Total:	260	[28]	288	

3.7 The 2004 Electoral Reform

- Law 3231/2004
- Law 3434/2006



- Presidential Order 96/2007

The general elections of 2007 and 2009 were held under a new electoral law (law 3231/2004) which was enacted on 11 February 2004. Although the electoral law was issued before the March 2004 election it was not used in 2004 but in 2007 (as per article 54.1 of the – revised – Greek Constitution). The new legislative framework retained ‘reinforced’ proportionality but introduced changes in the apportionment of seats. That is, the new electoral system automatically grants the winning party a majority premium of forty (40) seats. The presidential order 96/2007 incorporated the amendments introduced by the 3231/2004 as well as 3434/2006 laws in a single document.

Assembly size. The electoral reform does not change the size of the assembly (300 MPs) but introduces changes in the apportionment of seats. As in previous elections two-hundred and eighty-eight MPs are elected in the lower electoral districts and the twelve (12) Deputies of State on a national closed list party ballot (article 2, presidential order 96/2007). However, in terms of article 6.2 of law 3231/2004 a bonus of forty (40) seats is directly attributed to the party with the largest share of the vote.

Districts and district magnitude. Law 3231/2004, articles 1 and 11 changed the electoral boundaries of the counties of Attiki and Thessaloniki (P.O. 96/2007, article 1):

- Attiki is divided in five (5) lower electoral districts
 - o A’ electoral district of Athens (municipality of Athens)
 - o B’ electoral district of Athens (remaining municipalities and communities of the former municipality of Athens)
 - o A’ electoral district of Pirea (municipalities of Pirea and Spetses and the provinces of Egina, Kythira, Troizina and Ydra)
 - o B’ electoral of Pirea (the remaining municipalities of the former municipality of Pirea and the island of Salamina)
 - o the electoral district of the remaining of Attiki
- Thessaloniki is divided in two electoral districts
 - A’ electoral district of Thessaloniki (former municipality of Thessaloniki)
 - B’ electoral district of Thessaloniki (the remaining of the county of Thessaloniki)

There is no change in the apportionment of the seats (Article 2.3 of the Presidential Order 96/2007). To this end, the districts and district magnitude of the 2007 and 2009 general elections is the same as in 2004.

There is a change however, in the number of preference votes cast in each lower electoral district (law 3231/2004, article 3).

Nature of votes that can be cast. As in previous elections voters select party candidates within the party list of their choice by marking a cross next to the name of the candidate(s) of their choice. The number of preference votes in each lower electoral district is defined by law 3231/2004, article 3 (presidential order 96/2007, article 72.7) as follows:

- In the lower electoral districts that elect one to three representatives one cross
- In the lower electoral districts that elect four to seven representatives up to two crosses



- In the lower electoral districts that elect eight to twelve representatives up to three crosses
- In the lower electoral districts that elect more than thirteen representatives up to four crosses

The effect of these changes was that the number of preference votes that could be cast increased by one in 20 districts containing a total of 114 seats and fell by one in two districts containing a total of 58 seats.

Once again, party leaders and acting or past prime ministers are exempt from the cross of preference voting; they are placed at the top of the party list and is considered to receive as many votes as the total number of valid votes cast for the party in the electoral district in which they are nominated (presidential order 96/2007, article 72.8).

Moreover, law 3231/2004 amended the number of candidates that parties are allowed to nominate in each lower electoral district. Therefore, in terms of article 2 parties or coalition of parties could nominate as many candidates as the number of parliamentary seats contested in the each district plus (presidential order 96/2007, article 34.6):

- Two more candidates in the districts that elect one (1) to seven (7) representatives
- Three more candidates in the districts that elect eight (8) to twelve (12) representatives
- Four more candidates in the districts that elect more than thirteen (13) representatives

Party leaders and the leaders of coalitions are allowed to be nominated in two electoral districts (article 34.3, presidential order 96/2007).

Finally, under the new electoral law (article 10 incorporated into the presidential order 96/2007 article 72.11) if a snap election is called within eighteen (18) months of the general election, then the snap election is held under the presidential order 152/1985, article 1.1 (closed party lists).

