

THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN ROMANIA (9 DECEMBER 2012)

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ABSTRACT. – **The Parliamentary Elections in Romania (9 December 2012).** This study analyzes the main issues regarding the development and results of the 9 December 2012 parliamentary elections for the setting up of the Romanian Parliament (the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate) for the 2012-2016 legislative period. There was a modest presence of the population at the elections, as the turnout was only 41.76% of the 18,423,066 people registered on the lists. Several political unions, alliances, parties and independents participated and the general electoral threshold was 5% for parties and 8% for alliances. As a result, only two political unions – the Social Liberal Union (**SLU**) and the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (**DUHR**), an alliance – Right Romania Alliance (**RRA**) and a party – People’s Party - Dan Diaconescu (**PP-DD**) succeeded to enter the Parliament. Out of the total number of votes given to these parties, the highest frequency had, by far, the Social Liberal Union (62.08% for the Chamber of Deputies and 62.15% for the Senate), followed in descending order by the Right Romania Alliance with 17.48% and 17.28% respectively, People’s Party – Dan Diaconescu with 14.82% and 15.15% respectively and the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania with 5.44% for the Chamber of Deputies and 5.42% for the Senate (table 1). As a consequence of these results, followed by the redistribution of the votes given to parties which had less than 5% of the electorate options, the final number of deputies and senators in the Romanian Parliament has been established as follows: 273 and 122 for SLU, 56 and 24 for RRA, 47 and 21 for PP-DD, 18 and 9 for DUHR. Regarding **the Chamber of Deputies**, one should mention that 18 deputies of the national minorities were added to the 394 deputies of the parties which succeeded to enter the Parliament, according to the stipulations of the Electoral Law. Therefore, this chamber has **412 deputies** (compared to 334 in the 2008-2012 legislative period). The other legislative chamber, the Romanian Senate, comprises **176 senators** (compared to 137 in the previous Parliamentary period). As a result, **both chambers of the Romanian Parliament** include 588 members (compared to only 471 between 2008 and 2012). Their territorial distribution is highlighted in the tables and figures of this study.

Keywords: *Parliamentary elections, December 2012, deputies, senators, SLU, RRA, PP-DD, DUHR, territorial distribution, counties, geographical-historical provinces.*

1. INTRODUCTION

This study is the eighth which approaches the same issues, published after 1989, when the *Electoral Geography*, a component of the Social Geography in the field

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of Human Geography, as a result of the removal of the former social-political regime in Romania, began to regain its research object and, at the same time, to be permissive for geographical investigation. The first and the sixth study had in view the election of mayors at the elections of 1992 (Banat, Crişana-Maramureş and Transylvania) and 2008 (Cluj County) and were written by Gr. P. Pop and V. Bodocan, while the other six (author: Gr. P. Pop) approach the *parliamentary* (Chamber of Deputies and Senate) and *presidential* elections at national level in Romania in the years 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2009 (see References).

Compared to the situations between 1990 and 2004, when parliamentary elections took place at the same time with presidential elections, two significant changes occurred in the electoral process in Romania since 2008. On one hand, due to the extension of the presidential mandate from four to five years, while the duration of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate is four years, there was a natural separation of the parliamentary and presidential elections, as the former took place on 30 November 2008 and the latter in the autumn of 2009 (22 November, the first round, and 6 December, the second round). On the other hand, in the case of deputies and senators, their election has been made on the basis of uninominal vote, a methodology kept also for the 9 December 2012 elections.

Regarding the quantitative expression of the **parliamentary elections of 9 December 2012**, one remarks the fact that both for the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, *the total number of voters registered on the electoral lists* was 18,423,066, of which 18,180,175 on the permanent electoral lists, 187,682 on the supplementary electoral lists and 55,209 voters asked for the mobile ballot box.

Of the total number of voters registered on the electoral lists (18,423,066 persons), the number of people who actually voted was a rather low one, only 7,694,180, giving a turnout of 41.76%. Out of them, 98.70% represented voters on permanent electoral lists, 1.01% those on the supplementary electoral lists and 0.2% those who voted with the help of the mobile ballot box. Regarding the total turnout, one should mention that a higher turnout was registered in rural areas compared to urban areas, and there were other significant differences from one county to another.

To give a synthetic example, five classes have been distinguished. So, the highest turnout, of **more than 50%**, has been recorded in only three counties in southern Romania: Gorj (54.14%), Mehedinţi (50.14%) and Teleorman (54.73%). The next class, **45.1-50%**, includes also a small number of counties: Constanţa, Dâmboviţa, Dolj, Giurgiu and Prahova. The third group, with a turnout between **40.1% and 45%**, corresponding also to the national average turnout (41.76%), comprises 17 Romanian counties: Alba, Argeş, Bihor, Botoşani, Braşov, Brăila, Buzău, Călăraşi, Galaţi, Harghita, Hunedoara, Ialomiţa, Ilfov, Mureş, Olt, Sălaj and Vâlcea. A turnout between 35.1% and 40% was also recorded in many counties, 15: Arad, Bacău, Bistriţa-Năsăud, Caraş-Severin, Cluj, Covasna, Iaşi, Neamţ, Satu Mare, Sibiu, Suceava, Tulcea, Vaslui, Vrancea and Bucharest City (39.36%). The last group, **below 35%**, includes only two counties in the North (Maramureş, 33.70%) and West (Timiş, 32.50%) of Romania.

The general aspects regarding the approached issue have therefore been assessed. Next, the main issues regarding the elections for the *Chamber of Deputies* and the *Senate* will be analyzed and the study will end with the necessary conclusions.

2. THE ELECTIONS FOR THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

In the voting process, the total number of voters registered on the electoral lists was 18,423,066 persons, while only 7,694,180 actually voted, resulting a national turnout of 41.46%, with values over 50% in three Romanian counties (Gorj, Mehedinți and Teleorman) and below 35% in two Romanian counties (Maramureș and Timiș) as shown (table 2).

