

# PANORAMA OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS 2005

AN ANNUAL PUBLICATION OF THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION

*"In any State the authority of the government can only derive from the will of the people as expressed in genuine, free and fair elections held at regular intervals on the basis of universal, equal and secret suffrage."*

- Declaration on Criteria for Free and Fair Elections, unanimously adopted by the Inter-Parliamentary Council at its 154th session (Paris, 26 March 1994)

The *Panorama of parliamentary elections* provides a concise overview of global trends in direct parliamentary elections in 2005.

It covers elections to national parliaments - including single, lower and upper chambers - where people were able to express their opinion by voting for the candidate or political party of their choice. This *Panorama* records three cases where elections were held after a period of interruption of parliament, and one where a parliament was suspended. It looks at the specific context of elections in certain countries such as Lebanon, Germany and Japan, and provides data on the number of registered voters who participated in elections around the world.

Election results led to a change in government in approximately one third of countries holding elections in 2005. Meanwhile, the number of women elected continued to increase in comparison with previous years. Some of the innovative measures to improve voter participation in elections and the representation of minorities in parliament are highlighted. Lastly, the *Panorama* considers the year's electoral events in the light of international standards for free and fair elections.

## AT A GLANCE

- ◆ In 2005, direct elections were held for **46** parliamentary chambers in **39** countries.
- ◆ More than **328,752,500** people voted in parliamentary elections.
- ◆ **7,845** members of parliament were elected by popular vote in 2005. Around 20% were women.
- ◆ **3** parliaments were restored after interruption. The longest break was in Afghanistan, where parliamentary elections took place for the first time in **17** years.
- ◆ **1** parliament, in Mauritania, was unconstitutionally dissolved.
- ◆ **9** of the 39 countries recorded voter turnouts of over 80%, while in **7** countries, the turnout figures were below 50%.
- ◆ **17** countries returned their governments to power. In **7** countries, ruling parties left office following parliamentary elections.

## ELECTORAL SNAPSHOTS



◀ An Afghan woman walks past a wall covered with electoral posters of candidates for the parliamentary elections of 18 September. (AFP Photo/Shah Marai)



▲ A voter casts her ballot during the 4 July legislative elections in Cibitoke, Burundi. (UN Photo/Martine Perret)



◀ In Iraq, indelible ink was used to indicate that a person had voted. (AP/WWP)

## RECONSTRUCTION OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS

Parliament is one of the core institutions of democracy. The year 2005 saw elections leading to the restoration of parliament in three countries, following an interruption that varied from 2 to 13 years.

### Countries without a functioning parliament, 2001-2005

Country	before	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Afghanistan	1992					■
Central African Republic				■		■
Comoros	1999				■	
Guinea-Bissau				■	■	
Haiti*					■	
Iraq				■		■
Mauritania						■
Myanmar	1988					
Pakistan	1999			■		

\*Elections in Haiti, originally scheduled in 2005, took place in February 2006

- Unconstitutional dissolution of parliament
- Restoration of parliament

The people of **Iraq** voted twice; in January to elect their representatives to the Transitional National Assembly that would draft a new Constitution, and again in December to elect a permanent assembly, the Council of Representatives. Despite high levels of violence and calls for boycotts from certain groups, more than 58 per cent of registered electors exercised their right to participate in the first elections since President Saddam Hussein was removed from power. In the December elections, boycotts were smaller in scale and the turnout rose sharply, to around 80 per cent.

Parliamentary elections in **Afghanistan** in September represented a major step in rebuilding the country's shattered institutions. As in Iraq, significant logistical problems were overcome, and people defied the threat of violence by turning out to vote, although participation was noticeably lower than in the 2004 presidential election.

In the **Central African Republic**, parliament was re-instituted in June at the end of a period of military rule. There had been no parliament in the country for two years following the dissolution of the National Assembly in 2003.

In **Liberia**, after two years of transition following the departure of President Charles Taylor, presidential and parliamentary elections in October 2005 offered the opportunity to break with a prolonged period of conflict. With support from the United Nations Mission in Liberia, voting across the country was virtually free of violence, demonstrating the people's desire for peace and democratic governance. In the presidential contest, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf became the first elected female president in Africa.



