

# CONFERENCE

## ON “BICAMERAL SYSTEMS AND REPRESENTATION OF REGIONS AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES: THE ROLE OF SECOND CHAMBERS IN EUROPE”

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### REPORT

#### **FORMS OF REPRESENTATION IN SECOND CHAMBERS: ELECTION PROCEDURES**

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**1. The position of second chambers in european constitutional design:** at some time during the 20th century, the use of second chambers seemed to be condemned to a corner of history, since several european countries eliminated them during the first third of the xxth century (Serbia 1901-1903; 1917 Russia; 1917 Finland; 1926 Portugal; 1928 Albania; 1949 Malta; 1982 Turkey). However, drafters of new constitutions after 1945 have shown themselves kin on having second chambers, a path continued also at the end of the xxth century in new constitutions. Thus, rather than being an extraordinary feature of european

political system, it has become a common one: not least than 17 European states have second chambers.<sup>1</sup> There is a certain correspondence between the size of states and having a second chamber: generally speaking, large countries do tend to have second chambers. In Europe, the largest countries to have a unicameral parliament are Greece, with 11 million inhabitants, and Portugal, with 10.5 million. Despite this trend, second chambers are disputed. Usually, their operative costs and the delays in passing legislation are arguments used against them. In fact, second chambers have been suppressed in some European countries (2000 Croatia) and, not surprisingly, a number of second chambers have been considered for reform in the last years: the Spanish Senate, the House of Lords, the Irish Seanad and the German Bundesrat.

2. *Composition and election*: it is very difficult to identify a pattern and there is an extraordinary heterogeneity of models for selecting the members of second chambers. Decision on how to select a second chamber is context-dependent and it results from pondering, on the one hand, the functions assigned to the chamber with the historical traditions on institutional representation, on the other hand. Additionally, two other factors have influenced the composition and election procedures of second chambers. The first is the powerful trend towards decentralization and regionalization which almost all European countries have adopted with an enormous variety of constitutional modalities (federal, quasi-federal, regional, devolution, decentralization, etc.). A second and very important factor is the domination of the political life of European states by political parties (turning modern states into what the Spanish constitutional lawyer García Pelayo called the “state of parties”). As it is well known, political parties model electoral systems as to maximize their results and even though the opposite also holds true (i.e. electoral systems model party systems), it seems evident for most cases that the calculations of political parties influences the design of election procedures for second chambers.

3. Without aiming at proposing an exhaustive classification (and accepting the imperfection of grouping together countries with substantial variation), there are 6 categories for grouping together election procedures.

## **1. DIRECT ELECTION BY CITIZENS**

4. This is the most numerous category (5 countries) and it contains federal (Switzerland), regionalized (Italy) and unitary (Czech Republic, Poland and Romania) countries. Federal countries' utilization of this procedure may be surprising *prima facie*, since it could be assumed that component units (Regions, States) should elect the chamber for territorial representation. However, the US experience shows how direct election became an unavoidable mechanism for resolving some constitutional inefficiencies. Initially, senators were elected in the US by state legislatures. But bribery cases (nine between 1866 and 1906) and deadlocks (45 in 20 states between 1891 and 1905) forced to revise the procedure for nomination and moving towards direct election (17th amendment, 1913). In Europe, only Switzerland among federal states applies this election procedure.

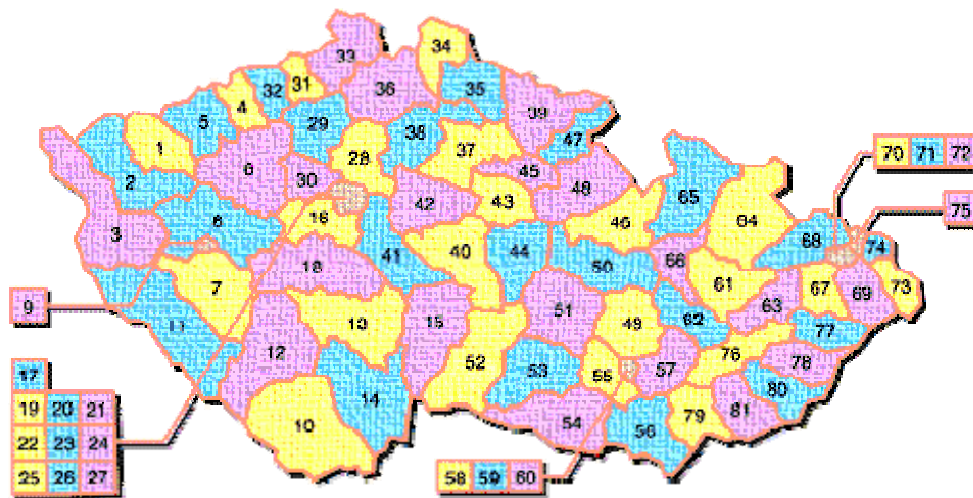
5. Being first chambers directly elected, the application of the same procedure to second chambers raises an important issue to be considered: the eventual equal composition of both