Party threshold. Parties, coalitions of parties and independent candidates participate in the first distribution and the distribution of the seats of 'Deputies of States' only if they poll at least three percent (3%) of the total share of the vote nationally (article 99.1, presidential order 96/2007).

Allocation of seats to parties at the first tier. It should be noted that Article 11 of law 3231/2004 repeals articles 88 (first distribution), 89 (second distribution) and 90 (third distribution) of the presidential order 55/1999, which defined the multi-tier system used in the previous elections. Instead seats are apportioned at various stages.

Participation in the allocation of the seats:

- At the first stage, the seats are allocated proportionally to the parties, coalitions of parties and independent candidates (on the condition that they have reached the 3% threshold) according to their total valid vote percentage. To this end, the total number of valid votes polled by each combination nationally is multiplied by two-hundred and sixty (260) and the product is divided by the sum of valid votes cast for the parties that reached the electoral threshold (article 99.2 of 96/2007). The integer of this division provides the number of



seats allocated to each electoral combination. If the sum of the distributed seats is lower than 260 then the remaining seats are allocated one by one to the combinations that have the largest decimal remainder.

- The first-past-the-post party or coalition of parties receives a majority-bonus of forty (40) seats (article 99.3, 96/2007). These seats are taken from the districts that have still a surplus of seats after the distribution of seats at all tiers.
- In single member constituencies, the seat is allocated to the party with the largest number of votes in the constituency as long as the party has also reached the electoral threshold of 3% nationally (presidential order 96/2007, article 100.5).
- Seats are allocated to candidates according to the number of 'crosses of preference' they polled (article 98.3, 96/2007).

Allocation of the 248 seats in the lower electoral districts:

- The distribution of the 248 seats in the lower electoral districts is based on the Hare method. That is, the electoral measure is defined by the division of the sum of the total number of valid votes cast in each lower electoral district by the number of seats to be allocated. The number of seats awarded to each party (coalition or independent candidates) is defined by the quotient (disregarding fractions) of the party's total share of valid votes in the district by the electoral measure.
- The remaining seats are distributed to the political formations which have the largest remainders of 'unused' votes in each electoral district (article 100.6). First, the difference between the number of seats allocated to each party or coalition and the number of allocated seats in the district is calculated. Then, the number of 'unused' votes of each political formation in each constituency is estimated. The remainder is defined by the difference of the multiplication of the distributed seats in the district by the electoral measure, and the total of votes each party polled in the district.
- The undistributed seats in two- and three-member constituencies are distributed one by one to the parties (or coalitions) with the largest remainders (article 100.7).
- The electoral districts that still have a surplus of seats are set in descending order according to the party or coalition with the smallest remainder of valid votes. The parties or coalitions with the smallest remainders nationally are awarded seats until they reach the required number of seats as defined by the process described above (article 99, par. 2, 3, and 4); that is, seats are awarded to parties that have a shortage between the number of seats allocated and the number of seats won (article 100.8).

Allocation of seats to parties at the second tier. Article 11 of law 3231/2004 abolished the second tier.

Allocation of seats to parties at the third tier. Under article 11 of law 3231/2004 the third tier is abolished.

Allocation of seats of the Deputies of State. The Hare method is used for the distribution of the seats of 'Deputies of State': the electoral measure is integer of the division of the sum of the valid votes of all parties participating in the distribution (as per article 99.1) by twelve (12), the number of seats of State Deputies (article 100.1, 96/2007). Seats are apportioned to parties or coalitions of parties according to the product of the division of the total number of valid votes



each combination polled nationally by the electoral measure (article 100.2). Undistributed seats are allocated to the parties with the largest remainder (100.3).

