STUDY Requested by the AFCO committee



# Europeanising the elections of the European Parliament

Outlook on the implementation of Council Decision 2018/994 and harmonisation of national rules on European elections





Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs Directorate-General for Internal Policies PE 694.199 - June 2021

# Europeanising the elections of the European Parliament

Outlook on the implementation of Council Decision 2018/994 and harmonisation of national rules on European elections

#### Abstract

This study, commissioned by the European Parliament's Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs at the request of the AFCO Committee, looks into the main obstacles to unifying and modernising European elections in different Member States. It gives an overview of the implementation of Council Decision 2018/994 and highlights, in particular, the importance of the standardisation and harmonisation of electoral ballots as a means to properly inform voters and strengthen the European party system. As a more general remark, the study concludes that the European and national political parties should further strengthen their relationship, a vital element of the European political system that can increase the transnational nature of European elections. This document was requested by the European Parliament's Committee on Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs.

#### **AUTHORS**

Lorenzo CICCHI, Robert Schuman Centrefor Advanced Studies, European University Institute

#### ADMINISTRATOR RESPONSIBLE

Eeva PAVY

**EDITORIAL ASSISTANT** 

Fabienne VAN DER ELST

LINGUISTIC VERSIONS Original: EN

#### **ABOUT THE EDITOR**

Policy departments provide in-house and external expertise to support EP committees and other parliamentary bodies in shaping legislation and exercising democratic scrutiny over EU internal policies.

To contact the Policy Department or to subscribe for updates, please write to: Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs European Parliament B-1047 Brussels Email: poldep-citizens@europarl.europa.eu

Manuscript completed in June 2021 © European Union, 2021

This document is available on the internet at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/supporting-analyses

#### DISCLAIMER AND COPYRIGHT

The opinions expressed in this document are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position of the European Parliament. Reproduction and translation for non-commercial purposes are authorised, provided the source is acknowledged and the European Parliament is given prior notice and senta copy.

© Cover image used under licence from Adobe Stock.com

# CONTENTS

LIST	r of <i>f</i>	ABBREVIATIONS	5
LIST	r of f	IGURES	6
LIST	r of t	ABLES	6
EXE	CUTI	VESUMMARY	7
1.	INTR	CODUCTION	9
	1.1.	Research design	9
	1.2.	The European Parliament elections	9
		1.2.1. From a non-elected assembly to transnational constituency and the birth of the <i>Spitzenkandidaten</i> procedure	e 9
		1.2.2. Latest developments: the Hübner-Leinen proposal, Brexit, and the demise of the <i>Spitzenkandidaten</i> procedure	e 11
2.	COU	NCIL DECISION 994/2018 OF 13 JULY 2018	15
	2.1.	Measures that Member States may implement	16
		2.1.1. Preferential voting	16
		2.1.2. Maximum threshold not exceeding 5%	18
		2.1.3. 'Europeanised' ballot papers	19
		2.1.4. Absentee voting and voting rights of EU citizens residing in third countries	24
	2.2.	Measures that Member States <i>shall</i> implement	26
		2.2.1. Proportional representation and direct universal suffrage	27
		2.2.2. Threshold between 2% and 5% for bigger Member States	27
		2.2.3. Three weeks' deadline for submission of candidacies	28
		2.2.4. Double voting prevention and data exchange	29
3.	THE	RATIFICATION STATUS OF COUNCIL DECISION 994/2018 OF 13 JULY 2018	34
	3.1.	Countries that have ratified	35
		3.1.1. Before the 2019 European elections	35
		3.1.2. After the 2019 European elections	40
	3.2.	Countries that have not yet ratified	42
		3.2.1. Less complex cases	43
		3.2.2. More complex cases	45
	3.3.	Conclusions and suggestions on how to move ahead	49
REF	EREN	CES	52

ANNEX	54
Country experts	54
Electoral systems and ballots	56
Electoral ballot samples from 2019 European elections	58
Austria	58
Belgium	59
Bulgaria	60
Croatia	61
Cyprus	62
Czech Republic	63
Denmark	64
Estonia	65
Finland	65
France	66
Germany	67
Greece	68
Hungary	68
Ireland	69
Italy	70
Latvia	71
Lithuania	72
Luxembourg	73
Malta	74
Netherlands	75
Poland	76
Portugal	77
Romania	78
Slovakia	79
Slovenia	80
Spain	81
Sweden	82

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AECR	Alliance for European Conservatives and Reformists
AFCO	Committee on Constitutional Affairs of the European Parliament
ALDE Group	Group of the Alliance of Liberal and Democrats for Europe
ALDE Party	Alliance of Liberal and Democrats for Europe Party
DiEM25	Democracy in Europe Movement 2025
ECR	European Conservatives and Reformists Party
EDP	European Democratic Party
EGP	European Green Party
EPG	Party Group in the European Parliament
EPPGs	Political Groups in the European Parliament
EPP Group	Group of the European People's Party in the European Parliament
EPP Party	European People's Party
EuPP	European Political Party
G/EFA	The Greens/European Free Alliance Group in the European Parliament
GUE/NGL	European United Left/Nordic Green Left
MEPs	Members of the European Parliament
MS	Member State
PES	Party of European Socialists
PEL	Party of the European Left
S&D Group	Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament

# **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1 : Post-Brexit reapportionment of seats in the European Parliament	13
Figure 2 : Electoral thresholds across MS electoral systems	19
Figure 3 : Europeanisation of electoral ballots by country, 2014 and 2019	24
Figure 4 : Deadline for registration before European elections (in days), 2019	29

# **LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1 : Differences between the EP Resolution 2015 and the Council Decision 2018	15
Table 2 : Overview of preferential voting across MS	17
Table 3 : Europeanisation of electoral ballots by actor, 2014 and 2019	20
Table 4 : Summary of Europeanisation of electoral ballots, 2014 and 2019	23
Table 5 : Absentee and from third country voting possibilities in MS	25
Table 6 : Explicit thresholds of MS with more than 35 seats (nationwide)	27
Table 7 : Sanctions for double voting	30
Table 8 : Electoral authority and data exchange prior to elections (6 weeks)	32
Table 9 : Ratification status of Council Decision 994/2018	34
Table 10 : Compulsory measures compliance, by non-ratifying MS	42
Table 11 : Overall Europeanisation of electoral laws	49
Table 12 : Country experts involved in the study for data collection by MS	54
Table 13 : Electoral systems and ballots key elements, by MS	56

# **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

This study analyses the main obstacles to unifying, 'Europeanising', and modernising European elections. It examines, in particular, which Member States (MS) have not been willing or able to ratify Council Decision 2018/994, and why. It is based on short reports on the ratification status of Council Decision 2018/994 and data collection at party and country level, performed by 26 country experts contacted and coordinated by the author.

The initial articles of Council Decision 994/2018 (concerning, in particular, proportional representation and universal suffrage) are uncontroversial. Beyond these articles, the decision contains a number of provisions that MS are either invited or requested to implement:

- Measures that MS may implement: A threshold not exceeding 5%; ballot papers showing names and logos of the European political parties (EuPPs) to which national parties are affiliated; absentee (electronic, postal or advance) voting; the possibility of voting from third countries outside the EU;
- *Measures that MS shall implement:* A threshold between 2% and 5% for MS with constituencies over 35 seats; a three-week deadline for candidacies; prohibiting double voting through appropriate sanctions; establishing a contact authority for data exchange on voters/candidates; exchanging data no later than six weeks before elections.

To date (June 2021), five Member States have not yet ratified Council Decision 2018/994; these are Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, Germany and Spain. Further two Member States, namely Romania and the Czech Republic, did so only after the European elections in 2019. All 20 remaining Member States have ratified the decision between February 2018 and March 2019. Among the non-ratifying Member States, we can distinguish between less and more complex cases.

As for **Croatia** and **Estonia**, it is not expected that ratifying Council Decision 994/2018 in time for the 2024 European elections would pose any particular challenges for these countries. In both cases, the inertia seems to be attributable to non-compulsory measures: in **Croatia**, regarding the reluctance to implement postal and electronic voting; in **Estonia**, regarding the potential high symbolic cost of adapting the traditionally very laconic and dull ballot to include EuPP logos, combined with the peculiar political situation that the two main competitor parties are both members of the Alliance of Liberal and Democrats for Europe (ALDE) group in the European Parliament.

The situation in **Cyprus**, **Germany** and **Spain** – by contrast – is more challenging.

In **Cyprus**, the initiated legislative procedure entailed the automatic registration of Cypriots with double nationality living abroad, which could have triggered both practical costs of a higher number of electors and delicate political balance, with the majority of Turkish Cypriots potentially shifting the balance in favour of the traditional opposition party, the Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL).

In **Germany**, the Constitutional Court has repeatedly ruled the electoral threshold in elections to the European Parliament unconstitutional. Re-introducing an electoral threshold, therefore, would require parliamentary majorities qualified to amend the Constitution. Germany's own federal elections law was modified in October 2020, with the votes of the governing majority (CDU/CSU, SPD). Several opposition parties (the FDP, the Left, the Greens) have appealed against the new federal elections law to the

Constitutional Court. Thus, keeping the ratification process of Council Decision 2018/994 away from the current controversies surrounding the federal elections law (with new elections in September 2021) is crucial for the success of the process, which will hopefully be reconsidered in the course of the new legislature.

In **Spain**, too, the complexity of ratification seems to be attributable to problems associated, in particular, with establishing a formal electoral threshold, which might prevent smaller political parties from electing MEPs. Given Brexit, Spain will have more elected MEPs in the 2024 European elections. This will further increase the proportional representation of smaller parties in terms of elected MEPs. However, adopting a formal electoral threshold may be particularly problematic for a political system as fragmented as the Spanish one, which is particularly noticeable in European Parliament elections.

As already mentioned, the Europeanisation of electoral ballots is not obligatory but only suggested in the Council Decision 2018/994. Nevertheless, this standardisation and harmonisation deserves special attention, as it is fundamental to properly inform voters and strengthen the European party system: First, it is unequivocally the most underdeveloped, even considering a 'minimal' definition of Europeanisation. Ballot design across Europe shows an extremely wide variety of formats and voting procedures, only partially linked to different electoral arrangements, and not all are compatible with such provision. Secondly, it shows an opposite trend between 2014 and 2019, where there has been some backsliding (more countries with Europeanised ballots, but a lower presence of EuPPs *vis-à-vis* other non-recognized European transnational associations; fewer MEPs elected). This dynamic is strictly intertwined with the demise of the *Spitzenkandidaten* system.

Apart from the ratification of Council Decision 994/2018, European and national political parties should further strengthen their relationship, a vital element of the European political system that can increase the general transnational nature of European elections (not only of European ballots). The actual level of Europeanisation depends less on rules and more on the general climate around the election. In this regard, a reinvigoration of the *Spitzenkandidaten* procedure would also be tremendously beneficial.

Finally, other formal elements overlooked by the Council Decision, such as lowering the voting age, creating a transnational constituency or promoting gender equality, should be kept on the agenda to further reform European electoral law.

# **1. INTRODUCTION**

The European Parliament (EP, Parliament) has repeatedly voiced its concern on the lack of a uniform procedure for European elections and consequently put forward proposals to modernise the 1976 Electoral Act. These efforts culminated in Council Decision (EU, Euratom) 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 amending the Act concerning the election of the members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage, annexed to Decision 76/787/ECSC, EEC, Euratom of 20 September 1976<sup>1</sup>.

This study aims to provide some empirical evidence that could enhance the ongoing process of European electoral law reform. It is structured as follows: the introductory chapter describes the study's research design and provides a brief historical overview of European elections; the second chapter focuses on the key elements of Council Decision 2018/994, and the third chapter investigates the ratification status in all Member States (MS) and concludes with some country-specific recommendations.

### 1.1. Research design

The rationale of this paper is to analyse the European electoral law reform process and provide empirical evidence on the main obstacles to unifying, 'Europeanising', and modernising European elections. In order to do so, it systematically investigates all articles of Council Decision 2018/994, assessing each MS's compliance status. Then, it examines why not all MS have been willing and/or able to ratify the Council decision, detailing how the ratification process has unfolded in each country. Finally, the last chapter offers stakeholders policy recommendations to break the stalemate specifically tailored to MS in which ratification has proved particularly difficult.

This study is based on short country reports on the ratification status of Council Decision 2018/994. Data have been collected by 26 country experts (approximately one per country, recruited and coordinated by the author)<sup>2</sup> at both party and country level.

## 1.2. The European Parliament elections

To draw a comprehensive picture of the current state of European electoral law reform, it is useful first to provide a brief historical overview of the development of European elections and electoral change.

# 1.2.1. From a non-elected assembly to transnational constituency and the birth of the *Spitzenkandidaten* procedure

The history of European elections, and before that of the European Parliament itself, has been one of constant change. In 1958, its members – chosen by national executives to take part in what was then

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> OJL 178, 16.7.2018, p. 1. Available at: <u>EUR-Lex - 32018D0994 - EN - EUR-Lex (europa.eu)</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The complete list of country experts can be found in the appendix.

simply called the 'Common Assembly' – sat for the first time according to their political affinity rather than nationality. Then, in 1979, the first direct EP elections were held after the adoption of the 1976 Electoral Act. This was a watershed moment, as was 'co-legislator' status acquired after the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. These milestones mark one of the most remarkable democratic developments in Europe—namely, the gradual empowerment of the European Parliament, the only directly-elected supranational legislative chamber in the world (Cicchi 2016, p. 15).

Despite these advances, much of the EU's so-called 'democratic deficit' (on this, see, among others, Reif and 1980; Majone 1998; Schmitt and Thomassen 1999; Moravcsik 2002; Hix 2008) concern Parliament, and the way its members (MEPs) are elected. The first issue is the extremely low turnout in European elections. The second is the absence of a truly European electoral campaign allowing citizens to cast their vote based on European-wide issues, instead of 27 (formerly 28) 'second-order national elections'. Finally, there is no truly uniform procedure across Europe to elect MEPs.

Common rules have been a continuing ambition of architects of European unification. The 1992 Maastricht Treaty made an explicit call for the adoption of harmonised electoral rules for the election of MEPs. Despite this, only in 2002 were provisions established for EU-wide adoption of proportional representation for European elections, with Council Decision of 25 June 2002 and 23 September 2002 amending the Act concerning the election of the representatives of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage.<sup>3</sup> This, however, was somehow 'posthumous' since the United Kingdom, at that time the last MS to establish a majoritarian system on the European level, had already (unilaterally) switched from a first-past-the-postto a closed-list proportional representation system for the 1999 EP election. In any case, Parliament has kept expressing its preoccupation about the absence of a uniform procedure for European elections, and consequently put forward further proposals to modernise the 1976 Electoral Act.

The 2009 Lisbon Treaty – which drew on the previous Constitutional Treaty – introduced a fundamental modification that represented a major step forward in the evolution of Parliament. It stated that Parliament is to be 'composed of representatives of the Union's citizens' (Article 14(2) TEU), instead of 'representatives of the peoples of the States brought together in the Community' (Article 189 TEC, as amended by the Nice Treaty). In this framework, the liberal MEP Andrew Duff presented a report at the beginning of the seventh legislature calling on MS to convene formally to introduce fundamental improvements in the way MEPs are elected. Among the envisaged changes, creating a pan-European constituency to elect 25 MEPs on transnational lists proved to be the most controversial (Donatelli 2015). The aim is to fill some EP seats through a truly European voting process. According to Pukelsheim (2018), the key elements of the transnational list proposal are the following:

- The whole of the European Union is taken as a single constituency;
- European PPs campaign at Union level, each of them presenting a list of nominees to the Union electorate;
- Citizens have two votes, one vote cast in the way that citizens are accustomed to in their MS, and the other vote cast for a party's transnational list of nominees.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 2002/772/EC, Euratom: Council Decision of 25 June 2002 and 23 September 2002 amending the Act concerning the election of the representatives of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage, annexed to Decision 76/787/ECSC, EEC, Euratom. Available at <u>https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/ALL/?uri=CELEX:32002D0772</u>.

Despite the hopes of Mr. Duff and of the main supporters in Parliament, however, the report (redrafted in numerous different versions) proved to be insufficient to win the reluctance to electoral change. After a lengthy discussion in the Constitutional Affairs Committee (AFCO), the Duff report encountered a strong resistance of consistent parts of the main political groups which joined the already opposed Eurosceptic groups, and the proposal was blocked. Therefore, the debate on the report was first postponed and then referred back to the committee in July 2011. In spring 2012, the report was ultimately stopped by the Conference of Presidents of the EP, despite another reformulation by the AFCO committee (Donatelli 2015).

The so-called *Spitzenkandidaten* process has been another fundamental development of the European electoral system. European elections giving European citizens the opportunity not only to elect the Members of the European Parliament but also to decide who leads the European Commission (Commission) has always been a goal of the Parliament. In late 2013 and early 2014, after first establishing internal procedures for their selection, five EuPPs appointed their main candidates for the Commission president.<sup>4</sup> Parliament ran the 2014 election campaign under the slogan 'this time it's different', and the lead candidates appeared in numerous televised debates, interviews and rallies, although their notoriety varied substantially across MS. In the European elections, the European People's Party (EPP) became the largest group in Parliament, and consequently its *Spitzenkandidat*, Jean-Claude Juncker, was elected as the President of the Commission (Tilindyte 2019).

# 1.2.2. Latest developments: the Hübner-Leinen proposal, Brexit, and the demise of the *Spitzenkandidaten* procedure

On 11 November 2015, Parliament adopted a resolution based on the legislative initiative report prepared by the AFCOCommittee on the amendment of the Act of 20 September 1976 concerning the election of the Members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage. The rapporteurs were Danuta Maria Hübner (EPP, Poland) and Jo Leinen (S&D, Germany). The legislative initiative was aimed at amending the EU electoral law in order to improve the citizens' participation in the election process and bring MEPs closer to European citizens. In particular, the proposal included the following changes to the 1976 Electoral Act:

- Visibility of European political parties: Ballot papers used in the European elections should give equal visibility to the names and logos of national parties and the European political parties to which they are affiliated.
- Introduction of a deadline of 12 weeks before the elections for the nomination of candidates/establishment of lists at national level.
- Introduction of a mandatory threshold for bigger EU-countries, ranging between 3 % and 5 % for the allocation of seats in single constituency Member States and constituencies comprising more than 26 seats. The 2002 Council Decision, amending the 1976 Act, authorises Member States to establish thresholds of up to 5 %. Fourteen Member States have set such thresholds by law. Yet, in two decisions (2011 and 2014), the German Constitutional Court declared the country's existing thresholds for EU elections (5 %, then 3 %) to be unconstitutional.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Jean-Claude Juncker for the European People's Party, Martin Schulz for the Party of European Socialists, Guy Verhofstadt for the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats, Ska Keller and José Bové for the European Green Party, and Alexis Tsipras for the European Left.

- Introduction of a right to vote in European elections for all EU citizens living outside the EU. To avoid double-voting (by people with more than one citizenship or by EU citizens living abroad), Parliament wants EU countries to exchange data on voters.
- Introduction of electronic and internet voting possibilities, as well as postal voting.
- Introduction of a common deadline of 12 weeks for the nomination of lead candidates by the European political parties: European elections should be fought with formally endorsed, EU-wide lead candidates ('Spitzenkandidaten') for the Commission presidency.
- Creation of a cross-border joint European constituency, in which lists are headed by each political family's nominee for the post of president of the Commission.<sup>5</sup>

Since the resolution excluded the most controversial proposal (i.e., establishing a transnational constituency to elect some of the MEPs), it gathered a vast support, and on 11 November 2015, passed the plenary with a large majority.

Brexit represented a potential reinvigoration of the transnational constituency idea. The report by Hübner and Silva Pereira (2018)<sup>6</sup> contemplated the implementation of transnational lists by allocating the seats vacated after Brexit. However, several AFCO members expressed their deep concern that, since the home states of the deputies thus elected are uncertain and unpredictable, transnational lists threaten to upset the allocation of seats between the MS (Pukelsheim 2018). Brexit lasted much longer than expected, with the UK ultimately participating in the 2019 European elections (only for British MEPs to vacate the EP less than a year later). However, the vacated seats were partly reassigned to other MS and partly eliminated, with the total composition of the EP shrinking from 751 to 705 seats, as shown in Figure 1 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Please see in more detail European Parliament website, available at: <u>Reform of the electoral law of the EU | Legislative train</u> <u>schedule | European Parliament (europa.eu).</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Report of 26.1.2018 on the composition of the European Parliament. 2017/2054(INL) – 2017/0900(NLE), Committee on Constitutional Affairs, Rapporteurs: Danuta Maria Hübner and Pedro Silva Pereira. Available at: <u>https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/A-8-2018-0007\_EN.html.</u>

751	Total	705	
73	United kingdom	0 ~	
6 *****	Malta	••••• 6	-
6 *****	Luxembourg	••••• 6	-
6 *****	Cyprus	••••• 6	- :
6 *****	Estonia	•••••7	+
8 • • • • • • • • •	Slovenia	•••••8	- 3
8 • • • • • • • • •	Latvia	•••••	
11	Lithuania	••••••11	
11	Croatia	•••••12	+
11	Ireland	••••••13	+
13 *************	Finland	••••••14	+
13 *********	Slovakia	•••••••14	+
13 **********	Denmark	•••••••14	+
17***************	Bulgaria	••••••17	
18 •••••	Austria	••••••19	+
20	Sweden	••••••21	+
21 **********************	Portugal		
21	Hungary		
21	Greece		
21			
20	Belgium	29	
32	Romania The Netherlands		+
51 ************************************	Poland	52 -	+
54	Spain	59 -	+
73	Italy		+
74	France		+
96	Germany		
	C	96	

Figure 1: Post-Brexit rea	pportion ment of seats	in the European Parliament

Source: European Parliament (2020)

The 2015 parliament's proposals were partly accepted and incorporated into the Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018, except for the proposals on a joint constituency and the *Spitzenkandidaten* process. Also, a number of the remaining provisions have been incorporated with changes that vary from slight to substantial.

Council Decision 994/2018 will enter into force only after all MS have approved it following their respective constitutional procedures.<sup>7</sup> Not all MS ratified the text in time for the 2019 elections – some ratified it after 2019, and others, notably Germany, have not ratified it at all. Therefore, the ratification

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> As provided by Article 223 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

process is still ongoing. The following paragraph discusses the specific indications of Council Decision 994/2018, as well as the changes between it and the 'predecessor' European Parliament resolution of 11 November 2015.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the story of the 2019 *Spitzenkandidaten* process differed substantially from that of four years earlier. Despite the substantial impact on the political and institutional landscape of the EU – which has increased the visibility of the election of the commission president for European citizens – the process was discarded in 2019. The EPP resulted again as the most significant force in the parliament. However, Ursula von der Leyen was chosen to lead the new Commission. Von der Leyen is a former German defence minister under Angela Merkel and was chosen ahead of the EPP's *Spitzenkandidat* Manfred Weber,<sup>8</sup> who many viewed to be an overly low-profile candidate. This was indeed a step backwards, in the direction of a less transparent and less inclusive decision-making process made behind closed doors, and some Eurosceptics perceived the interinstitutional quarrel over the issue as 'another EU weakness' (Fotopoulos 2019). In terms of media coverage, the salience of the *Spitzenkandidaten* process in 2014 was relevantly high, despite certain country- and media-specific variations. However, in 2019, the press coverage dropped off by almost half (Fotopoulos and Morganti 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The other candidates were Frans Timmermans for the PES, Ska Keller and Bas Eickhout for the European Green Party, Guy Verhofstadt with Margrethe Vestager for ALDE, Jan Zahradil for European Conservatives and Reformists, and Nico Cué with Violeta Tomić for the European Left.

# 2. COUNCIL DECISION 994/2018 OF 13 JULY 2018

The 2015 European Parliament proposal formed part of the 'legislative train'<sup>9</sup> of the package entitled, *A Union of Democratic Change*, and was completed through the adoption of the Council Decision 994/2018. However, as discussed above and already acknowledged by the literature (lvan 2021), only (some of) the milder proposals of this report were retained, such as those concerning electronic and postal voting, the limits for electoral thresholds, a three-week deadline before elections to establish party lists (the lowest common denominator, as opposed to the 12-week deadline proposed in the initial report). Table 1 below offers a preliminary summary of the differences of the main provisions between the 2015 proposal and the Council Decision of 2018.

