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STRUCTURALIZATION AND COMPARISON OF ELECTORAL FORMULAS FOR THE ELECTION OF COLLEGIAL REPRESENTATIVE BODIES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE VISEGRAD GROUP COUNTRIES (AS OF 2018)

The notion of an electoral system has a broad meaning and includes a number of elements. Among them are an electoral formula, the number of mandates for a constituency, an electoral threshold, astructure of the ballot, an effective number of parties, an electoral variability, indicators of proportionalityor disproportionality, attractiveness and substitution of electoral systems. At the same time, the article focuses on the concept of an electoral formula. Since it analyzes the electoral formulas used at localelections in the countries of the Visegrad Group. In particular, the author, in the context of comparing the electoral formulas, took into account such criteria as the ways of distribution of deputy mandates, the size/magnitude of electoral districts, the electoral threshold and the structure of the ballot.As a result, the researcher analyzed the electoral formulas for the election of collegial representative bodies of localgovernment in the countries of the Visegrad Group.

Keywords: *electoral system, electoral formula, local elections, representative bodies of localgovernment, countries of the Visegrad group.*

СТРУКТУРИЗАЦІЯ ТА ПОРІВНЯННЯ ЕЛЕКТОРАЛЬНИХ ФОРМУЛ ДЛЯ ОБРАННЯ КОЛЕГІАЛЬНИХ ПРЕДСТАВНИЦЬКИХ ОРГАНІВ МІСЦЕВОГО САМОВРЯДУВАННЯ У КРАЇНАХ ВИШЕГРАДСЬКОЇ ГРУПИ (СТАНОМ НА 2018 р.)

Поняття виборчої системи має широке значення та включає в себе ряд елементів. Серед них виділяють виборчу формулу, кількість мандатів на виборчий округ, електоральний поріг, структуру бюлетеня, ефективну кількість партій, електоральну мінливість, показники пропорційностічи диспропорційності, залучуваності та заміщення виборчих систем. Поряд із цим, у статті увага зосереджена на понятті виборчої формули. Адже в ній здійснено аналіз виборчих формул, що використовуються на місцевих виборах у країнах Вишеградської групи. Зокрема, у контекстіпорівняння виборчих формул враховано такі критерії як, спосіб розподілу депутатських мандатів,величина/магнітуда виборчого округу, електоральний поріг і структура бюлетеня. Як наслідок,проаналізовано виборчі формули для обрання колегіальних представницьких органів місцевого самоврядуванняу країнах Вишеградської групи.

Ключові слова: *виборча система, електоральна формула, місцеві вибори, представницькі органи місцевого самоврядування, країни Вишеградської групи.*

The methodology for researching electoral systems had been largely developed, so we can talk about certain universal parameters, which are primarily used analytically and characterize electoralresearches. Such parameters are mainly related to the basic characteristics of electoral systems, in particular: to an electoral formula, a number of mandates for the constituency, an electoral threshold, a structure ofa ballot. All these parameters of an electoral system have a certain effect on an election results[1]. Inaddition, such criteria include an effective number of parties, an electoral volatility, indicators ofproportionality or disproportionality, attractiveness and substitution of electoral systems. The latter are used to analyze and compare the results of voting at different elections[2]. However, they are extremely poorly researched in the context of clarifying and comparing the characteristics of electoral formulas in local elections in the Visegrad Groupcountries, in particular at the time of the analysis (as of 2018).

Thus, the purpose of the proposed article is to structurize and compare a broad understanding of the notion of an electoral formula, for example, within local elections of collegial representative bodiesof power in the countries of the Visegrad Group. To resolve the purpose, the article in its structure was divided into two parts – theoretical and practical ones.For the theoretical part, the researches of such scientists as T. Deshko[3], Y. Klyuchkovsky[4], A. Lijphart[5], M. Mikhalchenko[6], Y. Shveda[7] and others were used. Instead, the basis of the practical part is an array of articles of the current legal acts of the Visegrad Group countries that regulate the relevant issues, as well as statistical data on the peculiarities of elections and administration of local government bodies in the countries of the region.

