

# Appendix A

## *Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992*

### *Part A: 23 Countries using simple plurality<sup>a</sup>*

<i>Country</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Bahamas	49-member House of Assembly.
BANGLADESH	330-member Parliament ( <i>Jatiya Sangsad</i> ). 300 members are directly elected; 30 are coopted women's representatives.
Barbados	27-member House of Assembly.
Belize	18-member House of Assembly.
BOTSWANA	40-member National Assembly. 34 members directly elected; 4 coopted and 2 <i>ex officio</i> members.
Canada	295-member House of Commons.
Dominica	31-member House of Assembly. 21 members are elected. The Speaker and nine senators are appointed on the advice of the prime minister and Leader of the Opposition.
Gambia	51-member Chamber of Representatives. 36 members are elected, 15 are appointed or <i>ex officio</i> .
Grenada	15-member House of Representatives.
JAMAICA	60-member House of Representatives.
Micronesia	14-member Congress.
NEPAL	205-member Parliament ( <i>Pratinidhi Sabha</i> ).
NEW ZEALAND	97-member House of Commons. 4 members elected to represent the Maori population by plurality in single-member constituencies.
P.N.G.	109-member Parliament. Three additional members may be appointed by a two-thirds vote in Parliament but this had never happened as of 1989.
St. Kitts & Nevis	14-member National Assembly. 11 members elected; 3 members appointed.

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

### Part A (cont.)

Country	Comments
St. Lucia	17-member House of Assembly.
St. Vincent	19-member House of Assembly. 13 members elected; 6 members appointed (four on advice of prime minister, two on advice of the Leader of the Opposition).
Solomon Islands	38-member Parliament.
TRINIDAD	36-member House of Representatives.
U.K.	650-member House of Commons.
U.S.	435-member House of Representatives.
Western Samoa	47-member Legislative Assembly ( <i>Fono</i> ). Two seats are reserved for non-indigenous minorities.
ZAMBIA	159-member National Assembly. 150 members elected; 1 member elected by Assembly; 8 members appointed by president.

"Countries with populations less than one million are listed with an initial capital letter followed by lower-case letters; larger countries are listed using capital letters throughout. This convention is also followed in part B of this appendix.

### Part B: 55 Countries without simple plurality

ARGENTINA	<i>Primary districts (distritos)</i>
<b>Lists</b>	PR-d'Hondt. Only lists whose vote exceeds 3% of the registered electorate in the district are eligible to receive seats.
<b>Candidates</b>	List order.
	254-member Chamber of Deputies ( <i>Cámara de Diputados</i> ).
AUSTRALIA	<i>Primary districts</i>
<b>Candidates</b>	Alternative vote system.
	148-member House of Representatives.
AUSTRIA	<i>Primary districts</i>
	<i>Secondary districts</i>
<b>Secondary Lists</b>	—
	(3) Seats unallocated in step 1 are aggregated within each secondary district and distributed by PR-d'Hondt, on

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

		the basis of each secondary list's vote (equal to the sum of the remainder votes of the party's constituency lists in the secondary district). Only parties that have won at least one constituency seat in the secondary district are eligible to receive seats at this stage.
Lists	(1) Each list receives as many seats as its vote contains full Hare quotas.	—
Candidates	(2) Seats awarded to lists in step 1 are reallocated to each list's candidates, mostly in accord with list order.	(4) Seats awarded to secondary lists in step 2 are reallocated to each list's candidates in accord with list order.
183-member National Council ( <i>Nationalrat</i> ).		

	<i>Primary districts</i> ( <i>arrondissements</i> )	<i>Secondary districts (provinces)</i>
<b>BELGIUM</b>		
Partisan Cartels	—	(2) Seats unallocated in step 1 are aggregated within each province and distributed by PR-d'Hondt. A cartel must obtain 66% of a Hare quota in one of the <i>arrondissements</i> contained in the province, and must also have formally affiliated its various <i>arrondissement</i> lists in the province, in order to participate in the secondary seat allocation.
Lists	(1) Each list receives as many seats as its vote contains full Hare quotas.	(3) Seats awarded to partisan cartels in step 2 are reallocated to each cartel's component <i>arrondissement</i> lists by PR-d'Hondt.
Candidates	(4) Seats awarded to lists in steps 1 and 3 are reallocated to each list's	—

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

candidates, by a  
transferable vote  
system that puts  
most of the  
emphasis on list  
order. See  
Dewachter  
(1983:99–100)  
for details.