	EP Resolution 2015	Council Decision 2018	
Deadlines	12 weeks	3 weeks	
Thresholds	Between 3% and 5% for constituencies > 26 seats	Between 2% and 5% for constituencies > 35 seats	
Internet, postal and advanced voting	Compulsory	Optional	
Europeanised electoral ballots	Compulsory	Optional	
Spitzenkandidaten	Compulsory	Absent	
Transnational constituency	Absent	Absent	

Table 1 : Differences between the EP Resolution 2015 and the Council Decision 2018

Source: Author's own compilation.

Council Decision 994/2018 is composed of two articles. The first article replaces several articles of the 1976 Electoral Act (Articles 1, 3, 9) and introduces several new articles (3a, 3b, 4a, 9a, 9b). The second article simply establishes that the decision shall be subject to approval by the MS in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, that the Member States shall notify the General Secretariat of the European Council after the completion of the procedures necessary for that purpose, and that the decision shall enter into force on the first day after the last notification has been received.

It is also important to note that Council Decision 994/2018 establishes several provisions using the terms *may* and *shall*. In the first case, MS are encouraged to adopt such measures; in the latter, they are (upon ratification by all MS of the Council Decision) required to do so. The following paragraphs discuss them in further detail.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The political priorities of the Commission are, on the initiative of Parliament, presented using the railway metaphor. This practice started with the six priorities of the Von der Leyen Commission and was later extended to discuss proposals under the previous Juncker Commission. The Juncker Commission's ten 'destinations' included the above-mentioned *A Union of Democratic Change* package, of which the *Reform of the Electoral Law of the EU* was one of the 'coaches' that arrived.

#### 2.1. Measures that Member States *may* implement

The measures suggested by Council Decision 994/2018, in the order in which they appear in the decision, are as follows:

- Preferential list system;
- A minimum threshold for the allocation of seats not exceeding 5% of votes;
- Ballot papers displaying the name or logo of the European Political Party (EuPP) with which the list or candidate is affiliated;
- The possibility of advance, postal and electronic voting;
- Necessary measures to allow citizens residing in third countries to vote in European elections.

These measures are listed and briefly discussed in detail below, both in relation to their actual implementation and potential controversy.

#### 2.1.1. Preferential voting

The replaced Article 1(2) of the 1976 Electoral Act states that 'Member States may authorize voting based on a preferential list system in accordance with the procedure they adopt'. This article's wording is unchanged from the 2002 Council Decision and therefore poses no questions.

In any case, the article is non-controversial for two reasons. First, it is not compulsory. Second, most MS – in total 21, including Malta and Ireland, with their Single Transferable Voting (STV) systems – already use preferential voting. Yet, they do so with a wide variety of different features concerning the number of preferences that can be expressed by the voter, compulsory or optional preferences, and methods to express such preferences. Table 3 below summarizes these details, excluding the six countries<sup>10</sup> where a closed-list system is used instead.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> These are France, Germany, Hungary, Portugal, Romania, and Spain.

		5		
Country name	Type of proportional representation	Number of preferences the voter can express	Optional or compulsory preference for individual candidates	Method by which the voter's preference is expressed
Austria	Preferential voting	One preference	Optional	Write in the name of, or a number corresponding to, the preferred candidate
Belgium	Preferential voting	Preferences up to the total number of candidates for each list (19)	Optional	Blacken the circle corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)
Bulgaria	Preferential voting	One preference	Optional	Make a cross on the number corresponding to the preferred candidate
Croatia	Preferential voting	One preference	Optional	Circle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate
Cyprus	Preferential voting	Up to two preferences	Optional	Make a cross in square corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)
Czech Republic	Preferential voting	Up to two preferences	Optional	Circle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)
Denmark	Preferential voting	One preference	Optional	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate
Estonia	Preferential voting	One preference	Compulsory	Write in the number corresponding to the preferred candidate
Finland	Preferential voting	One preference	Compulsory	Write in the name of the preferred candidate
Greece	Preferential voting	Up to four preferences	Optional	Make a cross on the name of the preferred candidate(s)
Ireland	STV	Preferences up to the total number of candidates in each constituency (17, 19, 23)	Compulsory	Order candidates from the most to the least preferred by writing in progressive numbers
ltaly	Preferential voting	Up to three preferences	Optional	Write in the name of the preferred candidate(s)
Latvia	Preferential voting	Up to 16 between positive and negative preferences	Optional	Write a + next to the endorsed candidate(s) or cross out the opposed candidate(s)
Lithuania	Preferential voting	Up to five preferences	Optional	Write in the number corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)
Luxembourg	Preferential voting	Up to six preferences in total (and each candidate can receive up to two preferences)	Optional	Make a cross in one or both squares corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)
Malta	STV	Preferences up to the total number of candidates (41)	Compulsory	Order candidates by writing in progressive numbers
Netherlands	Preferential voting	One preference	Compulsory	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the preferred candidate

Table 2 : Overview of preferential voting across MS

#### IPOL | Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs

Poland	Preferential voting	One preference	Compulsory	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate
Slovakia	Preferential voting	Up to two preferences	Optional	Circle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)
Slovenia	Preferential voting	One preference	Optional	Circle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate
Sweden	Preferential voting	One preference	Optional	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate

Source: Author's own compilation.

Concerning electoral ballots, it is worth noting the extreme diversity of ballot types used across Europe, which is (partially) linked to the different procedures designed for the casting of votes (and preferences, where this is entailed). For instance, in Greece and Spain, the voter picks one party-specific ballot and puts it in an envelope, while in Germany, the voter can only make one cross on a very long black and white ballot. Meanwhile, in Ireland, voters can order all candidates on a coloured ballot, where even the occupation and photo of the candidate is available. In Romania, voters use a stamp to imprint their mark on the chosen list, while in Italy, voters cross out the party's logo. This diversity poses a potential challenge to genuine uniformity in European elections, and the usually very longstanding national traditions of ballot design are hard to change. More information on the ballot structures, together with a sample of the ballots used in the 2019 European elections for each MS, can be found in the appendix.

#### 2.1.2. Maximum threshold not exceeding 5%

The replaced Article 3(1) of the 1976 Electoral Act states that MS may set a minimum threshold for the allocation of seats. At the national level, this threshold may not exceed 5% of valid votes cast. As with the proposed preferential voting, the 5% figure poses no problems either; in addition to the non-compulsory nature of this provision, no MS currently has electoral thresholds above 5%. Figure 1 below summarizes the thresholds employed by MS in the 2019 European elections.



#### Figure 2: Electoral thresholds across MS electoral systems

Source: Adapted from Sabbati, Sgueo and Dobreva (2019).

Nine countries have a 5% electoral threshold; three have a 4% threshold; Greece's is 3%, and Cyprus' is 1.8%. The remaining thirteen<sup>11</sup> (including Germany, which proves to be the most problematic case, as discussed in the following paragraphs) have none. Of these 13, the case of Belgium is peculiar: The German-speaking electoral college has no threshold. However – and in contrast to what Sabbati, Sgueo and Dobreva (2019) indicate – the Dutch-speaking and French-speaking electoral colleges both have a 5% threshold.

#### 2.1.3. 'Europeanised' ballot papers

The new Article 3b provided for in Council Decision 994/2018 allows MS to 'display, on ballot papers... the name or logo of the EuPP to which the national party or individual candidate is affiliated'. Bearing in mind that this is not a compulsory requirement, several considerations have to be made. First of all, the text refers only to EuPPs, while additional EU-relevant actors may be present (and actually have been) on ballots across Europe. For example, Political Groups in the European Parliament (EPPGs), often referred to simply as European Party Groups, can appear on ballots. EPPGs emerged first in the history of Parliament; the EuPPs came later as 'emanations' of their parliamentary counterparts. Following Bardi's suggestion (2005) to apply Katz and Mair's (1993) theory of the three faces of party organisation in analysing party politics at the European level (see also Calossi 2011), we can say that, at the national level, the party in central office usually precedes the party in public office (i.e., political parties compete, elect members, and then form parliamentary groups).<sup>12</sup> However, in the European party system, this relationship is reversed, and – most importantly – the organisational balance of power is shifted towards the EPPGs, as demonstrated by specific studies (for instance, Cicchi and Calossi 2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> In fact, the number was 14, including the UK, which participated in the 2019 European elections. However, as explained in the introductory section, this study does not take the UK into consideration as it is completely irrelevant for the purpose of the analysis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The third face is the so-called 'party on the ground', represented by grassroot activities in the national context, and in the application of this theory at the EU-level, the national parties themselves.

Secondly, other non-formally recognized European transnational movements and organisations such as, most recently, DiEM25 or Volt can appear on ballots. Third, a reference to *Spitzenkandidaten* is also possible. This, however, is almost always absent from party ballots (see table 4).

Table 4 below shows the Europeanisation of electoral ballots for both the 2014 and 2019 elections to capture if there is an upward or downward trend in this regard. These tables consider only the individual parties that have at least one European reference in their logo or text on the electoral ballot, not if such European links or references have been present elsewhere during the electoral campaign (e.g., in the manifesto, on posters, or other political communication sources, etc.). In other words, it captures only the formal Europeanisation of electoral ballots, disregarding other, broader aspects. As for case selection, only parties who received more than 1.0% of valid votes or elected at least one MEP are taken into consideration, for a total N=253 (2014) and N=264 (2019). Table 3 summarizes the degree of Europeanisation by country according to these criteria.

Country	Party/list name	Elected MEPs	EuPP	EPPG	Other non- recognized trans. ass.	Spitzen- kandidaten
	2014	4 Europea	nelections			
Netherlands	Democrats 66 (D66)	4	ALDE Party			
Slovenia	Civic List and the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe	0	ALDE Party			
Italy	New Centre-Right–UDC	3	EPP			
Netherlands	Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)	5	EPP			
Slovenia	New Slovenia–Christian Democrats and Slovenian People's Party	2	EPP			
Greece	Olive Tree – Democratic Alignment	2	PES	S&D		
France	Socialist Party–Left Radical Party	13	PES			
Italy	Democratic Party	31	PES			
Netherlands	Labour Party (PvdA)	3	PES			
Slovenia	Social Democrats and Party of European Socialists	1	PES			
France	Left Front	4	PEL			
Slovenia	Coalition of the United Left	0	PEL			
Ireland	Fianna Fáil (Soldiers of Destiny)	1		ALDE Group		
Ireland	Independents Collectively	3		ALDE Group		

#### Table 3 : Europeanisation of electoral ballots by actor, 2014 and 2019

#### Europeanising the elections of the European Parliament

Ireland	Fine Gael (Family of the Irish)	4		EPP Group		
Ireland	Labour	0		S&D		
Ireland	Green Party	0		G/EFA		
Italy	The Other Europe with Tsipras	3				Alexis Tsipras
Total	Europeanised parties: 18 (7.51%)	79	EuPP: 12 (4.74%)	EPPG: 6 (2.37%)	Other: 0 (0.00%)	Spitz: 1 (0.40%)
	2019	9 Europea	nelections			
Luxembourg	Alternative Democratic Reform Party	0	AECR			
Italy	(+) Europe–Italy in Commune– European Democratic Party Italy	0	EDP			
Italy	European Green Party	0	EGP			
Netherlands	Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)	4	EPP			
Netherlands	Labour Party (PvdA)	6	PES			
Greece	Movement for Change	2	PES			
Italy	Democratic Party	19	PES			
Italy	The Left	0	PEL	GUE/NGL		
Austria	KPÖ Plus–European Left, Open List	0	PEL			
Luxembourg	The Left (Déi Lénk)	0	PEL			
Slovenia	The Left (Levica)	0	PEL			
Ireland	Fianna Fáil (Soldiers of Destiny	2		ALDE Group		
Romania	Alliance of Liberals and Democrats	0		ALDE Group		
Ireland	Sinn Féin (We Ourselves)	1		GUE/NGL		
Ireland	Fine Gael (Family of the Irish)	5		EPP Group		
Ireland	Labour	0		S&D		
Ireland	Green Party	2		G/EFA		
France	Citizens' list European Spring (DiEM25)	0			DiEM25	
Greece	European Realistic Disobedience Front	0			DiEM25	

Germany	Volt Germany	1			Volt	
Luxembourg	Volt Europa	0			Volt	
Netherlands	Volt Netherlands	0			Volt	
Total	Europeanised parties: 22 (8.33%) +4	42 (-37)	EuPP: 11 (4.17%) –1	EPPG: 7 (2.65%) +1	Other: 5 (1.89%) +5	Spitz: 0 (0.00%) –1

Source: Author's own compilation.

It is interesting to notice that in both 2014 and 2019, the most prominent European-level actors on electoral ballots are the EuPPs, in line with the recommendations of the new Article 3b (12 cases in 2014 and 11 cases in 2019).

However, this is where the 'good news' ends. First of all, the degree of Europeanisation of electoral ballots is still remarkably low. In both the 2014 and 2019 EP elections, only around 4% of relevant political parties showed textual or visual references to EuPPs on the electoral ballots; this percentage rises to 7–8% if we consider the second 'face' of party organisation—namely, EPPGs, *Spitzenkandidaten* or other transnational associations. Nevertheless, these figures are strikingly low.

Second, if investigated more closely, the apparent increase of Europeanisation between 2014 and 2019 (from 7.51% to 8.33%) is, in fact, a downward trend. Combined, EuPP and EPPG references remained stable between 2014 and 2019 (for a total of 18). However, the total number of parties was higher in 2019 than in 2014. Therefore the ratio is lower, albeit marginally. In fact, the increase of overall Europeanisation is almost completely due to the presence on electoral ballots of references to DiEM25 and Volt, two pan-European movements not officially recognized as EuPPs. DiEM25 received more than 1% in France and Greece, while Volt did so in Luxembourg and the Netherlands. However, none of them elected an MEP, while – paradoxically – Volt Germany elected one, despite the 0.67% nationwide result, helped by the conspicuous German delegation of MEPs and the absence of an electoral threshold in Germany. The reference to *Spitzenkandidaten*, present in 2014 only in one list above 1% ('The Other Europe with Tsipras', in Italy), disappeared completely, in line with the unfortunate end of this practice for the 2019 European elections.<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, if we consider how many MEPs were elected from parties whose logos and text had a European reference, the figure also shrinks between 2014 and 2019 (i.e., from 79 to 42). In other words, the Europeanised parties on ballots have become more peripheral in the electoral results – not considering, of course, the actual affiliation of such parties to EuPPs, or which EPPG their MEPs end up joining. The purpose of the analysis is to assess the Europeanisation of electoral ballots per se, not other dynamics of the European party system.

One final consideration comes from analysing which European families have been most prominent in the last two European elections. If in 2014 the Socialist family (PES and S&D group) was indeed the most

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> More of the smaller parties across Europe had some of these European references. Such was the case for the Italian pro-European liberals who constituted the 'European Choice' electoral list for the 2014 election. The ballot had the ALDE Party and Guy Verhofstadt's name on the logo. However, they performed extremely poorly, receiving only 0.72% of valid votes and therefore failing to elect an MEP.

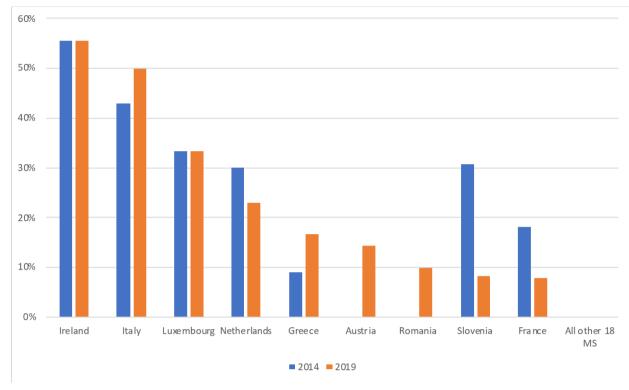
represented (seven references), in 2019 the most prominent was the Radical left family (PEL and GUE/NGL, five references in 2019 compared to two in 2014), with the Socialists falling behind (four references). The European People's Party also shrunk substantially, from four to two references. Table 4 below summarizes these considerations by making the 2014–2019 comparison more explicit.

		4	2014 (N = 253)	2	019 (N = 264)	Delta
	AECR	0	0,00%	1	0,38%	
	ALDE Party	2	0,79%	0	0,00%	
	EDP	0	0,00%	1	0,38%	
	EGP	0	0,00%	1	0,38%	
EuPP	EPP	3	1,19%	1	0,38%	
	PES	5	1,98%	3	1,14%	
	PEL	2	0,79%	4	1,52%	
	Total EuPP	12	4,74%	11	4,17%	- <b>0,58</b> %
	ALDE Group	2	0,79%	2	0,76%	
	EPP Group	1	0,40%	1	0,38%	
	G/EFA	1	0,40%	1	0,38%	
EPG	GUE/NGL	0	0,00%	2	0,76%	
	S&D	2	0,79%	1	0,38%	
	Total EPG	6	2,37%	7	2,65%	0,28%
	DiEM25	0	0,00%	2	0,76%	
Other	VOLT	0	0,00%	3	1,14%	
	Total Other	0	0,00%	5	1,89%	1,89%
	Tsipras	1	0,40%	0	0,00%	
Spitz.	Total Spitz.	1	0,40%	0	0,00%	- <b>0,40</b> %
	Total EU overall	19	7,51%	23	8,71%	1,20%
	Total MEPs	79	10,52%	42	5,96%	- <b>4,56</b> %

Table 4 : Summary of Europeanisation of electoral ballots, 2014 and 2019

Source: Author's own compilation.

Interesting insights also come from the analysis of the degree of Europeanisation of electoral ballots among the MS, as shown in Figure 3 below.





Like Table 4, Figure 3 shows that Europeanisation is generally very low. Only Ireland and Italy have around half of the parties with European references on the ballot. This actually depends more on the ballot design, which in these two countries is traditionally highly informative. If we look at country differences, we can see that Austria and Romania actually became (slightly) Europeanised in 2019 for the first time. Hence, the overall number of Europeanised MS did rise between 2014 and 2019.

Nevertheless, others, such as Slovenia and France, saw ballot Europeanisation decline. Even considering a generous, 'minimal' definition of Europeanisation (i.e., at least one party with European references on the ballot), only seven MS in 2014 and nine in 2019 were Europeanised. The remaining 18 – some two-thirds of the total- – had no European reference at all on ballots.

#### 2.1.4. Absentee voting and voting rights of EU citizens residing in third countries

The new Article 4a of Council Decision 994/2018 refers to the possibility for MS to set up several absentee voting methods, allowing EU citizens who cannot be physically present in polling places on election day(s) to cast their vote, nonetheless. Article 4a refers, specifically, to 'advanced, postal and internet voting'. Postal voting is, in fact, one type of advanced voting, as the elector usually sends their vote by post before election day. Other forms of advanced voting currently in use in MS are *proxy voting* (an elector who cannot attend in person delegates a trusted person to cast a vote on their behalf) or *embassy voting* (casting one's vote in person at a special polling place setup at the embassy of their country of citizenship, in their country of residence).

Source: Author's own compilation.

The new Article 9a, instead, states that MS may take the measures necessary to allow citizens residing in third countries (i.e., outside the EU) to vote in EP elections. Table 5 below summarizes the current situation of European MS concerning these voting possibilities.

Country	Postal voting	Voting at embassy	Proxy voting	lnternet voting (e- voting)	Voting from outside the EU
Belgium	√	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$		$\checkmark$
Netherlands	√	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$		$\checkmark$
Estonia	√	$\checkmark$		$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
Austria	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Denmark	~	$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Finland	1	$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Hungary	√	$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Latvia	√	$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Lithuania	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Slovenia	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Spain	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Sweden	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Germany	$\checkmark$				$\checkmark$
Luxembourg	√				$\checkmark$
France		$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$		$\checkmark$
Croatia		$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Cyprus		$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Poland		$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Portugal		$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Romania		$\checkmark$			$\checkmark$
Bulgaria		$\checkmark$			

#### Table 5 : Absentee and from third country voting possibilities in MS

IPOL | Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs

Greece		$\checkmark$			
Italy		$\checkmark$			
Czech Republic					
Ireland					
Malta					
Slovakia					
Total	14	21	3	1	20

Source: Adapted from Sabbati, Sgueo and Dobreva (2019).

As can be seen, the situation remains far from homogenous, even as every MS provide for at least one possibility for absentee voting. The 'champions' of absentee voting are Belgium, the Netherlands and Estonia, which allow citizens to choose from three different methods to cast a ballot (beyond the traditional method of in-person voting at a polling place). Belgium and the Netherlands allow voters to select from postal, embassy and proxy voting; Estonia, in addition, allows internet voting (the only country in Europe to do so) in keeping with its 'e-Estonia' program aimed at developing a digital society.

All in all, 23 countries provide for one or more possibilities for absentee voting, with embassy voting being the most diffused option (21 countries) over postal voting (14 countries). France, in addition to Belgium and the Netherlands, also provides for proxy voting but without the possibility of postal voting, a practice that was allowed in the past but has been, for the moment, abandoned due to malpractice (Lupiáñez-Villanueva and Devaux 2018). Only four countries (the Czech Republic, Ireland, Malta, and Slovakia) allow no absentee voting. In addition to these, three countries do allow embassy voting, but only for citizens residing within the EU and not in third countries (Bulgaria, Greece, and Italy).

### 2.2. Measures that Member States shall implement

The measures for which Council Decision 994/2018 expresses an obligation (*shall* implement), according to the order on which they appear in the decision, are as follows:

- Members of the European Parliament elected based on proportional representation, using the list system or the STV, through free and secret elections based on direct universal suffrage;
- Minimum 2% threshold for constituencies comprising more than 35 seats (including nationwide, single constituencies);
- Deadline for submission of candidacies at least three weeks before the date, fixed by the MS, for holding European elections;
- Implementation of necessary measures to prevent double voting;

• Designating a contact authority responsible for exchanging data on mobile voters or candidates with its counterparts in other MS.

The measures that MS are requested to implement are listed and briefly discussed below, both concerning their actual implementation and potential controversy.

#### 2.2.1. Proportional representation and direct universal suffrage

The replaced Article 1(1) states that 'In each Member State, members of the European Parliament shall be elected as representatives of the citizens of the Union based on proportional representation, using the list system or the single transferable vote'. The replaced Article 1(3) states that 'Elections shall be by direct universal suffrage and shall be free and secret'.

As for Article 1(2) already discussed in the previous paragraph, this part of the 2018 Council Decision is completely unproblematic and uncontroversial, as all MS use proportional representation, be it closed-list proportional representation or STV. In fact, the only small difference between the 1976 Electoral Act as amended by the 2002 Council Decision and the 2018 Council Decision changes concerns the denomination of MEPs. The 2002 text states that 'members of the European Parliament shall be elected on the basis of (...)', while the 2018 Decision provides, in addition, that 'members of the European Parliament shall be elected *as representatives of the Union* on the basis of (...)' (emphasis added by the Author). This addition is relevant and meaningful in principle, but it does not imply any substantial change to be implemented.

#### 2.2.2. Threshold between 2% and 5% for bigger Member States

The replaced Article 3(2) states that 'Member States in which the list system is used shall set a minimum threshold for the allocation of seats for constituencies which comprise more than 35 seats. This threshold shall not be lower than 2 per cent, and shall not exceed 5 per cent, of the valid votes cast in the constituency concerned, including a single-constituency Member State'. Table 6 below shows the current threshold for those MS electing more than 35 MEPs.

Country name	Total number of MEPs (after Brexit)	Total number of constituencies	Presence of explicit threshold	If yes, threshold %
Germany	96	1	No	
France	79	1	Yes	5%
Italy	76	5	Yes	4%
Spain	59	1	No	
Poland	52	13	Yes	5%

#### Table 6 : Explicit thresholds of MS with more than 35 seats (nationwide)

Source: Author's own compilation.

Italy and Poland do not fall under the category identified by Article 3(2), as their sub-national constituencies elect fewer than 35 seats. In the Italian case (5 constituencies), the number of seats ranges between 8 and 20,<sup>14</sup> and in the Polish case – whose 52 seats are split between a remarkable 13 constituencies – it is between 2 and 7. In addition to this, both countries do have an explicit threshold (4% and 5%, respectively). It is worth mentioning that the combination of a high number of constituencies and a relatively low number of seats in Poland leads to a strong disproportional effect. However, the implicit threshold (Gallagher and Mitchell 2005) has not exceeded the 5% provided for in Article 3(2).<sup>15</sup> In any case, Article 3(2) only refers to formal, explicit thresholds and not any mechanical effects of a given MS's electoral system. With its nationwide, single constituency electing 79 MEPs, France is also in line with Article 3(2) due to its threshold of 5%.