▲ Lining up to vote in the first round of elections in the Central African Republic. (UN Photo/Evan Schneider)

After numerous delays, parliamentary elections were held in **Burundi**, and marked the conclusion of a long transition period after years of inter-ethnic violence (see box).

International assistance was a common feature of electoral processes in countries emerging from conflict situations. The United Nations Electoral Assistance Division participated in varying degrees in the organization of elections in Afghanistan, Burundi, Iraq and Liberia.

The institution of parliament was not active in certain countries in 2005. The parliament of **Mauritania** was dissolved following the military coup in August 2005. All seats in the lower chamber of the parliament of **Nepal**, which was dissolved in 2002, remain empty while waiting for elections to be held. No elections have taken place in Myanmar since 1990.

## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN THE RECONCILIATION PROCESS IN BURUNDI

The July elections in Burundi represented the final step in the reconciliation process under the Arusha Peace Agreement of 2000, mediated by Nelson Mandela. The previous elections in 1993 were followed by the assassination of the President of Burundi, which triggered years of armed conflict between Hutu rebel groups and the Tutsi-dominated army.

The new Constitution, massively approved by referendum in February 2005, stipulates that 60 per cent of the seats in the National Assembly are reserved for Hutus and 40 per cent for Tutsis, who respectively make up 85 per cent and 14 per cent of the population, while both ethnic groups are to have equal representation in the Senate.

The new electoral law also guarantees ethnic pluralism in political parties: for every three names in sequence on a party's list of candidates in each electoral district, only two can be from the same ethnic group. Furthermore, in a bid to secure significant representation of women, for every five names in sequence on each party's list, at least one must be a woman.

Despite fears that the last active rebel group (the Forces for National Liberation) might attack polling stations, the United Nations Operation in Burundi, which was in charge of supervising the elections, reported that the atmosphere was calm at election time.

Results of the direct parliamentary elections gave 65 per cent of the seats to Hutus and 35 per cent to Tutsis. Of the successful candidates, 24 per cent were women. To respect the ethnic and gender balances stipulated by law, a further 18 members were coopted into the National Assembly, of which 11 were Tutsis and 12 were women. The election by parliamentarians of a new President of Burundi on 19 August effectively put an end to the post-conflict transition period.

## CONTEXT OF ELECTIONS

Most elections are characterized by arguments for and against a change in government. However, some elections in 2005 were dominated by particular issues or events.

The parliamentary elections in **Lebanon** were held against a background of political upheaval following the assassination in February 2005 of the former Prime Minister, Rafik Hariri. The ensuing demonstrations against the pro-Syrian Government led to the end of the 29-year presence of Syrian troops, and parliamentary elections gave a clear majority to the opposition camp, led by Mr. Hariri's son.

Countries with steady economic growth and a low unemployment rate had their own pivotal issues. In **Norway**, voters preferred the opposition's proposal to spend more of the country's oil revenue on welfare to the tax cuts proposed by the incumbent government.

Elections for nine chambers in eight countries were held before the normal expiry of parliamentary terms. The elections that were most advanced took place in **Bolivia** in December, a full 30 months before the normal term of the parliament, after the Government was ousted by a popular movement for the second time in three years.

In **Japan**, snap elections called by the Government worked to the advantage of the parties in power. The Japanese Prime Minister was able to impose his own agenda on the electoral campaign and won a spectacular victory (see box).

Where the elections were not called by the government themselves, early elections often resulted in a change in government. After months of political confusion and economic difficulties in **Portugal**, parliament was dissolved by the President and the government was heavily defeated in the elections.