212-member Chamber of Representatives (*Chambre de Représentants* or *Kamer van Volksvertegenwoordigers*).

---

### *BENIN                      Primary Districts*

---

**Lists**                      LR-Hare.  
**Candidates**           List order.  
64-member National Assembly.

---

### *BOLIVIA                      Primary Districts*

---

**Lists**                      LR-Hare, based on qualifying lists' vote totals only. Only  
lists whose votes exceed the Hare quota (based on all votes)  
qualify to participate in the distribution of seats.  
**Candidates**           List order.  
130-member Chamber of Deputies (*Cámara de Diputados*).

---

### *BRAZIL                      Primary Districts*

---

**Lists**                      d'Hondt.  
**Candidates**           Plurality.  
503-member Chamber of Deputies (*Câmara de Deputados*).

---

### *BULGARIA              Primary districts                      Secondary district (national)*

---

<b>Partisan Cartels</b>	—	(2) The total number of seats to which a cartel is entitled is determined on the basis of list votes aggregated to the national level, using LR-Hare with a 4% national threshold. (1991 election.)
<b>Lists</b>	(1) In 1991 at least, votes cast for constituency lists were pooled at the national	(3) Seats awarded to partisan cartels in step 2 are reallocated to each cartel's

## *Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992*

	level and no seats were allocated at the constituency level (cf. Kuusela 1994:146). Technically, then, the constituencies did not count as primary electoral districts in 1991, and the system was similar to Holland's. I am not sure whether this system continued in 1994 or not.	component constituency lists by PR-d'Hondt.
<b>Candidates</b>	(4) Seats awarded to constituency lists in step 3 are reallocated to the candidates on those lists by list order.	—
	240-member National Assembly ( <i>Sobranie</i> ).	

### *Cape Verde      Primary districts*

<b>Lists</b>	PR-d'Hondt.
<b>Candidates</b>	List order.
	79-member National Assembly, of whom 3 represent nonresidents.

### *CHILE      Primary districts*

<b>Lists</b>	PR-d'Hondt
<b>Candidates</b>	Plurality.
	120-member Chamber of Deputies ( <i>Cámara de Diputados</i> ).

### *COLOMBIA      Primary districts*

<b>Lists</b>	LR-Hare
<b>Candidates</b>	List order.
	199-member House of Representatives ( <i>Cámara de Representantes</i> ). Multiple lists from the same party can and frequently do run against one another.

### *COSTA RICA      Primary districts*

<b>Lists</b>	LR-Hare. Only parties whose vote exceeds half a Hare quota are eligible to receive seats.
<b>Candidates</b>	List order.
	57-member Legislative Assembly ( <i>Asamblea Legislativa</i> ).

## *Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992*

*Cyprus*  
(Greek)

*Primary districts*

<b>Lists</b>	LR-Hare. Only parties who have either secured (1) one quota seat plus at least 8% of the national vote, or (2) at least 10% of the national vote are eligible to receive remainder seats. Coalitions of two parties that submit joint lists can receive remainder seats only if they garner at least 20% of the national vote. Coalitions of more than two parties can receive remainder seats only if they garner at least 25% of the national vote.
<b>Candidates</b>	Seats allocated to lists are reallocated to the candidates on those lists by plurality rule. Any ties are broken by list order.
56-member House of Representatives.	

*CZECH*  
*REPUBLIC*

*Primary districts*

*Secondary district (national)*

<b>National Lists</b>	—	(2) Seats not allocated in step 1 are allocated at the national level to national lists on the basis of the sum of each party's remainders in the constituencies, using LR-Hagenbach-Bischoff. Only parties garnering at least 5% of the national vote are eligible to receive seats at this stage. Coalitions of parties that submit joint lists must satisfy stricter requirements: Coalitions of two, three, and four or more parties must garner at least 7%, 9%, and 11%, respectively.
<b>Lists</b>	(1) Each list gets as many seats as its vote contains full Hagenbach-Bischoff quotas.	(4) Seats allocated to national lists in step 3 are reallocated to the candidates on those lists according to their list order.
<b>Candidates</b>	(3) Seats allocated to constituency lists in step 1 are reallocated to the candidates on those lists according to their list order. However, if at least one tenth of those voting	—

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

for the list have cast  
preference votes, then  
these are taken into  
account, and candidates  
receiving preference votes  
from more than 50% of  
those casting such votes  
are moved to the top of the  
list.