Spain and Germany, however, are not in line with Article 3(2). Both elect more than 35 MEPs (59 and 96, respectively, after Brexit), have a single, nationwide constituency, <sup>16</sup> and have no threshold. This is crucial because, as we will see in the next section, neither of these countries have ratified Council Decision 2018/994.

#### 2.2.3. Three weeks' deadline for submission of candidacies

The new Article 3a states that '[w]here national provisions set a deadline for the submission of candidacies for election to the European Parliament, that deadline shall be at least three weeks before the date fixed by the relevant Member State'.

As already noted in the first section, this is a rather short timeframe and definitely not as ambitious as the 2015 EP proposal, which aimed at 12 weeks (Ivan 2021). Figure 6 below summarizes the deadlines by country, ordered from the longest timeframe to the shortest.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Specifically, 8 seats for the Islands constituency; 15 for both the Central and North-Eastern constituencies; 18 for the Southern constituency; and 20 for the North-Western constituency.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> In 2019, the largest party excluded from the seat assignment was the 'Confederation for Liberty and Independence' (Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość) with 4.55% of the votes cast. The smallest party with MEPs elected was 'Spring' (Wiosna) with 6.06% of the votes cast.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Constituencies of merely administrative interest or distributive relevance within a party list exist in Germany: 16 constituencies, only in the case of the CDU/CSU.

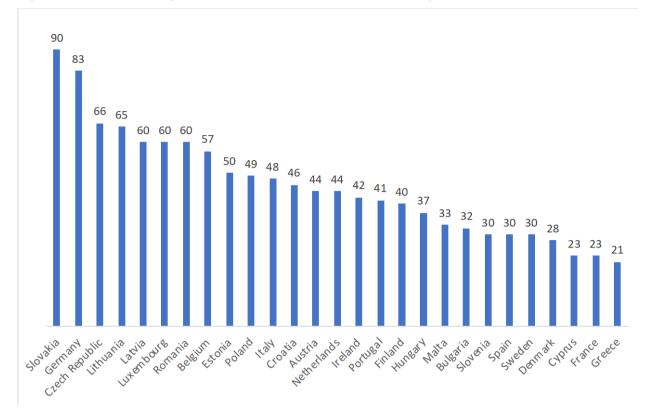


Figure 4: Deadline for registration before European elections (in days), 2019

As can be seen, all MS are compliant with this article. There is, however, a substantial variance, from Slovakia's three months and Germany's 11 weeks to Cyprus, France and Greece, which are close to the established limit (23, 23 and 21 days, respectively).

The case of Greece, in particular, could require some changes to national law, which currently provides a deadline of 12 days after the elections are officially called (Article 3 of Law 4255/2014, in combination with Article 10 of Law 4239/2014). In practice, this could result in a 16–22-day term for the submission of candidacies for election to the European Parliament. In the European elections of 2014 and 2019, the actual terms were 21 and 20 days, respectively. However, according to the 2018 legal instrument ratifying the council decision, it is advised to officially call European elections at least 34 days before to avoid any conflict with the minimum three-week term for the submission of candidacies. In any case, neither this practice – nor a change in the national law to ensure it is operable – do not seem at all problematic. Finally, it is worth noting that Bulgaria's deadline of 32 days refers to candidates, while lists have an earlier deadline (45 days). Similarly, Denmark envisages a 28-day pre-election deadline for candidates, but new lists have to registerfurther in advance – namely, 56 days before the elections.

#### 2.2.4. Double voting prevention and data exchange

The replaced Article 9 states that no person may vote more than once in any election for MEPs and that MS shall take the necessary measures to ensure that double voting in elections to the European Parliament is subject to *effective, proportionate* and *dissuasive* penalties. Most countries (24 in total) have such measures in place, as Table 7 below shows. Only Hungary, Latvia and Spain are not compliant (in the latter two, there is an explicit reference in the electoral law to the prohibition of double voting,

Source: Author's own compilation.

but with no corresponding sanction). However, this is not likely to be an issue. All penal codes envisage some kind of sanction for fraudulent behaviour in voting, so to extend this to double voting in European elections is a relatively straightforward legislative procedure. Finally, it is worth noting that there is a relatively high variance in the severity of these sanctions, from a fine of between €33 and €100 in Slovakia to a maximum sentence of 5 years imprisonment of Germany.

Country	Double voting prevention measures (penalty)	Min–max penalty for double voting	
Austria	Yes	Fine of up to €218 and, if irrecoverable, to imprisonment for up to 2 weeks	
Belgium	Yes	Imprisonment of between 1 month and 1 year and a fine of €1,820–70,000	
Bulgaria	Yes	Probation and a fine of BGN500–2,000 (approx.€250–1,000)	
Croatia	Yes	Imprisonment from 6 months to 5 years	
Cyprus	Yes	Imprisonment not exceeding 6 months and/or a fine not exceeding CYP450 (approx. €720)	
Czech Republic	Yes	Fine up to CZK10,000 (approx. €385)	
Denmark	Yes	Fine	
Estonia	Yes	Fine of €1,300, or detention	
Finland	Yes	Fine, or imprisonment for up to 1 year	
France	Yes	1 year imprisonment and a fine of €15,000	
Germany	Yes	Fine, or imprisonment for up to 5 years	
Greece	Yes	Imprisonment of at least 3 months up to 5 years and deprivation of any public office of between 1 and 5 years	
Ireland	Yes	n/a	
Italy	Yes	Imprisonment of 1–3 years, and a fine of €51–258	
Lithuania	Yes	Fine of €140–300; if committed repeatedly, between €300 and €860	
Luxembourg	Yes	8 to 15 days imprisonment and a fine of €251–2,000	
Malta	Yes	Fine up to the equivalent of ML 1,000, and a maximum of 6 months imprisonment	
Netherlands	Yes	Up to 4,350€ fee and a maximum imprisonment of 1 month	
Poland	Yes	Fine up to 5,000 PLN (approx. 1,000€)	

Table 7 : Sanctions for double voting

Portugal	Yes	1 year of imprisonment, plus the payment of an amount corresponding to a 50 day-fine (the final amount is at the discretion of the court)	
Romania	Yes	Impediment of electoral/candidacy rights and additional sanctions	
Slovakia	Yes	Fine of between €33 and €100	
Slovenia	Yes	Fine or up to 1 year of imprisonment	
Sweden	Yes	Fine, or imprisonment	
Hungary	No	n/a	
Latvia	No	n/a <sup>17</sup>	
Spain	No	n/a <sup>18</sup>	

Source: Author's own compilation.

The new Article 9b states that each Member State shall designate a contact authority responsible for exchanging data on voters and candidates with its counterparts in the other MS and that this authority shall begin transmitting to those counterparts, no later than six weeks before election day (or the first day of the electoral period data concerning Union citizens who, in a Member State of which they are not nationals, have been entered on the electoral roll or are standing as candidates.

In this regard, most countries are compliant with these two provisions. As can be seen from Table 7 below, all MS do have a designated authority. In most cases, it is the interior ministry; in other cases, another ministry (e.g., foreign affairs, or some specific 'non-traditional' ministries such as the ministry of digital affairs); in others, a dedicated authority for electoral matters (electoral commission, central electoral committee etc.).

Article 41(3) of the European Elections Act 2004 provides that multiple votes are not counted. However, no penalty is specified.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Article 210(2) of Ley Organica 13/94 specifies that no one can vote more than once in EP elections. However, no penalty is specified.

## Table 8 : Electoral authority and data exchange prior to elections (6 weeks)

Country	Data exchange contact authority	Authority	Rules for exchanging data on time (six weeks before)
Austria	Yes	Federal Ministry of the Interior	Yes
Belgium	Yes	Ministry of Internal Affairs	Yes
Croatia	Yes	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Yes
Czech Republic	Yes	Ministry of the Interior	Yes
Denmark	Yes	Ministry of the Interior and Housing – Election Unit	Yes
Finland	Yes	Digital and Population Data Services Agency	Yes
France	Yes	National Institute for Statistics (INSEE)	Yes
Greece	Yes	Ministry of Interior-Directorate of Elections	Yes
Ireland	Yes	Electoral Commission	Yes
Italy	Yes	Ministry of the Interior	Yes
Latvia	Yes	Central Election Commission	Yes
Lithuania	Yes	Central Electoral Commission	Yes
Luxembourg	Yes	Government	Yes
Malta	Yes	Electoral Commission	Yes
Netherlands	Yes	Ministry of the Interior	Yes
Portugal	Yes	National Election Commission	Yes
Romania	Yes	Permanent Electoral Authority (PEA)	Yes
Slovakia	Yes	Ministry of Interior	Yes
Spain	Yes	Central Electoral Committee	Yes
Sweden	Yes	Election Authority	Yes
Bulgaria	Yes	Central Election Commission	No
Cyprus	Yes	Ministry of the Interior	No
Estonia	Yes	State Electoral Office	No
Germany	Yes	Federal Election Management Body	No

Hungary	Yes	National Election Office	No
Poland	Yes	Minister of Digital Affairs	No
Slovenia	Yes	National Electoral Commission	No

Source: Author's own compilation.

In fact, seven MS have not implemented the request in Council Decision 994/2018 to have these authorities exchange data on time: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia. However, in the case of ratification in all MS, this measure – like prohibiting double voting – is not expected to pose challenges in its implementation.

# 3. THE RATIFICATION STATUS OF COUNCIL DECISION 994/2018 OF 13 JULY 2018

The Council Decision of 13 July 2018 will enter into force only after all MS have approved it in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements (Article 223 TFEU). As mentioned, not all MS were able to ratify the decision in time for the 2019 elections. Indeed, the ratification process continues. Table 6 summarizes the ratification status in June 2021. It begins with countries that have ratified (in chronological order) and then lists MS that not to date ratified it.

#### Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July Country name Date of ratification 2018 ratification status Sweden Ratified February 2018 Ratified 19 Denmark October 2018 Ratified October 2018 Greece Ratified 20 Bulgaria November 2018 Ratified Latvia November 2018 Ratified November 2018 Portugal Austria Ratified December 2018 Finland Ratified December 2018 Hungary Ratified December 2018 Lithuania Ratified December 2018 Netherlands Ratified December 2018 Slovenia Ratified December 2018 France Ratified February 2019 Ratified February 2019 Italy

Table 9 : Ratification status of Council Decision 994/2018

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The date refers to Denmark's notification of the General Secretariat of the European Council via a letter from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was sent on 22 October 2018 and delivered on 29 October 2018. It does not refer to ratification by the Danish Parliament.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> In Bulgaria, the ratification of the Council decision was inserted into the Law for the Budget of the National Health Insurance Fund for 2019.

Luxembourg	Ratified	February 2019
Malta	Ratified	February 2019
Poland	Ratified <sup>21</sup>	February 2019
Slovakia	Ratified	February 2019
Belgium	Ratified	March 2019
Ireland	Ratified	March 2019
Romania	Ratified	June 2019
Czech Republic	Ratified	June 2020
Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, Germany, Spain	Not yet ratified	n/a

Source: Author's own compilation.

As can be seen, between February 2018 and June 2020, 22 MS ratified the decision. Two of them (Romania and the Czech Republic) ratified it after the 2019 European elections, while the other 20 had managed to do so in advance of the polls. 'Only' five MS (Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, Germany, and Spain) have not ratified the decision.

## 3.1. Countries that have ratified

Sweden started the ratification process in February 2018, and a large number of other MS (11) followed suit up to the end of 2018 (between October and December). All other MS that ratified it, except Romania and the Czech Republic, managed to ratify it before May 2019. Romania ratified only a few days after the 2019 European elections. In the next paragraph, the ratification process of each MS is briefly discussed in chronological order.

## 3.1.1. Before the 2019 European elections

**Sweden** ratified Council Decision 994/2018 by executive order on 21 February 2019. No changes to Swedish law were necessary to implement the decision <sup>22</sup>. The decision was not deemed to be of 'significant importance', a phrase with a particular legal meaning in this context (i.e., it does not substantially alter existing agreements). For these reasons, the decision did not require parliamentary review or approval. As stated above, no changes were necessary for Swedish law to be made consistent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The consent-for-ratification bill was passed by the parliament on the 26 February 2019, signed by the president on the 18 March 2019, and entered into force on the 10 April 2019. However, the ratification itself was never published in the Journal of Laws and hence has never officially entered into force.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> See Lag (1995:374) om val till Europaparlamentet Svensk författningssamling 1995:1995:374 t.o.m. SFS 1996:306 - <u>Riksdagen</u>.

with the decision. While some of the measures allowed under Council Decision 994/2018 are not currently established by law in Sweden (e.g., electronic voting, European party/group symbols on ballots), existing laws and regulations had already implemented all nondiscretionary aspects of the decision.

**Denmark** notified the General Secretariat of the European Council of the completion of the required approval mechanism in late October 2018, meaning Denmark has approved the decision. No formal requirements mentioned in the Council Decision 2018/944 triggered changes in Danish electoral legislation since all the required changes had already been implemented.<sup>23</sup> The Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs notified the General Secretariat of the Council through a letter dated 22 October 2018, which was received on 29 October 2018.

**Greece** ratified Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 on 31 October 2018 through an act of parliament. The act entered into force on 12 November 2018 as Law 4573/2018.<sup>24</sup>

In **Bulgaria**, the electoral code has been amended several times since 13 July 2018. However, none of these amendments referred explicitly to Council Decision 2018/994. Yet, one may read a reference to the decision in the Additional Provisions section of the latest officially amended version of the electoral law, where in § 8, p. 3 the text reads that the law (i.e., the code) 'ensures the implementation of Decision 2018/994...'. It is specified that this paragraph was the result of a legal change published in Issue 102 of the State Gazette in 2018<sup>25</sup>. The issue in question does, in fact, mention that Council Decision 2018/994 was implemented in the newly adopted (in November 2018) Law for the Budget of the National Health Insurance Fund for 2019, in § 42 p. 1, of this law, with no clear connection to the preceding or following text<sup>26</sup>. In this rather indirect way, the Council Decision can be considered formally (in terms of explicit reference in legislative texts) adopted in Bulgaria.

**Latvia**'s parliament ratified Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 on 21 November 2018 in a bill entitled 'Decision 2018/994 of the Council of the European Union of 13 July 2018 amending the Act concerning the election of the representatives of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage annexed to Council Decision 76/787 / ECSC, EEC, Euratom of 20 September 1976'.<sup>27</sup>

In **Portugal**, on 16 November 2018, the parliament issued Resolução da Assembleia da República nº 307/2018 ratifying 'Council Decision (EU, EURATOM) 2018/994 of 13 July 2018, annexed to Council Decision 76/787/ECSC, EEC, Euratom of 20 September 1976'.<sup>28</sup> The president of the republic subsequently ratified the parliament's approved text, with publication on the same date.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See kom (2018) 0636 (oversigt): Forslag til Europa-Parlamentets og Rådets förordningom ændring af forordning (EU, Euratom) nr. 1141/2014 for så vidt angår en kontrolprocedure vedrørende overtrædelse af reglerne om beskyttelse af personoplysninger i forbindelse med valg til Europa-Parlamentet Et bidrag fra Europa-Kommissionen til ledernes møde i Salzburg den 19.- 20. september 2018 / Folketingets EU-Oplysning.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> See <u>https://www.e-nomothesia.gr/kat-bouli-bouleutes/ekloges/nomos-4573-2018-phek-189a-12-11-2018.html.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> See Election Code of the Republic of Bulgaria, <u>https://www.cik.bg/upload/146300/Election+code+25012021.pdf.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See State Gazette of the Republic of Bulgaria, 102/2018. <u>https://dv.parliament.bg/DVWeb/showMaterialDV.jsp?idMat=132509.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> See decision text: <u>http://tap.mk.gov.lv/mk/tap/?pid=40465421</u>, and Latvian Parliament's considerations: <u>https://www.vestnesis.lv/op/2018/232.3</u>. For the current electoral law, see <u>https://likumi.lv/ta/id/84185-eiropas-parlamenta-velesanu-likums</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> See <u>Resolução da Assembleia da República n.º 307/2018 (lexlink.eu)</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> See <u>https://dre.pt/home/-/dre/116997462/details/maximized</u>.

On 21 November 2018, **Austria** introduced a bill titled 'Council Decision (EU, EURATOM) 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 amending the Act concerning the election of the members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage, annexed to Council Decision 76/787/ESC, EEC, Euratom of 20 September 1976' to the Austrian National Council. Following a report from the Constitutional Committee of 6 December 2018, the national council approved the decision on 13 December 2018. The Federal Council approved Council Decision 2018/994 on 20 December 2018, and it has been in force since then.<sup>30</sup>

**Finland** has ratified Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018. No problems were encountered, as government proposal HE 163/2018 vp was approved as bill 1224/2018 on 19 December 2018<sup>31</sup>.

In **Hungary**, the parliament voted into law amendments to Act CXIII of 2003 on the Election of Members of the European Parliament on 12 December 2018<sup>32</sup>. The new regulation stipulates that the new law was 'required by Council Decision (EU, Euratom) 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 amending the Act concerning the election of the members of the European Parliament' to facilitate the enfranchisement of citizens residing in third countries *vis-à-vis* elections to the European Parliament. Fidesz MPs supported amendments to the bill, while the opposition MPs abstained from voting. The amendments lift the residence requirements on Hungarian citizens living outside the European Union for European Parliament elections. In order to vote, non-resident Hungarian citizens are required to register. To make it possible for non-resident Hungarians to cast their votes in European elections, the amended legislation introduced postal voting. To ensure that non-resident voters gettheir ballot papers in time, the same law also changed the registration deadline of parties running in the election from 34 to 37 days before the election.

In **Lithuania**, on 20 December 2018, the parliament introduced an act to ratify Council Decision (EU, EURATOM) 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 amending the Act concerning the election of the members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage, annexed to Council Decision 76/787/ECSC, EEC, Euratom of 20 September 1976. The act entered into force on 29 December 2018.<sup>33</sup>

Regarding the **Netherlands,** the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs put the council decision forward for the 'tacit approval' of both houses in a letter dated 5 November 2018 and received on 6 November 2018.<sup>34</sup> The parliament could require the treaty change be subject to their explicit approval if at least 15 members of the Senate or at least 30 members of the House of Representatives communicated an instruction to this effect before 6 December 2018. As this did not happen, parliament's approval was assumed, and the Dutch government then formally ratified the decision on 12 December 2018.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> See <u>RIS - Europawahlordnung - Bundesrecht konsolidiert, Fassung vom 26.05.2021 (bka.gv.at)</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> See Laki edustajien valitsemisesta Euroopan Parlamenttiin yleisillä välittömillä vaaleilla annetun säädöksen muuttamisesta tehdyn neuvoston päätöksen voimaan saattamisesta 1224/2018 - Säädökset alkuperäisinä - FINLEX <sup>®</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> See <u>Hungary Act election members European Parliament 2003 en.pdf (legislationline.org)</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See <u>https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/b86406d2052611e98a758703636ea610?jfwid=66qfwxfmq</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Letter of the Dutch minister of Foreign Affairs to both chambers of Parliament regarding the Council Decision of 13 July 2018, 5 November 2018, Official Publications, Dutch government website: https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/kst-35076-1.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Treaty ratification status of the Council Decision of 13 July 2018 amending the Act concerning the election of the members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage, annexed to Council Decision 76/787/ECSC, EEC, Euratom of 20 September 1976, Treaty Database, Dutch government website: https://verdragenbank.overheid.nl/en/Treaty/Details/013603.html.

In **Slovenia**, Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 was approved by the Slovenian government on 20 December 2018.<sup>36</sup>

In **France**, the government introduced a law (LOI n°2019-131) on 25 February 2019 to ratify Coundi Decision 2018/994<sup>37</sup>. This law comprises a single article authorising the modification of the 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom decision of 1976 through the 2018/994 (EU, Euratom) decision. In the parliamentary report tied to the ratification of the council decision, the French National Assembly endorsed the effort to harmonise voting procedures for European elections among the MS despite the different national constraints<sup>38</sup>. The report highlights the need to reduce the fragmentation of voting procedures across the EU to 'remobilize' voters for European elections. The report lists the constraints that are impossible to harmonise (the date of the election, the date of proclamation of the results, the type of electoral system), but also the dispositions in French law that are considered desirable at the EU level (such as gender quotas). The French National Assembly considers Council Decision 2018/994 as a 'minimal' agreement, where common criteria are not restrictive. Putting it bluntly, the parliamentary report states that this text has a rather modest ambition. Therefore, for France, which already enforces all restrictive criteria, it will have a rather limited impact.

In **Italy**, the parliament debated Council Decision 2018/994 through joint sessions of the constitutional affairs committee (I) and the committee of the European Union policies (XIV) of the Senate and at the Chamber of Deputies. The joint committee sessions expressed unanimous votes in favour of adopting the council decision in the Senate on 13 February 2019 and on February 14 2019, in the Chamber of Deputies. The final documents stated that the ratification of Council Decision 2018/994 would not require any modification to Italian law, considering that the provisions contained therein had already been met in the current national legislation. The parliament thus ruled that the government should notify the European Council of its decision, as per Article 11(3) (Simplified procedures for amending the rules of the Treaties) of the European Delegation Law n. 234 of 24 December 2012, regulating methods and procedures concerning Italian participation in the EU legislative process<sup>39</sup>.

In **Luxembourg**, Council Decision 2018/994 was ratified by law on 8 February 2019 (Loi du 8 février 2019 portant modification de l'article 295 de la loi électorale modifiée du 18 février 2003)<sup>40</sup>. The ratification of the decision was unproblematic in Luxembourg, as most dispositions were already included in the country's electoral law. However, Luxembourg did not opt to introduce party logos on the ballot, as the council decision allowed, to maintain consistent ballots across elections. Reviewing the bill, the Luxemburgish highest administrative court stated, 'It is to be noted that the new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Approval document: <u>https://imss.dz-rs.si/IMiS/ImisAdmin.nsf/ImisnetAgent?OpenAgent&2&DZ-MSS-01/ee3062fa1d8cfd9b611bc5d1effe5e1840ecf8a7018a081c12cf1949af33f577.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> See LOI n° 2019-131 du 25 février 2019 autorisant l'approbation de la décision (UE, EURATOM) 2018/994 du Conseil du 13 juillet 2018 modifiant l'acte portant élection des membres du Parlement européen au suffrage universel direct, annexé à la décision 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom du Conseil du 20 septembre 1976 (1) - Légifrance (legifrance.gouv.fr).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Rapport fait au nom de la Commission des Affaires Étrangères sur le projet de loi autorisant l'approbation de la décision (UE, EURATOM) 2018/994 du Conseil du 13 juillet 2018 modifiant l'act portant élection des membres du Parlement européen au suffrage universel direct, annexé à la décision 76/787/CECA, CEE, Euratom du Conseil du 20 Septembre 1976 – Assemblée Nationale Rapport n°1462.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> See Commissioni Riunite (l e XIV) - Resoconto di giovedì 14 febbraio 2019: ESAME DI DECISIONI DEL CONSIGLIO DELL'UNIONE EUROPEA AI SENSI DELL'ARTICOLO 11 DELLA LEGGE N. 234 DEL 2012: <u>http://documenti.camera.it/leg18/resoconti/commissioni/bollettini/xhtml/2019/02/14/0114/leg.18.bol0143.data201902</u> <u>14.com0114.html</u>, and Legislatura 18<sup>a</sup> - Commissioni 1° e 14° riunite - Resoconto sommario n. 2 del 13/02/2019: <u>http://www.senato.it/japp/bgt/showdoc/print/18/SommComm/0/1099456/doc\_dc</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> See Loi du 8 février 2019 portant modification de l'article 295 de la loi électorale modifiée du 18 février 2003. - Legilux (public.lu)/.

dispositions introduced on the electoral act by the Council Decision EU, Euratom 2018/994 include requirements that the legislation of MS should implement. Since the electoral law (of Luxembourg) already satisfies all of these requirements, no additional modification of the Luxemburgish electoral law is necessary.<sup>41</sup>

In **Malta**, the Council Decision of 13 July 2018 was ratified through the adoption of the European Parliament Elections Act Amendment Order on 18 January 2019. While the country's 2003 European Parliament Elections Act was already broadly in line with most of the Council Decision's instructions, the few clarifications proposed in the 2019 Order will not come into force until "the last notification by the Member States of the completion of their respective approval procedures is received by the General Secretariat of the Council." <sup>42</sup>

Regarding **Poland**, the consent-for-ratification bill was passed by the parliament on 26 February 2019<sup>43</sup>. It was signed by the president on 18 March 2019 and entered into force on 10 April 2019<sup>44</sup>. However, the ratification itself was never published in the Journal of Laws and consequently never entered into force. The consent-for-ratification bill passed with little or no controversy. Proposed by the prime minister, it received positive recommendations from two parliamentary committees and parliamentary legislative offices. The vote on the bill was near-unanimous, with 422 votes in favour and only one against<sup>45</sup>. This was primarily because –as detailed in the prime minister's motion introducing the consent-for-ratification bill to the parliament – 'All the regulations introduced by the Council Decision are entirely coherent with current Polish law and produce no need to amend it'.