The analysis of the results recorded at the elections for the *Chamber of Deputies* underlines the following general characteristics (table 1)²:

The results of the 9 December 2012 parliamentary elections in Romania, for the Chamber of Deputies and Senate, by political organizations

Table 1

Political organizations	Chamber of Deputies			Senate			Both chambers
	No. of votes	%	No. of deputies	No. of votes	%	No. of senators	
SLU	4344288	62.08	273	4457526	62.15	122	395
RRA	1223189	17.48	56	1239318	17.28	24	80
PP-DD	1036730	14.82	47	1086822	15.15	21	68
DUHR	380656	5.44	18	388528	5.42	9	27
Minorities	12947	0.18	18	-	-	-	18
Total	6997810	100.00	412	7172194	100,00	176	588

SLU = Social Liberal Union; **SDP** = Social Democratic Party, **NLP** = National Liberal Party, **CP** = Conservative Party, **NUPR** = National Union for the Progress of Romania; **RRA** = Right Romania Alliance; **DLP** = Democrat Liberal Party, **CF** = Civic Force, **NPCDP** = National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party; **PP-DD** = People's Party-Dan Diaconescu; **DUHR** = Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania.

- taking into account the preservation of the electoral threshold of 5% for parties and 8% for alliances for the accession to the Chamber of Deputies at the 9 December 2012 elections and that the total number of valid votes was 7,409,626, of which 6,984,863 (94.27%) were given to the four political organizations, the *Social Liberal Union* (62.08%), *Right Romania Alliance* (17.48%), *People's Party-Dan Diaconescu* (14.82%) and the *Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania* (5.44%);

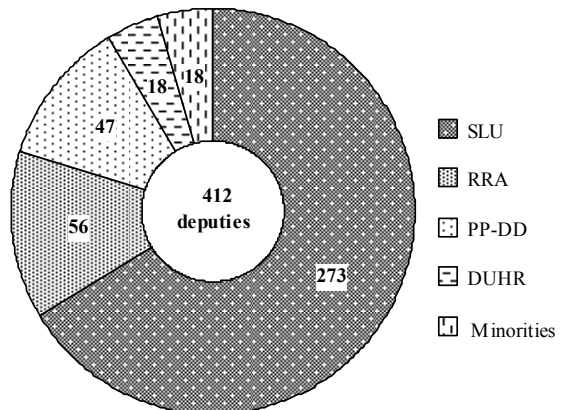


Fig. 1. Repartition of deputies by political organizations, at the 9 December 2012 elections.

² Official Bulletin of Romania, Part I, Year 189 (XXIV) - No. 848, Laws, Decrees, Decisions and other Acts, 14 December 2012.

- to the votes of the four political organizations which entered the Parliament, one should add the 12947 valid votes (0.18%) for the *18 national minorities*, that have the right to have one Member of the Parliament (table and fig. 1);

- according to the legislation in force regarding the elections for the Romanian Parliament, the number of MPs in *the Chamber of Deputies* reached 412 deputies (78 more than the previous number, 334 in 2008), of which 273 (66.26%) belong to the Social Liberal Union, 56 (13.59%) of the Right Romania Alliance, 47 (11.41%) of the People's Party-Dan Diaconescu, 18 (4.37%) of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania and also 18 (4.37%) represent the national minorities.

Regarding the representativeness of the political organizations which entered the Chamber of Deputies, a significant subject is the territorial repartition of the deputies across the Romanian territory which may be assessed, on one hand, at the level of the 41 counties and Bucharest City and, on the other hand, at the level of the eight geographical-historical provinces of Romania: Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Maramureş, Moldavia, Dobrudja, Muntenia and Oltenia.

2. 1. The repartition of the deputies by political organizations and by counties

The number of deputies from different Romanian counties is of course conditioned by the geodemographic size of the county and the turnout of the vote. Table 2 indicates the existing situation.

The repartition of the deputies by political unions, alliances and political parties, at county level at the 9 December 2012 parliamentary elections in Romania

Table 2

Crt. no.	County	TOTAL	SLU	SDP	NLP	CP	NUPR	RRA	DLP	CF	NPCDP	PP-DD	DUHR
1	Alba	5	3	1	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
2	Arad	7	3	2	1	-	-	2	2	-	-	2	-
3	Argeş	12	9	6	2	1	-	1	1	-	-	2	-
4	Bacău	13	10	5	4	1	-	1	1	-	-	2	-
5	Bihor	11	7	3	4	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	2
6	Bistriţa-Năsăud	4	3	2	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
7	Botoşani	8	6	3	3	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
8	Braşov	11	8	4	3	1	-	2	2	-	-	1	-
9	Brăila	7	5	3	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-
10	Buzău	9	7	3	3	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-
11	Caraş-Severin	7	5	2	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-
12	Călăraşi	7	5	1	3	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-
13	Cluj	10	6	2	4	-	-	2	2	-	-	1	1
14	Constanţa	14	10	7	3	-	-	2	2	-	-	2	-

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15	Covasna	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	
16	Dâmbovița	11	8	5	2	1	-	2	2	-	-	1	-
17	Dolj	13	10	6	4	-	-	2	2	-	-	1	-
18	Galați	11	9	5	2	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	-
19	Giurgiu	5	4	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
20	Gorj	8	5	5	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	-
21	Harghita	5	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
22	Hunedoara	8	6	3	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
23	Ialomița	6	4	2	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
24	Iași	16	12	6	5	-	1	2	2	-	-	2	-
25	Ifov	5	4	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
26	Maramureș	9	6	3	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	1
27	Mehedinți	5	4	3	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
28	Mureș	8	3	2	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	3
29	Neamț	10	7	4	1	1	1	2	2	-	-	1	-
30	Olt	9	7	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
31	Prahova	15	10	4	6	-	-	3	3	-	-	2	-
32	Satu Mare	5	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
33	Sălaj	4	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1
34	Sibiu	7	5	3	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
35	Suceava	12	9	5	4	-	-	2	2	-	-	1	-
36	Teleorman	8	6	4	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
37	Timiș	13	9	6	1	1	1	2	2	-	-	1	1
38	Tulcea	6	4	3	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
39	Vaslui	9	7	5	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
40	Vâlcea	8	6	3	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-
41	Vrancea	8	6	4	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
42	Bucharest City	37	28	13	11	3	1	6	4	1	1	3	-
43	Abroad	4	1		-	1	-	2	2	-	-	1	-
	Total	394	273	150	100	12	11	56	53	3	1	47	18

SLU = Social Liberal Union; **SDP** = Social Democratic Party, **NLP** = National Liberal Party, **CP** = Conservative Party, **NUPR** = National Union for the Progress of Romania; **RRA** = Right Romania Alliance; **DLP** = Democrat Liberal Party, **CF** = Civic Force, **NPCDP** = National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party; **PP-DD** = People's Party - Dan Diaconescu; **DUHR** = Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania.