200-member Chamber of Deputies. The system described is that used in the 1992 Czechoslovak elections.

	<i>Primary districts (storkredse, Amtskredse)</i>	<i>Secondary district (national)</i>
<b>DENMARK</b>		
<b>Partisan Cartels</b>	—	(2) Only cartels that have either (a) won one or more constituency seats, or (b) obtained as many votes as on average were cast per constituency seat in at least two of the three regions, or (c) obtained, in the country as a whole, at least 2% of the valid votes cast, are eligible to participate in the second distribution of seats. The total number of seats to which each cartel is entitled is determined using the LR-Hare method (the quota equals the nationwide sum of the votes of all lists associated with qualifying cartels, divided by the total number of Danish seats, 175). From this total number is then subtracted the number of constituency seats won by associated lists in step 1. The difference gives the number of the forty supplemental seats to which the cartel is entitled.
<b>Lists</b>	(1) 135 constituency seats are distributed by the modified Sainte-Lague method.	(3) Seats awarded to partisan cartels in step 2 are reallocated to each cartel's component constituency lists by a two-step procedure. Seats are first allocated to regions, by the Sainte-Lague method. Then, within regions, they are allocated to constituencies by another divisor method. See Johansen (1979:46) for details.

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

<b>Candidates</b>	(4) Seats awarded to lists in steps 1 and 3 are reallocated to each list's candidates, by three different procedures. See Johansen (1979:50–54) for details.	—
-------------------	--	---

179-member Parliament (*Folketing*).

---

### *DOMINICAN REPUBLIC    Primary districts*

---

<b>Lists</b>	PR-d'Hondt
<b>Candidates</b>	List order.

120-member Chamber of Deputies (*Cámara de Diputados*).

---

<i>ECUADOR</i>	<i>Primary districts (provincial)</i>	<i>Primary district (national)</i>
<b>Lists</b>	(1a) Seats are allocated by three different methods, depending on district magnitude: in single-member districts, by plurality; in double-member districts, by PR-d'Hondt; in all other districts, by the same procedure as that used at the national level.	(1b) Seats are allocated as follows. Let $Q_1$ equal half a Hare quota and $Q_2$ equal a full Hare quota based only on the votes of those lists whose vote exceeds $Q_1$ . If no list's vote exceeds $Q_1$ , then seats are given one to a list in descending order of their vote totals. If exactly one list's vote exceeds $Q_1$ , then that list gets M-1 seats, and the second largest list gets 1 seat. If more than one list's vote exceeds $Q_1$ , then there are two cases. If no list's vote exceeds $Q_2$ , then seats are distributed by LR- $Q_1$ . If at least one list's vote exceeds $Q_2$ , then each list whose vote exceeds $Q_1$ gets as many seats as its vote contains full quotas ( $Q_2$ ), with any remaining seats being distributed by largest remainders among all lists whose vote exceeds $.6Q_1$ .
<b>Candidates</b>	(2a) Seats allocated to lists in	(2b) Seats allocated to lists in step 1b are reallocated to the candidates on



## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

step 1a are                      each list by list order.  
 reallocated to the  
 candidates on each  
 list by list order.

72-member National Chamber of Representatives (*Cámara Nacional de Representantes*). 12 national deputies (*diputados nacionales*) have four-year terms; 60 provincial deputies (*diputados provinciales*) have two-year terms.

---

### FINLAND                      *Primary districts*

---

<b>Lists</b>	PR-d'Hondt.
<b>Candidates</b>	Plurality.
	200-member Parliament ( <i>Eduskunta</i> ).

---

### FRANCE                      *Primary districts*

---

<b>Candidates</b>	Majority-runoff system. All candidates whose vote exceeds 12.5% of the registered electorate may participate in the runoff.
	577-member National Assembly ( <i>Assemblée Nationale</i> ).