Analyzing the notion of an electoral system, A. Lijphart defines its three main components: anelectoral formula (which is commonly understood as an electoral system in the narrow sense), an electoraldistrict magnitude (in terms of a number of mandates distributed in a district) and an electoral barrier(i.e., the minimum support of voters required to participate in the distribution of mandates)[8]. Y. Shvedagives two variants of the set of components of an electoral system. In his view, the main elements thatdetermine the essence of an electoral system include an electoral formula, an electoral district magnitude, the form and characteristics of a constituency,

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[1] Deshko T., Instrumentariy analizu vyborchykh system, *„Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA. Politychni nauky"* 2005, vol 45, s. 50–55.

[2] Deshko T., Instrumentariy analizu vyborchykh system, *„Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA. Politychni nauky"* 2005, vol 45, s. 50–55.

[3] Deshko T., Instrumentariy analizu vyborchykh system, *„Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA. Politychni nauky"* 2005, vol 45, s. 50–55.

[4] Klyuchkovsky Y., *Vyborchi systemy ta Ukrayinske vyborche zakonodastvo*, Wyd. Chas Druku 2011.

[5] Lijphart A., *Electoral Systems and Party Systems. A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945–1990*, Wyd. Oxford University Press 2000.

[6] Mykhalchenko M., Samchuk Z., Porivnialnyi analiz yevropeiskykh vyborchykh system, *„Naukovi zapysky IPiEND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy"* 2010, vol 50, nr. 6, s. 267–286.

[7] Shveda Y., *Vybory ta vyborchi systemy. Yevropeyski standarty ta dosvid dlya utverdzhennya demokratiyi v Ukrayini*, Lviv 2010.

[8] Lijphart A., *Electoral Systems and Party Systems. A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945–1990*, Wyd. Oxford University Press 2000.

the nature of a voting, the structure of an election ballot[9].In addition, the researcher refers to a constituency, an election ballot, an electoral (party) list, a methodsof voting, an electoral formula and an electoral barrier as the elements that "form an electoral system"[10].

Of all the elements of electoral systems, this article focuses on the notion of an electoral formula.According to B. Klyuchkovsky, an electoral formula as a way of distributing mandates depending on the votes received is the main element of an electoral system and the most important criterion used bothfor distinguishing it and for the analysis of electoral systems[11]. So, we can talk about narrow and broaddefinition of an electoral formula. The narrow sense is understood only by the technology of distribution of electoral votes (i.e., majoritarian and proportional ones).Instead, the broad understanding includes both technology of distribution and technology of defining the winners of elections. The wider definition thus includes the narrow definition of an electoral formula, a number of mandates for the constituency, an electoral threshold and the structure of a ballot[12]. In turn, there are two types of electoral formulas –proportional and majority as well as their derivatives such combinations – in the narrow definition of electoral system.

Scientists usually single out two types of majoritarian formulas, i.e. of the relative majority and of the absolute majority. The majoritarian formula of the relative majority (the so-called FPTP formula, "first-past-the-post") exists where the candidate obtaining the relative majority of votes, i.e. more than anyother of the rivals, receives the election victory (that is why "winner takes all"). Instead, the majoritarian formula of the absolute majority means that candidates for their victory need to score more than fiftypercent of the electoral votes. This system has two types – in the form of voting in two rounds (the so called TRS formula, "two-round system") and in the form of alternative voting (the so called AV formula, "alternative voting", or IRV formula, "instant-runoff voting"). The first type of voting is usually carried out in single-mandate constituencies. If none of the candidates gains the required majority of votes in the first round, then the second round of voting is held. Instead, the system of an alternative voting operates where the voter has the right to fix the order of his or her preferences among all the candidates nominatedin single-mandate constituencies. The process of clarification the winner here is carried out through a consistent exclusion from the counting the candidates who scored the smallest number of votes and the redistribution of their votes among the remaining candidates, and so on to reveal the winner[13].

Instead, a proportional electoral formula involves elections in multi-mandate constituencies. The essence of the formula is a more or less proportional distribution of seats according to

[9] Shveda Y., *Vybory ta vyborchi systemy. Yevropeyski standarty ta dosvid dlya utverdzhennya demokratiyi v Ukrayini*, Lviv 2010.