Further, Poland's National Electoral Commission expressed an opinion within this legislative process stating that 'Implementing it [the Council Decision] would not require amending the electoral code, which already allows, for example, for postal voting for disabled voters or fines for voters participating more than once in the same elections'<sup>46</sup>. By the time the consent-for-ratification bill has entered into force on 10 April 2019, it was already clear that not all MS would ratify it in term for it to come into force before the European elections at the end of May 2019. As much was confirmed in a letter sent on 27 March 2019 by Luminiţa Odobescu, Romania's permanent representative to the EU and then chair of the Permanent Representatives Committee of the Council of the European Union to Antonio Tajani, then President of the European Parliament, informing him that 'Council Decision 2018/994 (...) will not enter into force before the 2019 EP elections'<sup>47</sup>. Keeping in mind that the Council Decision would not enter into force before the 2019 European elections and that Polish electoral law is already coherent in most parts with the decision, the Polish authorities were hesitant about how to proceed. Poland's President finally signed the ratification document in July 2019, however seeing the hesitance of some

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Avis du Conseil d'Etat, Projet de loi portant modification de l'article 295 de la loi électorale modifiée du 18 février 2003, p. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> European Parliament Elections Act (Amendment) Order, Legal Notice 8 of 2019, Government Gazette of Malta No. 20/120, 18 January 2019: <u>https://legislation.mt/eli/ln/2019/8/eng</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> The consent-for-ratification bill (10.404.2019). See <u>https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU20190000566</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Timeline form the Polish Parliament website. See <u>https://www.sejm.gov.pl/Sejm8.nsf/PrzebiegProc.xsp?nr=3177</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Voting results: <u>https://www.sejm.gov.pl/Sejm8.nsf/agent.xsp?symbol=glosowania&nrkadencji=8&nrposiedzenia=77&nrglosowania=126</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Quotes from the Prime Minister's Motion introducing the consent-for-ratification bill to the Parliament: <u>https://orka.sejm.gov.pl/Druki8ka.nsf/0/CFF42348ECF8769CC125839200416D5D/%24File/3177.pdf</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The letter can be accessed here (sent on 27th of March 2019): <u>https://www.eerstekamer.nl/bijlage/20190401/bijlage\_bij\_brief\_inwerkingtreding/document3/f=/vkxajif1mdik.pdf</u>.

other Member States he decided to withhold the publication of the ratification document<sup>48</sup>. Therefore, it has never entered into force. However, the consent-for-ratification bill was never politically controversial or legally challenging and was accepted across the political spectrum. Should all the other MS ratify the decision, Poland will likely complete the final remaining step in its ratification procedure.

In **Slovakia**, the Interior Ministry submitted a proposal for approval of Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018 at a meeting of the executive on 20 February 2019. The Government of the Slovak Republic issued Resolution No. 66 of 20 February 2019, formally approving the decision. Subsequently, on the 1st of March 2019, the foreign ministry requested that the decision be published in the official gazette and the relevant measures related to the decision's entry into force be implemented.<sup>49</sup>

In **Belgium**, Council Decision 2018/994 was ratified by the federal parliament on 19 March 2019. <sup>50</sup> According to the parliamentary discussion, the ratification did not encounter significant difficulties since the relevant legislation had already been amended in 2016 in a way that largely conformed to the requirements under the 2018 decision. <sup>51</sup>

In **Ireland**, the European Parliament Elections (Amendment) Bill No 7 of 2019 came into force to '[implement] certain requirements set out in Council Decision (EU Euratom) 2018/994')<sup>52</sup>. These relate to the extension of the polling day order from not less than 50 to not less than 60 days before polling day, which also covers the minimum three-week deadline for receipt of nominations. Candidates are also allowed to publicize the EuPP to which they are affiliated.

## 3.1.2. After the 2019 European elections

As explained before, Romania and the Czech Republic ratified the Council Decision after the European elections 2019. In Romania, an attempt was made to pass legislation in time butfailed a few days before the elections in June. In the Czech Republic, ratification occurred exactly one year after the elections (June 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Information not published in official journals – obtained during telephone interviews with the Legal and Treaty Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland and the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Act on the conditions for the exercise of the right to vote and on the amendment of certain laws (Electoral Code 180/2014): <u>https://www.slov-lex.sk/pravne-predpisy/SK/ZZ/2014/180/20210101</u>, and Exploratory memorandum to act 180/2014: <u>https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Dynamic/DocumentPreview.aspx?DocID=387287</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Wet houdende instemming met het Besluit 2018/994 van de Raad van 13 juli 2018 tot wijziging van de Akte betreffende de verkiezing van de leden van het Europees Parlement door middel van rechtstreekse algemene verkiezingen, gehecht aan Besluit 76/787/EGKS: <u>https://www.ejustice.just.fgov.be/cgi/article\_body.pl?language=nl&caller=summary&pub\_date=19-05-</u>

https://www.ejustice.just.fgov.be/cgi/article\_body.pl?language=nl&caller=summary&pub\_date=19-05 07&numac=2019011305.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Wetsontwerp houdende instemming met het Besluit (EU, Euratom) 2018/994 van de Raad van 13 juli 2018 tot wijziging van de Akte betreffende de verkiezing van de leden van het Europees Parlement door middel van rechtstreekse algemene verkiezingen, gehecht aan Besluit 76/787/EGKS, EEG, Euratom van de Raad van 20 september 1976, en tot wijziging van de wet van 23 maart 1989 betreffende de verkiezing van het Europees Parlement (3495/1-3): https://www.dekamer.be/doc/pcri/pdf/54/ip272.pdf#search=%22besluit%2076/787/egks%20%2055k,54k%20%3Cin%3 E%20keywords%22.

<sup>52</sup> See European Parliament Elections (Amendment) Act 2019 – No. 7 of 2019 – Houses of the Oireachtas.

Romania started the process of ratification of the Council Decision 2018/994 when the government submitted a bill on 7 January 2019<sup>53</sup>. The process was concluded five months later, with the publication of Law no. 113 of 7 June 2019. In the government's official note, the parliament was asked to ratify the council decision under an emergency procedure (Article 76(3) of the Constitution of Romania)<sup>54</sup>. As there was a parliamentary recess in January 2019, the legislative procedure took place on 4 February 2019, when the project was presented to the Permanent Bureau of the Chamber of Deputies. The Commission for Public Administration and Spatial Planning and the Legal, Discipline and Immunities Commission of the Chamber of Deputies published a joint report favouring ratification. On 25 March 2019, tacit approval by the Chamber of Deputies was noted. Article 75(2) of the Constitution of Romania provides that the Chamber of Deputies, as the first notified chamber, must adopt or reject proposals for the ratification of treaties or international agreements within 45 days. With this deadline met, the government proposal was adopted without any debate. In the Senate, the project received a favourable opinion from the Committee on European Affairs, the Committee on Legal Affairs, Appointments, Discipline, Immunities and Validations, and the Committee on Public Administration. As such, ratification was approved on 6 May 2019 with 91 votes in favour, zero votes against, and zero abstentions, 20 days before the date set for the European elections. The law was sent to the president for promulgation on 20 May 2019. On 7 June 2019, shortly after election day, the president of Romania promulgated Law no. 113/2019<sup>55</sup>.

The **Czech Republic** transposed the Council Decision of 13 July 2018 into the Czech electoral law by amending its European Parliament Election Law in June 2020. According to the explanatory memorandum submitted together with the amendment, only Article 9 of the council decision was necessary to implement as the effective law already satisfied all other requirements stated in the decision. In particular, Article 3 does not concern the Czech Republic as it applies only to MS with 35 and more mandates. Also, the requirement to submit candidate lists at least three weeks before the election did not have to be implemented as Czech law requires parties to submit their candidate lists 66 days before the election. The Czech Republic also satisfied the requirement to specify a contact authority for exchanging data on voters and candidates with other MS<sup>56</sup>.

Therefore, the changes essentially implemented sanctions against voting in the election to the European Parliament more than once. For this purpose, the amendment stipulated financial sanctions and a process of enforcement for the case that anyone would register in voter registers in more than one Member State or that anyone would vote more than once. In contrast to Article 9, which was implemented into Czech law, the articles that suggested further options to implement (such as Article 3b, 4a and 9a) were left to a 'future political decision'. These suggestions are related to displaying the name or logo of the EuPP to which the national political parties are affiliated and providing the possibility of advance, postal, or electronic voting.

According to the explanatory memorandum, the position of the Czech Republic is that informing voters about national political parties' affiliation to EuPPs is an internal affair of the Czech political parties. In addition, the logos of political parties are not displayed on ballots in any elections as the form of the ballot includes only the name of the political party and the list of candidates, including their position on the ballot, name, age, citizenship, occupation, place of residence, and political party membership.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Text available at: <u>http://www.cdep.ro/caseta/2019/02/08/pl19001\_qv.pdf</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> English version available at <u>https://www.presidency.ro/en/the-constitution-of-romania</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Text available at: <u>http://legislatie.just.ro/Public/DetaliiDocument/214892</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> See European Elections Amendment Act, No. 336.

The structure of the ballot, however, gives some leeway to political parties. For instance, the occupation listed on the ballot is not vetted by authorities. Despite that, Jan Zahradil chose not to indicate on the ballot that he was the European Conservatives and Reformists' *Spitzenkandidat* in 2019, although nothing prevented him from doing that<sup>57</sup>.

Regarding the possibility of advance, postal, electronic or internet voting, the Czech Republic currently does not allow such an option in any election, despite some proposals to implement postal (and advance) voting <sup>58</sup>. Therefore, it is likely that postal voting for national elections will be implemented alongside postal voting in European elections. In addition, the amendment has not improved the situation of Czech citizens residing in third countries to vote in European elections. In contrast to elections for the lower chamber of the Czech parliament, it is not possible to vote in elections to the European Parliament by casting a vote at Czech embassies. The only option available for Czech citizens residing in third countries is to obtain a voter card from an embassy and cast a vote in the Czech Republic. The inability to cast a vote at an embassy was challenged at the Czech Constitutional Court, but the court upheld the current law<sup>59</sup>.

## 3.2. Countries that have not yet ratified

Five countries have not to date (June 2021) ratified Council Decision 994/2018. As stated above, these are Croatia, Cyprus, Germany, Estonia, and Spain. Before moving on to the discussion of the reasons behind the failure to ratify (or the absence of any initiative to do so), Table 7 below summarizes the current situation of these five MS regarding the compulsory measures set forth by Council Decision 994/2018.

Country	Threshold 2–5% for > 35 seat constituencies	Three-week deadline for candidacies	Prohibiting double voting	Designated contact authority	Data exchange no later than six weeks
Croatia	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
Cyprus	1	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
Estonia	√	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	
Germany		$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	√	
Spain		$\checkmark$		$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$

Table 10 : Compulsory measures compliance, by non-ratifying MS

Source: Author's own compilation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> See <u>Electoral ballots blueprint</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> See e.g. <u>Election Governance Bill</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> See <u>Constitutional Court Decision 17/19</u>.

As can be seen, Croatia already complies with all five mandatory provisions. Cyprus and Estonia currently do not comply with one measure – namely, data exchange on candidates between electoral authorities no later than six weeks before the election. Finally, both Germany and Spain are short on implementing the threshold between 2 and 5%. Also, Spain has not prohibited double voting, and Germany has not enacted the six-week deadline for data exchange between electoral authorities. In light of the above and the information collected by country experts, these five countries can be divided into less and more complex cases.

## 3.2.1. Less complex cases

Croatia and Estonia can be considered MS, where the failure to ratify reflects politically noncontroversial issues. In Croatia, all compulsory measures are already in place; in Estonia, only the data exchange measure is still to be put into effect. As explained in the following paragraphs, the reluctance of these two MS is grounded on measures only suggested by Council Decision 994/2018. Therefore, they are both likely to ratify it in time for the 2024 European elections. This, of course, given that the whole process continues also in other, more problematic countries such as Spain and, most of all, Germany. In other words, if the 'German stalemate' were not to be resolved, Croatia and Estonia would see little incentive to do so (the whole process would be blocked anyways); if conversely, the ratification process advances elsewhere, they would easily follow up.

In **Croatia**, the reluctance to ratify Council Decision 994/2018 can be explained by the insistence of the incumbent and previous government (both led by the Croatian Democratic Union or HDZ) that the existing Law on the Election of Members of the Republic of Croatia to the European Parliament is already fully compliant with the decision<sup>60</sup>. As mentioned above, this is, in fact, true of the mandatory aspects. For example, according to Article 25 of the Law on the Election of Members of the Republic of Croatia to the European Parliament, there is a 5% threshold.<sup>61</sup> According to Article 23 of the same law, MEPs are elected through proportional and preferential voting. In terms of deadlines, Article 7(5) stipulates that European elections should be called 60 days in advance. In conjunction with Article 17(1), lists have to be submitted within 14 days of the announcement of the EP election (i.e., 46 days before they are held). Article 37 defines and enables voting abroad. The only apparent discrepancy is the suggestion by Council Decision 994/2018 on the introduction of postal and electronic voting. This mainly depends on the decision of the key political parties and changes of several laws as well as material support for the introduction of either of the instruments.

No immediate action is needed as Croatian law already covers most aspects of Council Decision 994/2018. NGOs (such as GONG, an electoral and democracy watch group) and smaller parties have argued for public debate on the introduction of both postal and electronic voting with the aim of having the law amended. However, for as long as the two strongest parties – the HDZ and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) – remain reluctant to enact the necessary amendments, the introduction of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Response of the Croatian government to Robert Podolnjak (MP) question on introduction of postal/electronic voting in relation to the Council Decision 2018/994 (20 September 2018), available at: https://vlada.gov.hr/UserDocsImages//2016/Sjednice/2018/09%20rujan//113%20-%2017.1.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o izboru članova u Europski parlament iz Republike Hrvatske: https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2013\_12\_143\_3071.html.

postal or electronic voting is unlikely.<sup>62</sup> Additionally, postal and electronic voting are frequently conflated and confused by politicians, as well as in the media and among the general public.

According to GONG<sup>63</sup>, one aspect of Croatia's EU election law related to persons deprived of legal capacity is inconsistent. Namely, a person deprived of legal capacity may obtain a mandate in elections, but if his/her legal capacity is revoked during the mandate, he/she ceases to perform the duties of a representative. According to Article 64 of the Law on the Register of Voters, persons who have been wholly deprived of legal capacity by a final decision of the competent court are nonetheless considered voters and are entered in the Register of Voters.<sup>64</sup> Such a provision was introduced in 2012, giving persons deprived of legal capacity active and passive voting rights. Although Article 5 of the Law on the Election of Members of the Republic of Croatia to the European Parliament stipulates that a Croatian citizen with the right to vote – and therefore including persons deprived of legal capacity – can be elected as an MEP, Article 11 of the same Law stipulates that his or her term of office as an MEP will end when he/she is deprived of legal capacity by the relevant court.

The key issue in **Estonia** preventing ratification of the decision is local politics. The two major competitor parties – the Reform Party (Reformierakond) and the Centre Party (Keskerakond) – belong to the same European party, ALDE. Thus, including the affiliated European party name on the candidate list would communicate a message to the voters that the two parties would prefer to avoid (i.e., that they are electorally aligned). Also, since the European elections treat the whole country as a single electoral district, there is comparatively more focus on the individual traits of the candidates in EP campaigns. Furthermore, Estonian election ballots have always been very economical in their design. No visual elements (e.g., logos) are allowed on the electoral lists, and the ballot only features a box for the voter to write the candidate numberin.<sup>65</sup>

Exchanging information regarding voters who are nationals of other EU countries seems somewhat behind. This can be due to the general heterogeneity between the countries and election organisation and the absence of a general information exchange system.

Regarding the design of the election ballots/candidate lists, it is legally possible to devise a candidate list with the logos or names of the Europarties, as the exact design of the ballot and the accompanying candidate list is devised separately for each election. However, the membership of some parties and single candidates in Europarties is relatively unclear, which lends rather little incentive to design the ballots this way. Currently, there is no requirement for a candidate to formalize their membership in a European-level political group ahead of the election, and it is also possible to change the European political-level group of affiliation between elections.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Jutarnji list (24 April 2020) "Na izbore bismo mogli već u srpnju, ali kako će oni izgledati?": <u>https://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/na-izbore-bismo-mogli-vec-u-srpnju-ali-kako-ce-oni-izgledati-elektronskom-glasanju-dip-se-protivi-pa-to-ima-samo-jedna-clanica-eu-10242013.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> <u>https://www.gong.hr/media/uploads/20190716\_izborni\_izvje%C5%A1taj\_ep\_2019\_gong.pdf.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Zakon o popisima birača. See: <u>https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2007\_02\_19\_772.html.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> The European Parliament Election Act: <u>https://www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/513012020006/consolide</u>, and the Statute of the State Electoral Office: <u>https://www.riigikogu.ee/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Riigi-valimisteenistuse-p%C3%B5him%C3%A4%C3%A4rus-1.pdf</u>.

However, in Estonia, the main opposition is political in nature. A political compromise might emerge if either the Centre Party or the Reform Party changed political groups, though currently, there seems to be little motivation to do so.

While parties have not altered their logos, they occasionally advertise their membership in the European parties, adopt elements from their European-level parties into the electoral programmes, or even advertise the *Spitzenkandidaten* of their European party. For instance, in the 2019 EP campaign, the Isamaa party advertised itself as part of the EPP Group in the parliament, devoting a whole page in their campaign website. Also, Manfred Weber, the EPP *Spitzenkandidat*, featured in their campaign ads. Matteo Salvini addressed supporters in EKRE's campaign video. Some parties, e.g., Isamaa, the Estonian Social Democrats, the Reform Party and the Estonian Greens, permanently feature the logos of their European parties (EPP, PES, ALDE and the European Greens, respectively) on their official party websites.

## 3.2.2. More complex cases

Cyprus, Germany, and Spain are cases that can be considered more complex. In Cyprus, the issue concerns the specific legislation initiated to ratify Council Decision 994/2018, which entailed both practical and politically sensitive issues. A new ratification procedure, with a different and less problematic corresponding legislation, is possible. However, the type of political issue at stake (Turkish Cypriots living abroad) is particularly heated, and therefore political inertia may be hard to overcome.

In the cases of Spain and Germany, above all, the problem is linked to the electoral threshold. As explained in the paragraphs below, both MS can ratify Council Decision 994/2018, but on the condition of a legislative initiative rendered more complicated by political instability (in Spain) or the qualified majorities to overcome constitutionality problems (Germany).

**Cyprus** has attempted but failed to transpose Council Decision 994/2018.<sup>66</sup> On 1 February 2019, parliament adopted a law intending to transpose the decision, but the President of the Republic referred the law back to parliament for reconsideration,<sup>67</sup> citing the following grounds:<sup>68</sup>

- The law entailed the risk of a double vote by persons with dual nationality, especially children born to parents where one is a Cypriot, and the other is a Union national;
- Automatic registration would enable the inclusion of Cypriots living abroad on the electoral roll, which would infringe the principle that only persons with their habitual residence in Cyprus should be entitled to vote;
- The virtual expansion of the electoral roll, which it is estimated would increase the abstention in percentages beyond 70%, would leave an adverse mark on other electoral contests;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Cyprus, Law on the election of members of the European Parliament: <u>(Ο περί της Εκλογής των Μελών του Ευρωπαϊκού</u> <u>Κοινοβουλίου Νόμος του 2004</u>), 2004-2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Under Article 51(1) of the Cypriot Constitution, the president can return any law to parliament for reconsideration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Cyprus, Parliamentary Committee on Internal Affairs (2019), Report of the Parliamentary Committee of Internal Affairs on the referred law 'Law on the election of members of the European Council (Amendment) of 2019 ("<u>Εκθεση</u> της Κοινοβουλευτικής Επιτροπής Εσωτερικών για τον αναπεμφθέντα νόμο «Ο περί της Εκλογής των Μελών του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου (Τροποποιητικός) Νόμος του 2019»), 27 February 2019.

• The state budget would be burdened with an amount above €200,000 to cover the operational costs of the additional polling stations and the printing of an additional 100,000 ballots.

The referral was not grounded on issues of non-compatibility with the Constitution but on practical difficulties in its implementation, arguing that there was not sufficient time for the interior ministry to prepare to safeguard the validity of the procedure. During the parliamentary session of 25 February 2019, which debated the presidential referral of this law, the representative of the Attorney General told parliamentarians that, given that the law transposed Council Decision 2018/994 in its entirety if parliament decided to accept the president's referral, it would have to adopt a new law that would avoid the provisions that the government disagreed with. If it failed to do so, the government would seek to declare the law unconstitutional and refer it to the Supreme Court to decide. The Attorney General's representative pointed out that Council Decision 994/2018 had not yet entered into force, as not all MS of the European Union had yet adopted it and suggested that the harmonising provisions of the referred law would remain inactive until the decision entered into force.

Parliament endorsed the president's referral of the law with 30 votes in favour, 5 against and 17 abstentions. As the 2019 European elections was due in a couple of months, parliament did not table a new bill, as suggested by the Attorney General's representative, because there was not sufficient time to process new legislation in time before the 2019 European elections.<sup>69</sup>

The law initially adopted by parliament on 1 February 2019 contained provisions that might allow significant participation of Turkish Cypriots in the elections, as they would acquire an automatic right to vote. This, in turn, according to the government, might impede the smooth voting procedure at electoral centres. The government initially presented the draft of this law, but during parliamentary discussions, an amendment was introduced extending automatic registration to all citizens with an identity card and a recorded address in the state archives. This would mean that the same conditions would apply for the registration of Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots on the electoral roll so as to compile a single electoral roll for all voters who are citizens of the republic and who have the right to vote in European elections. Before this amendment, the automatic right to vote was restricted only to those residing in the areas controlled by the republic, which would essentially mean Greek Cypriots. According to the Archives Department, the new regulation would lead to more than 102,000 citizens becoming automatically registered on the electoral roll, some of whom may even be deceased, which would require the creation of at least 100 additional electoral centres within a very short period.

Although there was arguably little time for the government to respond to the anticipated massive influx of Turkish Cypriot voters at the 2019 European elections, no steps have been taken since to organise the automatic registration of voters. The automatic registration of Turkish Cypriots on the electoral roll would most likely shift the balance in favour of the main opposition party AKEL, to which the Turkish Cypriot community maintains historical links and affiliations.

**Germany** has not yet ratified Council Decision 2018/994, and there is no active ratification process. Before the 2019 European elections, Germany's governing parties examined the legal options for ratifying the decision and a ratification law was reportedly drafted by Germany's interior ministry on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Cyprus Broadcasting Corporation (2019), Parliament accepted the referral of the law for the euroelections. See (<u>Η βουλή</u> <u>αποδέχθηκε την αναπομπή του νόμου για τις ευρωεκλογές</u>), 1 March 2019.

behalf of the Bundestag, Germany's federal parliament<sup>70</sup>. However, no ratification ultimately took place.

The stringent requirements to ratify introducing an electoral threshold have been a key procedural obstacle. The German Constitutional Court has repeatedly ruled the electoral threshold in elections to the European Parliament unconstitutional (e.g. in 2011 and 2014).<sup>71</sup> Accordingly, re-introducing an electoral threshold in the German European Elections Law requires parliamentary majorities sufficiently large to amend the Constitution<sup>72</sup>. This involves a two-thirds majority in both the Bundestag and the Bundesrat, the legislative body representing Germany's federated states at the federal level<sup>73</sup>.