---

GERMANY	<i>Primary districts</i>	<i>Secondary districts (Länder)</i>	<i>Tertiary district (national)</i>
<hr/>			
<b>Partisan Cartels</b>	—	—	(2) The total number of seats to which a cartel is entitled is determined on the basis of list votes ( <i>Zweitstimmen</i> ) aggregated to the national level, using LR-Hare with a 5% national threshold.
<b>Lists</b>	—	(1b) Votes cast for <i>Land</i> lists ( <i>Zweitstimmen</i> ) can, at the option of each party, either be used for an allocation of seats within the <i>Land</i> by LR-Hare, or be pooled at the national level.	(3) Seats awarded to partisan cartels in step 2 are reallocated to each cartel's component <i>Land</i> lists by PR-d'Hondt.

# Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

Candidates	(1a) Constituency seats are awarded by plurality rule on the basis of candidate votes ( <i>Erststimmen</i> ).	In practice, all parties take the latter option.	—
		(4) Let the number of seats to which a <i>Land</i> list is entitled, determined in step 3, be denoted L. Let the number of constituency seats won by the party in that <i>Land</i> , determined in step 1a, be denoted C. If $L - C > 0$ , then the first $L - C$ names on the <i>Land</i> list, not having already won constituency seats, are awarded seats. If $L - C < 0$ , then no seats are allocated to candidates on the list, but the party does get to keep the surplus seats ( <i>Überhangmandaten</i> ) it has won.	

496-member Federal Diet (*Bundestag*).

		Primary districts (nomoi)	Secondary districts (major districts)	Tertiary district (national)	Secondary district (national)
GREECE					
National Lists	—	—	—	—	(6) Votes cast in <i>nomoi</i> are aggregated to the national level and 12 “state deputies” chosen by PR-d’Hondt. 3% threshold.
Partisan Cartels	—		(2) All votes cast in <i>nomoi</i> for lists passing the 3%	(4) The party with the most national votes wins all	—

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

		threshold (as in step 1) are aggregated at the major district level, along with seats not allocated at step 1. Each cartel gets as many seats as its vote contains full Hare quotas.	unallocated seats from districts where it ran first. Unallocated seats from other districts are aggregated to the national level, along with all votes cast for lists passing the 3% threshold (as in step 1). Each cartel gets as many seats as its vote contains full Hare quotas. Seats still not allocated go to the largest party.	
Lists	(1) PR-d'Hondt in one- and two-member districts. In larger districts, each list gets as many seats as its vote contains full "plus one" quotas. Only lists from a party/coalition that gets at least 3% of the national vote are eligible	(3) Seats allocated to cartels in step 2 are re-allocated to the cartel's component lists according to which <i>nomos</i> the seat came from.	(5) Seats allocated to cartels in step 4 are re-allocated to the cartel's component lists according to which <i>nomos</i> the seat came from.	—

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

	to receive seats.			
Candidates	(7) Seats allocated to lists in steps 1, 3, and 5 are reallo- cated to each list's candi- dates by plurality.	—	—	(8) List order.

300-member Chamber of Deputies. In a final adjustment, any party whose vote exceeds the 3% national threshold, but whose seats fall short of 70% their proportional due (their vote percentage, times the total number of seats), receives extra seats at the expense of the immediately stronger party.

---

### *HONDURAS    Primary districts*

---

Lists	LR-Hare.
Candidates	List order.
132-member National Assembly ( <i>Congreso</i> ).	

---

<i>HUNGARY</i> ( <i>Tóka N.d.</i> )	<i>Primary districts:</i> <i>single-member</i>	<i>Primary districts:</i> <i>multimember</i> ( <i>counties</i> )	<i>Secondary district</i> ( <i>national</i> )
--	---	--	--

---

National Lists	—	—	(3) Votes from steps 1a (first round) and 1b that do not con- tribute to winning a seat are aggre- gated to the national level. 58 national compen- satory seats, plus seats not allocated in step 1b, are awarded on the basis of these votes by PR- d'Hondt. A 4% national threshold applies, as in step 1b.
-------------------	---	---	--

*Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992*

<b>Lists</b>	—	(1b) Only lists affiliated with cartels that get 4% or more of the total regional list vote are eligible to receive seats. Qualifying lists get as many seats as their votes contain Hagenbach-Bischoff quotas, plus one more if their remainder exceeds 2/3 of the quota.	—
<b>Candidates</b>	(1a) 176 seats filled by a majority runoff system. Absent a majority winner in the first round, the top three finishers, plus any others whose vote exceeds 15%, can participate in the runoff, when the seat is awarded by plurality.  386-member Parliament.	(2) List order.	(4) List order.