Therefore, if one takes into account the total number of MPs in the Chamber of Deputies from the 41 counties (353) and Bucharest City (37), in the 42 local government units there are 390 deputies. This situation allows us to stress a few general points:

- the highest number of local government units (20, or 47.7% of the total 42) have between **6 and 10 deputies**. At the upper limit (10 deputies) one finds the counties of Arad, Cluj and Neamț, while at the lower limit (6 deputies) only the counties of Ialomița and Tulcea;

- a number of 11 counties (26.3% of the total of 41 counties plus Bucharest City) have between **11 and 15** MPs in the Chamber of Deputies. Prahova County is at the upper limit (15 deputies) while Bihor, Brașov, Dâmbovița and Galați counties are at the lower limit (11 deputies);

- **nine counties** (21.5%) are situated in the low part of the ranking regarding the number of deputies, as they only have either four deputies each (Bistrița-Năsăud, Covasna and Sălaj), or five deputies each (Alba, Giurgiu, Harghita, Ilfov, Mehedinți and Satu Mare);

- a special situation is characteristic for Iași County (2.3% of the 42 local government units) with 16 deputies and moreover for Bucharest City (also 2.3% of the total units), which is represented in the Chamber of Deputies by 37 MPs.

Concerning the weighted representation of the four political organizations which entered the Chamber of Deputies, several significant aspects may also be highlighted at the county level:

- **SLU**, with 69.8% (272 in absolute numbers) of the 390 deputies from the 41 counties and Bucharest City, has **more than 75%** or even more than 80% in the counties of Bacău (76.9%), Buzău (77.8%), Dolj (76.9%), Galați (81.8%), Giurgiu (80%), Ilfov (80%), Mehedinți (80%), Olt (77.8%), Vaslui (77.8%) and Bucharest City (75.7%). The most frequent relative values are those **close to the national average** (69.5%). The lowest values, **60% and under**, are recorded in the counties of Alba (60%), Arad (42.9%), Cluj (60%), Covasna (25%), Harghita (20%), Mureș (37.5%), Satu Mare (40%) and Sălaj (50%). This situation has been determined by the higher weight of the Hungarian population, except for Alba and Arad counties. Taking the analysis to the manner of representation of the four parties comprised in the SLU, one should remark that the *SDP* has deputies in all Romanian counties. The national average of the *SDP* is 55.1% of the 272 SLU deputies. However, the weight is very different from one county to another. Values *over 65%* were registered in Arad (66.7%), Argeș (66.7%), Constanța (70%), Covasna (100%), Gorj (100%), Harghita (100%), Mehedinți (75%), Mureș (66.7%), Olt (87.8%), Teleorman (66.7%), Timiș (66.7%), Tulcea (75%), Vaslui (71.4%) and Vrancea (66.7%) and *under 45 %* in Alba (33.3%), Bihor (42.9%), Buzău (42.9%), Caraș-Severin (40%), Călărași (20%), Cluj (33.3%), Giurgiu (25%), Ilfov (25%) and Prahova (40%). Compared to the *SDP*, the *NLP* has an average of 36.8% of the 272 SLU deputies and the situation is quite different, as one may stress that the *NLP* does not have any deputies in the counties of Covasna, Gorj and Harghita. Weights *lower than 25%* are recorded in the counties of Argeș (22.2%), Brăila (20.0%), Galați (22.2%), Neamț (14.3%), Olt (14.3%) and Timiș (11.1%) and *higher than 45%* in Alba (66.7%), Bihor (57.1%), Botoșani (50%), Călărași (60%), Cluj (66.7%), Giurgiu (75%), Hunedoara (50%), Ilfov (75%), Prahova (60%), Satu Mare (50%) and Sălaj (50%). The other two parties which are part of the SLU, *CP* and *NUPR*, have 11 MPs each in the Chamber of Deputies. The *CP* has one deputy from each of the counties of Argeș, Bacău, Brașov, Dâmbovița, Galați, Ialomița, Neamț and Timiș and three deputies from Bucharest City, while the *NUPR* has one deputy from the counties of Brăila, Buzău, Caraș-Severin, Călărași, Galați, Iași, Maramureș, Neamț, Timiș, Vâlcea and Bucharest City (table 2);

- **RRA**, the second political organization which entered the Chamber of Deputies, has only **13.8%** or 54 deputies out of the total of 390 from the 41 counties and Bucharest City. It recorded higher relative values of 20% or more in the counties of Alba (20%), Arad (28.6%), Bistrița-Năsăud (25%), Cluj (20%), Mehedinți (20%), Neamț (20%), Prahova (20%), Satu Mare (20%) and Sălaj (25%), and under 10% in the counties of Argeș (8.3%), Bacău (7.7%), Bihor (9.1%) and Galați (9.1%). *The Right Romania Alliance* has no deputies from the counties of Covasna, Giurgiu, Harghita, Ilfov and Olt. Regarding the repartition of the 54 RRA deputies by the parties which make up the alliance, it comes out that 51 (94.4%) belong to the DLP and three (5.6%) to the "allies" which helped setting up the "famous" *Right Romania Alliance*, the CF, with one deputy from Botoșani County and Bucharest City and NPCDR, with one deputy from Bucharest City;

- the third political organization – **PP-DD** – succeeded to send a number of 46 MPs to the Chamber of Deputies, representing 11.8% of the 390 deputies from the counties and Bucharest City. The analysis at the level of the 42 local government units shows that this party has no deputies from Bistrița-Năsăud, Covasna, Harghita, Mehedinți, Satu Mare and Sălaj counties, it has two deputies from the counties of Arad, Argeș, Constanța, Gorj, Iași, Olt and Prahova, three deputies from Bucharest City while in all other counties they have one deputy;

- **DUHR** is the fourth entity which has MPs in the Chamber of Deputies, amounting to a total of 18 deputies (4.6% of the 390 deputies from the 41 counties and Bucharest City). Naturally, they represent the counties where there is Hungarian population: Bihor (2 deputies), Cluj (1), Covasna (3), Harghita (4), Maramureș (1), Mureș (3), Satu Mare (2), Sălaj (1) and Timiș (1).

In the present legislative period of the Romanian Parliament (2012-2016), besides the 390 deputies representing the 41 counties and Bucharest City, there are also four representatives of the Romanians living abroad: *Mihai Aurelian* (PP-DD), *Tomac Eugen* (DLP), *Lubanovici Mircea* (DLP) and *Raețchi Ovidiu Alexandru* (SDP), as well as 18 deputies of the national minorities. Therefore, it came to the situation that the Chamber of Deputies consists of 412 MPs.