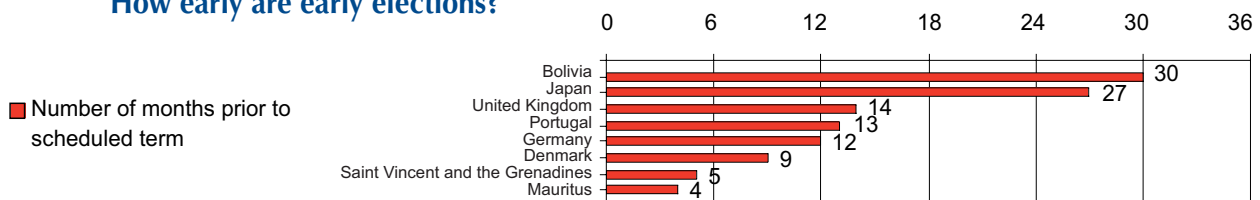
In **Germany**, Chancellor Gerhard Schröder intentionally lost a vote of confidence to enable an early dissolution of the Bundestag. His party was unable to win a majority at the ensuing elections in September (see box on page 4).

## SNAP ELECTIONS REWARD THE PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN

The Prime Minister of Japan, Junichiro Koizumi, dissolved the lower chamber of parliament in August after his postal privatization bill was voted down in the upper chamber (the Sangiin). The bill had been thwarted by rebels within his own party, who later left to set up rival political parties. Mr. Koizumi, who asserted that the privatization bill was at the centre of his reform agenda aimed at ensuring smaller government, responded by putting up his own candidates in the rebels' constituencies. Media coverage focused on the duel between the rebels and candidates endorsed by the ruling party, and the opposition's own agenda was eclipsed.

In the poll, which saw the highest turnout in 15 years, Mr. Koizumi's party emerged with a clear majority, and the ruling coalition even secured the two-thirds "super-majority" that it would need to overcome opposition to postal reform in the Sangiin. One month after the elections, the postal privatisation bill was approved by the Sangiin. Of the 30 Sangiin members of the ruling party who had rebelled in August, 27 voted in favour of the bill the second time around.

### How early are early elections?



### IN BOLIVIA, HIGH TURNOUT FIGURES AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF POPULAR PROTEST

In March, Bolivian President Carlos Mesa stepped down in the face of a movement of popular protest. That was the second time in three years that the President was forced to resign, following the resignation of President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada in 2003. The movement, led by Evo Morales, who had come a close second in the 2002 presidential contest, demanded the full nationalization of the country's gas reserves and improvements in the living conditions of the indigenous majority.

The caretaker President, Eduardo Rodríguez, subsequently called the parliamentary elections more than two years ahead of schedule, on the same day as the presidential election.

During the campaign, Evo Morales led Jorge Quiroga in opinion polls, with approval ratings of a little less than 50 per cent. If no candidate received the absolute majority, the legislature would have to choose between the two leading candidates, as had happened in 2002. More than 80 per cent of the registered voters turned out to vote. Mr. Morales was elected President, the first person of indigenous origin to assume that position. His party, the Movement for Socialism (MAS), became the leading force in the Chamber of Deputies, while Mr. Quiroga's PODEMOS became the largest party in the Chamber of Senators by a narrow margin.



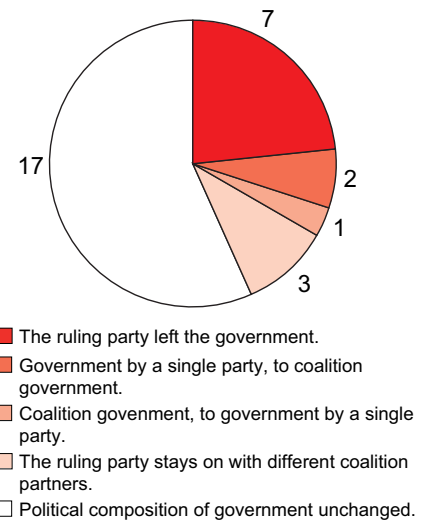
▲ Early presidential and parliamentary elections were held in Bolivia on 18 December. (Organization of American States, Secretariat for Political Affairs)