chambers. Clearly, if the chambers are elected at the same time and by the same subject (for instance, the voters), the only real option for different results is to vary the electoral system which is applied in each chamber. These cases apply different electoral systems for each of the chambers. One mechanism is changing the electoral formula (i.e. majority); another is a partial renovation of the second chamber in several moments; a third is the different duration of mandates, etc.

**1.1 Switzerland**<sup>2</sup>: the council of states has 46 members who represent the swiss cantons. The cantons of Obwald, Nidwald, Basel-City, Basel-Country, Appenzell Outer Rhodes and Appenzell Inner Rhodes elect one senator each; the other cantons elect two senators. Zurich, which has over 1 million inhabitants, elects two representatives as does Uri (36,000 inhabitants). The electoral legislation of each canton fixes the method of election, although currently all the state councillors are elected through a majoritarian system (except in the canton of Jura).

**1.2 Czech Republic**<sup>3</sup>: the 81 members of the “Sénat” are elected for six years, every two years one third of them, in one-seat constituencies map through two rounds majority system (the second round is between two candidates with highest number of votes from the first round – if no candidate obtains a 50+% majority in the first round). Candidates to the Senate do not need to be on a political party's ticket (unlike the lower chamber).

**The Senate has 81 senators elected in 81 constituencies**



Constituencies (81) for the election of the Czech Senate

Source: [http://www.senat.cz/volby/jsv-eng.php?ke\\_dni=25.02.2008&o=6&lng=en](http://www.senat.cz/volby/jsv-eng.php?ke_dni=25.02.2008&o=6&lng=en)

Colours indicate the three different moments for election

**1.3 Italy**<sup>4</sup>: senators are directly elected by a proportional system, although life senators may exist (currently 7), either former presidents, or those appointed by the President for “outstanding merits” in various fields. The 315 elective seats of the Senate are distributed among the 20 italian regions in proportion to their population, except for the seats assigned to

the overseas constituency (i.e. italians living abroad). One seat is assigned to Valle d'Aosta, two to Molise and at least seven seats to each of the other eighteen regions. Seats are assigned on a proportional representation basis and allocated pursuant to the 2006 electoral law. Available seats are assigned to these constituencies proportionally to their population. The lists of party candidates are given beforehand, and citizens cannot state a preference for any given candidate. The law officially recognizes coalitions of parties: to be part of a coalition, a party must sign its official program and indicate a candidate to Prime Minister. There are certain thresholds: a minimum of a 20% for a coalition; a minimum of an 8% for any party not in a coalition; and a minimum of a 3% for any party in a coalition (there is no exception for the first party in a coalition below this threshold). The coalition that wins a plurality in a region is automatically given 55% of the region's seats, if it has not reached that percentage already.

**1.4 Poland**<sup>5</sup>: senators are directly elected for a four-year term, which under statutorily specified circumstances can be shortened by a presidential or Sejm decision. Senatorial mandates are handed to candidates who have collected the largest number of valid votes cast, in accordance with the majority principle. Every polish citizen aged 18 or older has the right to vote. Whereas to be elected to the senate, the candidate must be a polish citizen aged 30 or older and have the right to vote. 100 senators are elected in accordance with the majority principle. Electoral districts coincide with provinces or parts thereof. From two to four senators are elected from each district. Candidates who receive the largest number of valid votes cast are deemed elected to the Senate. The election is called by the President of the Republic of Poland not later than 90 days prior to the expiry of the four-year period since the beginning of the current Sejm or Senate term. The President sets the election day on a work-free day falling within 30 days prior to the expiry of the four-year period since the beginning of the current Sejm or Senate term. Senate and Sejm elections are held on the same day.

**1.5 Romania**<sup>6</sup>: senators are elected by electoral districts (42), on the base of ballot lists and independent candidatures. The number of deputies and senators to be elected in each constituency is determined on the basis of the representation norm, by relating the number of inhabitants in each constituency to the representation norm. In a constituency, the number of deputies cannot be less than four, and that of senators, less than two. The representation standard for the election of the senate is one senator for 160,000 inhabitants. The number of inhabitants taken into account is that existing on July 1 of the previous year, published in the statistical yearbook of Romania. If, at least five months before the election date, a general census has taken place, the number of inhabitants taken into account is that resulting from the census.