Regarding the **deputies of the national minorities**, the mandates have been given to the organizations which obtained at least 10% of the electoral coefficient established at national level. Based on this request, the situation of the presence of the national minorities in the Chamber of Deputies, sorted according to the number of valid votes, is the following³:

1. *Democratic Forum of Germans in Romania*, Gañț Ovidiu-Victor, Sibiu , 4.394;
2. *Bulgarian Union of Banat-Romania*, Marcovici Nicolae, Timiș, 1296;
3. *Democratic Union of Slovaks and Czechs in Romania*, Merka Adrian-Miroslav, Bihor, 1055;
4. *Union of Poles of Romania*, Longher Gherbazen, Suceava, 988;
5. *Union of Croats of Romania*, Ghera Giureci Slobodan, Caraș-Severin, 810;
6. *Russians-Lipovans Community of Romania*, Ignat Miron, Tulcea, 801;

³ We mentioned the following: current number, name of the organization of citizens belonging to national minorities, surname and first name(s) of the candidate who received the highest number of valid votes, electoral district and number of valid votes received.

7. *Democratic Union of Turkish-Muslim Tatars of Romania*, Amet Varol, Constanța, 796;
8. *"Pro-Europa" Party of the Roma Association*, Păun Nicolae, Covasna, 589;
9. *Union of Serbs of Romania*, Gvozdencovici Slavomir, Caraș-Severin., 554;
10. *Union of Ukrainians of Romania*, Marocici Ion, Maramureș, 311;
11. *Association of Macedonians of Romania*, Stancu Ionel, Iași, 237;
12. *Greek Union of Romania*, Zisopol Dragoș-Gabriel, Prahova, 206;
13. *League of Albanians of Romania Association*, Manolescu Oana, Iași, 195;
14. *Turkish Democratic Union of Romania*, Ibram Iusein, Constanța, 168;
15. *Cultural Union of Rusyns of Romania*, Firczak Gheorghe, Arad, 150;
16. *Federation of Jewish Communities of Romania*, Vainer Aurel, Călărași, 140;
17. *Union of Armenians of Romania*, Pambuccian Varujan, Bucharest City, 132;
18. *Association of Italians of Romania - RO. AS. IT.*, Grosaru Mircea, Bistrița-Năsăud, 125.

2. 2. The repartition of the deputies belonging to parliamentary organizations by geographical-historical provinces of Romania

The repartition of the deputies and senators of the parliamentary formations at the level of the Geographical-Historical Provinces of Romania⁴

Table 3

Crt. no.	Geographical-Historical Provinces	Chamber of Deputies					Senate					Both Chambers
		SLU	RRA	PP-DD	DUHR	Total	SLU	RRA	PP-DD	DUHR	Total	
1	Transylvania	38	10	6	12	66	19	6	2	7	34	100
2	Banat	17	5	4	1	27	7	3	2		12	39
3	Crișana and Maramureș	15	3	2	5	25	7	2		2	11	36
4	Moldavia	66	11	10	0	87	27	4	5		36	123
5	Dobruđja	14	3	3	0	20	6	1	1		8	28
6	Muntenia	62	11	12	0	85	28	2	6		36	121
7	Bucharest City	28	6	3	0	37	12	3	1		16	53
8	Oltenia	32	5	6	0	43	15	2	4		21	64
	Total	272	54	46	18	390	121	23	21	9	174	564

The Romanian Chamber of Deputies, as shown above, consists of 412 deputies, of which 390 represent the eight geographical-historical provinces of Romania, as follows: *Transylvania* (Alba, Bistrița-Năsăud, Brașov, Cluj, Covasna, Harghita, Hunedoara, Mureș, Sălaj, Sibiu), *Banat* (Arad, Caraș-Severin, Timiș), *Crișana* (Bihor), *Maramureș* (Maramureș,

⁴ In the analysis of the territorial repartition of deputies and senators, we had in view only the 41 counties and Bucharest City, without the 18 deputies of national minorities, the 4 deputies from abroad and 3 senators representing the Romanian diaspora.

Satu Mare), *Moldavia* (Bacău, Botoșani, Galați, Iași, Neamț, Suceava, Vaslui, Vrancea), *Dobruđja* (Constanța, Tulcea), *Muntenia* (Argeș, Brăila, Buzău, Călărași, Dâmbovița, Giurgiu, Ialomița, Ilfov, Prahova, Teleorman), *Oltenia* (Dolj, Gorj, Mehedinți, Olt, Vâlcea)⁵ and Bucharest City, 18 belong to the organizations of the citizens representing national minorities and 4 are the representatives of the Romanians living abroad.

Regarding the political affiliation of the 390 deputies representing the geographical-historical provinces and Bucharest City, one notices a clear difference between the first parliamentary organization and the other three. The first one, the SLU, recorded a number of 272 deputies (69.8% of the total of 390). The second one, RRA, succeeded to enter the Chamber of Deputies with only 54 MPs (13.8%), the third one – PP-DD – has 46 deputies (11.8%) and the last one – DUHR – entered the lower chamber of the Romanian Parliament with 18 deputies, equal to the number of deputies representing the national minorities, above mentioned.