## POWER SHIFTS

In the majority of elections in 2005, the major ruling party was returned to power. Only in seven countries was the major party in the outgoing government entirely voted out of office. In **Norway**, an alliance of opposition parties defeated the ruling minority coalition. Led by the Labour Party, the alliance formed the first majority government in Norway since the mid-1980s. In **Poland**, where no outgoing government has ever been returned to power since the collapse of the communist regime, the ruling centre-left coalition was overwhelmingly defeated by two centre-right parties in September. However, the two leading parties were unable to agree on a coalition, leaving the Law and Justice Party (PiS) to form a minority government on its own. Parliamentary elections also produced six cases of “partial change” in the political composition of government. Some changes were particularly noteworthy. The case of the grand coalition in **Germany** is described below. Elections in **Thailand** in February resulted in a landslide victory for the largest party in the ruling coalition, allowing it to form a government on its own. On the other hand, in **Liechtenstein**, where there had previously been a government comprising only one party, a coalition came to power after the elections. In **Bulgaria**, the ruling party of the former King Simeon II was defeated, but joined in a grand coalition government under a Socialist Prime Minister. Rumours in **Ethiopia** that the government would be voted out of office proved to be unfounded, although the opposition did win a significant number of seats in parliament for the first time. Violent protests followed the announcement of the election results amid claims of major flaws in the electoral process, that were strongly denied by the government. In **Kyrgyzstan**, a wave of popular protest, following accusations that parliamentary elections had been rigged, culminated in the departure of the incumbent President and government in March.

## Alternation of power after elections in 30 countries



Note: This chart does not include 3 countries where parliament was restored, 2 countries where a transition period ended, and 3 countries where there is no party system (Micronesia, the Maldives and Tonga). Kyrgyzstan, where the government fell shortly after the elections, is also excluded.

### EARLY ELECTIONS LEAD TO GRAND COALITION IN GERMANY

In July 2005, Chancellor Gerhard Schröder orchestrated a negative vote of confidence to enable the early dissolution of the Bundestag after his Social Democratic Party (SPD) suffered heavy losses in state elections. When the federal parliamentary elections were announced, opinion polls gave the conservative CDU-CSU a lead of 20 points over the SPD. By election day, the gap in polling had closed to one percentage point, partly due to voter concerns over the taxation policies proposed by the CDU-CSU.

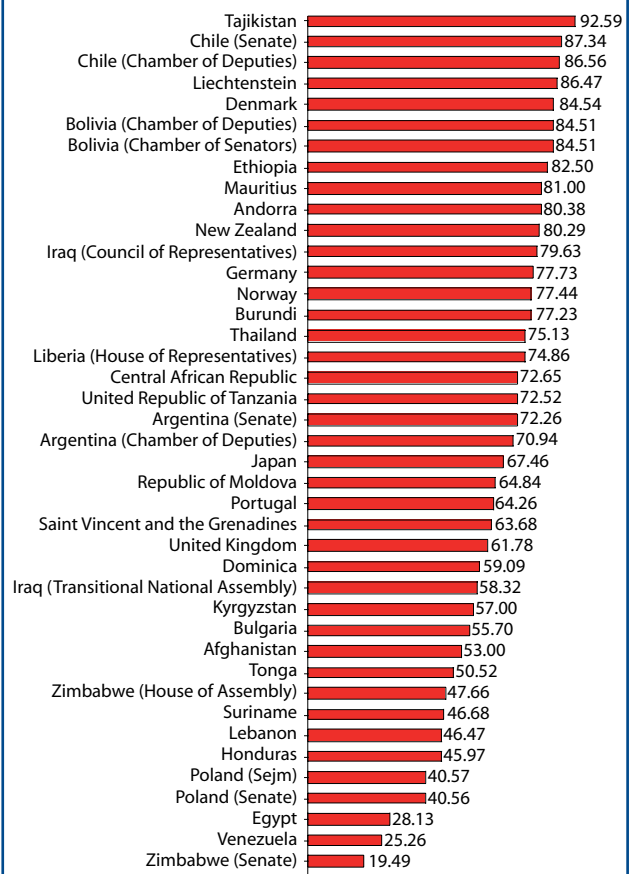
The election results did not produce a clear winner. Although the CDU-CSU held the largest number of seats, it was not able to form a coalition Government with its traditional ally, the liberal FDP. After seven weeks of negotiation, the CDU-CSU and the SPD agreed to form a grand coalition, the first since 1969. A week later, CDU leader Angela Merkel was elected as Chancellor, thus becoming the first woman to assume that post. Half the ministerial posts went to the SPD.