---

<i>ICELAND</i>	<i>Primary districts</i>	<i>Secondary district (national)</i>
<b>Partisan Cartels</b>	—	(2) Seats unallocated in step 1 are aggregated at the national level and distributed by PR-d'Hondt, on the basis of the cartels' national vote totals and taking into account seats already won in the constituencies. A cartel must win at least one constituency seat, in order to

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

Lists	(1) In each constituency [3M/4] seats (where [x] represents the least integer greater than or equal to x) are allocated by LR-Hare. Only parties whose vote exceeds 2/3 of the Hare quota (based on the votes of all parties) can participate in seat allocations. If any parties are eliminated, the quota is recomputed in terms of the votes of qualifying parties only.	participate in the secondary seat allocation. (3) Seats awarded to partisan cartels in step 2 are reallocated to each cartel's component constituency lists by a three-step process. See Helgason (1991) for details.
Candidates	(4) Seats awarded to lists in steps 1 and 3 are reallocated to each list's candidates, mostly in accord with list order.	—
63-member General Assembly ( <i>Althing</i> ).		
<hr/>		
IRELAND	<i>Primary districts</i>	
<hr/>		
Candidates	STV system. 166-member lower house ( <i>Dáil Éireann</i> ).	
<hr/>		
ISRAEL	<i>Primary district (national)</i>	
<hr/>		
Lists	PR-d'Hondt. Only lists receiving at least 1.5% of the national vote are eligible to receive seats.	
Candidates	List order. 120-member Assembly ( <i>Knesset</i> ).	
<hr/>		
ITALY	<i>Primary districts</i>	<i>Secondary district (national)</i>
<hr/>		
Partisan Cartels	—	(2) Seats unallocated in step 1 are aggregated at the national level and distributed by LR-Hare. Each cartel's vote is equal to the sum of the remainder votes of its associated constituency lists.

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

		A cartel's associated lists must win at least one constituency seat, and amass at least 300,000 votes nationwide, in order for the cartel to participate in the secondary seat allocation.
Lists	(1) Each list gets as many seats as there are full Imperialii quotas contained in its vote. If this results in more seats being distributed than there are seats in the constituency, then each list gets as many seats as there are full Hagenbach-Bischoff quotas contained in its vote.	(3) Seats awarded to partisan cartels in step 2 are reallocated to each cartel's component constituency lists in decreasing order of each list's remainder vote expressed as a percentage of its constituency's quota (calculated in step 1).
Candidates	(4) Seats awarded to lists in steps 1 and 3 are reallocated to each list's candidates, by plurality rule (based on the candidates' preference votes).	—
630-member Chamber of Deputies ( <i>Camara dei Deputati</i> ).		

---

### JAPAN *Primary districts*

---

Candidates	Plurality. A candidate's vote total must exceed $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Hare quota to win a seat.
512-member House of Representatives ( <i>Shugi-in</i> ).	

---

### Kiribati *Primary districts*

---

Candidates	"Members ... are elected in 23 electoral districts allotted one, two or three seats by absolute majority vote (or simple majority, if the seat is not filled in the first round of voting)" ( <i>Electoral Systems: A Worldwide Comparative Study</i> , Inter-Parliamentary Union: 1993:51).
41-member House of Assembly ( <i>Maneaba Ni Maungatabu</i> ). One seat is allocated to the Banaban community and one <i>ex officio</i> to the Attorney General.	

*Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992*

<b>KOREA, SOUTH</b>		
	<i>Primary districts</i>	<i>Secondary district (national)</i>
<b>Lists</b>	—	(2) "If a party wins a majority of seats allocated in single-member districts, all 75 nationwide seats are allocated among all parties ... according to their relative shares of district seats. However, if the winning party has only a plurality of district-level seats, then this party receives 38 (just over 50%) of the seats in the nationwide tier, the remaining parties that have won at least 5 district-level seats divide the remaining seats according to their shares of district seats won" (Cheng 1993:16–17).
<b>Candidates</b>	(1) 224 members elected by plurality	(3) Seats awarded to national party lists in step 2 are reallocated to the candidates on those lists by list order.
299-member Parliament.		

---

*Liechtenstein*      *Primary districts*

---

<b>Lists</b>	LR-Hare. Only lists receiving at least 8% of the national vote are eligible to receive seats.
<b>Candidates</b>	Plurality.
25-member Diet ( <i>Landtag</i> ).	

---



---

**LITHUANIA**      *Primary districts: single-member*      *Primary district (national)*

---

<b>Lists</b>	—	(1b) 70 members are elected by LR-Hare at the national level, on the basis of list votes. Only lists receiving at least 4% of the national vote are eligible to receive seats.
<b>Candidates</b>	(1a) 71 members are elected by majority runoff. To win in the first round, a candidate must get over 50% of the valid votes, and turnout must exceed 40%.	(2) List order.



## *Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992*

Absent a first-round winner,  
the top two finishers meet in a  
runoff.  
141-member Parliament (*Seimas*).

---

<i>Luxembourg</i>	<i>Primary districts</i>
<b>Lists</b>	PR-d'Hondt.
<b>Candidates</b>	Seats awarded to party lists are reallocated to the candidates on those lists by plurality rule. Each candidate's vote total equals the sum of his or her personal or preference votes and votes cast for the whole list.
	64-member Chamber of Deputies ( <i>Chambre des Députés</i> ).

---

<i>MALI</i>	<i>Primary districts</i>
<b>Lists</b>	116 seats are filled in single- and multimember districts as follows. Each party presents a list of M candidates, where M is the district magnitude. Any party garnering a majority of votes in the district wins all the seats. If no party wins a majority, then the top two vote-getting lists are pitted in a runoff election, with the winner taking all M seats.
<b>Candidates</b>	All candidates on any winning list receive seats.
	129-member National Assembly. 13 seats are chosen by Malians living in other countries.

---

<i>Malta</i>	<i>Primary districts</i>	<i>Secondary district (national)</i>
<b>Parties</b>	—	(2) "Malta introduced a contingent higher tier before the 1987 election: if the party winning a majority of first preference votes does not win a majority of the lower-tier seats, it receives a sufficient number of upper-level adjustment seats to ensure it a parliamentary majority" (Lijphart 1994:36).
<b>Candidates</b>	(1) STV system.	(3) No information on how seats allocated in step 2 are reallocated to individuals within each party.
	65-member House of Representatives.	

---

*Marshall Islands: No information.*

---

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

---

### MAURITIUS      *Primary districts*

---

**Candidates**      Plurality. 62 members are elected in primary districts. A second allocation of 8 seats seeks to ensure fair representation for the four officially recognized "communities" of Mauritius (Hindu, Muslim, Sino-Mauritian, and General Population) while, at the same time, ensuring that the position of the most successful party in the election is not eroded. For details, see schedule 1 of the Mauritian constitution, in Blaustein and Flanz (1971).

70-member Legislative Assembly.

---

### NAMIBIA      *Primary district (national)*

---

**Lists**      LR-Hare.

**Candidates**      List order.

72-member Constituent Assembly.

---

*Nauru: Election appears to be by a system of preferential voting in multimember districts.*

---



---

### NETHERLANDS      *Primary district (national)*

---

**Lists**      PR-d'Hondt. Only lists receiving at least .67% of the national vote are eligible to receive seats.

**Candidates**      Seats awarded to party lists are reallocated to the candidates on those lists, by a transferable vote system that puts most of the emphasis on list order. See Seip (1979:211) for details.

150-member Second Chamber (*Tweede Kamer*).

---

### NORWAY      *Primary districts (counties)*      *Secondary district (national)*

---

<b>Lists</b>	(1) 157 county seats are allocated in each country by the modified Sainte-Laguë method.	(2) 8 at-large seats are allocated to those county lists with the highest quotients remaining after the distribution of the county seats. Only registered parties that win more than 4% of
--------------	---	--

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

the national vote are eligible to receive seats at this stage.