The timing of Council Decision 2018/994 has been the second key obstacle to ratification, exacerbating the first problem. The German Greens – which voted in 2013 to introduce a 3% threshold – rejected moves to ratify before the 2019 European elections. The Greens argued that introducing the threshold before the 2019 European elections would contravene the Council of Europe Venice Commission's recommendations on democratic elections since it would mean changing the electoral law in the year preceding the relevant elections.<sup>74</sup> Given the Greens' participation in a number of state governments in Germany, passing the law through the Bundesrat with the required two-thirds majority against them was seen as unachievable. Consequently, Council Decision 2018/994 was not ratified before the 2019 European elections.

There is currently sufficient time until the next European elections for Germany to ratify the Council Decision without breaking the Venice Commission recommendations. Thus, undertaking the ratification process now might draw support from parties that opposed ratification before the 2019 European elections.

Germany will hold federal parliamentary elections in September 2021. With a busy parliamentary calendar, time is running out to ratify Council Decision 2018/994 before the elections. Germany's own federal elections law was modified in October 2020, with the votes of the governing majority (the CDU/CSU, and SPD). Several opposition parties (the FDP, the Left, and the Greens) have appealed to the Constitutional Court against the new federal elections law<sup>75</sup>. Overall, keeping the process of ratifying Council Decision 2018/994 away from the controversies surrounding the federal elections law is important for the success of the process.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> <u>https://www.stuttgarter-zeitung.de/inhalt.groko-will-sperrklausel-zwei-prozent-huerde-fuerseu-parlament-soll-kommen.52b53dd8-8e04-4f3f-b6ea-ad4fc07cc083.html</u>.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> - Ruling by Second Senate of German Constitutional Court of 9 November 2011 ruling the five percent threshold unconstitutional for elections to the European Parliament - 2 BvC 4/10 -, Rn. 1-160. See <a href="https://www.bundesverfassung.sgericht.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/2011/11/cs20111109\_2bvc000410.pdf">https://www.bundesverfassung.sgericht.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/2011/11/cs20111109\_2bvc000410.pdf</a>? blob= <a href="https://www.bundesverfassung.sgericht.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/2013-Rn.1-116">https://www.bundesverfassung.sgericht.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/2011/11/cs20114/02/cs2014/0226</a>? blob= <a href="https://www.bundesverfassung.sgericht.de/December/2012/0226">wundesverfassung.sgericht.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/2013-Rn.1-116</a>. See <a href="https://www.bundesverfassung.sgericht.de/December/2012/0226">https://www.bundesverfassung.sgericht.de/December/2012/0226</a>. blob= <a href="https://www.bundesverfassung.sgericht.de/December/2012/0226">https://www.bundesverfassung.sgericht.de/December/2012/0226</a>. blob= <a href="https://www.bundesverfassung.sgericht.de/December/2012/0226">https://www.bundesverfassung.sgericht.de

https://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/2014/02/es20140226\_2bve000213.pdf?\_blob= publicationFile&v=1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Report by Scientific Service of German Bundestag of 3 August 2018 – WD 3 – 3000 – 285/18. See <u>https://www.bundestag.de/resource/blob/573144/25e4bd8a0693d044b7f6d4ab151b7de0/WD-3-285-18-pdf-data.pdf.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> This is specified in Article 23 Paragraph 1 and Article 79 Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the German Basic Law. See <u>https://www.bundestaq.de/qq</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> <u>https://www.euractiv.com/section/eu-elections-2019/news/european-elections-german-government-wants-threshold-for-fringe-parties/.</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> <u>https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/klage-wahlrechtsreform-101.html</u>.

Concerning **Spain**, the parliament is yet to ratify Council Decision 2018/994 of 13 July 2018. Nevertheless, many of its provisions have already integrated into the Spanish General Electoral Regime Law (Ley Organica del Régimen Electoral General, 5/1985). Article 1(1) of Council Decision 2018/994 is already enshrined in Article 216 and Article 220 of the Spanish General Electoral Regime Law, establishing a closed-list system with proportional representation as the electoral system for European Parliament elections.<sup>76</sup> Paragraph 3 of the same article is also guaranteed by the Spanish General Electoral Regime Law.<sup>77</sup>

The crucial pending modification to the current Electoral Regime Law concerns the establishment of a minimum threshold for the allocation of seats. In the last election, Spain elected a total of 54 seats to the European Parliament, with 5 additional seats allocated following Brexit. Since Spain has a single constituency, this requires that Article 3 of Council Decision 2018/994 be implemented to enforce a minimum threshold ranging from 2 to 5 per cent of the votes in time for the 2024 European Parliament election. Article 3a of the decision is already regulated by Article 47(1) of the General Electoral Regime Law.

Regarding Article 3b of Council Decision 2018/994, the current legislation does not clearly specify that the display, on ballot papers, of the name or logo of the EuPP to which the national political party or individual candidate is affiliated is allowed. According to Paragraph 2 of Article 221 of the General Electoral Regime Law, the ballots should contain the name, abbreviation and logo of the party, federation, coalition, or group of candidates presenting the candidacy.

Postal voting (Article 4a of Council Decision 2018/994) is already allowed under articles in Section 10 of the General Electoral Regime Law, unlike electronic or internet voting. Article 9 of the Council Decision, prohibiting multiple voting in the European elections, has been enforced through the changes to the General Electoral Regime Law implemented by the Ley Organica 13/1994, but it does not clearly specify a penalty for double voting. The aspects contained in Article 9a, allowing citizens residing in third countries to vote in elections to the European Parliament, are also enacted under the current electoral law. At the moment, voting rights also extend to Spanish citizens residing in non-EU countries.

From a legal point of view, no major obstacles are foreseeable concerning the ratification of Council Decision 2018/994 in Spain. The process appears, thus, to hinge mostly on the legislative initiative of the Spanish parliament. However, the process is more delicate from a political perspective. The likely most contentious aspect concerns establishing an electoral threshold, which implies that smaller political parties may be prevented from electing MEPs. Assuming the implementation of the minimum 2% threshold, one of the parties that managed to elect an MEP in the 2014 election would not have been able in 2019. Had the maximum 5% threshold been adopted, six of the MEPs elected in 2014 from a total of four parties would have instead been three MEPs from a total of two parties. Given Brexit, Spain will have more elected MEPs in the 2024 European elections. This will further increase the proportional representation of smaller parties in terms of elected MEPs. Therefore, adopting a formal electoral threshold may be particularly problematic for a political system as fragmented as the Spanish one, which is particularly noticeable in European elections. Although the electoral threshold will benefit the major political parties, which could facilitate its parliamentary approval, the absence of a clear majority in parliament, the potential impacts of the threshold for the junior coalition partners (not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Ley Organica 13/1994: <u>http://www.juntaelectoralcentral.es/cs/jec/documentos/LOREG\_04\_BOE\_LO\_13-1994.pdf</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Law on Elections to the European Parliament: <u>http://www.juntaelectoralcentral.es/cs/jec/documentos/LOREG\_01\_BOE\_LO\_1-1987.pdf</u>.

to mention the remaining parties in parliament), and the relative political instability could present obstacles to an expeditious process.

# 3.3. Conclusions and suggestions on how to move ahead

The path to Europeanisation of national electoral rules concerning the election of MEPs is generally quite advanced. Table 12 summarizes all measures (both compulsory and suggested) of Council Decision 2018/994, its ratification status, and the overall compliance percentage over these nine measures. This indicator has to be taken *cum grano salis* because it bundles together both binding and non-binding measures, and obviously, some are more important than others. In any case, it gives a simple and easy-to-read overview of the progress made across Europe, with five MS being completely Europeanised in this regard (Austria, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Romania) and tenmore ticking all except one box.

		Com	npulsory m	easures ('sh	nall')		Sug	ggested me	easures ('m	ay')	
MS	Council Decision 994/2018 ratified	2–5% threshold for > 35 seats constituencies	3 weeks deadline for candidacies	Double voting prevention	Designated contact authority	Data exchange not later than 6 weeks	Threshold not exceeding 5%	Europeanised ballot paper (minimal)	At least one possibility of absentee voting	Voting from third countries	Overall Europeanisation
Austria	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	100%
France	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	100%
Luxembourg	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	100%
Netherlands	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	100%
Romania	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	100%
Belgium	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	89%
Croatia	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	89%
Denmark	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	89%
Finland	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	89%
Greece	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	Х	89%
Italy	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	Х	89%

Table 11 : Overall Europeanisation of electoral laws

## IPOL | Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs

Lithuania	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	89%						
Portugal	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	89%						
Slovenia	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	89%
Sweden	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	89%						
Cyprus	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	78%
Estonia	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	78%
Ireland	$\checkmark$	Х	Х	78%							
Latvia	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	78%
Poland	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	78%
Bulgaria	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	х	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	Х	67%
Czech Republic	$\checkmark$	Х	Х	Х	67%						
Germany	Х	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	х	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	67%
Hungary	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	67%
Malta	$\checkmark$	Х	Х	Х	67%						
Slovakia	$\checkmark$	Х	Х	Х	67%						
Spain	Х	Х	$\checkmark$	х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	Х	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	67%
Total √	22	25	27	24	27	20	27	9	23	20	n/a

Source: Author's own compilation.

As explained in detail in the previous paragraphs, regarding the binding measures, only Spain and Germany lack a threshold between 2 and 5% as requested (which is the most problematic aspect). Additionally, the three-week deadline is respected by all MS, even though the variance is very high (from 90 days in Slovakia to 21 in Greece). Furthermore, all MS have a designated authority to exchange data on the active and passive electorate, even though seven MS are not compliant with the requirement that exchange occurs six weeks in advance of elections, as required by the Council Decision. Finally, only three MS (Latvia, Hungary and Spain) lack appropriate sanctions for double voting. Here as well, the variance in compliant MS is remarkable (from a fine of  $\in$  33–100 $\in$  in Slovakia to a maximum sentence of five years imprisonment in Germany).

Regarding the non-binding measures, firstly, no MS has a threshold exceeding 5%. Second, only four (the Czech Republic, Ireland, Malta and Slovakia) do not guarantee at least one type of absentee voting. Third, when it comes to voting from third countries, the situation is slightly worse, with seven MS not

providing this possibility. Fourth and most importantly, the Europeanisation of electoral ballots, even under the 'minimal' definition, is extremely low. The vast majority of MS – 18, to be precise- – still have purely national ballots.<sup>78</sup>

In light of the evidence collected and the analysis performed, several recommendations can be addressed to the various stakeholders involved, both at the national and EU levels, particularly the European Parliament and its Members. For Cyprus, Croatia, and Estonia – considered by country experts to be *less complex cases*-- governments should be reassured that the measures around which there is hesitancy are non-binding (except for Estonia on exchanging data in time, but the technical capabilities of this country, the only one providing e-voting, suggests it would be relatively straightforward) and therefore, Council Decision 994/2018 can be ratified with few consequences.

Instead, Germany is the critical juncture of the whole process of ratification due to the Constitutional Court's role in having deemed electoral thresholds unconstitutional on several occasions. In Germany, all involved stakeholders should monitor political developments closely and lobby the 'new' governing parties to bring ratification onto the agenda in the window of opportunity after the elections in September 2021 through 2023 (to avoid Venice Commission problems). Particular attention should be paid to the Greens, reassuring them that their representation would not be at risk even with a 2% electoral threshold.

Spain is similarly problematic, however, despite the (relative) instability of the political situation, in our view, the most appropriate moment for ratification is with the current government, led by the Socialists (before the next elections in 2023), a generally pro-integration party. In any case, resolving the stalemate in Germany would most probably lead Spain to follow through.

Apart from the ratification of Council Decision 994/2018, another key element lies in the relationship between what in this study has been referred to as the *party on the ground* and the *party in central office* at the EU level – namely, EuPPs and national parties (Bardi 2006). European and national political parties should further strengthen their relationship, a vital element of the European political system that can increase the general transnational nature of EP elections (not only of European ballots). As the empirical evidence (especially in the 2014–2019 party-level comparison) of this study has shown, the actual level of Europeanisation depends less on electoral rules and more on the general climate around the elections, and spillover effects may arise between countries once a positive trend emerges. Also, a reinvigoration of the *Spitzenkandidaten* procedure would, in this regard, be crucial.

Ultimately, what is necessary as a baseline condition is that MS share a certain degree of homogeneity in the electoral process for electing MEPs, and one may argue that this is the case already. What becomes key now is that European elections are fought *on truly European issues* and not used as midterm elections for domestic politics. And this does not depend on a threshold or a ballot format but on creating a true European party system (at the EU level) and political initiatives to increase citizens' political awareness of European issues (at the MS level). Finally, other formal elements ignored by Council Decision 2018/994 – such as lowering the voting age, bringing back to the discussion the creation of a transnational constituency, or promoting gender equality – should be kept on the agenda for further reform of European electoral law.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> As explained in previous paragraphs, at least one party scoring more than 1% in the European elections or electing any MEP with at least one European reference on the ballot.

# REFERENCES

- Bardi, Luciano (2005). "Parties and party system in the European Union" in Luther K. R. and Muller-Rommel F., *Political Parties in the new Europe: Political and Analytical Challenges,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp 293-322.
- Calossi, Enrico (2011). Organizzazione e funzioni degli Europartiti. Il caso di Sinistra Europea, Pisa: Edizioni PLUS. ISBN 978-88-8492-773-6.
- Calossi, Enrico and Lorenzo Cicchi (2019). "European Parliament Political Groups and European Political Parties: development and relationship between two faces of the EU political system", in Giusti, Serena (ed.) "Idee per l'Europa", *Quaderni del Circolo Rosselli* n. 2/2019, anno XXXIX, fascicolo 135, pp. 15-31, ISBN 978-88-6995-568-6.
- Cicchi, Lorenzo (2016). Is Euro-voting truly supranational? National affiliation and political group membership in the European Parliament, Pisa University Press, Pisa. ISBN 978-886741-7049.
- Donatelli, Lorenzo (2015). A Pan-European District for the European Elections? The Rise and Fall of the Duff Proposal for the Electoral Reform of the European Parliament. Bruges Political Research Papers 44/2015. [Policy Paper].
- Fotopoulos, Stergios (2019). "What sort of changes did the *Spitzenkandidat* process bring to the quality of the EU's democracy?", *European View*, Volume 18, Issue 2, October 2019, Pages 194-202.
- Fotopoulos, Stergios and Luciano Morganti (2020). "The Influence of the Spitzenkandidat Process on the Role of the European Political Parties", *L'Europe en Formation*, 2020/1 (n° 390), p. 17-34. DOI : 10.3917/eufor.390.0017. available at: <u>https://www.cairn.info/revue-l-europe-en-formation-2020-1-page-17.htm</u>.
- Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell (Eds.) (2005). *The politics of electoral systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hix, Simon (2008). *What's wrong with the European Union and how to fix it*, Polity, London, UK. ISBN 9780745642048.
- Ivan, Ruxandra (2021). "Electoral Engineering for a European Demos: Building European Identity through Elections", in "2019 European Elections The EU Party Democracy and the Challenge of National Populism", in Carp, Radu and Cristina Matiuța, International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology, Volume: 134, E-Book ISBN: 9789004435148, Publisher: Brill.
- Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair (1993). "The Evolution of Party Organizations in Europe: Three Faces of Party Organization", *American Review of Politics* 14: 593–617.
- Lupiáñez-Villanueva, Francisco and Axelle Devaux (2018). Study on the Benefits and Drawbacks of Remote Voting, European Commission Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers, Directorate D: Equality and Union citizenship, ISBN: 978-92-79-97406-9.
- Majone, Giandomenico (1998). "Europe's 'Democratic Deficit': the Question of Standards", *European Law Journal*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 5-28.
- Moravcsik, Andrew (2002). "In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, volume 40, number 4, pp. 603-624.

- Pukelsheim, Friedrich (2018). "Compositional Proportionality among European Political Parties at European Parliament Elections", *Central European Political Studies Review*, Volume XX, Issue 1, pp. 1–15.
- Reif, Karlheinz and Hermann Schmitt (1980). "Nine Second-Order National Elections: A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results", *European Journal of Political Research* 8(1), pp. 3-44.
- Sokolska, Ina (2020). "The Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties. Fact Sheets on the European Union - 2020", European Parliament factsheet, available online at: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU 1.3.4.pdf.
- Sabbati, Giulio, Gianluca Sgueo and Alina Dobreva (2019). "At a glance: 2019 European elections: National rules", European Parliament Members' Research Service PE 623.556, available online at: <u>https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2018/623556/EPRS\_ATA(2018)623556\_E\_N.pdf.</u>
- Schmitt, Hermann and Jacques Thomassen (eds) (1999). *Political Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tilindyte, Laura (2019). "Rules on political groups in the EP", European Parliament Members' Research Service PE 637.956, available online at: <u>https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2019/637956/EPRS\_BRI(2019)637956\_EN.</u> <u>pdf.</u>

# ANNEX

# **Country experts**

Table 12 : Country experts involved in the study for data collection by MS

Country	Expert
Austria	Carsten Wegscheider Doctoral researcher, University of Salzburg
Belgium	Siemen Van Den Broecke Doctoral researcher, European University Institute
Bulgaria	Boris Popivanov Assistant Professor, Sofia University
Croatia	Dejan Stjepanovic Lecturer ,University of Dundee
Cyprus	Corina Demetriou Researcher, Symfiliosi NGO
Czech Republic	Michael Skvrnak Doctoral Researcher, Czech Academy of Sciences
Denmark	Kasper Møller Hansen Assistant Professor, University of Copenhagen
Estonia	Mari-Liis Jakobson Associate Professor, University of Tallinn
Finland	Johanna Peltoniemi Post-doctoral researcher, University of Helsinki
France, Luxembourg	Elie Michel Post-doctoral Researcher, SciencesPo Paris
Germany	Johannes Rothe Doctoral researcher, European University Institute
Greece	Panagiotis Koustenis Adjunct Assistant Professor, University of Athens
Hungary	Szabolcs Pogonyi Associate Professor, Central European University
Ireland	Nathan John Board Doctoral researcher, University College COrk
Italy	n/a

Latvia	Rūta Liepina Assistant Professor, Maastricht University
Lithuania	Kristina Ivanauskaitė-Pettinari Civil Servant, Central Electoral Commission
Malta, Netherlands	Rutger Birnie Doctoral researcher, European University Institute
Poland	Tymoteusz Kraski Doctoral researcher, University of Amsterdam
Portugal, Spain	Frederico Ferreira da Silva Post-doctoral Researcher, University of Lausanne
Romania	Sorina Cristina Soare Associate Researcher, University of Florence Vladimir Adrian Costea Post-doctoral Researcher, University of Bucharest
Slovakia	Jana Kazaz Legal Advocacy Officer, International Press Institute
Slovenia	Jaka Kukavica Doctoral researcher, European University Institute
Sweden	Oskar Hultin-Bäckersten Doctoral researcher, University of Uppsala

Source: Author's own compilation.

# **Electoral systems and ballots**

Table 13 : Electoral systems and ballots key elements, by MS

Country name	Type of proportional represent.	Number of preferences the voter can express	Ballot format	Main voting sign or instrument	Method of party or list voting	Optional or compulsory preference for individual candidates	Method of expressing candidate preference	Ballot visuals (logos/text/p hotos)	Ballot printed in colour or black and white
Austria	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Write down the name of, or number corresponding to, the preferred candidate	Text	B&W
Belgium	Preferential voting	Preferences up to the total number of candidates for each list (19)	Single informative ballot	Dot	Blacken the circle corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Blacken the circle corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)	Text	B&W
Bulgaria	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross on the number corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate	Text	B&W
Croatia	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Circle	Circle out the number corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Circle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate	Text	B&W
Cyprus	Preferential voting	Up to two preferences	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the rectangle corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)	Logos and text	B&W
Czech Republic	Preferential voting	Up to two preferences	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	Optional	Gircle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)	Text	B&W
Denmark	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate	Text	B&W
Estonia	Preferential voting	One preference	Single blank ballot	Number	n/a	Compulsory	Write down the number corresponding to the preferred candidate	Text	Colour
Finland	Preferential voting	One preference	Single blank ballot	Name	n/a	Compulsory	Write down the name of the preferred candidate	Text	B&W
France	Closed lists	n/a	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	n/a	n/a	Logos and text	Colour
Germany	Closed lists	n/a	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the chosen list	n/a	n/a	Text	B&W
Greece	Preferential voting	Up to four preferences	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	Optional	Make a cross on the name of the preferred candidate(s)	Logos and text	B&W
Hungary	Closed lists	n/a	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the chosen list	n/a	n/a	Logos and text	B&W

## Europeanising the elections of the European Parliament

Ireland	STV	Preferences up to the total number of candidates in each constituency (17, 19, 23)	Single informative ballot	Candidates ordering	n/a	Compulsory	Order the candidates from most to least preferred, writing down progressive numbers	Logos, text, and photos of candidates	Colour
Italy	Preferential voting	Up to three preferences	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross on the logo of the chosen list	Optional	Write down the name of the preferred candidate(s)	Logos	Colour
Latvia	Preferential voting	Up to 16, between positive and negative preferences	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	Optional	Write a + next to the endorsed candidate(s) or cross out the opposed candidate(s)	Text	B&W
Lithuania	Preferential voting	Up to five preferences	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Write down the number corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)	Text	Colour
Luxembourg	Preferential voting	Up to six preferences in total (and each candidate can receive up to two preferences)	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Make a cross in one or both squares corresponding to the preferred candidate(s)	Text	B&W
Malta	STV	Preferences up to the total number of candidates (41)	Single informative ballot	Candidates ordering	n/a	Compulsory	Order candidates writing down progressive numbers	Logos, text and photos of candidates	Colour
Netherlands	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Cross	n/a	Compulsory	Make a cross in the circle corresponding to the preferred candidate	Text	B&W
Poland	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Cross	n/a	Compulsory	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate	Logos and text	B&W
Portugal	Closed lists	n/a	Single informative ballot	Cross	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the chosen list	n/a	n/a	Logos and text	B&W
Romania	Closed lists	n/a		Stamp	Imprint the official stamp on the chosen list	n/a	n/a	Logos and text	B&W
Slovakia	Preferential voting	Up to two preferences	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	Optional	Circle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate (s)	Logos and text	B&W
Slovenia	Preferential voting	One preference	Single informative ballot	Circle	Gircle out the number corresponding to the chosen list	Optional	Gircle out the number corresponding to the preferred candidate	Logos and text	Colour
Spain	Closed lists	n/a	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	n/a	n/a	Logos and text	B&W
Sweden	Preferential voting	One preference	Multiple list- specific ballots	Envelope	Place the chosen list- specific ballot in an envelope	Optional	Make a cross in the square corresponding to the preferred candidate	Logos and text	Colour

Source: Author's own compilation.