▲ SPD leader Matthias Platzeck, CDU leader Angela Merkel and CSU leader Edmund Stoiber smile after signing the “grand coalition” contract in Berlin on 18 November 2005. (AFP Photo DDP/Marcus Brandt)

## VOTER TURNOUT

### Voter turnout, 2005 (Ballots cast / registered voters, per cent)



## WOMEN IN ELECTIONS

Increases in the ratio of women parliamentarians were recorded in 26 of the 37 parliamentary chambers which held direct elections in 2005. (see note below). Significantly, in 11 chambers, more than 30 per cent of those elected were women.

The **Argentine** Senate saw the largest proportion of elected women in 2005, with nearly 42 per cent. In the 66-member **Zimbabwean** Senate, 20 of the 50 elected seats were won by women. Some 38 per cent of members elected to the **Norwegian** parliament were women.

The largest proportional increases were seen in Latin America. In **Honduras** there was an 18-point increase in the number of elected women, bringing it to 23 per cent.

Of the 39 countries that held elections in 2005 for lower or single chambers of parliament, 15 implemented special measures such as voluntary quotas (adopted by one or more political parties), legislated political party quotas or reserved seats or mandates. The average ratio of women parliamentarians in countries that used quotas in elections during 2005 was nearly double that of those without such special measures: 26.9 per cent, as opposed to 13.6 per cent.

Women also fared well in the elections in several countries where no special measures existed. In **Liechtenstein**, for example, 6 of the 19 female candidates won election, a success rate of over 30 per cent.

The long struggle for full political rights for women in **Kuwait** finally met with success when in May 2005 the all-male Kuwaiti parliament granted women the right to vote and stand for election. Women will be able to participate in the parliamentary elections in 2007.



▲ Voters at the Haile Selassie School check for their names on electoral lists in Stone Town, Zanzibar, United Republic of Tanzania. (AFP Photo/Marco Longari)

Voter turnout in 2005 ranged from 92.59 per cent of registered voters in **Tajikistan** to 19.49 per cent in **Zimbabwe** (Senate).

Of the nine countries which reported turnouts over 80 per cent, three used some system of compulsory voting.

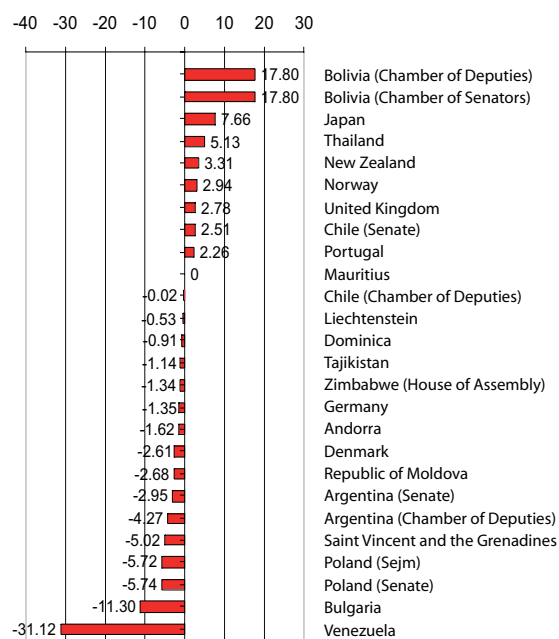
The biggest rise in voter turnout, 17.8 percentage points, was observed in **Bolivia** (see box on page 3).

The low turnout figure in elections to the new Senate in **Zimbabwe** in November can be partly attributed to a boycott by the main opposition party.

Turnout continued to be low in countries which had reported turnouts below 50 per cent in the previous elections.

A sharp drop of more than 30 percentage points compared with the previous elections was observed in **Venezuela**, where opposition parties withdrew, citing concerns about the impartiality of the national electoral commission.