## **2. DESIGNATION BY REGIONAL ORGANS**

6. Purely speaking, this is the modality that fits better with the federal ideal: the second chamber represents to the territorial units that composes the Federation (in contrast to the population component of first chamber). In two cases, the pre-eminence of regional units is reinforced for the absence of a free mandate and "block" voting (German Bundesrat) and the possibility of recall (Russia). However, free mandate exists in Austria. There are three

subtypes: election by legislatures (Bosnia-Herzegovina and Austria); election by the regional legislatures and the executives (Russia) and election by the Executive (Germany).

## REGIONAL LEGISLATURES

**2.1 Bosnia and Herzegovina**<sup>7</sup>: the principle of representation on the House of Peoples is the equal representation of the three ethnic communities of Bosnia Herzegovina. It comprises 15 delegates, two-thirds from the Federation (including five croats and five bosniacs) and one-third from the Republika Srpska (five serbs). The designated croat and bosniac delegates from the Federation are selected, respectively, by the croat and bosniac delegates to the House of Peoples of the Federation. Delegates from the Republika Srpska are selected by the National Assembly of the Republika Srpska. There are special provisions regarding legislative quorum (nine members but provided that at least three bosniac, three croat, and three serb delegates are present).

**2.2 Austria**<sup>8</sup>: the Bundesrat currently has 63 members. They are elected by the legislative bodies of the Provinces (the provincial Diets) for the duration of their legislative periods (indirect popular election). They do not need to be representatives of the Diet by which they are delegated, but must be eligible for election to it. Their election must be in accordance with the principles of proportional representation, and be based on the results of the last election to the provincial Diet. As an exception to this principle, the party which achieves the second highest number of popular votes in the election to the provincial Diet is allocated at least one seat.

7. The representatives of the Federal Council are free from all outside influences in exercising their mandates. Like the representatives of the National Council, they hold what are called "free mandates". They cannot be recalled by their provincial Diets before the end of that diet's legislative period.

8. The diets elect a substitute representative for each representative delegated by them to the Federal Council. This substitute becomes the representative's ex lege successor upon the representative's seat becoming vacant due to his or her resignation, death or for any other reason. The number of representatives to which each province is entitled is determined by the Federal President after each census, normally every ten years. The province with the largest population has twelve seats. Each of the other provinces has a number of representatives corresponding to the ratio between its population and that of the most populous province, the minimum of seats being three. The federal council does not therefore operate according to a legislative period as such, but instead it has been in session continually since 1945.

## REGIONAL LEGISLATURES AND GOVERNMENTS

**2.3 Russia**<sup>9</sup>: the Federal Council consists of 168 representatives elected by legislative (representative) state authority bodies of the subjects of Federation or appointed by higher officials of the subjects of Federation (heads of higher executive state authority bodies of the subjects of Federation). Each of the federal subjects of Russia, consisting of 21 Republics, 47 Oblasts, eight Krai, two federal Cities, five autonomous Okrugs, and one autonomous Oblast send two senators to the Council. Term of representatives' commissions is defined by term of commissions of the bodies having elected or appointed them, but the mandates could be withdrawn ahead of time by the above mentioned bodies in accordance with the same procedure, as applied for election (appointment) of members of the Council of Federation.

9. Candidates to the Council of Federation from legislative (representative) state authority's body of the subject of Federation are proposed by the Chairman of that body or by Chairmen of both Chambers in turn, if the legislative (representative) body consists of two chambers. Groups of constituents of not less than 1/3 of the chamber deputies' total number could propose alternative candidates as well. The decision on election of a representative from legislative (representative) body is taken by secret ballot and confirmed by resolution of the above mentioned body or by joint resolution passed by both chambers of the two-chamber legislative (representative) body.

## REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS

**2.4 Germany**<sup>10</sup>: the Bundesrat represents the 16 Federal States (Länder) of Germany at the federal level. It is composed of members of state governments; the members are appointed and recalled by the state government. They may be represented by other members of their state government. Only the Minister-Presidents and Ministers of the Federal States or, in the case of the city states of Berlin, Bremen and Hamburg, the mayors and senators, may be members of the Bundesrat. Secretaries of State are also entitled to be Bundesrat members if they have a seat and a say in the Cabinet of their Federal State. Membership is based on a decision by the Land Government and ends automatically if a member leaves the Government or if the Land Government decides to recall that member. As each federal state must cast its votes en bloc in the Bundesrat, the individual members are to an extent constrained. Thus, Bundesrat members do not have a free mandate. On the other hand, they are not subject to an imperative mandate. Bundesrat members act on the basis of a uniform line jointly devised in the Cabinet.