No other change

Table 8: Allocation of seats at the lower electoral districts in 2007 and 2009 general elections

Name of the district	Magnitude (First Allocation)	Population surplus [additional seats]	Magnitude (final apportionment)	N° of Preference Votes
Evros	4	11428	4	up to 2
Rhodopis	3	5171	3	1
Ksanthis	2	33878 [1]	3	1
Dramas	3	10626	3	1
Kavalas	4	5340	4	up to 2
A' Thessaloniki	15	29121 [1]	16	up to 4
B' Thessaloniki	7	15964	7	up to 2
Serron	6	31413 [1]	7	up to 2
Chalkidikis	3	877	3	1
Kilkis	3	351	3	1
Pellas	4	16167	4	up to 2
Imathias	4	8048	4	up to 2
Pierias	3	25596 [1]	4	up to 2
Florinas	1	23564 [1]	2	1
Kozanis	4	26827 [1]	5	up to 2
Kastorias	1	18443 [1]	2	1
Grevenon	1	10890	1	1
Ioanninon	4	35401 [1]	5	up to 2
Artas	2	26397 [1]	3	1
Thesprotias	1	17153	1	1
Prevezas	1	34309 [1]	2	1
Larissas	7	30125 [1]	8	up to 3
Magnisias	5	18366	5	up to 2
Trikalon	4	20200 [1]	5	up to 2
Karditsas	4	18803 [1]	5	up to 2
Kerkiras	3	1292	3	1
Lefkadas	-	26941 [1]	1	1
Kefalonias	1	6963	1	1
Zakynthos	1	2545	1	1
Etolias & Akarnanias	7	19336 [1]	8	up to 3
Achais	8	23714 [1]	9	up to 3
Ilias	6	2292	6	up to 2
Fthiotidas	5	4043	5	up to 2
Evritanias	-	32592 [1]	1	1
Fokidas	1	12948	1	1
Viotias	3	19030 [1]	4	up to 2



Evias	6	3735	6	up to 2
A' Athens	16	28056 [1]	17	up to 4
B' Athens	41	30859 [1]	42	up to 4
A' Pireos	6	9470	6	up to 2
B' Pireos	8	6606	8	up to 3
Attikis	11	22401 [1]	12	up to 3
Korinthias	3	35194 [1]	4	up to 2
Argolidas	2	30521 [1]	3	1
Arcadias	3	9687	3	1
Messinias	5	15679	5	up to 2
Laconias	2	30243 [1]	3	1
Lesvos	3	4738	3	1
Chiou	1	19030 [1]	2	1
Samos	1	8147	1	1
Kykladon	3	7809	3	1
Dodekanisou	4	21748 [1]	5	up to 2
Chanion	4	1273	4	up to 2
Rethymnou	2	1067	2	1
Irakliou	7	28315 [1]	8	up to 3
Lasithiou	2	6474	2	1
Total:	260	[28]	288	

3.8 The 2008 Electoral Reform

- Law 3636/2008

The electoral law 3636/2008 amended the previous law 3231/2004 by increasing the majority-bonus of the first-past-the-post party by 10 seats. As the law passed by simple majority, it was not used in the 2009 general election but will be in force in the forthcoming election (due to be held in 2013).

Allocation of seats to parties at the first tier. Law 3636/2008 article 1 amends article 6.1 and 6.2 of law 3231/2004 and respectively article 99.2 and 99.3 of the presidential order 96/2007 by increasing the number of bonus seats apportioned to the plurality party at the national level from 40 to 50. Therefore, the total share of the vote of each party or coalition of parties is multiplied by two-hundred and fifty (250) – instead of 260. The product is divided by the sum of valid votes of the parties or coalitions that participate in the distribution of seats (reached the 3% threshold). The integer is the number of seats to be allocated to each party. The first-past-the-post party is awarded a bonus of fifty (50) seats from the lower electoral districts in which there is a surplus of unallocated seats (article 1.2a, 3636/2008). The majority bonus is awarded to a coalition of parties provided that the mean share of the vote of the coalition parties is greater than the vote share of the single party with the largest number of votes. To this end, the number of seats to be directly distributed in the lower electoral districts is decreased to two-hundred and thirty-eight (328).



Allocation of seats to parties at the second tier. No change: Article 11 of law 3231/2004 abolished the second tier.

Allocation of seats to parties at the third tier. No change: Under article 11 of law 3231/2004 the third tier is abolished.

Allocation of seats of the Deputies of State. No change.

No other change

Appendix

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