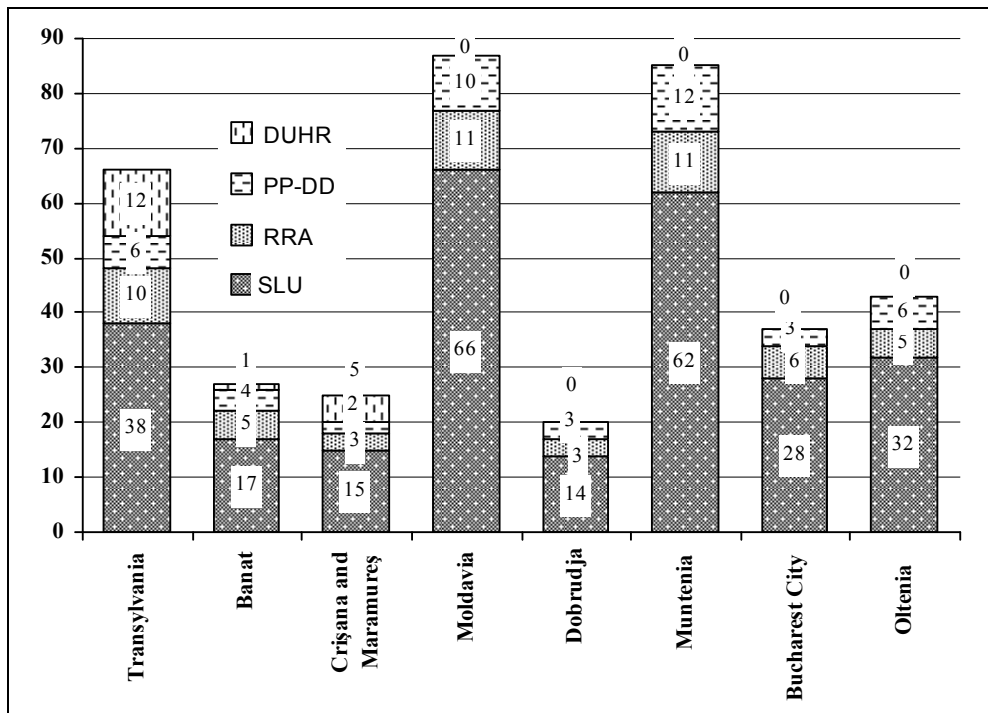


Fig. 2. The repartition of the deputies by political formations and geographical-historical provinces, at the parliamentary elections in Romania on 9 December 2012.

Concerning the distribution of deputies belonging to the four political organizations who made it to the Chamber of Deputies, the analysis at the level of geographical-historical provinces reveals the following peculiar characteristics:

⁵ In tables and graphical representation, Crișana and Maramureș provinces are mentioned together.

- the **SLU** succeeded to obtain more than 55% of the number of deputies in all geographical-historical provinces. Lower values than the national average (69.8%) were registered in the provinces of western and central Romania, *Transylvania*, 57.6% (38 deputies), *Banat*, 63.0% (17 deputies) and *Crișana and Maramureș*, 60.0% (15 deputies). This situation is mainly determined by the presence of **DUHR** deputies. The provinces in the eastern, southern and south-eastern Romania, including Bucharest City, have been characterized by higher values than the national average: *Moldavia* 75.9% (66 deputies), *Dobrudja* 70.0% (14 deputies), *Muntenia* 72.9% (62 deputies), *Bucharest City* 75.9% (28 deputies) and *Oltenia* 74.4% (32 deputies). At the level of the four political organizations which make up the SLU, one may further remark that the highest values belong to the *SDP* and *NPL*, as follows: 52.6% and 44.7% in *Transylvania*, 58.8% and 23.5% in *Banat*, 46.7% and 46.7% in *Crișana and Maramureș*, 56.1% and 34.8% in *Moldavia*, 71.4% and 28.6% in *Dobrudja*, 48.4% and 41.9% in *Muntenia*, 46.4% and 39.3% in *Bucharest City*, 71.9% and 25.0% in *Oltenia*.

At national level, these values are 55.2% and 36.8%. The other two parties composing the SLU do not have more than 3 deputies in any province. The *CP* has one deputy from *Transylvania*, one from *Banat* and three deputies from each *Moldavia*, *Muntenia* and *Bucharest City*. The *NUPR* has deputies from *Banat* (2), *Crișana and Maramureș*, *Bucharest City* and *Oltenia* (1 each) and *Moldavia* (3 deputies);

- **RRA** has a relative score of 13.8% at national level (54 deputies out of the total of 390). It recorded the highest score in *Banat*, 18.5% (5 deputies out of 27), and the lowest score in *Oltenia*, 11.6% (5 deputies out of 43). Values above the average were also registered in *Transylvania* (15.2%, 10 deputies out of 66), *Dobrudja* (15.0%, 3 out of 20) and *Bucharest City* (16.2%, 6 out of 37). Values below the average were recorded in *Crișana and Maramureș* (12.0%, 3 out of 25), *Moldavia* (12.6%, 11 out of 87) and *Muntenia* (12.9%, 11 out of 85). Regarding the distribution of the 54 RRA deputies at the level of provinces, it comes out that all deputies from *Transylvania* (10), *Banat* (5), *Crișana and Maramureș* (3), *Dobrudja* (3), *Muntenia* (11) and *Oltenia* (5) are affiliated to the *DLP*, so 100%. Exceptions from this rule are recorded in *Moldavia*, where this party has 90.9% (10 deputies out of 11) and in *Bucharest City*, 66.7% (4 deputies out of 6). Besides the *DLP*, other two parties were comprised in the RRA in an insignificant measure: the *FC*, which has deputies from *Moldavia* (9.1%, 1 deputy out of 11) and *Bucharest City* (16.7%, 1 deputy out of 6) and the *NPCDP*, also in *Bucharest City* (16.7%, 1 deputy out of the total of 6 affiliated to the RRA);

- the third political organization which accessed the Chamber of Deputies with 46 MPs (11.8% out of the total of 390 deputies) is **PP-DD**. It has representatives from all geographical-historical provinces of Romania. Its highest value was recorded in *Dobrudja*, 15.0% (3 deputies out of 20) and the lowest in *Crișana and Maramureș*, 8.0% (2 deputies out of 25). In between these values, one finds *Transylvania* 9.1% (6 deputies out of 66), *Banat* 14.8% (4 out of 25), *Moldavia* 11.5% (10 out of 87), *Muntenia* 14.1% (12 out of 85), *Bucharest City* 8.1% (3 deputies out of 37) and *Oltenia* 14.0% (6 out of 43);

- the last political organization which entered the Chamber of Deputies is the **DUHR**, which succeeded to gain the number of votes for 18 deputies (4.6% out of the total of 390). They belong naturally to the provinces of central and western Romania, *Transylvania* 18.2% (12 deputies out of 66), *Banat* 3.7% (1 deputy out of 27) and *Crișana and Maramureș* 20.0% (5 deputies out of 25).

3. THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS FOR THE SENATE

The action of electing the MPs in the Romanian Senate on 9 December 2012 developed in the following coordinates: there were 18,423,066 voters enrolled on the electoral lists, then 7,694,180 people who actually voted, resulting a turnout of 41.76%. The number of valid votes was 7,416,628.

Once the results came out, the next step was to group the seats and valid votes given to political organizations. The situation was the following: the *Social Liberal Union* (SLU) obtained 4,457,536 valid votes, gaining 122 seats in the Senate (69.3%), then the *Right Romania Alliance* (RRA) obtained 1,239,318 valid votes and 24 seats (13.6%), *People's Party-Dan Diaconescu* 1,086,822 votes and 21 seats (11.9%) and the *Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania* (DUHR) 388,528 votes and 9 seats in the Romanian Senate (5.1%), amounting to **176 senators** (fig. 3).