**Candidates** (3) Seats allocated to county lists in steps 1 and 2 are reallocated to the candidates on each list mostly in accord with list order (voters may change the order of names on a list, but for these changes to have any effect over half the voters must make the same changes).  
165-member Parliament (*Storting*).

<i>POLAND</i>	<i>Primary districts</i>	<i>Secondary district (national)</i>
<b>National lists</b>	—	(4) 69 seats are awarded by the modified Sainte-Laguë method, on the basis of constituency list votes aggregated to the national level. Only parties whose constituency lists have won seats in at least five constituencies, and whose aggregate vote exceeds 5% of the aggregate national vote, are eligible to receive seats at this stage.
<b>Interparty Cartels</b>	(1a) LR-Hare.	—
<b>Independent Lists</b>	(1b) Independent lists compete with interparty cartels, with seats awarded by LR-Hare.	—
<b>Allied Lists</b>	(2) Seats awarded to interparty cartels in step 1a are reallocated to the cartel's component lists by LR-Hare.	—
<b>Candidates</b>	(3) Seats awarded to lists in steps 1b and 2 are reallocated to the candidates on each list by plurality.	(5) List order.

460-member Parliament (*Sejm*). 391 members are elected in the primary districts, 69 at-large in the nation.

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

<b>PORTUGAL</b> <i>Primary districts</i>		
<b>Lists</b>	PR-d'Hondt.	
<b>Candidates</b>	List order.	
	250-member Assembly of the Republic ( <i>Assembleia da República</i> ).	
<hr/>		
<b>San Marino</b> <i>Primary districts</i>		
<b>Lists</b>	PR-d'Hondt.	
<b>Candidates</b>	?	
	60-member Grand and General Council.	
<hr/>		
<b>São Tomé and Príncipe</b> <i>Primary districts (distritos)</i>		
<b>Lists</b>	List plurality: the list winning the most votes in a given constituency wins all the seats.	
<b>Candidates</b>	All candidates on a winning list are elected.	
	55-member National People's Assembly.	
<hr/>		
<b>SLOVAKIA</b>	<i>Primary Districts</i>	<i>Secondary District (national)</i>
<b>National Lists</b>	—	(2) Seats not allocated in step 1 are allocated at the national level to national lists on the basis of the sum of each party's remainders in the constituencies, using LR-Hagenbach-Bischoff. Only parties garnering at least 5% of the national vote are eligible to receive seats at this stage. Coalitions of parties that submit joint lists must satisfy stricter requirements: coalitions of two or three must garner at least 7%, while those of four or more must garner at least 10%.
<b>Lists</b>	(1) Each list gets as many seats as its vote contains full Hagenbach-Bischoff quotas.	(4) Seats allocated to national lists in step 3 are reallocated to the candidates on those lists according to their list order.

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

**Candidates** (3) Seats allocated to constituency lists in step 1 are reallocated to the candidates on those lists according to their list order. However, if at least one-tenth of those voting for the list have cast preference votes, then these are taken into account, and candidates receiving preference votes from more than 50% of those casting such votes are moved to the top of the list.

150-member National Council (*Narodna rada*). The system described is that used in the 1992 Czechoslovak elections.

SLOVENIA	Primary districts	Secondary districts
<b>Partisan Cartels</b>	—	(2) Seats unallocated in step 1 are aggregated at the national level and distributed by PR-d'Hondt, on the basis of each cartel's remainder vote (the sum of all remainders from associated constituency lists). Only cartels that would win at least three seats were all seats allocated at the national level by PR-d'Hondt on the basis of the total vote cast are eligible to participate.
<b>Lists</b>	(1) Each lists gets as many seats as there are whole Hare quotas contained in its vote.	(3) Seats awarded to partisan cartels in step 2 are reallocated to each cartel's component lists as follows. Each constituency list's remainder is expressed as a fraction of the quota in its constituency. The cartel seats are then awarded to constituency lists by the order of their proportional remain-

## Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992

		ders, ignoring lists from constituencies all of whose seats have already been allocated.
<b>Candidates</b>	(4) Seats awarded to lists in steps 1 and 3 are reallocated to each list's candidates as follows. Each candidate on each list is associated with one (or two) geographically defined subdistricts. The candidates on each list are ranked in terms of the percentage of the total vote each has received in his or her subdistrict. The top candidates on the list get the seats to which their list is entitled.	—
90-member National Assembly. The Italian and Hungarian minorities are each entitled to a single Deputy, with election by a preferential vote system.		