# Electoral ballot samples from 2019 European elections

## Austria

Austrian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.bmi.gv.at/412/Europawahlen/Europawahl 2019/start.aspx</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

# Amtlicher Stimmzettel

für die

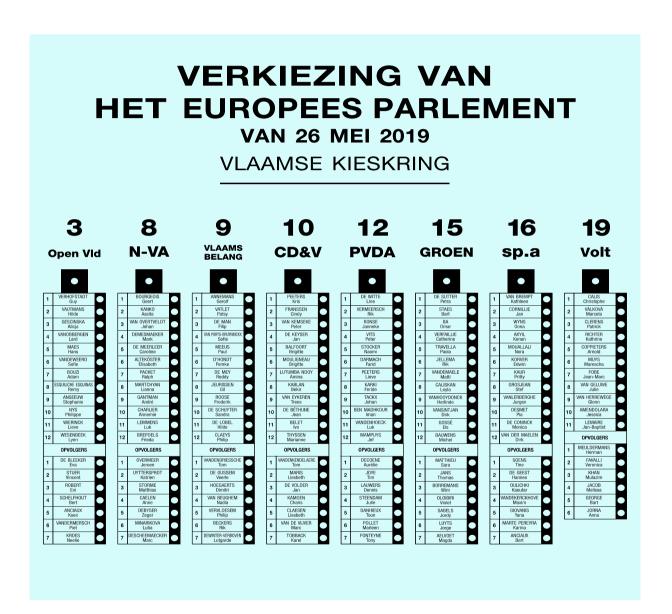
Wahl der österreichischen Mitglieder des Europäischen Parlaments

Liste Nr.	Für die gewählte Partei im Kreis ein X einsetzen!	Kurz– bezeichnung	Parteibezeichnung	Bezeichnung eines Bewerbers oder einer Bewerberin (Name und/ oder Reihungsnummer) durch den Wähler oder durch die Wählerin
1	$\bigcirc$	ÖVP	Österreichische Volksparte	
2		SPÖ	ozhodemokratnene Parten isterreichs	
3	$\bigcirc$	FP	Freheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) – Die Freiheitlichen	
4		DR UMP	Die Grünen – Grüne Alternative	
5		NEOS	NEOS – Das Neue Europa	
6		KPÖ	KPÖ Plus – European Left, of ene Liste	
7		EUROPA	EUR OPA Jetzt – Initiative Johannes Voggenhuber	

## am 26. Mai 2019

## Belgium

Belgian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://verkiezingen2019.belgium.be/nl/stembiljetten?el=EU</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



## Bulgaria

Bulgarian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/BG\_ballot.jpea</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

хх район хххх 2009* * * * *	
хх район ххххх избори за членове на европ република бълг	ЕЙСКИЯ ПАРЛАМЕНТ ОТ
<ol> <li>Патриоти за валери симеонов (нфсб и средна европейска класа)</li> </ol>	Предпочитание / преференция за кандидат
2 ПЪТ НА МЛАДИТЕ (НДСВ и НОВОТО ВРЕМЕ)	(101) (102) (103)
3 ПП ВМРО – БЪЛГАРСКО НАЦИОНАЛНО ДВИЖЕНИЕ Ваня Руменова Григорова –	(104) (105) (106)

GLASA 3. AUTOHTONA - HRV PRAVA - A-HSP 2. AKCUA MLADH - AN

NASA S

11. POKRET ZA MODERNU HRVATSKU	18. BAVEZ ZAPROMJENE - BP	19. BIAGA ROMA HEWATSKE - SPH	20. SOCUALDERRORGATISKA PARTUA HIVATSKA: SUP HIVATSKA MARCONA STRANKA. LUERALM DERRORGAN STRANKA. ISTABIO DIMORATISKI SANDR. OS HIVATSKA STRANKA UMROVULENKA. ISBU
1. DAMIR GAŠPAROVIĆ	1. IVAN PERNAR	1. SURIJA MEHMETI	1. NEVEN MIMICA
2. ANTE ROSO	2. VLADIMIRA PALFI	2. FADIL HRUSTIC	2. BILJANA BORZAN
3. MIRJANA MIHELJA	3. HRVOJE RUNTIĆ	3. NAZIF MEMEDI	3. JOZO RADOŠ
4. JOZO CABRAJA	4. DAMIR TRNAČIĆ	4. ŽELJKO BALOG	4. IVAN JAKOVČIĆ
ROBERT GRDOVIC	5. MIHAELA VARGA	5. ANKA DALIPOVSKI	5. TONINO PICULA
DARKO PETRIČIĆ	6. IVAN SINČIĆ	6. VELI HUSEINI	6. OLEG VALJALO
7. TENA ŜAMEC	7. NENSI KRUPIĆ	7. IDRIZ RIZVANOVIĆ	7. VIŠNJA FORTUNA
8. MARUAN ŠUTO	8. IVAN ILIĆ	8. KEMAL ŠEČIĆ	<ol> <li>SANDRA PETROVIĆ JAKOVINA</li> </ol>
9. NEVEN BOTICA	9. INGRID RUNTIC	9. STEVO GJURDJEVIĆ	9. MARIN VUCIC
10. RADOVAN SMOKVINA	10. SVETLANA BLAŽEVIĆ	10. NEDAT BAJRAMI	10. KAROLINA LEAKOVIĆ
11. ZVONIMIR PERIC	11. DUŠAN CVETANOVIĆ	11. ISMET MAHMUT	11. MILORAD PUPOVAC

# NAPUTAK O NAČINU GLASOVANJA:

oijske liste. ispred naziva samo jedne kandida prednos jem daje lati ji/kandidatu, s liste za koju je ; samo jedne kandidatkinio/kon Glasuje se samo za jednu kandidacijsku listu. Birač za kandidacijsku listu glasuje tako da zaokruži Želi li birač jednoj kandidatkinjiVandidatu, **s liste za** broj ispred imena i prezimena **samo jedne** kandidati

.

Croatian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: https://www.kai-friederike.de/EP2019 ballots.html. No copyright limitations indicated.

> 24. ZHS

23.

SOCIJALISTIČKA RAD HRVATSKE - SRP

22. Here

۲

SKE	8. HR
int iz republike hrvat:	7. HRVATSKA RADNIČKA STRANKA - HRS
za izbor članica/članova u europski parlament iz republike hrvatske	<ol> <li>HEVATSKA DEMOKRATSKAZALEDNICA - HDZ</li> <li>HEVATSKA BALDNICKA STRANKA - HDZ</li> <li>HEVATSKA BALOKIA STRANKA - HDS</li> <li>HEVATSKA BALOKIA STRANKA - HDS</li> </ol>
za izbor članica/član	5. DEMOKRATSKA STRANKA ŽENA - D62 HRVATSKA BTRANKA NEZANOSLENIH - HSN AKCLA SLAVONSKO BARANJSKIH
AČKI LISTIĆ	<ol> <li>DEMOKRATSKA PRIGORSKO - ZAGREBAČKA STRANKA - DPS</li> </ol>

6

N, diplier.

R LIDVAT

Croatia

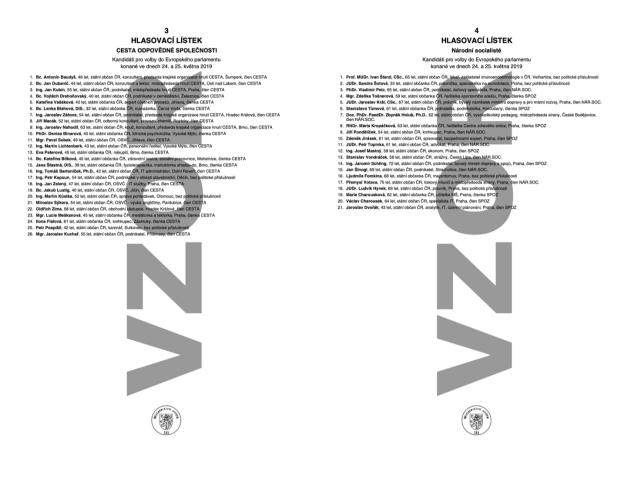
## Cyprus

Cypriot electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/CY\_ballot.jpea</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



## **Czech Republic**

Sample of Czech electoral ballots from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/volby-do-evropskeho-parlamentu-2019.aspx</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



## Denmark

Danish electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://valg.im.dk/media/18446/stemmeseddel-uden-skaeremaerker-epv2019.pdf</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

Betegnelse for opstillingskr

Europa-Parlamentsvalget 2019

## Sæt X i rubrikken til venstre for et partinavn eller et kandidatnavn. Sæt kun ét X på stemmesedlen. Du må <u>like</u> udfylde rubrikken med andet end et X, da din stemmeseddel så bliver ugyldig. Du kan få byttet din stemmeseddel, hvis du skriver forkert. □ A. Socialdemokratiet Jeppe Kofod Christel Schald Niels Fuglsang Jakob Thiemann Mette Poulsen Lasse Holm Grønning Anders Baun Sørensen B. Radikale Venstre Frederik Aagaar Kristian Kirk Ma Jannie Valetntin Poul Elmegård Ole Lynggaard J Kim Pagels Peter Miltersen 5 María Mejse Mo Nadeem Faroog Anton Ebsen Karen Melchie Philip Tarning stian Kirk Mailand Sissel van F Mathias von Jessen Eva Borchorst Mejnertz Amaje Segaard Niejsen Camilla Kampuran ater Miltersen So aria Mejse Morte adeem Farooq C. Det Konservative Folkeparti G. Det Ko Perrile Weiss Al Amilab Jens Kindberg Kuzma Pavlov Jensen Charlotte Libach Lasse Bork Schmidt Louisa Schennemann E Anders Guldhammer Inge C Dino S Jane C Jakob Dina M Thoma Jakob Sejergaard Dina Myrup Raabjerg Thomas von Jessen Henrik Mielke Ravn Louisa Schønnemann Bøttkjæ 🗆 F. SF – Socialistisk Folkeparti Fr. SF - So Margrete Auken Margrete Auken Margrete Auken Marsten Honge Peter Westermann Krather Peter-Hansen Krather Bille Troels Stru Schmidt Rikke Laurtsen Thue Grun-Schwessen Jens Rane Holck Annemette Schenberg Johns Lucias Zikunft Inger Staahl Jensen Allan Norde Pedersen Gil Ozcan Bo Vesterfund Rune Froding Anita Lundgren Fischer 🗆 I. Liberal Alliance Kenny Olsen Lene Foged Rigge Nørmark Karen Westergaard Nielser Charlotte Bie Metter Ande Bo R Mick Henri Anders Burlund Bo Ritterbusch Mick Keller □ N. Folkebevægelsen mod EU Rina Ronja Kari Lave K. Broch Ole Nors Nielsen Karina Rohr Sore Susanna Dyre-G Christian Juhl Jesper Bræmer Erik Bach Thorkil Sohn Åge Staun Jørgen Grøn Mette Langdal Niels Jørgen Bæk P ملحاط لحاط لعالم Carsten Rasmussen Pernille Grumme Hedvig Vestergaard Jean Thierry 🗆 O. Dansk Folkeparti Finn Rudaizky Tina-Mia Erikse Tobias Weische Lone Langballe Charlotte Houg nders Vis Pia Ad René Da UV. Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti Linea Sø Lide Bergur I 🗆 Ø. Enhedslisten – De Rød-Grønne Nikolaj Vilu Eva Flyvho Eva Enokse Jakob Neru Sabrina Lo Torsten Rin Inger \ akob Nerup Maja Alb abrina Louise Ch orsten Ringgaard bias C**l**aus Jeppe Studtmund 🗆 Å. Alternativet Esben Ingerslev Pavia Jacobsen Borge Sejersen Sommer Jørn Grønkjær mus Nordqvist arin Rohr Gen lan Kristofferser usan Kjeldgaard

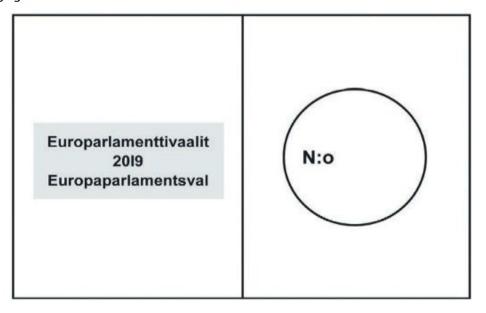
## Estonia

Estonian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/EE\_ballot.jpeg</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



## Finland

Finnish electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/FI\_ballot.jpea</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



## France

Samples of French electoral ballots from 2019 European elections. Source: http://www.ardeche.gouv.fr/bulletins-de-vote-valides-par-la-commission-a8859.html No copyright limitations indicated.



les Verts

INDÉPENDANTE

## Germany

German electoral ballot from 2019 European elections (Land Baden-Württemberg). Source: <u>https://www.europawahl-bw.de/fileadmin/europawahl-</u> <u>bw/2019/musterstimmzettel\_europawahl\_2019.pdf.</u>

No copyright limitations indicated.

## Stimmzettel

Stimmzettel für die Wahl der Abgeordneten des Sie haben 1 Stimme 🚫						
Europäischen P m Land Baden-	arlaments am 26. Mai 20 Württemberg	19	Bitte h			
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Unio	n Deutschlands	ankreuz			
Painer Wieland, McEP, Rechtsa Daniel Caspary, McEP, techn, D Dr. Andreas Schwab, McEP, VB Northert Line, McEP, Philandert	Christlich Demokratische Unio – Liete für das Land Baden-Württem Inzt. Geringen (d. Volkever, Wengarten (Buden) spen-Scheemingen berheim an der Remz	Intergin - B. Apostoso Releasibilit. Underschmar: Disekandarf - Monto Oppert, Regionogrant in der Finanzenwahnung BW, Mareheem B. Huff Balamenen, Prokunstön, Freisungein - Reise der Peter, Unterrechment, Jungsgein D. Songa Greisen, Aussteinist der Geschaftstetung, Heiningen - D. Songa Greisen, Aussteinist der Geschaftstetung, Heiningen - B. Huff Balamenen - Beiter Bei	С			
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei De	10. Sonja Grässle, Austentin der Geschähtsetung, Heinängen utschlands				
Dr. Katarina Barley, McB. Jurist Udo Bullenam, Politikvissenici Maria Maicht, Fachlahrerin, Hau Jens Geler, McD.P. Essen (WW) Delara Barthardt, Scotologin, A	In, Schweich (RP) haffer, Gleben (HC) weintochaftsmesterin, Rosenheim (RV) ngestellte, Siek (SH)	<ol> <li>Bernd Lange, Mrt(P; Burgdorf (NI)</li> <li>Bing Bappel, Mrt(P; Ansteing (NV)</li> <li>D: Orthom Kather, Privateria (VK)</li> <li>D: Distribution Bachell, Fundamier (Socialization (Berlin (BE))</li> <li>Distribution (Bachell, Fundamier Charlows), Common Development (BE)</li> <li>Distribution (Berlin (BE))</li> </ol>	С			
GRÜNE	BUNDNIS 90/DIE GRUNEN		$\cap$			
Franchska Keller, MoliP, Berlin ( Sven Glegold, Wirtschaftswisse Theresa Reintike, DiptPulliciog Reinhard Suttikoler, MoliP, Berl Dr. Hansah Neumann, freiberuf AfD	pr. Mari (NW) in (BE) I. Betateris, Berlin (BE) Alternative für Deutschland	<ol> <li>Marcin Hibrithe, Bolance, Nar Zweiten (H), Avoc Carwaye, Monochowenteront, Breine (B);         Aron, Karwaye, Noncohowenteront, Breine (B);         Arons, Amerikanen, Franzischerten, Hannover (H);         Namos Franz, Galcohistänne, Athudheim (BH)     </li> </ol>	0			
Prof. Dr. Jörg Meathen, Huchso Guido Bell, Steiger, Essen (NW Dr. Maximilan Krah, Rechtsam Lars Gerg, MdL (W), Heidelberg	Alternative für Deutschland - Genelnasme Liste für alle Länder hulterner, Politikas, Acteen (BW) (att. Desden (SR) (BW) (BW) (BW)	<ul> <li>B. Di Constantin Pest, Publicit, Burlin (BE)</li> <li>7. Marius Bachbell, Angesteller, Polionfald (IY)</li> <li>8. Christisch Anderson, Nuchtins, Luhonya, al. Luho (HE)</li> <li>8. Di Sylva Lihmer, Dig, Easoph, Tartzrich, Preseck (IY)</li> <li>9. Di Sylva Lihmer, Dig, Easoph, Tartzrich, Preseck (IY)</li> <li>9. Dir, Di Martz Best, Notekhardusce, Barrister and Far Un Horder, Neuese (NW)</li> </ul>	С			
FDP Nicola Beer, Richtsanwällin, Fr Svenia Halte, PR-Managerin, H Andreas Gliebe, Chrung, Münch Morth Kinner, Mill, Niu Lance	Freie Demokratische Partei - Gemeinaame Liste für alle Länder anter am Main off) gen (fW) hold (Rheidaud) (fW) Setzen (N)	<ol> <li>Or. Thorsten Link, Neothamsell, Frankfurt an Main (HD)</li> <li>Petoterk Month Monlag, Argentimics, Erical (We)</li> <li>Monza, Echterere, Matelierie des Lince, Frankmein, Valender (HP)</li> <li>Monza, Echterere, Matelierie des Lince, Frankmein, Valender (HP)</li> <li>Nocio Billeman, Folder Volumiter, Frankmein, Valender (HP)</li> </ol>	С			
Jan-Christoph Delgen, Mrt. III. DIE LINKE	Sctrum (NI) DIE LINKE – Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder	10. Nocie Billiner-Thief, Voloosintin, Unternetmente, Karisbad (BW)				
Dr. Martin Schirdewan, Politiko Ostern Demiral, Generikschafts Gornalia Ernst, MoliP, Dresden Helmut Scholz, MoliP, DiglPol Martina Michata, MoliP, Berlin	DIE LINKE     - Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder     astretinn, Disastion (RE)     astretinn, Disastion (NN)     (M)	<ol> <li>Ali Al-Dallansi, Restaurisettedmann, Garlien (HE)</li> <li>Clauda Maydd, Friedmannachartharth Tabangen (WF)</li> <li>Maide Freidmann, Koham, Brithin (Harrise)</li> <li>Maider Steller, Schollegen, Physiciter (2014)</li> <li>Maider Steller, Burcharthartharthartharthartharthartharthart</li></ol>	C			
FREIE WÄHLER Utrise Müller, MdEP, Missen-W Eigin Erogiku, Unternetmer, Sch Stephan Weletscheid, Rechtsa Bernhard Banutta, Itd. Angestell	FREIE WAHLER - Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder Warmstättigen met Kohme (RP) met Kohme (RP) ter, Hinchberg an der Begstraße (BW) formationstechnik, Gräfenfalniches (ST)	6. Hundi KBK, Takintonstrine, Liberk (SN) 7. Annett Walter-Allian, victor. Massacin, ned. Bidomosterin, Landobut (BY) 8. Luisia Detector. Students, Grinologi (HE) 9. Fault. NetRik, Angastellis, Galexalizzania (HW) 10. Ins Peterter, Gelexanizzania, Galexalizzania (HP)	С			
PIRATEN	Piratenpartei Deutschland	3 11	~			
Dr. Panick Breyer, Jurist, Kiel () Giltes Berdelais, Angestellter, K Sabine Martiny, Malerin, Debni Björn Niklas Semraa, Politikuis Dr. Franz Josef Schmitt, wiss N	Ch (NW) ck (MW) senschafter, Darmstadt (HE) Starbeiter, Berlin (BE)	8. Absorder Spies Extinangenetación Refri (82)     7. Gragory Regise Litteraturace (1000)     8. Frank Hermann, Regission, Ruthgen (100)     9. Montred Salvanni, R-Borater, West (100)     0. Montred Salvanni, R-Borater, West (100)	C			
Tierschutzpartei Martin Buschmann, Mitteistand Robert Gabel, Politikwissensch Petricia Kopietz, nöd. Facherge Sandra Ramona Purb Lätek, Bür Dr. Jessica Frank, Hechschuldo	PARTEI MENSCH UMWELT TIE – Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder stachsit, Neu Weinster (NI) stellte, Knietwal (MV) stellte, Knietwal (MV) songestelbe, Virtuelle (MV) songestelbe, Virtuelle (MV) songestelbe, Virtuelle (MV)	RSCHUTZ 6. Sonia Die, Ulbring, Industristan/Mau, Brusseh an Rheis (MW) 7. Joinna Wall, Triffmatarsagzi, Bucha (BK) 8. Karla Suame Laster, Junnin, Buckhowing (Int) 9. Joint Weeler, Kendengstattlin, Ehrogen (BY) 10. Sauch Statione, Enrollwichtlinner (MW, Walgenet (JWY)	С			
O ODP Prof. Dr. Kaus Buchner, McEP. Manuela Ripa, Juristin, Saardin Alexander Abd, Polosibeanter, J Jane-Eberhard Jahn, Lehmer, Le Buido Klamt, Dhemotechniker,	Okologisch-Demokratische Pa	rtel 6. Volker Beirendl, Dpl-Finzanwirt, Homburg (HH) 7. Liub Stemmer: Fachringsbirk für Arteshilderung, Berlin (HB) 8. Johannes Stadenfer (Djein, gen. v. Huiser, Mannag-Jacobied (HP) 9. Breade Malain, partn. Einhaldern: Nagen (HW) 10. Angulas Malain, stander. Ling Landernet (HE) 10. Angulas Malain, Stander, Ling Landernet (HE)	С			
1 NPD	Nationaldemokratische Partei	Deutschlands	0			
Udo Voigt, DiplPolitologe, Ber Benny Zeszwik, DiplPolitologe Ricarda Rietting, selbstständig Sebsstian Schmidtke, Kauhran Sascha Rofimüller, treier Journ	, Cottos (BB) Pirnasons (RP) n. Berlin (BE) alst, Ran (BY) Restel (Dr. Arboit, Resolutiontest, T	6. Ante Manteel, Köhnis Johnson (MM)     7. Antes Maine Marthanis Mathematics (MM)     8. Antes Vest, Matepatan, Maha (Th)     8. Ante Vest, Matepatan, Maha (Th)     10. Kan Peter Schlasse, Nummarinen (SH)     10. Kan Peter Schlasse, Nummarinen (SH)     10. Kan Peter Mathematics (SH)     10. Kan Peter Mathematics (SH)     10. Kan Peter Mathematics (SH)	С			
2 Die PARTEI Merte Sonneborn, MdEP, Berli Nice Semsratt, Sachbarbeiterin i Bennet Krieg, Psychologe, Herr Kevin Glübbels, Psychology (8.	n (BE) Iwationstrainer, Hamburg (HH) Had Meinberg (MH) Bad Meinberg (MH) Di L festwarter (MH)	Erschutz, Elitenförderung und basisdemokratische Initiative     Erstas Sper-Stater: Manheim (WV)     Ebelohe Bernen, Hrondung (WV)     Eb	С			
3 FAMILIE Helmut Gesking, Beanter, Kran Nets Gesking, Stadent der Rec Diver Pratz, Erzeher, Barlin (86 Klaus Well, Rentre, Amsberg i Stadetten Henning, Student de	Familier-Partel Deutschlands - Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder kerofreidenstielle Bieteck (WV) hwwssissicht, Aelen (WV) WV) Rechtswissenschaft, Bieteled (WV)	<ol> <li>Michael Gerstewiski, Skutmann für Bindenmun lactor, Mannham (BW)</li> <li>Thomae Wellbeetin, Zurkarpsteffer der Bundenwert, Lessam (BW)</li> <li>Sucher Winkler, Erznier, Elkongen (Japit) (BW)</li> <li>Gebreit Winkler, Erznier, Elkongen (Japit) (BW)</li> <li>Chrank KBM, Elkonhand, Sehn (B)</li> </ol>	С			
4 Volksabstimmun	Ab jetztDemokratie durch Vo	Iksabstimmung - Politik für die Menschen				
Dr. Heimut Fleck, DiplBaunge Claus Plantiko, Oberstleutnant Angelika Geerligs, Taotahrenn, Gerhard Wagner, DiplBaunge	Gemeinsame Liste für alle Lander nisur, Dipl-Wirtschaftsingenieur, Siegburg (WW) a. D., Bonn (WW) Neunkinchen-Seelscheid (NW) nisur, Ratingen (NW)	Iksabstimmung - Politik für die Menschen - S. Moha Benzytseski, Samm und Zabige-Facherkäufeni, Much (KW) - Michael Zissel, Ferdiskufftruck zucham (KW) 8. Were Austrie Ziell, Gebäumdiskuffung, Sacher Aguesin (WW) 8. Ernie Yein Receiveux), Ascher Mein (WW)	С			
5 BP	Bayernpartei – Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder d Abling (BY) dirothen (BY) ehisternonenteter. Kitsingan (BY) wochsennenteter. (Kitsingan (BY)	<ul> <li>Frito Mars Ringelesen Sociationstans I. Claim (8Y)</li> <li>Angela Panya Sellite, Cyc-Scaragan (MY) (Mishaim (8Y)</li> <li>Homor Aliente Tonochomeson (Augustry (8Y)</li> <li>Roma Geiseatellere Donochomeson (8Y)</li> <li>Hald Chara Generatellere (8)</li> </ul>	С			
6 MLPD Lisa Gärtner, Mostatroniseria, Peter Weispierning, Rochtan Erhen Auflek, Anneler, Deister Annele Bluer, Dipt-Landwict, Ki Find Schimmacher, Steverlach	Marxistisch-Leninistische Part	ei Deutschlands 6. Felz Ullmann, Tofer, Redexonnweid (IZA) 7. Gannes Peckiner, Vieterzugrachenn, Gesteinkinen (MA) 8. Marika Gantes-Fingel (St. 2022 antehingen: Gigenkinten (MA))	С			
7 DKP	Deutsche Kommunistische Par	rtei	0			
8 SGP	Commerceanne Laste für alle Länder man, Kandurg (HH) de (BL) ette, Mütheim an der Ruhr (NM) et, Omzöck (N) Sozialistische Gleichheitsparte - Gemeinsame Läste für alle Länder	S. Annos Mando Statistich Franzels, Versionen Statister (1977)     Annos Mannelly, Petrophy, Jacobian, 2011 (197     Comen Verselly, Restauring, announces, Celler (19)     Svelan Element, Angestatist, Anno (197     Werte Naturationale)	C			
Christoph Vandreier, Psycholo Ulrich Rippert, Redskour, Brit Marianne Areaz, Journatistic, F Senet Waren, Scaders, Denin (B Dietnur Gaisankersting, Dol-	- Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder n (E) n (E) Pidapon. Dunturg (NW) + Aktion Partei für Tierschutz - L - Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder m. Disexteri (NK)	<ol> <li>Ettatoh zu entrete-trans Schleerige of Dankes (We)</li> <li>Stranstein Ruhambing, Kranstein ettato, Schleerige (We)</li> <li>Philip Thirtie ett (Social Mark)</li> <li>Alkolas Keis (See Schleerig (K))</li> <li>Alkolas (Berling (K))</li> <li>Alkolas (Berling (K))</li> <li>Alkolas (Berling (K))</li> </ol>	С			
9 TIERSCHUTZ hie Claudia Kräger, Vervallungsen	Aktion Partei für Tierschutz – E – Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder m. Disseber (WK)	DAS ORIGINAL	0			
Caudia Kräper, Verwaltungsver Thomas Schwarz, Dut -Pidago Christine Boll, Handeskauftrau, Wiver Lickey, IT-Minuscherin, Water Hermanez, Rentner, Do Discrachy straillians	or, Recs (W) Lateratat Exiden (\$7) Disester (W) Allianz für Menschenrechte, TI - Cemiçiniarre Liste für alle Länder	Epsile Hermonie Districtin, Dissestant (WH)     Social Control (State Control (State))     Social Control (State) (Statement of Control (State))     Social Control (State) (Statement on the Generalization (State))     Social Control (State)     Mon Distriction (State)	C			
Thomas Mosmann, selbenstine Accel Fassi, Rechtanwalt, Mag Ingeborg Heyding, Verkauftsber Simona Below, Bimokauftrau, Sa Jia Ewalt, Delimeter, Mo	Sp. Turkingend (MM) deburg (GT) mmi, Villagend de skewarper (EW) skibisebasis (Ebel, 193)	Suman Becker, Kutch, Spanithingen (IW)     Phar Simme, Rentral, Cupi -Ingenewa, Schönebeck (Ethe) (ST)     Michael Referer, Transv. Neenderf (Schowback) (ST)     Si Hans People, Rentral, DiplIngenieur, Magdeburg (ST)	С			
1 Bündnis C Arne Gericka, MdEP, Neubourn Andrea, Wolf, sobastinday, N Micha Schilltenhardt, Soroken Di, Rainer Simpa, Act Re Alter	Gemeinsame Liste für die Länder Wi Unit (1% Steinem zinde seinstelle (RP) Komstinge (IW)	Chland 5. File Brist, Landautheaparticiter, Hell (BY) 5. Server Filtz, Landautheapart, Kalagebrann, BY) 6. Henner, Babasekama, Hellandaupar, Bad Esan (No) 6. Hener Helland Linementenskalandaup 6. Hener Helland, Universiteriskalandaupart, Kathenhe (BW) 10. Kalas-Juligen Raphael, Programmanager, Kathenhe (BW)	С			
22 BIG Halok Yildiz, Unternehmensber Nits von Bergner, Rechtsamste Isnet All, Facharzh Sir Allegenei Isnet Misiefließte, DiplIngene Sata Olevië, Writschaftsinform	Summing for minovation & Geren	Source on approximation of the second s	C			
Ismet Miskrlieğle, Dipl -Ingenie	mmonum, Westladen (HE) rut, Berlin (BE) atiker, Hamburg (HH)	<ul> <li>b. Nama Hallipa, Journalist, Borne (Wey)</li> <li>S. Tarak Mitibaa, Opi-Imperieur, Stungart (IW)</li> <li>t. Cinadudio: Berginadi, Augonart, Essen (KW)</li> </ul>	0			