As in the case of the Chamber of Deputies, regarding the *Romanian Senate* it is necessary to assess the distribution of senators across the Romanian territory. This may be well highlighted at the level of the 41 counties and Bucharest City (table 4), on the one hand, and at the level of the eight geographical-historical provinces of Romania (Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Maramureş, Moldavia, Dobrudja, Muntenia and Oltenia)⁶, on the other hand.

3. 1. The repartition of senators of parliamentary organizations by counties

This section assesses the essential issues regarding the territorial repartition of the 174 senators representing the 41 Romanian counties and Bucharest City. The other two, to reach the 176 senators who are members of the upper chamber of the Romanian Parliament, were elected by the *Romanian diaspora* (Badea Viorel-Riceard, representing the RRA, more precisely the DLP, and Anghel Adrian, of the SLU, or the SDP respectively).

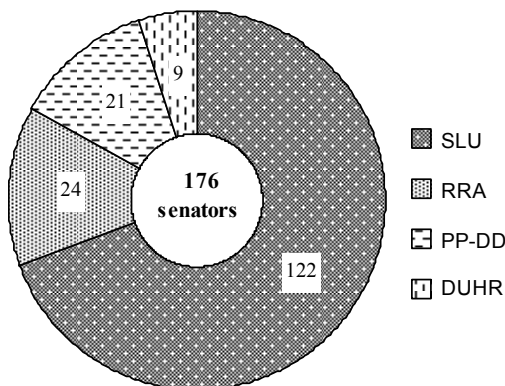


Fig. 3. The repartition of senators on political formations, at the elections from 9th of December, 2012.

Of course, the representation of senators by political organizations at the level of the counties and Bucharest City is characterized by significant differences from one case to another. The highest number of senators is recorded in Dolj, Iaşi and Prahova (7 each), Braşov, Constanţa and Timiş (6 each), Argeş, Bacău, Bihor and Galaţi (5 each), while Bucharest City is by far the first with 16 senators. The lowest number is recorded in the counties of Alba, Călăraşi, Giurgiu, Harghita, Ilfov, Satu Mare, Sălaj, Tulcea and Vrancea (2 each):

⁶ For the generalization of cartographical representation, the provinces of Crişana and Maramureş are merged together.

- thus, the **SLU**, with a general average of 69.3% (122 senators out of 176), recorded values higher than the national average in terms of the number of senators in the counties of Argeş, Bacău, Botoşani, Buzău, Dâmboviţa, Dolj, Galaţi, Hunedoara, Iaşi, Maramureş, Neamţ, Olt, Prahova, Sibiu, Teleorman, Vaslui, Vâlcea and Bucharest City. In some counties, the percentage was 100%, as in Călăraşi, Giurgiu, Ilfov, Tulcea and Vrancea. In other counties, the relative value was 50%, as in Alba, Cluj, Mureş, Satu Mare and Sălaj, and even under 50% in Arad (33.3%) and Covasna (33.3%). One should point out the fact that Harghita County is the only one where the SLU does not have any senator. Descending to the level of the parties composing the SLU, one remarks that the *SDP* has an average of 48.4% (59 senators) and it does not have a senator in the counties of Arad, Bistriţa-Năsăud, Călăraşi, Covasna and Harghita. On the other hand, in Satu Mare, Sălaj, Vrancea and abroad it has 100% of the SLU senators. In many counties, the SDP has 50% or less than 50% of the SLU senators, as in Argeş, Bacău, Bihor, Botoşani, Braşov, Brăila, Caraş-Severin, Cluj, Constanţa, Galaţi, Giurgiu, Gorj, Hunedoara, Ialomiţa, Iaşi, Ilfov, Mehedinţi, Mureş, Neamţ, Sibiu, Timiş, Tulcea, Vâlcea and Bucharest City. The SDP has more than 50% in Dolj (60%), Prahova (80%), Buzău, Dâmboviţa, Maramureş, Olt, Suceava, Teleorman and Vaslui counties (in the seven latter it has 66.7%). The second party of the SLU, the *NLP*, is represented in the upper chamber of the Parliament by 49 senators (40.2% of the 122 SLU senators). In many counties it has 50% of the SLU senators, as in Argeş, Brăila, Caraş-Severin, Cluj, Giurgiu, Gorj, Ilfov, Mehedinţi, Mureş, Timiş and Tulcea. It has values below the average in the counties of Bacău (25%), Botoşani (33.3%), Buzău (33.3%), Constanţa (25%), Dâmboviţa (33.3%), Dolj (20%), Galaţi (25%), Maramureş (33.3%), Neamţ (33.3%), Prahova (20%), Vaslui (33.3%) and Bucharest City (33.3%). In the class of counties with 60-80% the following are included: Bihor (66.7%), Braşov (75%), Hunedoara (66.7%), Iaşi (60%), Sibiu (66.7%) and Vâlcea (66.7%). The NLP has 100% of the SLU senators in Alba, Arad, Bistriţa-Năsăud, Călăraşi and Covasna counties but it is not represented in Harghita, Ialomiţa, Olt, Satu Mare, Sălaj, Suceava, Teleorman, Vrancea and abroad.

The repartition of the senators by political unions, alliances and parties at county level at the 9 December 2012 parliamentary elections in Romania

Table 4

Crt. no.	County	TOTAL	SLU	SDP	NLP	CP	NUPR	RRA	DLP	CF	NPCDP	PP-DD	DUHR
1	Alba	2	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
2	Arad	3	1	-	1	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-
3	Argeş	5	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
4	Bacău	5	4	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
5	Bihor	5	3	1	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1
6	Bistriţa-Năsăud	3	2	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
7	Botoşani	4	3	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
8	Braşov	6	4	1	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
9	Brăila	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN ROMANIA (9 DECEMBER 2012)

10	Buzău	4	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
11	Caraş-Severin	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
12	Călăraşi	2	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	Cluj	4	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1
14	Constanţa	6	4	2	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
15	Covasna	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
16	Dâmboviţa	4	3	2	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
17	Dolj	7	5	3	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
18	Galaţi	5	4	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
19	Giurgiu	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	Gorj	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
21	Harghita	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
22	Hunedoara	4	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
23	Ialomiţa	3	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
24	Iaşi	7	5	2	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
25	Ifov	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26	Maramureş	4	3	2	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
27	Mehedinţi	3	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
28	Mureş	4	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1
29	Neamţ	4	3	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
30	Olt	4	3	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
31	Prahova	7	5	4	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
32	Satu Mare	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
33	Sălaj	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
34	Sibiu	4	3	1	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
35	Suceava	5	3	2	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
36	Teleorman	4	3	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
37	Timiş	6	4	2	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
38	Tulcea	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
39	Vaslui	4	3	2	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
40	Vâlcea	4	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
41	Vrancea	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	Bucharest City	16	12	5	4	2	1	3	2	-	1	1	-
43	Abroad	2	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
	Total	176	122	59	49	9	5	24	23	-	1	21	9

SLU = Social Liberal Union; **SDP** = Social Democratic Party, **NLP** = National Liberal Party, **CP** = Conservative Party, **NUPR** = National Union for the Progress of Romania; **RRA** = Right Romania Alliance; **DLP** = Democrat Liberal Party, **CF** = Civic Force, **NPCDP** = National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party; **PP-DD** = People's Party - Dan Diaconescu; **DUHR** = Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania.