[10] Shveda Y., *Vybory ta vyborchi systemy. Yevropeyski standarty ta dosvid dlya utverdzhennya demokratiyi v Ukrayini*, Lviv 2010.

[11] Klyuchkovsky Y., *Vyborchi systemy ta Ukrayinske vyborche zakonodastvo*, Wyd. Chas Druku 2011, s. 26.

[12] Deshko T., Instrumentariy analizu vyborchykh system, „*Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA. Politychni nauky*" 2005, vol 45, s. 50–55, s. 51.

[13] Shveda Y., *Vybory ta vyborchi systemy. Yevropeyski standarty ta dosvid dlya utverdzhennya demokratiyi v Ukrayini*, Lviv 2010.

the distribution of votes. The distribution of votes in a proportional system may occur either by quotas or by divisors. There may be a quota (which, in the simplest form, is calculated by dividing the total number of votes cast for candidates in a particular constituency by the number of seats in that constituency) that will be deducted from the votes cast for a particular party each time a party receives a mandate[14]. Among the well-known quotas there are the Hare quota (the simplest quota, whose calculation method is givenabove), the Hagenbach-Bischoff quota, the Droop quota, the Imperiali quota, the increased Imperialiquota and others (whose calculation method are derived from the simplest, as described above). Another way of distributing mandates is to assign a sequence of divisors.Each time a party receives a mandate, the total number of votes cast for it is divided by the corresponding divisor. The sequence, in whichmandates are given to the parties with the "highest average" in each of the steps, is used the most often. In addition, the procedure with the allocation of the "largest average" named "D'Hondt method" is alsoused very often. This method uses the sequence of divisors "1", "2", "3", "4" … Among the well-known methods there are also the modified D'Hondt method, the Saint-Laguë method, the modified Saint-Laguë method, the Imperiali method and so on.

Analyzing the proportionality ("fairness") of electoral systems, some scholars believe that thedegree of proportionality/disproportionality of representation is influenced by the magnitude of aconstituency. Under the magnitude of the constituency, we understand the number of mandates that aredistributed in the constituency. Another element of the analysis is the notion of an electoral barrier thatdefines the minimum percentage of votes that a party or candidate must obtain in order to get a mandatein an elective body. As to the structure of the electoral ballot, it is determined by two factors: the content of the ballot and the way of filling it. The content of the electoral ballot depends on the voting object (i.e. whom voters vote for). Indeed, the way to fill in an electoral ballot is determined by the number ofoptions that a voter can mark when voting[15].Usually scientists distinguish between categorical andregular/ordinary ballots: in the case of a categorical ballot, the voter may vote for only one candidate orparty; in the case of a regular/ordinary ballot, the voter can show that the candidate "B" is his or her first preference, but if "B" is not chosen, he or she would give the preference of "C" to "A". However, there are also intermediate options, in particular: the systems that allow a cumulative voting when the voter can cast more than one vote for a particular candidate; systems where voters may have the right to vote for both the local and national representatives of the same legislative body; systems of voting in support, when a voter submits an equally "weighted" vote to all candidates except the least desirable and the winneris a person who receives the widest support; the "panachage" system, which allows party voting, but givesvoters an opportunity to cast votes for a given number of candidates from their district regardless of their party affiliation, thereby

[14] Shveda Y., *Vybory ta vyborchi systemy. Yevropeyski standarty ta dosvid dlya utverdzhennya demokratiyi v Ukrayini*, Lviv 2010.
[15] Klyuchkovsky Y., *Vyborchi systemy ta Ukrayinske vyborche zakonodastvo*, Wyd. Chas Druku 2011, s. 23.

mixing the desired candidates of one party with candidates from otherparty[16].Thus, under the structure of the bulletin we understand the way of filling it.

The application of general theoretical information and broad definition of an electoral formula enabled us to proceed to the clarification and comparison of its peculiarities on the example of modern parameters of the election of collegial representative bodies of local government in the countries of theVisegrad Group (as of 2018), i.e. in Hungary, Poland, Czechia and Slovakia. The broad definition ofan electoral formula is also applied because proportional electoral systems, which have all of the above-mentioned characteristics, are used in the vast majority of the countries under review.