### Difference in turnout between 2005 elections and previous elections, per cent



## WOMEN PROGRESS IN TANZANIAN ELECTIONS

In the United Republic of Tanzania, the proportion of candidates elected to the legislature in 2005 who were women exceeded 30 per cent. This result is noteworthy, as it is the highest percentage of women ever achieved under a majoritarian electoral system. Seats have been reserved for women in the United Republic of Tanzania for several years, and a constitutional amendment passed in 2000 further increased the proportion of reserved seats., in line with the targets set by the Beijing Platform for Action and the Southern African Development Community. Of the 97 seats that went to women, 17 were filled from constituencies and the rest were filled from special seats.

Note: The comparison does not include seven chambers in countries where parliament was restored or where a transition period ended in 2005. The newly created unicameral parliament in Kyrgyzstan and Senate in Zimbabwe are also excluded.

## INNOVATIONS FOR REPRESENTATION AND ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION



▲ In Albania, a blind person reads election material in Braille, which enables secret voting for the blind in parliamentary elections on 3 July 2005. (OSCE/Bernadett Csapo)

Electoral systems and laws are constantly being adjusted to ensure that all components of society are able to participate in the electoral process and to be represented in parliament. In 2005, many countries introduced innovative measures, notably to increase the representation of women in parliament.

Different forms of quotas were introduced to boost women's representation. In September, 45 women parliamentarians were designated by the political parties to join the 300-member Parliament of **Bangladesh**. Another form was adopted in **Afghanistan**, where seats reserved for women were contested in direct elections in each province. Quotas, though, are not the only explanation of women's progress in the political field. They provide for a quantitative leap, but to attain the goal of effective gender equality in politics, quotas need to be accompanied by a series of other measures, which range from awareness-raising to the training of women and the development of gender-sensitive environments.

New electoral measures were also introduced for the representation of minority groups. The Constitution of **Burundi** reserves by cooptation three seats for the Twa ethnic group, which makes up 1 per cent of the population. A special constituency was established for the large Kuchi minority in Afghanistan (see box).

Measures to enhance participation in the electoral process were promoted both in established and new or emerging democracies. The Chief Electoral Office of **New Zealand**, in consultation with the Deaf Association, produced a sign language DVD about the voting process. New Zealand was also the laboratory for interaction between electors and politicians. A non-governmental organization, Internet NZ, invited leaders of parties to an online chat where they could present and defend their policies directly with Internet users. In the **Republic of Moldova**, voter education materials targeting first-time voters made extensive use of TV and radio clips, posters and a special interactive website.

In **Bulgaria**, meanwhile, the creation of a lottery failed to inspire citizens to vote. In fact, voter turnout fell by more than 11 per cent compared with the previous elections.

### 18 SEPTEMBER: AFGHANISTAN ELECTS MEMBERS OF ITS NEW PARLIAMENT

The organization of elections to the Wolesi Jirga (lower chamber) - the first parliamentary elections in Afghanistan since 1988 - presented major logistical challenges. It offered opportunities for maximizing popular participation and representation in the new Assembly.

Special measures were taken to ensure that the traditionally nomadic Kuchi, who were estimated in 2002 to make up around 7 per cent of the population, would be represented. Ten seats in the Wolesi Jirga were reserved for this community, whose members were allowed to register in any province and to vote in a single Kuchi constituency spanning the whole country.

Innovative measures were also required to facilitate voter participation in a country where an estimated 85 per cent of the population is illiterate. A major public outreach campaign included a mobile cinema that travelled across Afghanistan showing a trilogy of films about the elections to the Wolesi Jirga and the provincial councils. To make it easier for voters to identify their preferred candidates on polling day, each of the 2,700 candidates to the Wolesi Jirga was assigned a symbol such as an apple or a cow, to be used during the election campaign and on the ballot paper.

On the other hand, the obligation for candidates to present themselves as individuals, rather than as representatives of a political party, made it harder for voters to identify the candidates' political positions. Moreover, the sheer number of candidates in the larger constituencies - more than 390 in Kabul - sometimes left voters faced with a perplexing choice.



▲ Voting in Secret. Women's Polling Centre, Kabul, Afghanistan. (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan)



## FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS



▲ A member of the election committee at a polling station in Bishkek explains part of the Electoral Code to two voters during parliamentary elections in Kyrgyzstan, 27 February 2005. (OSCE)

adjustments need to be made in the future. Most elections in 2005 were monitored by international and domestic observers.