As for the *CP*, one should stress that it has 9 senators in the Romanian Parliament (7.4% of the 122 SLU senators), one from each of the counties of Bacău (25%), Constanța (25%), Dolj (20%), Galați (25%), Olt (33,3%), Suceava (33.3%) and Teleorman (33.3%) and two representing Bucharest City (16,7%). The *NUPR* sent 5 MPs to the Senate (4.1% of those of the SLU), 1 from each of the counties of Bacău (25%), Botoșani (33.3%), Ialomița (50%), Neamț (33.3%) and Bucharest City;

- **RRA** has 24 senators (13.6% of the total of 176 at national level) and is therefore the second political organization which entered the Romanian Senate. It has representatives from Bucharest City (3 senators, 18.8% of the 16 representing the capital city), then from Arad County (2 senators, 66.7% out of 3), then it has 1 senator from each of the following 18 counties: Alba, Bihor, Bistrița-Năsăud, Brașov, Cluj, Constanța, Dâmbovița, Dolj, Iași, Maramureș, Mehedinți, Mureș, Neamț, Prahova, Sibiu, Suceava, Timiș and Vaslui, as well as from abroad. In 22 counties the RRA did not receive enough votes to have at least one senator: Argeș, Bacău, Botoșani, Brăila, Buzău, Caraș-Severin, Călărași, Covasna, Galați, Giurgiu, Gorj, Harghita, Hunedoara, Ialomița, Ilfov, Olt, Satu Mare, Sălaj, Teleorman, Tulcea, Vâlcea and Vrancea. Focusing the analysis on the structure of the *RRA*, it comes out that the voters' options were given almost entirely to the *DLP*, which gained 23 senators (95.8% of the 24 affiliated to the RRA). The 24th is member of the *NPCDP*, from Bucharest City (table 4). It comes out that the *CF* did not succeed to be represented in the Romanian Senate. In fact, the very modest results of the *DLP* at these legislative elections were the consequence of a deeply flawed strategy;

- **PP-DD** is the third political organization which succeeded to enter the Romanian Parliament. It has 21 senators (11.9% of the total of 176). Their distribution at territorial level shows that this party is represented by one senator in the counties of Brăila, Caraș-Severin, Gorj and Ialomița (33.3% of the 3 county senators), Botoșani, Buzău, Hunedoara, Olt and Vâlcea (25%), Argeș, Bacău, Galați, Teleorman and Suceava (20%), Brașov, Constanța and Timiș (16.7%), Dolj, Iași and Prahova (14,3%), and Bucharest City (1 senator representing 6.3% of the 16 senators of the capital city). It comes out that the *PP-DD* did not succeed to have any MPs in the Romanian Senate from the following 21 counties: Alba, Arad, Bihor, Bistrița-Năsăud, Călărași, Cluj, Covasna, Dâmbovița, Giurgiu, Harghita, Ilfov, Maramureș, Mehedinți, Mureș, Neamț, Satu Mare, Sălaj, Sibiu, Tulcea, Vaslui and Vrancea and neither from abroad;

- the last organization which succeeded to enter the Romanian Parliament at the 9 December 2012 elections is the **DUHR**. It has 9 senators (5.1% out of the total of 176), coming from counties where there is a higher weight of the Hungarian population, such as Bihor (20%, 1 senator out of 5), Cluj (25%, 1 out of 4), Covasna (66.7%, 1 out of 3), Harghita (100%, 2 out of 2), Mureș (25%, 1 out of 4), Satu Mare (50%, 1 out of 2) and Sălaj (50%, 1 out of 2).

3. 2. The repartition of the senators belonging to parliamentary organizations by geographical-historical provinces

There were 176 senators elected at the 9 December 2012 parliamentary elections, 39 more than in 2008, out of which 174 are the representatives of the 41 Romanian counties and Bucharest City, while 2 senators were elected by the Romanian diaspora at the continental level. Their repartition at the level of geographical-historical provinces

was made according to their territorial and geodemographic size. In descending order, the situation is the following: Moldavia and Muntenia each have 36 senators (20.7% each), Transylvania 34 (19.5%), Oltenia 21 (12.1%), Bucharest City 16 (9.2%), Banat 12 (6.9%), Crişana and Maramureş 11 (6.3%, 5 in Crişana and 6 in Maramureş) and Dobrudja 8 (4.6%).