Hungary is a decentralized unitary state. The constitution of Hungary recognizes local governmentand involves it three levels: central, regional (at the level of districts) and local[17]. Hungary consists of19 districts (megyei) and 3757 communities (települések). The level of local communities consists of2863 municipalities, 265 cities, 23 cities with the rights of districts and the capital city of Budapest. Moreover, Budapest is divided into 23 urban areas[18]. In accordance with the Constitution of Hungary[19]and the Law "On Local Government"[20], the authority that has the powers to make decisions at the locallevel is a representative body (council), which come in different types.

All councils are elected directly by voting using different electoral systems. In the elections to general assemblies of settlements with the number of voters up to 10 thousand people, the law provides for the use of the majoritarian formula of the relative majority (the so-called FPTP formula)in a single multi-mandate constituency, the borders of which coincide with the boundaries of a settlement. Thus, it is a matter of the majoritarian system of the relative majority by preferential block voting. Since eachvoter has as many votes as the mandates are distributed in a constituency. In this case, those candidates, in accordance with the number of seats to be elected in a multi-mandate constituency, receive the mandatesthat receive the largest number of electoral votes. In addition, if several candidates receive the same number of votes for their support, but one or more of them may not be elected by the virtue of electoral district magnitude, then the mandate is given to the candidate determined by the drawing procedure. Conversely, if the number of candidates is less than the number of mandates in a multi-mandate constituency, the law provides re-election[21].

[16] Deshko T., Instrumentariy analizu vyborchykh system, „*Naukovi zapysky NaUKMA. Politychni nauky*" 2005, vol 45, s. 50–55.

[17] *The Constitution of the Republic of Hungary: 2011 (rev. 2013)*, Constitute Project, *źródło:*https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Hungar y_2013?lang=en[odczyt: 01.05.2018].

[18] *Magyarország helyi önkormányzatairól: 2011. évi CLXXXIX. törvény*, Wolters Kluwer, *źródło:*https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=A1100189.TV[odczyt: 01.05.2018].

[19] *The Constitution of the Republic of Hungary: 2011 (rev. 2013)*, Constitute Project, *źródło:*https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Hungar y_2013?lang=en[odczyt: 01.05.2018].

[20] *Magyarország helyi önkormányzatairól: 2011. évi CLXXXIX. törvény*, Wolters Kluwer, *źródło:*https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=A1100189.TV[odczyt: 01.05.2018].

[21] Mykhalchenko M., Samchuk Z., Porivnialnyi analiz yevropeiskykh vyborchykh system, „*Naukovi zapysky IPiEND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy*" 2010, vol 50, nr. 6, s. 267–286.

In the elections to general assemblies of settlements with the number of voters more than 10 thousand people as well as to general assemblies or assemblies of the districts of Budapest and general assembliesor assemblies of cities with provincial rights, the law provides for the use of a mixed electoral system. Procedurally it looks like that the whole territory of an administrative and territorial unit is divided into single-member constituencies, where elections are held on the basis of the majoritarian system of the relative majority, but in parallel with the application of the mechanism for obtaining "compensatory" mandates, the number of which in practice is usually about 40 percent of the nominal composition of general assemblies. Moreover, "compensatory" mandates are not distributed according to the majoritariancomponent of the mixed electoral system, while only those subjects of the electoral process, which nominated their candidates in 25% of single-member constituencies, are allowed to participate in the process of distribution of "compensatory" mandates. Votes cast for candidates from such parties in single-mandateconstituencies are summed up and the results are divided into divisors ("1,5", "3", "5", "7", "9" and otherodd numbers, which actually outlines the use of the modified Saint-Laguë method). This continues untilall the "compensatory" mandates are distributed among the parties. It is also interesting that the distributionof mandates received by parties between candidates is carried out in a sequence determined by appropriate "compensatory" party lists.