In 2004, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) adopted Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections, and they faced their first test in 2005. Elections were held in three SADC member countries: Zimbabwe, Mauritius and the United Republic of Tanzania (see box on page 5).

**Zimbabwe** established a new Electoral Commission two months before the elections to the National Assembly in order to meet the demand for the creation of an impartial, all-inclusive, competent and accountable national electoral body. However, its members were directly appointed by the President, and this body coexisted with the former Electoral Supervisory Commission. Moreover, although the SADC observation mission was able to monitor the elections, access was denied to certain international observer missions that had criticized the two previous elections.

The SADC mission commended the professional organization of elections in **Mauritius**, while pointing out the need for arrangements to assist the elderly population, the sick and those with disabilities at the polling stations. Meanwhile, the mission to the **United Republic of Tanzania** noted that electoral officials were meticulous in explaining the procedures to the voters and that special attention was given to women, disabled people and senior citizens while they waited to vote.

The Organization of American States Electoral Mission to **Saint Vincent and the Grenadines** observed good cooperation between party agents at polling stations, which helped to ensure compliance with electoral procedures.

In 2005, international observers called for improvements to one or more aspects of electoral legislation and the way elections were conducted in various countries. The mission of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) to **Kyrgyzstan** reported the violation of principles in candidature, party and campaign rights, including de-registration of candidates and interference with the independent media. With regard to voting, the OSCE mission to **Albania** criticized procedures related to the secrecy of the vote and the checking of voters' identities.

In order for parliament to be truly representative of the people, fundamental principles relating to free and fair elections must be respected. International observation of elections offers a means of raising confidence by verifying their conformity with international standards. Impartial monitoring can therefore help ensure that results are widely accepted, as well as identify points in the electoral process where

## DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES FOR INTERNATIONAL ELECTION OBSERVATION

In October, the IPU joined 21 international organizations in publicly endorsing the Declaration and the accompanying Code of Conduct for International Election Observers in a ceremony at United Nations Headquarters in New York. The Declaration was the result of an initiative led by the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division, the Carter Center and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

The principles set out in the Declaration include the total impartiality of observer missions and the need for comprehensive long-term observation covering the pre-election, election day and post-election periods.

At the ceremony, United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan recalled that "the presence of international election observers - fielded always at the invitation of sovereign States - can make a big difference in ensuring that elections genuinely move the democratic process forward. Their mere presence can dissuade misconduct, ensure transparency, and inspire confidence in the process". He also noted that the Declaration should strengthen the role of the international community in supporting democratic elections around the world.



▲ Kaare Vollan, who headed the OSCE/ODIHR Election Assessment Mission for the British general elections on 5 May 2005, observes counting in Hackney, East London. (OSCE)

## IPU WORK ON CRITERIA FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

In 1994, the IPU led the way in identifying objective criteria for assessing the quality of elections. To do so, it took a rights-based approach by referring to State obligations under international law, such as Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These principles were outlined in a study entitled *Free and Fair Elections: International Law and Practice*, then condensed into a Declaration on Criteria for Free and Fair Elections. Naturally, there have been considerable developments in the literature and science of elections since that time. In November 2004, an International Round Table on Electoral Standards convened by the IPU confirmed the influence of the 1994 study on subsequent work on electoral standards and the continuing value of the Declaration. In March 2006, a new expanded edition of *Free and Fair Elections* was published. It analyses recent developments in law and practice and sets out elements of a future agenda. The elections debate is clearly of growing relevance to all democratic systems.

## SCOPE

This publication covers all direct parliamentary elections in 2005, held upon normal expiry of the term or dissolution of the parliament/parliamentary chamber. It does not cover indirectly elected or appointed parliamentary chambers, or presidential elections per se. Information is provided on presidential elections only when they were held concurrently with parliamentary elections.