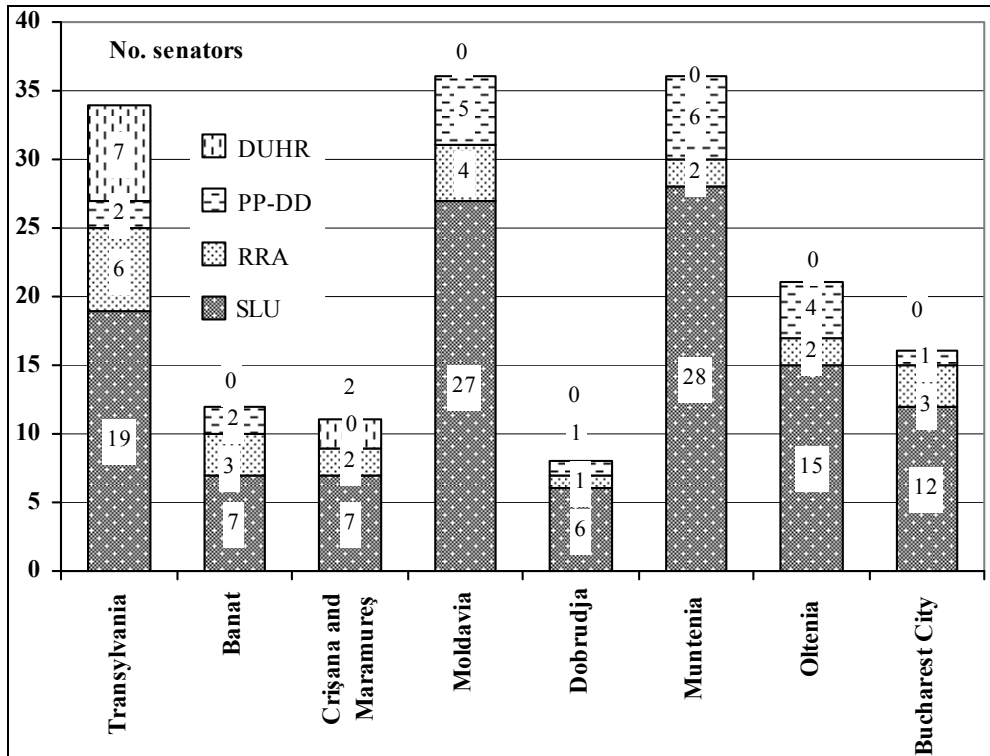


Fig. 4. The repartition of the parliamentary organizations' senators by geographical-historical provinces.

Compared to the national level, the repartition of the senators by political organizations and geographical-historical provinces allows the highlighting of a few peculiarities which deserve to be mentioned, as follows:

- **SLU**, totaling 121 senators (69.5% out of 174) recorded a number of senators above the national average in the provinces of Muntenia (77.8%, 28 senators out of 36), Moldavia (75%, 27 out of 36), Dobrudja (75%, 6 out of 8), Bucharest City (75%, 12 out of 16) and Oltenia (71.4%, 15 out of 21). Its share was significantly lower in the western and central Romanian provinces, such as Transylvania (55.9%, 19 senators out of 34), Banat (58.3%, 7 out of 12) and in Crişana and Maramureş (63.6%, 7 out of 11). Focusing the analysis on the parties making up the SLU, it comes out that the *NLP* has more senators in Transylvania compared to the *SDP* (13 compared to 6) and Banat (4 compared to 3), while

the *SDP* has more senators than the *NLP* in all other provinces, the ratio being 4-3 in Crişana and Maramureş, 13-8 in Moldavia, 3-2 in Dobrudja, 16-10 in Muntenia, 8-5 in Oltenia and 5-4 in Bucharest City. As regard the other two political parties, it should be mentioned that the provinces of Transylvania, Banat and Crişana-Maramureş do not have any representative of the *CP* in the Senate and this party has a low weight in the other five provinces: 11.1% (3 senators out of 27 of the *SLU*) in Moldavia, 16.7% (1 out of 6) in Dobrudja, 3.6% (1 out of 28) in Muntenia, 13.3% (2 out of 15) in Oltenia and 16.7% (2 out of 16) in Bucharest. The *NUPR* gained 3 seats in the Senate in Moldavia (11.1% out of 27 of the *SLU*) and 1 in Muntenia (3.6% of 28) and Bucharest City (8.3% out of 12);

- **RRA**, compared to the national average of 13.2% (23 senators out of 174), recorded higher values in Banat (25%, 3 senators out of 12), Bucharest City (18.8%, 3 out of 16), Crişana and Maramureş (18.2%, 2 out of 11) and Transylvania (17.6%, 6 out of 34). However, it had a score below the average in the provinces of Dobrudja (12.5%, 1 out of 2), Moldavia (11.1%, 4 out of 27), Oltenia (9.5%, 2 out of 21) and Muntenia (5.6%, 2 out of 36). Regarding the results obtained by the three parties of the *RRA*, it comes out that 22 senators out of 23 belong to the *DLP*, and only one to the *NPCDP* (in Bucharest City);

- **PP-DD** had a national average score of 12.1% (21 senators out of 174). It had the best results in Oltenia (19%, 4 senators out of 21), then in Muntenia (16.7%, 6 out of 36), Banat (16.7%, 2 out of 12), Moldavia (13.9%, 5 out of 36) and Dobrudja (12.5%, 1 out of 8). In the other provinces its weight is way below the average, as in Bucharest City (6.3%) and Transylvania (5.9%, 2 out of 34), while this party has no representative in the Romanian Senate from Crişana and Maramureş;

- as regards the fourth parliamentary organization of Romania, the **DUHR**, which has 9 senators (5.2% out of 174), its representation at the level of geographical-historical provinces is very simple, as it obtained 20.6% in Transylvania (7 senators out of 34) and 18.2% in Crişana and Maramureş (2 senators out of 11).

4. CONCLUSIONS

In the following lines, we underlined several essential characteristics of the parliamentary elections in Romania that took place under normal conditions on 9 December 2012:

- the quantitative expression of these elections starts from the total number of voters registered on the electoral lists – 18,423,066 – and the turnout of 41.76% (7,694,180 people who voted). The turnout was higher in Oltenia, Muntenia and Moldavia provinces and lower in Banat, Crişana and Maramureş;

- the total number of valid votes for the *Chamber of Deputies* was 7,409,626 and the following political organizations succeeded to access the lower chamber of the Parliament: the *Social Liberal Union* (*SLU*, 273 seats), *Right Romania Alliance* (*RRA*, 56 seats), *People's Party* (*PP-DD*, 47 seats) and the *Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania* (*DUHR*, 18 seats). Together they had 394 seats (of which 4 represent the Romanian diaspora). To this one should add the 18 deputies of the *national minorities*, so that the total number of deputies is 412 (compared to 334 in the 2008-2012 period);

- then we assessed the territorial repartition of deputies by counties and geographical-historical provinces, well highlighted in the tables and figures (tables 1, 2 and 3, fig. 1 and fig. 2);

- concerning the elections for the *Senate*, the number of people registered on the electoral lists and the turnout were the same as in the case of the Chamber of Deputies. The total number of valid votes was 7,416,628, which allowed the election of 176 senators, two of them representing the diaspora (compared to the 137 senators of the 2008-2012 period). Based on the stipulations of the Electoral Law, the distribution of senators by political organizations has been made. The first organization – **SLU** – received 69.3% of the total of 176 seats (122 senators), followed by **RRA** with 13.7% (24 senators), **PP-DD** 11.9% (21 senators) and **DUHR** 5.1% (9 senators). As in the case of the Chamber of Deputies, the repartition of senators by counties and provinces is well highlighted at a general level in tables 3 and 4 and in figures 3 and 4.

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