In turn, in the elections to general assemblies of villages, towns and cities (except for the provincialcities mentioned above), the law provides for the use a proportional electoral system of closed lists with voting in two multi-mandate constituencies. The number of mandates distributed in each constituency depends on the number of voters registered in its territory. Each voter has the only one vote and can giveit for the only one list of candidates in his or her constituency. At the same time, the law regulates thatonly subjects of the electoral process, whose lists in the constituency receive at least 4 percent of the votesof all the voters in their support, are allowed to participate in the distribution of mandates. The distribution of mandates among parties is based on the D'Hondt method[22].

Proportional electoral system, but of somewhat different structure and formula, is also used for the election of general assemblies of 19 districts (megyei) and the general assembly of the capital city of Budapest. In 19 districts, the distribution of seats between parties is carried out using the D'Hondt method between those political parties or blocs/coalitions, which overcome the appropriate electoral barrier. In Budapest, the law provides for the use of a proportional electoral system with voting for closedlists in a single multi-mandate constituency, where voters must distribute 35 mandates. The distributionof seats between parties or blocs/coalitions is also carried out on the basis of the D'Hondt method. The lists, which do not overcome the electoral barrier of 5 percent of the votes for single parties, of 10 percent for blocs/coalitions

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[22] KlaiznerA, Mansvietov Y.,*Munitsypalni vybory v Uhorshchyni, Slovachchyni, Polshchi taChekhii: porivnialnyi analiz*, NISS.GOV. UA, źródło: http://old.niss.gov.ua/monitor/april/15.htm[odczyt: 01.05.2018].

of two parties and of 15 percent for blocs/coalitions of three or more parties, are not allowed to participate in the distribution of mandates.

In accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, an administrative and territorial organization of this country has a regional (voivodship), a sub-regional (county and the cities with a county status) and a local level (gmina).The governanceby the administrative and territorial units is carried out by the bodies specified by the Constitution and special laws: in gminas they are the councilsof gminas, in counties – the councils of counties, at the level of voivodship – legislative assemblies (sejmiks).Such legislatures are the representative bodies and are formed through elections.

According to the 2011 Electoral Code, but actually since 2014, that is since the first local electionsorganized according to its rules, the majoritarian electoral system of the relative majority in single-mandate constituencies (the so-called FPTP formula) was introduced in all gminas, regardless of thenumber of their population (not taking into account the borders of less or more than 20 thousand peopleas before). Instead, the law provides for the use of a proportional electoral system of lists in cities with the rights of counties, counties and voivodeships. In addition, the Electoral Code introduced a rule according to which all proportional elections in Poland should take place using the D'Hondt method to allocate seats[23].At the same time, the electoral barrier is unified for parties and blocs and is 5%.

The current electoral system for the election of local authorities in the Czech Republic is regulated by the Law No. 491/2001[24] on "Elections to Local Councils" and on the basis of certain related laws. The administrative and territorial division of the Czech Republic has a two-tier structure. In accordance with the Czech law, locally elected bodies are councils of 14 regions/lands, including the capital cityof Prague as a separate region/land (which has been holding the so-called regional elections since 2000),and municipalities of 76 districts, 75 cities and 6242 others settlements (which have been holding the so-called municipal elections since 1990). Each of them has elected representative legislatures and executive bodies – committees, departments, councils, magistrates, primators and village elders.

At the regional elections to the councils of regions/lands, the law provides the following rules: citizens who have reached the age of 18 are voting in regional elections on the basis of secret, universal, equal and direct suffrage on the lists of candidates for parties, movements and electoral coalitions. In addition, they can put four so-called "votes of preferences" (preferential votes) in the candidates' lists. With their help, voters can change the order of candidates in a list. The number of elected representatives of the region depends on the number of inhabitants of this region and vary between 45 and 65 persons. Mandates are granted to candidates

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[23]   In December 2017, amendments to the Electoral Code of Poland were adopted in terms of restricting distant voting and limiting the presence of mayors and woits to no more than two cadences. The changes will take effect from the upcoming local elections in Poland in 2018.