Demokratie DIREKTI - Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder - tudent, Erlurt (TH) )	6. Michael Neck-Roth, Student, Leipzig (SN) 7. Lukas Hanger, Schüler, Erturt (TH)	$\bigcirc$
r, Gera (TH)		$\cup$
Demokratie in Europa - DiEM25		
issenschaftler, Berlin (BE) (Österreich) (BE) Berlin (BE) hoffler, Berlin (BE)	<ol> <li>Regine Deutsch, Erzieherin, Landau in der Pfatz (RP)</li> <li>Marisa Wendt, Autorin, Regisseurin, Legdoj (SN)</li> <li>Kristifna Ander, Kommunkations- und Rachnathigkabsexpertin, München (BY)</li> <li>Jonna Benewicka, akadem. Mitzebaterin, Berlin (EE)</li> <li>Thomas Beineker Kindest Uliventum (ME)</li> </ol>	0
DER DRITTE WEG	The manual determine, analysis, manufacture (ris)	-
nthal (RP) Ingermünde (88) ern (58)	Rice DMMer. Male: Lackiens: Placen (SN)     7. Orsistan UMshela: Handwerkonstate: (Scholarunn i Steigerwald (BY)     8. Jamine Beakardt, Maleria, Schondord (BY)     9. Into Deak, selbschildung, (Despackerzer (BY)     10. Savata, Bandhard, automotionic Fram, (BY)	0
Die Grauen - Für alle Generation	nen	
- Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder - (8E) h (8E) N) (16)	6. Unsula Schade, Buchhalterin, Berlin (BE) 7. Gabriela Götte, medtechn. Radologieassistentin, Bad Berka (TH) 8. Daniela Frank, Kunthau im Gesundheltsweten, Berlin (EC) 9. Wollgan Peede, Groß- und Aufenhandrikkauman, Hamburg OH)	$\bigcirc$
ternigsdorf (88)	10. Stephanie Liermann, Bürokauftrau, Berlin (BE)	
DIE RECHTE – Partei für Volksal – Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder – Marbeitein, Viotho (NW) Disseldort (NW) im (MV)	bstimmung, Souveranität und Heimatschutz 6. Christian Maleel, Schriftster, Gewennich (WW) 7. Sanch, Renging, Diol. Juris, Dentmund (WV) 8. Philipe Hasselback, Unternehmer, Strabulog (WV) 9. Christion, Demer Vicehaudekabelter, Dirthmund (WV)	$\bigcirc$
Imann, Dortmund (NW)	10. Markus Waller, Wirtschaftsfachwirt, Kerpen (NW)	
nen (BY) Derhausen (NW)	6. Bernhard <b>Miermann</b> , DiplInformatiker, Fürstenfektbruck (RY) 7. Andreze Hillerak, Genezargzbegister, Ex-In-Peer, Berlin (BE) 8. Camel <b>Hiller</b> , Extensione, Bendorf (IPP) 9. Kamil <b>Challer</b> , Scientisch, Genezaren (KW)	0
Europäische Partei LIEBE		
- Genetinsame Liste für alle Lander - r, Düsseldorf (NW) hrer, Bisne (NM) 15- und Krankenpflegerin, Bären (NW) ffreu, Bedturg (NW) s (NW)	<ol> <li>Lines Niederhaus, zahrmod. Fachargestellts, chir. Assistenz, Bad Wännenberg (NW)</li> <li>Nergerka Hoffmann, Absordisgerin, Bielekki (NW)</li> <li>Sergerk Kutsow, Ingenicut, Kathnabrag (HH)</li> <li>Marginita Wartmann, Rochtsreiterenärin, Hambarg (HH)</li> <li>Olessand: Ediadan, Lehrer, Oberammergua (HH)</li> </ol>	0
Feministische Partei DIE FRAUE	IN	
- Geffreinsame Liste für alle Lander - Frankfurt am Main (HE) ogi, Schwarmsfield (NI) 9. Metallhütterkunde, Bermen (HB) 8. Schliersee (BY) röffsperin, Sckalberaterin, Felbach (BW)	6. Sigrid Warmer, Verwaltungsangestellte, Berlin (BE) 7. Dr. Michaela Blinder, Biologin, Mirchen (BY) 8. Corina Haurová, Angestellte, Frankfurt am Main (HE) 9. Adelhaid Wahlfart, Phaseholiferin, Wiczaro (BY)	Ο
Graue Panther		
- Generationsame Liste fur alte Lander - nr, Geschäftslührer, Disseldorf (NW) im (RP) straz (NW) n, Nichauten (BW) W0	6. Anja Mastranikolas, psychol. Benterin, Erkelenz (IWV) 7. Juschim Altenhofer, Diul-Pflagseldagog, Homburg (SL) 8. Anna Bürne, Rentenin, Wagereg (IWV) 9. Tomas Bardl, Renten, Ludwigsburg (IWV) 10. Erich Richard Walderer, Verlagsaufmann, Berleitsburd I. R., Ludwigsburg (IWV)	0
LKR - Bernd Lucke und die Libe	ral-Konservativen Reformer	
- Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder - ür Volkswirtschattslehre, Winsen (Lahe) (NI) mann, München (BY) ki (BP)	6. Prof. Dr. Holger Schliefe, Universitätsprofessor, Dässelderf (NW) 7. Bernhard Vagel, Studierrata. B., Losstett (NB) 8. Kaharine Klein, DiglVolkevintin, Grassau (BY) 8. Schlarkan Restlaht, Produzentin, Haar (BY)	Ο
Menschliche Welt - für da	to swenn warmer, nateras, zar in wasanai (ow)	
ELI – Gemeinsame Liste für alle L :thorn (HE) Vogt (BW) E) BE)	Jänder – 6. Sahia Adalak, Angestaliter, Berlin (BE) 7. Sylvik Maktewisk, Alm, Angestaliter, Komtal-Mänchingen (BW) 8. Christian Solimikt, Verwahargaargeshilter, Bremertaxen (HB)	0
Neue Liberale – Die Sozialliberal	len	
Neue Liberale – Die Sozialliberal – Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder – issider (WV) Opmmunications, Frankfurt am Main (HE) Hel) Oberhausen (NW) method am Rieb (ND)	6. Jörg-Peter Bayer, Insier Journalist, Kassel (HE) 7. Mailu Tülimaan, Geschütsfährer, Bealz (MV) 8. Dieter Schulz, Perspektivcosch, Berlie (BE)	0
isseldort (NW) Communications, Frankturt am Main (HE) HH) Oberhausen (NW) rankturt am Main (HE)	G. Jörg-Peter Bayer, frisier Journaliet, Kassel (VE) 7. Mahr Tollmann, Geschlichtaffere, Beatz (MV) 8. Dener Schwitz, Perspektivecoch, Reris (BE)	0
Steldord (WW) Communications, Frankfurt am Main (HE) HH) Dischausen (WW) rankfurt am Main (HE) Ökologische Linke	6. Jog-Peter Bayer, freis Journalier, Kassel (HE) 7. Marty Tollmann, Gencikhnikture, Batz (MV) 6. Deter Schwitz, Perspektivecoon, Berlin (BE)	0
ssidor (W) Communications, Farakur an Main (HE) Obshause (NM) askur am Main (HE) Ökologische Linke – Gemeinsame Liste für alle Länder – den (NM) fürt am Main (HE) für lam Main (HE) stri hamargoognah, Fanskurt am Main (HE) art am Main (HE) Partei der Humanisten	Ling-Print Spert, Frank Journall, Konza (HE) Ling-Print Spert, Frank Journall, Konza (HE) Linerr Kehnel, Françastresceh, Konis (BE) Centre Kehnel, Françastresceh, Konis (BE) Centre Kehnel, Françastresceh, Konis (Schwarze) Control (France Kehnel), Konis (Schwarze) Control (France Kehnel), Konis (Schwarze) Control (France Kehnel), Konis (Schwarze) Konis (Kehnel), Konis (Schwarze), Konis (Schwarze) Konis (Kehnel), Konis (Kehnel), Konis (Schwarze), Konis (Schw	0
sector (W) sector and an and a sector and a sector and an and demands with a sector and and a sector and and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and a sector and a sector and demands with a sector and	Ling-Print Spert, Frank Journall, Konza (HE) Ling-Print Spert, Frank Journall, Konza (HE) Linerr Kehnel, Françastresceh, Konis (BE) Centre Kehnel, Françastresceh, Konis (BE) Centre Kehnel, Françastresceh, Konis (Schwarze) Control (France Kehnel), Konis (Schwarze) Control (France Kehnel), Konis (Schwarze) Control (France Kehnel), Konis (Schwarze) Konis (Kehnel), Konis (Schwarze), Konis (Schwarze) Konis (Kehnel), Konis (Kehnel), Konis (Schwarze), Konis (Schw	0
estatori (W) fruitsch an Main (H) H) Worther and Main (H) Worther and Main (H) Worther and Main (H) Worther and Main (H) Molecologische Linke - Genensame Linke fruitsche Ander- (H) Partei der Humanisten - Genensame Linke fruitsche Ander- (H) Partei der Humanisten - Genensame Linke fruitsche Ander- (H) Worther (H) worther (H) worther (H) worther (H) Main (	Ling-Yette Beert, Hann Jonnant, Kazal (H)     Ling-Yette Beert, Hann Jonnant, Kazal (H)     Schmin Phase Michael, Annotetika (H)     Gamma Phase Michael, Annotetika (H)     Gamma Phase Michael, Annotetika (H)     Christian Phase Michael, Annotetika (H)     Christian Phase Michael, Annotetika (H)     Michael Meett, Michael Meett, Michael (H)     Michael Meett, Michael Meett, Michael (H)     Christian Meett, Michael (H)     Christian Meett, Michael (H)	0
catter (%)         ", finished an Main (HE)         ")         ")         ")	S. User Parts Report, Name Journam, Kanzal (M)     S. Deur Sehler, Preparativescoli, Kristi (M)     Schurz, Paratika (Kristi (M))	000000000000000000000000000000000000000
exteering (%)     exteent an Main (%)     extern and (%)		000000000000000000000000000000000000000
exteering methods and a set of the set		000000
exteering (%)     exteent an Main (%)     extern and (%)		0 0 0 0
	handler, finder (19) and (19) Demokratie in Europa – DEMASS - Generation (19) Demokratie in Europa – DEMASS - Generation (19) Demokratie in Europa – DEMASS - Generation (19) Demokratie	https://www.intensional.com/org/10/2003/2003/2003/2003/2003/2003/2003/2

BW = Baden-Wärttsmberg, BY = Bayers, BE = Berlin, BB = Branderburg, HB = Bremen, HH = Hamburg, HE = Hessen, MV = Macklenburg-Vorpommern, NI = Niedersachsen, NV = Nacklenburg-Vorpommern, NI = Niedersachsen, NV = Nacklenburg-Vorpommern, NI = Niedersachsen, SI = Sachsen, SI = Sachsen,

(note: the German ballot is composed of a single, long, rectangular paper sheet. Here it has been divided into two rectangles to fit the page)

## Greece

Samples of Greek electoral ballots from 2019 European elections.

Source: <u>https://magnesianews.gr/slider/evroekloges-klidose-sto-916-i-diafora-nd-syriza-sti-magnisia.html</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



## Hungary

Hungarian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections.

Source: <u>https://kozigazgatas.ujbuda.hu/sites/default/files/category\_header\_files/ep\_szavazolap-08-</u> <u>420x203\_altalanos\_1.pdf</u>

No copyright limitations indicated.



## Ireland

Irish electoral ballot from 2019 European elections (constituency: Dublin). Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/IE\_ballot.jpea</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

**[75]** 31

## PART 4

### FORM OF BALLOT PAPER (Front of Paper)

## TREORACHA

- Scríobh an figiúr 1 sa bhosca le hais an chéad iarrthóra is rogha leat, scríobh an figiúr 2 sa bhosca le hais an dara hiarrthóir is rogha leat, agus mar sin de.
- 2. Fill an páipéar ionas nach bhfeicfear do vóta. Taispeáin cúl an pháipéir don oifigeach ceannais, agus cuir sa bhosca ballóide é.

## INSTRUCTIONS

- 1. Write 1 in the box beside the candidate of your first choice, write 2 in the box beside the candidate of your second choice, and so on.
- 2. Fold the paper to conceal your vote. Show the back of the paper to the presiding officer and put it in the ballot box.

<b>DOYLE – URBAN PARTY - European People's</b>			
Party			
MARY DOYLE of 10 High Street, Knockmore,	Emblem	Photograph	1 1
Nurse.			
Liosta Ionad UP Replacement List			
LYNCH			
JANE ELLEN LYNCH of 12 Main Street, Ardstown,		Photograph	1 1
Shopkeeper.		Fnotograph	1 1
Liosta Ionad JEL Replacement List			
MURPHY - DEMOCRATS - Group of European			
Democrats			
PATRICK MURPHY of 12 Main Street, Ballyduff,	Emblem	Photograph	1 1
Carpenter.			
Liosta Ionad DEM Replacement List			
Ó BRIAIN — CUMANN NA SAORÁNACH			
SÉAMUS Ó BRIAIN as 10 An tSráid Ard, Carn Mór,	Emplom	Photograph	1 1
Oide Scoile.	Linolem	rnotograph	1 1
Liosta Ionad CS Replacement List			
O'BRIEN – NON-PARTY			
EAMONN O'BRIEN of 22 Wellclose Place,			1 1
Knockbeg, Butcher.			
Liosta Ionad EOB Replacement List			
O'BRIEN - YOUNG IRELAND - Liberal Group			
ORLA O'BRIEN of 102 Eaton Brae, Cahermore,	Emblem		1
Solicitor.	Emolem		1 1
Liosta Ionad YI Replacement List			
O'CONNOR - NATIONAL LEAGUE			
CAROLINE O'CONNOR of 7 Green Street,	Emblem	Dhata ana h	
Carnmore, Engineer.	Emolem	Photograph	
Liosta Ionad NL Replacement List			

## Italy

Italian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections (constituency: Central Italy). Source: <u>https://www.europarl.europa.eu/italy</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



# Latvia

Samples of Latvian electoral ballots from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/EP2019\_ballots.html</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

EIROPAS PARLAMENTA VĒLĒŠANAS 2019. gada 25. maijā Jaunā Saskaņa	7"	EIROPAS PARLAMENTA VELEŠANAS 2019. gada 25. maijā "Latvijas Krievu savienība"	
1. Juris Žuravļovs 2. Jānis Kuzins 3. EIROPAS PARI AND		1. Tatjana Ždanoka 2. Andrejs Mamikins Litrofanovs EIROPAS PARLAMENTA VĒLĒŠANAS 2019. gada 25. maijā	1 700
<ul> <li>EIROPAS PARLAMENTA VĒLĒŠ,</li> <li>2019. gada 25. maijā</li> <li>"Saskaņa" sociāldemokrātisk</li> <li>1. Nilo Lix.</li> </ul>	to a partija	Nacionālā apvienība "Visu Latvija "Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK"	ai!''-
<ul> <li>8 1. Nils Ušakovs</li> <li>2. Andris Ameriks</li> <li>3. Boriss Cilevičs</li> </ul>	EIROPAS PARLAMENTA 2019. gada 25. maijā		
<ol> <li>Hegīna Ločmele-Luņova</li> <li>Valērijs Konor</li> </ol>	Zaļo un Zemnieku sav	~	
6. Ausma Cimdiņa 7. Jānis Krišāns 8. Zenta Tretjaka	1. Dana Reizniece-C 2. Raimonds Bergm 3. Ringolds Arnītis	anis	

# Lithuania

Lithuanian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.vrk.lt/documents/10180/670977/Easy+to+read+2019+05+26.pdf/cf1f7cee-d36c-4aed-ad56-1fc2504e9eb3</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