## 3. MIXED SYSTEMS

10. Mixed systems combine direct election by citizens with the designation from regional assemblies. Two federal or quasi federal states, Belgium and Spain, apply this system.



**3.1 Belgium** <sup>11</sup>: 40 members are directly elected by a proportional system. Two electoral colleges are formed: french and dutch. There are three constituencies: Flanders (dutch electoral college), Wallonia (french electoral college) and Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde (electors can choose the college). Seats are divided using proportional representation (D'Hondt method). 25 senators are elected by the dutch electoral college and 15 by the french electoral college. 21 senators are appointed by Community Parliaments: 10 by the Flemish Parliament, 10 by the parliament of the French Community and 1 by the Parliament of the german-speaking Community; the other seats are distributed using the results of the direct election between the parties that have at least one directly-elected senator, insofar as they have enough seats in, respectively, the Flemish Parliament or the Parliament of the french community.

11. Senators are co-opted: 6 by the already elected members of the dutch language group and 4 by the already elected members of the french language group. These seats are distributed between parties using the direct election results. Additionally, there are senators appointed by right. These are the children of the king who are over 18 years of age or in the absence of children, the belgian descendants of the branch of the royal family called on to reign. Senators appointed by right are entitled to vote when aged 21; they are not taken into account for the determination of the quorum of attendance. Currently there are two appointed senators (Prince Philip and Princess Astrid). The legislative term is four years.

3.2 Spain: the spanish "Senado" currently has a total of 259 senators, elected by a dual procedure. Most of them (208) are elected by provinces; each province elects four senators, by universal suffrage in a free, equal, direct and secret vote. In the insular provinces, each island or group of islands with a "CABILDO" or Insular Council constitutes an electoral district for the purpose of election of senators. Each of the larger islands (Gran Canaria, Mallorca and Tenerife) elects three senators and each of the smaller islands or groups of islands (Ibiza-Formentera, Menorca, Fuerteventura, Gomera, Hierro, Lanzarote and La Palma) elects one. Ceuta and Melilla elect two senators each. Electors may cast their votes to a maximum of three candidates in the peninsula provinces, to two in Gran Canaria, Mallorca, Tenerife, Ceuta and Melilla, and to one in the smaller islands. Those obtaining more votes are elected.

12. furthermore, each self-governing community appoints one senator, and an additional senator for every million inhabitants in their respective territories. this appointment is made by the legislative assembly or, failing this, by the supreme body of government of the self-governing community, in accordance with the provisions of the respective statutes which shall ensure, in all cases, appropriate proportional representation. the official population census in effect when the last elections to the senate were held shall serve as the basis for determination of the specific number of senators that correspond to each self-governing community. today, the self-governing communities appoint 51 senators. nevertheless, the permanent deputation, in its meeting of 16 january 2008, has agreed to increase by 56 the total number of senators appointed by the self-governing.

## COMMUNITIES IN THE IX LEGISLATURE <sup>12</sup>

13. Appointment of these senators is considered a secondary degree election, in which the only requisite established in the constitution is that appropriate proportional representation be guaranteed. Each self-governing community regulates the electoral procedure in its statute, self-governing act of standing orders of the house. The possibility of reforming the Senado (both its election procedure and its legislative functions) has been raised several times by certain political parties during the last years.<sup>13</sup>

### 4. INDIRECT ELECTION

14. In these cases, intermediate bodies created after election (normally, local communities) provide the constituency for electing representatives in second chambers. Countries in which regional assemblies designate members for the second chamber (Austria, Belgium, Bosnia Herzegovina and Spain) could be also be considered as cases of indirect election. The difference, though, is that the constituency or electoral college in these later cases is created automatically (assemblies) whilst in the case of France and the Netherlands, the electoral college exist only as an ad hoc device for the purpose of selecting second chambers.

4.1 France <sup>14</sup>: the election procedure was modified in 2003. Senators are elected indirectly by approximately 150,000 local elected officials (grands électeurs), including mayors, city councillors, and deputies of the national assembly. In each department, an electoral college is made up of:

- members of the National Assembly for the department; members of the department's General Council and members of the Regional Council (which gathers several departments) from the department

- delegates from Municipal Councils according to their respective population:

- municipalities smaller than 9000 inhabitants: between 1 and 15 delegates
- municipalities between 9.000 and 30.000 inhabitants: the entire municipal council; i.e. between 29 and 69 delegates
- municipalities over 30.000: an additional delegate for every 1000 inhabitants.