All data in the *Panorama of parliamentary elections* is drawn from the IPU's PARLINE database on national parliaments. PARLINE contains information on the structure, composition and working methods of each parliamentary chamber in all countries where national parliaments exist. It also contains data on parliamentary elections, the parliamentary mandate, presiding officers of parliaments and executive-legislative relations. All figures are based on data available on 10 February 2006. Insofar as possible, data has been cross-checked with parliaments.

## EXPLANATORY NOTES

**Voter turnout:** This is calculated as the percentage of voters to registered electors. Voters include those who cast blank or invalid ballots. In electoral systems where electors cast one vote for a geographically small district and one for a geographically larger district, figures for the latter are used. For Germany, Japan and New Zealand, it is the figures for the proportional representation districts that are represented in graphs. Turnout figures are not available for Albania, Azerbaijan, the Maldives and Micronesia. No comparison with previous elections is made where parliament had been dissolved or in a transitional period. Afghanistan, Burundi, Central African Republic, Iraq and Liberia are excluded for this reason. Figures of the previous elections are taken from the *Chronicle of Parliamentary Elections*.

**Power shifts:** Three patterns of alternation in government are considered: *wholesale alternation*, where the main ruling party leave the government, *partial alternation*, where it stays with different partner(s) and *no alternation*, where the political composition of the government does not change. The graph represents only those countries for which alternation in government can be explained in party political terms.

**Members elected:** This figure includes figures from by-elections only where those by-elections were held to fill seats that were unresolved at the main parliamentary elections.

## FURTHER READING

Detailed information on every parliamentary election in 2005 can be found in the PARLINE database and its print version, the *Chronicle of Parliamentary Elections*.

A comprehensive overview of the situation of women in parliament in 2005 is available in the publication, *Women in parliament in 2005: the year in perspective*.

All these publications and many more, including the Declaration on Criteria for Free and Fair Elections and the study on *Free and Fair Elections*, can be downloaded or ordered through the IPU website, [www.ipu.org](http://www.ipu.org).

## ABOUT THE IPU

Created in 1889, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) is the international organization of parliaments of sovereign States. In February 2006, the parliaments of 143 countries were represented in the IPU. Seven regional parliamentary assemblies are associate members.

The IPU contributes to solving conflicts, reversing the global democracy deficit and strengthening the credibility of the institution of parliament. It promotes peace through parliamentary dialogue and diplomacy. It promotes democracy through several action programmes to strengthen parliaments, defend human rights and promote gender equality and women's participation in political life.

It promotes international cooperation by bringing parliaments into closer contact with the United Nations and other multilateral institutions.

The IPU shares the objectives of the United Nations and works closely with United Nations agencies. It also works with regional inter-parliamentary organizations and with international, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations that are motivated by the same ideals.

## List of direct elections for parliamentary chambers in 2005

Afghanistan	18 September
Albania	3 July
Andorra	24 April
Argentina (Chamber of Deputies)	23 October
Argentina (Senate)	23 October
Azerbaijan	6 November
Bolivia (Chamber of Deputies)	18 December
Bolivia (Chamber of Senators)	18 December
Bulgaria	25 June
Burundi	4 July
Central African Republic	13 March
Chile (Chamber of Deputies)	11 December
Chile (Senate)	11 December
Denmark	8 February
Dominica	5 May
Egypt	9 & 20 November, 1 December
Ethiopia	15 May & 21 August
Germany	18 September
Honduras	27 November
Iraq (Transitional National Assembly)	30 January
Iraq (Council of Representatives)	15 December
Japan	11 September
Kyrgyzstan	27 February
Lebanon	29 May; 5, 12 & 19 June
Liberia (House of Representatives)	11 October
Liberia (Senate)	11 October
Liechtenstein	11 & 13 March
Maldives	22 January
Mauritius	3 July
Micronesia	8 March
New Zealand	17 September
Norway	12 September
Poland (Sejm)	25 September
Poland (Senate)	25 September
Portugal	20 February
Republic of Moldova	6 March
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	7 December
Suriname	25 May
Tajikistan	27 February
Thailand	6 February
Tonga	17 March
United Republic of Tanzania	14 December
United Kingdom	5 May
Venezuela	4 December
Zimbabwe (House of Assembly)	31 March
Zimbabwe (Senate)	26 November

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