### SPAIN

#### *Primary districts*

<b>Lists</b>	PR-d'Hondt. Only lists that get at least 3% in the district are eligible to receive seats.
<b>Candidates</b>	List order. 350-member Congress of Deputies ( <i>Congreso de Diputados</i> ).

### SWEDEN

#### *Primary districts*

#### *Secondary district (national)*

<b>National Partisan Cartels</b>	—	(2) All votes cast for parties whose vote exceeds 4% of the national total are aggregated to the national level. A hypothetical allocation of all seats, both fixed or constituency seats and additional or national seats, is made by modified Sainte-Laguë. Parties that receive more seats in this hypothetical allocation are allotted additional seats, from the pool of 39 additional seats in the nation.
<b>Intra- district Partisan Cartels</b>	(1b) As in 1a.	(3b) As in 3a.

### *Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992*

<b>Lists</b>	(1a) Each constituency has a certain number of "fixed" seats allocated to it, and these are allocated by modified Sainte-Laguë. To receive constituency seats a party must either exceed 4% of the national vote or its list(s) in the constituency must exceed 12% of the constituency vote. (4) Seats allocated to intra-district partisan cartels in steps 1b and 3b are reallocated to the cartel's constituent lists, basically by PR-d'Hondt.	(3a) Additional seats allocated to national partisan cartels in step (2) are reallocated to each cartel's constituent lists/partisan cartels according to which of those lists/cartels had the largest average in their districts after the allocation of constituency seats.
<b>Candidates</b>	(5) Seats allocated to lists in steps 1a, 3a, and 4 are reallocated to each list's candidates mostly by list order. 349-member Parliament ( <i>Riksdag</i> ).	—

---

#### **SWITZERLAND**     *Primary districts*

---

<b>Lists</b>	PR-d'Hondt.
<b>Candidates</b>	Plurality.
200-member National Council ( <i>Nationalrat/Conseil National</i> ).	

---

#### **TURKEY**     *Primary districts*

---

<b>Lists</b>	In districts returning at least five members, the party getting the most votes is awarded a bonus seat, with the rest of the
--------------	--

## *Formulaic structures in 77 democracies, circa 1992*

seats awarded by PR-d'Hondt. In districts returning no more than four members, the system is PR-d'Hondt (and no bonus seats). A party must poll 10% of the national vote, and receive at least a Hare quota in the district, in order to be allocated seats.

**Candidates** List order.  
450-member Grand National Assembly (*Büyük Millet Meclisi*).

*Tuvalu* Primary districts

**Candidates** Plurality.  
13-member Parliament. The Attorney General sits *ex officio*.

URUGUAY	Primary districts	Secondary district (national)
<b>Lemas</b>	(2) Seats awarded to <i>lemas</i> at the national level in step 2 are reallocated to the constituency level by PR-d'Hondt, taking into account the constitutional requirement that at least two seats go to each constituency.	(1) Votes cast for lists are aggregated nationally within <i>lemas</i> , and seats awarded by PR-d'Hondt.
<b>Sub-lemas</b>	(3) Seats awarded to <i>lemas</i> in step 3 are reallocated to <i>sub-lemas</i> by PR-d'Hondt.	—
<b>Lists</b>	(4) Seats awarded to <i>sub-lemas</i> in step 3 are reallocated to the lists within the <i>sub-lemma</i> by PR-d'Hondt.	—
<b>Candidates</b>	(5) List order.	—
99-member Chamber of Deputies ( <i>Cámara de Diputados</i> ).		

*Vanuatu* Primary districts

**Candidates** Plurality.  
46-member Parliament.

*Western Samoa* Primary districts

**Candidates** Plurality.  
47-member Legislative Assembly (*Fono*). Two seats are reserved for non-indigenous minorities.