$\bigotimes$	ŽYMĖJIMO PAVYZD	YS	Rinkimų komisijos
PAŽYMĖ		AŠĄ, UŽ KURĮ BALSUOJATE	antspaudo vieta
$O_1$	VISUOMENINIS RINKIMŲ KOMITETAS PREZIDENTO ROLANDO PAKSO UDĖJIMAS"	1. Rolandas PARSAS 2. Rimas ANDRIKOS 3. Vidmantas STANIULUS 4. Algimantas RAŠČIUS 6. Dobása SINKEVIČIUS 7. Nina ŠESTEINIKOVA 8. Justie SVACKIENE 9. Rimantas REKYS 1	Biuletenis privalo būti antspauduotai S. Romas JANKAUSKAS 10. Lina BAKANAITE
$\cap$	IETUVOS VALSTIEČIŲ IR ŽALIŲJŲ IĄJUNGA	<ol> <li>Brenis ROPE 2. Raimondas Saninas MARCIULIONIS 3. Linas KONTRIMAS 4. Laima MOG TOMHLINKS 7. Dainias GAIZAUSKAS 8. Stanys INKELIONAS 9. Jenas JARUTIS 10. Mindaug SARSINICKAS 13. Virgilijas PODERNS 14. Jolanta SMIDITENE 15. Anrydas REKROSIUS 16. R. Lauras STACKVICUS 19. ALAK KORELINE V. O. Meringa RINKSKIEK 21. Laurat FAMIRE R. Lauras STACKVICUS 19. ALAK KORELINE V. O. Meringa RINKSKIEK 21. Laurat FAMIRE R. Lauras STACKVICUS 19. ALAK KORELINE V. O. Meringa RINKSKIEK 21. Laurat FAMIRE RIMAN AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AND AND A</li></ol>	pas BASTAKIS 11. Rüta MILIÜTÉ 12. Rober Jonas VILIONIS 17. Tatjana BABRAUSKIEN
031	IETUVOS ŽALIŲJŲ PARTIJA	<ol> <li>Remisjija: LAPINSKAS 2. Mečys LAURINKUS 3. Jeva SUDRAITE 4. Vytautas NEKROSIUS 6. Marija TAMKEVIČIDTE 7. Saulus Vytas PKSRYS 8. Edmundas GREIMAS 9. Ingo LAURUS 11. Jaana KORABLIOVIENE 12. Mindaugus GAUJAUSKAS 13. Jisratė MA2EIKYTE 14. Linda 16. Austrija JONAITYTE 17. Goldas MAŽGELIS 18. Lina ORANITIET 93. Sigus MECELICA</li> </ol>	5. Laurynas OKOEKIS SONE 10. Albinas ANCIUS
	IETUVOS SOCIALDEMOKRATŲ Partija	<ol> <li>Wilja BLINKEVIČIOTE 2., Rasa BUDBERGYTĖ 3., Jazzas OLEKAS 4., Jalius SABATAUSKAS 7. Ramita POPOVIENE 8., Vitaljus MITDOFANOVAS 9., Binta VESATE 10., Aronas OLOCINAS 13. Modesta PETRAUSKAITE 14. Antanas JODAUGA 15., Antanas VALIONIS 16. Sigistas DO 16. Naistas RUSYS 19. Viadovas ANDRULIS 20. Naida ALEROAVIČENE 21., Juzimas SARIAU</li> </ol>	11. Algindas RASLANAS 12. Dovile ŠAKALI BILINSKAS 17. Margarita JANKAUSKAITĖ
0 5	ĖVYNĖS SĄJUNGA-LIETUVOS (RIKŠČIONYS DEMOKRATAI	<ol> <li>Liadas MAZYLIS 2, Andrus KUBLIUS 3, Radinie MORKÜNAITE-MIKULENIENE 4, Rass JUKNE ANDŠAUSKAS 7, Laima Liuzja ANDENKENE 8, Keytus MASULES 9, Jungis KAZMA 10, Emanne STARKIVICUS 13, Kuja ALEBANTE ABRAMIKIENE 14, Emantas Janes DAGYS 15, Gertare SKA NAMCKAS 16, Saulus PECELIŪNAS 19, Ginzar NARKEV CUTE 20, Denatas JIMAKASKAS 21,</li> </ol>	WČENE S. Audronius AZUBALIS 6. Arvydas Als ZINGERIS 11. Stasys SEDBARAS 12. Kazy ISTE 16. Andrius KUPČINSKAS 17. Andrius
	ISUOMENINIS RINKIMŲ KOMITETAS Lemiamas šuolis"	<ol> <li>Mindaugas KUKLIERIUS 7. YIIma UKBUTE 8, Kamis ALEKNAVICUS 9, Paule BALIRUSA 11, Adomas SABULIS 12, Antanas EUKOSEVICIUS</li> </ol>	ITYTE 10. Darius MESKAITIS
<u> </u>	IETUVOS CENTRO PARTIJA	<ol> <li>Antanas GUOGA 2, Hagis PUTEIKIS 3, Kratupas Augustas KRIVCKAS 4, Virginijus SMIGE 7, Auta ANDRUSKI MICHA 8, Marias KNIMPKINA 9, Megutus SKRIPS' TO, Lorena KRIVSINE'SUL OGENE' 13, Denvis BLAZYTE BAUDER 14, ANDRUS INDERVICE 15, Netras KRIVISION 18, Alfonsar VILOZIONAS 19, Mindaugas KREWCIUS 20, Anastasija Monja ZAKAITE 21, Editu</li> </ol>	6. Asta KANCAUSKAITE 17. Jonas MATULEVIO 1 Merkevičienė 22. Virginija Kriaučiūna
) 8 -	VALDEMARO TOMAŠEVSKIO BLOKAS" - KRIKŠČIONIŠKŲ ŠEIMŲ SĄJUNGOS R RUSŲ ALJANSO KOALICIJA	<ol> <li>Valdemar TOMAŠEVSKI 2. Irina ROZOVA 3. Akanja REKST 4. Zdzolav PALEVIČ 5. Rita TA 7. Romajša POŠEVICKALA 6. Zbigase IDDNSKII 9. Vladimir VLASOV 10. Jarodav NANK 12. Cesiav OSEVISI 13. Andre KlūGMEROV 14. Češiar AMOSTOMATE 15. Akesandr MICI 17. Beata PETKEVIC 18. Alima KOVALEVSKALA 19. Dala GAJIRYTE 20. Albert NARVOIS 27</li> </ol>	EVIC 11. tamara SUKLINA HAILOV 16. Robert KDMAROVSKI 1. Tadeut ANDŽEJEVSKI 22. Andrius ŠARĖ
) 9 I	DARBO PARTIJA	<ol> <li>Wktor USPASKICH Z. Wgilijas UKNA 3. Valentinas MAZURONIS 4. Junina VITKAUSKAI 6. Larisa DMITRIEVA 7. IEV KAČINSKATE - WRONIENE 8. ridas GEDVILAS 9. Marijas VEI UKSUL 12. OgraPODOLSKENE 13. Darijas ULKKAS 14. Eka BANEL 15. Sanda JAKŠTIENI ZABLACKIENE 18. Ameta KRUPNIK 19. Raminta GUDONTE 20. Raja KRUPENINA 21. Vy</li> </ol>	E 16, Vidmantas KRIKSTAPONIS 17, Rima tis KISIELIUS 22, Antanas MAKAREVIČIUS
) 10 .	VISUOMENINIS RINKIMŲ KOMITETAS Stipri Lietuva vieningoje Juropoje"	AXSAMUTAUSAAS 6. Bernardas SATIOVSKIS 7. Arunas STUSKUS 8. Bernoverta KARSAUSKI 10. Broydas ZAGUNIS 11. Junjis MIKAILA 12. Ričiardas PLEŠIKAITIS 13. Raimundas PAL 15. Margarita STARKEVICIOTE	ENÉ 9. Almantas RAŽUKAS JUKAS 14. Gytenis RIMKEVIČIUS
	IETUVOS SOCIALDEMOKRATŲ DARBO PARTIJA	<ol> <li>Gediminan KIRGLIAS 2, Andrius PALIONIS 3, Juozas BERNATONIS 4, Andrius SEDZIUS 5 , Rimante SALASEVICIÚTE 8, Rimantas SINKEVICIUS 9, Jonas PINSKUS 10, Evaldas GUSTAS JUNETAS VILSIONAS 14, AMB GOLCIENE 15, Antrias SKARDAUSI 16, Regina RADVILLEN 18, Migimantas MATULEVICIUS 19, Valdas UKOŠEVICIUS 20, Autimas MAROVICIUS 21, 21, Antras VILSIONAS 14, AMB GOLCIENE 15, Antrias SKARDAUSI 16, Regina RADVILLEN 18, Migimantas MATULEVICIUS 19, Valdas UKOŠEVICIUS 20, Autimas MAROVICIUS 21,     </li> </ol>	5 11. Jolanta GEDVILIENE 12. Neris GERMA IE 17. Eduardas SABLINSKAS Zydrūnas PDYTNIKAS
) 12 .	VISUOMENINIS RINKIMŲ KOMITETAS Vytautas radžvilas: Usigrąžinkime valstybę!"	<ol> <li>Vytauta RADŽVILOS 2. Jarga KARČUMOSKAITE-LAGO 3. Arūnas SVITOUIS 4. Faustas LAT 7. Rais ČERAITIENĖ 8. Egie MIRONCIDEMĖ 9. Audrys KARALIUS 10. Eliqius DZEZULSKIS DU 12. Vytautas BUDNIKAS 13. Marius MARKUCKAS 14. Dainiau Petras PAUKŠTE 15. Irma VA 17. Galina STAŠKEVIČIŪTĖ 18. Kęstutis DUBNIKAS 19. Kęstutis JARAŠIŪNAS 20. Aldona A</li> </ol>	IONYS 11. Algiedas ENDRIUKAITIS Siliauskiene 16. Daina Tamošaitytė
	ISUOMENINIS RINKIMŲ KOMITETAS AUŠROS MALDEIKIENĖS TRAUKINYS"		
14	IETUVOS LAISVĖS SĄJUNGA LIBERALAI)	<ol> <li>Artúras ZUOKÁS Z. Algis CAPLIKAS J. Regimantas OUPALLA 4. Kestutis NENUS S. Rug GORECKI-MICKIEWICZ 7. Jolanta BENULLENE B. Vytautas TARAILE 9. Jonas REPCYS 10:0 11. Gintares GISTAUTAS 12. Auda: NIPARAMUCIOS 13. Vytautas KASETA 14. Navalja SLUA 16. Danius KUDIRKA 17. Kestutis BAGONAS 18. Linas KARPAUSKAS 19. Dainius WARMAS J.</li> </ol>	Gintautas BABRAVIČIUS CHTIČ 15. Olegas BERIOZOVAS
) 16 s	IETUVOS RESPUBLIKOS LIBERALŲ ĄJŪDIS	<ol> <li>Petras AUSTREVIČIUS 2. Viktorija CMILVTĖ-NIELSEN 3. Eugenijas GENTVILAS 4. Annina 6. Martynas INAGEVIČIUS 7. Audione BALMIONIEME 8. Daira JUDOBELIEME 9. vyktartas DMI 11. Autras RUSKYS 12. Egidipa INPECIXS 13. Termas BRARMONKS 14. Martins KAPOČIUS 16. Birute STATKEVIČIENE 17. Nerijus GALVANAUSKAS 18. Žininas GALIMOVAS 19. Kęstu</li> </ol>	NILEVIČIUS 10. Marius GURSKAS 15. Karolis STASIUKĖNAS
) 17 1	ARTIJA TVARKA IR TEISINGUMAS	<ol> <li>Remigips ZEMAITATITIS 2. Vykautas KAMBLEVIČIUS 3. Keitutis BARTKEVIČIUS 4. Andrus JU 7. Martymas GEOVILAS 8. Viaidas BENDARAVIČIUS 9. Robertas BAITROVAS 100. Jolita WIXIDU BABUEVA 13. Rimantos PETULASKAS 14. A. Martina MORTIS 15. Vyhautas IUCUIS 16. Lina 18. staags VAINAUSKAS 19. Rimantas PAŠAKINSKAS 20. Audrene BERESNEVIČIENE 21. Albi</li> </ol>	RKUS 5. Juazas IMBRASAS 6. Algis KALEIN ENE 11. Vidmantas KARABINAS 12. Svetlar
PIRMUMO		Siuos langelius aiškiai įrašyk numerius iš to sąrašo, už kur Kandidatų pavardžių nerašyk	j balsavote.

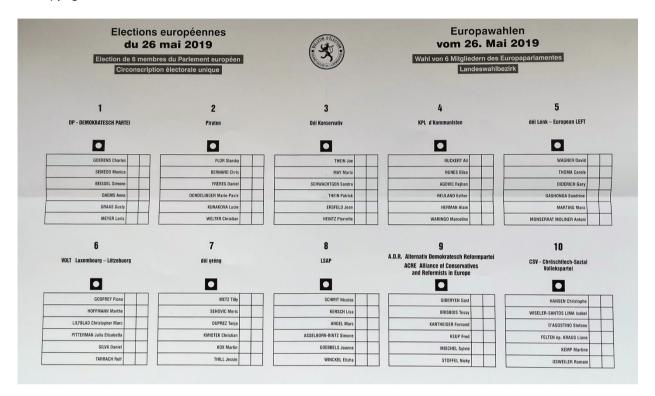
## Luxembourg

Luxembourgish electoral ballot from 2019 European elections.

Source:

https://fr.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:European Parliament election 2019 in Luxembourg, Ballot pap er.jpg

No copyright limitations indicated.



### Malta

Maltese electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: received as pdf directly by the Maltese Electoral Office. No copyright limitations indicated.



....

# Netherlands

Dutch electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.go-rtv.nl/stembiljet-van-a4-tje-het-kan</u>. No copyright limitations indicated.

	16 vot human		
	15 Approximate Approximate		
	14 Paran voie Denserate	- In In Is Is Is Is In The Is Is In The Is	
	13 De Crosseen		the second solution
	12 Denk	Classifier of the second secon	survives when a
	11 		
ei 2019	10 New Line		
STEMBILJET voor de verkiezing van de leden van het Europees Parlement op 23 mei 2019	search of these	Maria California Reserved Rese	
arlemen	8 GROEPH INCE		
uropees F	7 Commission 61.0		
van het E	6 PratAJ Exercise	Marine State 10 Marine	
de leden	5 Receivances Party	A control of the second	
ezing van	4 av		
r de verki	u sees tand to see tand E		
LJET vool	2 CCIA: Earopane		
STEMBI	Annoidaterioja Comercina a		

### Poland

Polish electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/PL\_ballot.jpeg</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

Okręg wyborczy nr		
	KARTA DO GŁOSOWANIA	
(cymbol graficzny komitete wyborczego) w wyborach	do Parlamentu Europejskiego w dniu	r.
LISTY KANDY	DATÓW NA POSŁÓW DO PARLAMENTU E	UROPEJSKIEGO
Lista nr	Lista nr	Lista nr
(nazwa lub skrót nazwy kombetu wyborczego)	(nazwa lub skrót nazwy komilełu wyborczego)	(nazwa lub skrót nazwy komitetu wyborczego)
01	01	01
02	02	02
03	03	03
04	04	04
05	05	05
06	06	06
07	07	07
08	08	08
09	09	09
10	10	10
(nazwa lub skrót nazwy komietu wytorczego)	Lista nr	(nazwe lub skrót nazwy komitetu wyberczego)
01	01	01 🗌
02	02	02
03	03	03
04	04	04
05	05	05
		06
06	06	07
08	08	08
09	09	09
10	10	10
Lista nr	Lista nr	Lista nr
(nazwa lub skrót nazwy komitetu wyborczego)	(nazwa lub skrót nazwy komitetu wyborczego)	(nazwa lub skrót nazwy komitetu wybortzego)
01	01	01
02	02	02
03	03	03
04	04	04
05	05	05
06	06	06
07	07	07
08	08	08
09	09	09
10	10	10
Informacja		$\cap$
<ol> <li>Znajdź listę kandydatów, na którą chces</li> <li>Postaw znak "X" w kratce przy nazwisku</li> </ol>	iz zagłosować. I wybranego kandydata <b>wyłącznie na tej liście.</b>	( pieczęć obwodowej komiuji ) pieczęć
<ol><li>Jeżeli postawisz znak "X" na więcej niż j</li></ol>	ednej liście kandydatów, Twój głos będzie niew	ażny. komisji pieczęć okręgowej komisji wyborczej
<ol><li>Znak "X" to co najmniej dwie linie przeci</li></ol>	nające się wewnątrz kratki.	
		$\sim$

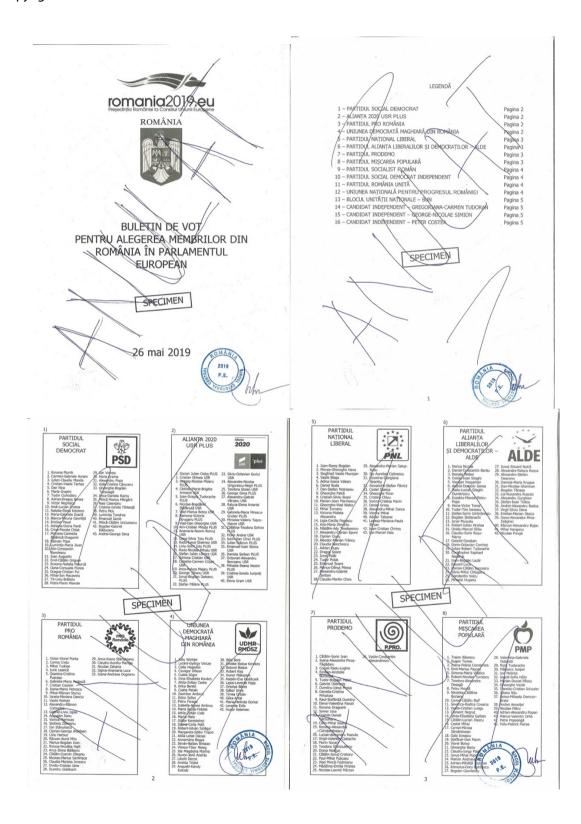
# Portugal

# Portuguese electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.cne.pt/sites/default/files/dl/2019 pe especime boletim voto.pdf</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

ELEIÇÃO PARA O PARLA	MENTO EUROPEU		
Partido Comunista dos Trabalhadores Portugueses	PCTP/MRPP	AND REAL	
Partido Democrático Republicano	PDR	**	
PESSOAS-ANIMAIS-NATUREZA	PAN	×.	
Partido Socialista	PS	Ø	
Aliança	A	ALIANÇA	
Partido Nacional Renovador	PNR	PNR	
Nós, Cidadãos!	NC	nos	
Partido Trabalhista Português	РТР	P	
Partido Social Democrata	PPD/PSD	Ĺ	
Bloco de Esquerda	B.E.	*	
Iniciativa Liberal	IL	ĺ	
Movimento Alternativa Socialista	MAS	MAS	
CDS - Partido Popular	CDS-PP	<b>, *</b>	
Partido Unido dos Reformados e Pensionistas	PURP	PURP	
BASTA!	PPM.PPV/CDC	<b>2</b>	
LIVRE	L	*	
CDU - Coligação Democrática Unitária	PCP-PEV	2	

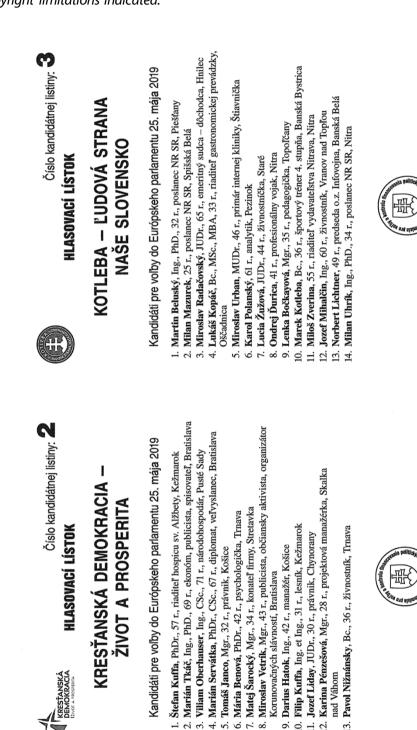
### Romania

Sample pages of Romanian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: the Permanent Electoral Authority's Facebook profile, available at: <u>https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.2221248454627578&type=3</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



### Slovakia

Sample of Slovak electoral ballots from 2019 European elections. Source: received as pdf directly from the Ministry of Interior, from the director of the department for elections, referendums and political parties. No copyright limitations indicated.



2

ë.

5. . ف ø. 6. Ц. 12. 13.

ä

nad Váhom

à

10.

# Slovenia

Slovenian electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://spletnicasopis.eu/2019/05/09/kaksna-bo-glasovnica-na-evropskih-volitvah/</u> No copyright limitations indicated.

A
U
-
z
>
0
S
A
_
5

# ZA VOLITVE POSLANK IN POSLANCEV IZ REPUBLIKE SLOVENIJE V EVROPSKI PARLAMENT 26. MAJA 2019

iatk in kandidatov. Za listo se glasuje tako, da se obkroži zaporedna številka liste. eno listo 62 05 Glasuje

rilko.		
stev		
equo		
pode		
roži zi		
obkr		
ĕ		
ž.		
ē.		
mom		
Ē		
pred		
da se		
ko,		
dati		
seod		
glas		
.Ta		
glas		
inčni		
eler		
e (bi		
elist		
in a		
stali		
redo		
ost pi		
edno		
aje pr		
/ji da		
ki mu		
tko, I		
dida		
/kan		
data		
and		
enegal		
čien		
ozna		
ivec		
a vol		
o volivka oziroma v		
Ka oz		
/oliv		
hko		
a, la		
oval		
glas		
ero je		
kate		
ti, za		
Na lis		
-		

-	2.	3.	4.	S.	6.	7.
SMC starka contraction stranka modernea centra	CIBANE ZEDINENA SLOVENUA	ZELEN SLOVENUE	DDDBRA DDDDDBRA DDDDDBRA DDDDDBRA DDDDDBRA DDDDDBRA DDDDDBRA DDDDDBRA DDDDDBRA DDDDDBRA	SNS slovenska nacionalna stranka - sns	POVEŽIMO SE	LISTA MARJANA ŠARCA
1. Gregor PERIČ	1. Andrej ŠIŠKO	1. Gorazd PRETNAR	1. Peter GOLOB	1. Zmago JELINČIČ PLEMENITI	1. Urša (Urška) ZGOJZNIK	1. Irena JOVEVA
2. Helena CVIKL	2. Anica BIDAR	2. Nada PAVŠER	2. Natalija TRIPKOVIĆ	2. Tomaž KRAJNC	2. Boštjan TAVČAR	2. Klemen GROŠELJ
3. Janja SLUGA	3. Joško JORAS	3. Mirko BRNIČ JAGER	3. Smiljan MEKICAR	3. Jernej AHČIN	3. Josip ROTAR	3. Edis RUJOVIĆ
4. Miha REBOLJ		4. Katarina DEA ŽETKO	4. Mateja ČADEŽ	4. Alenka JELENOVIČ	4. Marjana ŠKALIČ	4. Tina HEFERLE
5. Branislav RAJIĆ		5. Dragan DJUKIĆ	5. Igor GOBEC	5. Marija ŽUPEVC	5. Domen SAVIČ	5. Jasna RUŽICKI
6. Bojana CVAHTE		6. Ines DEŽELAK	6. Simona LESKOVEC	6. Andrej DOČINSKI	6. Karel SROT	6. Luka KOČEVAR
7. Vesna UGRINOVSKI		7. Gregor HORVATIĆ	7. Tilen MAJNARDI	7. Katarina ŽUNKO	7. Nermina SIMONČIĆ	7. Justina ERČULJ
8. Aleš PRIJON		8. Zorica ŠKORC	8. Urška MAKOVEC	8. Ivana BENDRA	8. Petra GREINER	8. Rudi SPRUK
8	.6	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
NOVA SLOVENUA KRSCANSKI DEMOKRATI	SDS SOS STRANKA - 5DS STRANKA - 5DS SUCKESKA LUDSKA SUCKESKA LUDSKA	DOM DOMOVINSKA LIGA	SD SOCIALNI DEMOKRATI - SD	EuropeanLEFT	ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο	<b>SAB</b> Stranka alenke bratušek
1. Ljudmila NOVAK	1. Milan ZVER	1. Bernard BRŚČIĆ	1. Tanja FAJON	1. Violeta TOMIĆ	1. Igor SOLTES	1. Angelika MLINAR
2. Jožef HORVAT	2. Romana TOMC	2. Lucija ŠIKOVEC UŠAJ	2. Matjaž NEMEC	2. Aleksander Sašo SLAČEK BRLEK	2. Damjan STANONIK	2. Jernej PAVLIČ
3. Lojze PETERLE	3. Patricija ŠULIN	3. Norma Marija KOROŠEC	3. Dominika ŠVARC PIPAN	3. Ana ŠTROMAJER	3. Tereza NOVAK	3. Olga BELEC
4. Iva DIMIC	4. Franc BOGOVIĆ	4. Marko OBLAK	4. Milan BRGLEZ	4. Danijel REBOLJ	4. Zdenka GAJZER	4. Andrej RAJH
5. Mojca ERJAVEC	5. Franc KANGLER		5. Neva GRAŠIČ	5. Urška LIPOVŽ	5. Vitomir MAVRIČ	5. Dorde BERAK
6. Katja BERK BEVC	6. Alenka FORTE		6. Franc HOČEVAR	6. Lovro CENTRIH	6. Maja SUŠEC	6. Mateja ZUPAN
7. Franci DEMŠAR	7. Davorin KOPŠE		7. Ljubica JELUŠIČ	7. Alma REKIĆ	7. Peter BORSIC	7. Andrej ŠUŠMELJ
8. Žiga TURK	8. Alja DOMJAN		8. Aleksander JEVŠEK	8. Luka MESEC	8. Vesna DRAGAN	8. Nina MAUHLER

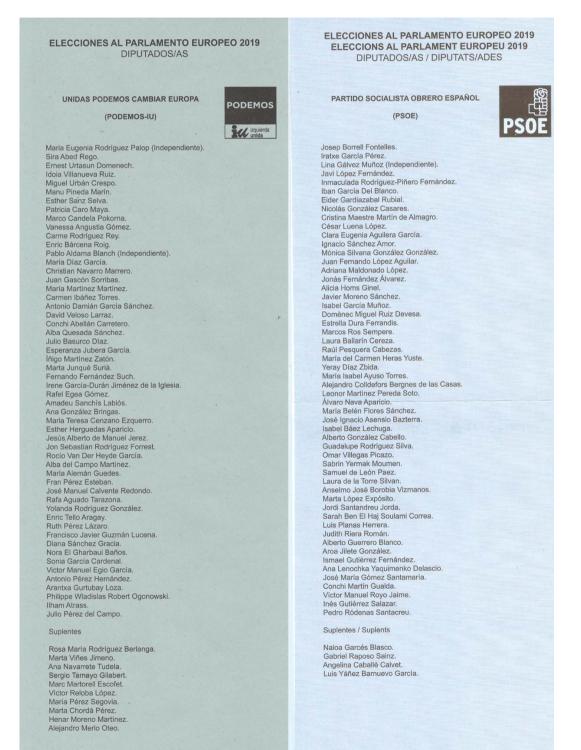
### Spain

### Samples of Spanish electoral ballots from 2019 European elections

Sources: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PSOE Europeas 2019 CV.png https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PODEMOS-IU (elecciones al Parlamento Europeo 2019 -

# Madrid).jpg

No copyright limitations indicated.



### Sweden

Sample of Swedish electoral ballot from 2019 European elections. Source: <u>https://www.kai-friederike.de/materialien/EP2019/ballots/SE\_ballot.jpeg</u> No copyright limitations indicated.



HELA LANDET 1150-17239 This study, commissioned by the European Parliament's Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs at the request of the AFCO Committee, looks into the main obstacles to unifying and modernising European elections in different Member States. It gives an overview of the implementation of Council Decision 2018/994 and highlights, in particular, the importance of the standardisation and harmonisation of electoral ballots as a means to properly inform voters and strengthen the European party system. As a more general remark, the study concludes that the European and national political parties should further strengthen their relationship, a vital element of the European political system that can increase the transnational nature of European elections.

PE 690.964

IP-C-AFCO-IC-2020-13

Print	ISBN 978-92-846-8143-3	doi: 10.2861/616851	QA-05-21-164-EN-C
PDF	ISBN 978-92-846-8137-2	doi: 10.2861/903206	QA-05-21-164-EN-N