[24]   *Zákon č. 491/2001 Sb. ze dne 6. prosince 2001 o volbách do zastupitelstev obcí a o změně některých zákonů*, Zákony pro lidi. Cz, *źródło:* https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/2001-491[odczyt: 01.11.2017].

who hold top positions in electoral lists including on the basis of voter preferences, but only of those parties, movements and coalitions, which receive at least 5 percent of electoral votes[25].

At the lowest level there are 6242 municipalities. One of the varieties of municipal elections is the so-called communal elections, i.e. elections of city municipalities. At the same time, both the majoritarian electoral system of the relative majority (the so-called FPTP formula) and the proportional electoral system with preferential lists are used for the election of municipal councils in the Czech Republic. The first one is used where it is necessary to elect municipal councils with the number of representatives of no more than 15 people. The second one is used in all other cases. In the case of a proportional electoral system with preferences, a voter may elect both as separate candidates from party and non-party lists as well as lists of parties, coalitions or independent candidates in general[26].

In the case of Slovakia, it is divided (according to the Constitution) into 8 self-governing regions, 79 districts (rayons) and such settlements as cities and villages. To elect the composition of councils in all types of Slovak communities, the law provides for the use of the majoritarian-electoral system of the relative majority (the so-called FPTP formula) with preferential block voting in multi-mandate constituencies. However, with the rule that a multi-mandate constituency may have a magnitude of no more than 12 deputy mandates. An exception is made up of small rural communities in which only one constituency may be formed.

It is also interesting that the prevalence of a small number of residents in most of the Slovak local communities led to the approval of 2002 amendments to the basic law, which limited the number of deputies. In the smallest communities, where fewer than 40 citizens live, 3 representatives are elected, in communities with a population of up to 500 people – 3–5 representatives, to 1 thousand people –5–7 representatives, to 3 thousand people – 7–9 representatives, to 5 thousand people – 9–11 representatives, to 10 thousand people – 10–13 representatives, to 20 thousand people – 13–19 representatives, to 50 thousand people – 15–25 representatives, to 100 thousand people – 19–31 representatives, more than 100 thousand people – 23–41 representatives. Moreover, the exact number of representatives to be elected in the next election is determined by the current composition of local councils on the eve of the start of the election campaign. Since the maximum electoral district magnitude at the local elections in Slovakia is 12 mandates and the number of electoral votes coincides with the number of mandates to be distributed in a district, a Slovak voter may have at most 12 votes.

It should also be noted that a new administrative and territorial unit, i.e. the self-governing land/region, arose in Slovakia in 2001. Self-governing land/region or the highest administrative and territorial unit is the highest body of territorial/local government in Slovakia. Today there are 8 self-governing lands/regions in the country, including the cities of Kosice and Bratislava.

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[25] Mykhalchenko M., Samchuk Z., Porivnialnyi analiz yevropeiskykh vyborchykh system, *„Naukovi zapysky IPiEND im. I. F. Kurasa NAN Ukrainy"* 2010, vol 50, nr. 6, s. 267–286.

[26] *Zákon č. 491/2001 Sb. ze dne 6. prosince 2001 o volbách do zastupitelstev obcí a o změně některých zákonů*, Zákony pro lidi. Cz, *źródło:* https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/2001-491 [odczyt: 01.11.2017].

The governance at the level of aland/regionis carried out through elected bodies, i.e.a council and a president of aself-governing land/region. The law establishes the use of the majoritarian electoral system of the relative majority (the so-called FPTP formula)at the regional councils' elections.

Therefore, the article analyzed the key characteristics of the electoral formulas used in localelections in Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. It has been determined that a proportionalelectoral system and its modifications (Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia) more often and a majoritarianelectoral system (Hungary) more rarely are used for the election of collegial representative bodies atthe local level in the countries of the Visegrad Group. Regarding the type of ballot, both the categoricaland the regular ballots are used. A typical electoral barrier is 5%. At the same time, let us note that suchan analysis is mostly legal. In turn, the effects of the use of electoral systems at the local level and thepolitical peculiarities of regional policy are equally important in the analysis of electoral systems atthe local level. These are, for example, the following criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of electoralsystems as an effective number of parties, an electoral variability, indicators of proportionality ordisproportionality, attractiveness and substitution of electoral systems. However, they should beresearched within a separate study.

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