15. In 2011, 326 senators will be elected in the départements (counties), both those in metropolitan France and overseas, 10 senators will represent France's other overseas territories and 12 senators will represent french citizens living outside France. For that purpose, senators will be split into two series of local constituencies, roughly equal in number. The age required to be elected has been brought down to 30 (instead of 35).

16. The method of election is a first-past-the-post system with two rounds of voting in the 70 metropolitan and overseas départements which fill three senatorial seats at most. The same system applies in France's other territories overseas. By proportional representation in the 39 metropolitan and overseas départements which fill four or more senatorial seats. The 12



senators who represent french citizens living abroad are elected under a system of proportional representation by the 150 elected members of the assembly of french citizens resident abroad. From 2011, new elections will be held every three years to renew half the house (not a third as in the pre reform system). For that purpose, senators will be split into two series of local constituencies, roughly equal in number. The term of office will be 6 years (down from 9 years).

**4.2 Netherlands** <sup>15</sup>: the 75 members of the senate (Eerste Kamer) of the Dutch Parliament (The States General) are elected by the members of the twelve provincial councils. These elections are indirect: the voters elect the members of the provincial councils, who in turn elect the members of the Senate. the criteria for membership are the same as those for the House of Representatives (Tweede Kamer) of the Dutch Parliament. SINCE the 1983 revision of the constitution the Senate has been elected in its entirety every four years by the members of the provincial council. The elections take place within three months of the provincial council elections.

## 5. ELECTION BY SPECIAL CONSTITUENCIES

17. There are systems that privilege the representation of specific sectors of society. The two countries in Europe that can be considered as using this procedure of election are Ireland and Slovenia and, in both cases, it can be argued that these are small countries and fairly homogeneous. One of the reasons for this model of system is having an input in the legislative process that it is not conditioned or mediated by political parties but by professional expertise which can improve the quality of deliberations. In both cases, however, it seems that the influence of political parties is also felt in the election results. Both cases, though, account for a local (territorial) dimension either as one of the societal interest to be represented (Slovenia) or as the source of electoral colleges (Ireland).

**5.1 Ireland:** senators are indirectly elected. The Taoiseach (Prime Minister) appoints 11 and the so-called "vocational" panels elect 43:

- cultural and educational panel (5) education, the arts, the irish language and irish culture and literature.
- agricultural panel (11) agriculture and the fisheries.
- labour panel: (11) labour (organized or otherwise).
- industrial and commercial panel: (9) industry and commerce (including engineering and architecture).
- administrative panel: (7) public administration and social services (including the voluntary sector).

18. Finally, six senators are elected by the graduates of two universities: 3 by the National University of Ireland and 3 by the University of Dublin (Trinity College).

19. Candidates must be Irish citizens over the age of 21. Candidates can be nominated by two methods: by *oireachtas* members or by nominating bodies. Nominating bodies are organisations that are connected to the particular vocation, for example the Irish Congress of Trades Unions can nominate in the labour panel, and the Royal Irish Academy can nominate in the cultural and education panel.

20. As the electorate is restricted to elected councillors, TDs and senators the political parties have a great influence in the nomination procedures. The main political parties are aware of how many seats they will win after the *dáil* election and will endorse candidates that they deem to have a chance of election to the *dáil* in the next general election. The nominating bodies tend to nominate party members. Even where non-party candidates get on the ballot paper it is highly unlikely these candidates will be successful.

21. The electoral college for the vocational panels is composed of city and county councillors, members of the new *Dáil* and members of the outgoing *Seanad*. The electorate consists of approximately 1,000 voters. Voting is conducted by proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote. However each ballot is given the value of 1,000 to aid the transfer of fractions of votes.

5.2 Slovenia: the National Council was created in 1991 on the model of the Bavarian Senate (which was nevertheless abolished in 1999). The National Council of the Republic of Slovenia is the representative body for social, economic, professional and local interests. It is composed of:

- representatives of local interests (territorial interests). Local assemblies elect 22 members of the National Council. For this, the Municipal Council of each municipality appoints a certain number of electors proportionate to the number of inhabitants of the municipality. Each of these may also propose a candidate for the national council. Electoral bodies elect members by simple majority.
- representatives of labour and social interests (functional interests) (22). The following sectors elect 4 representatives each:
  - employers
  - employees and craftsmen
  - agriculture and liberal professions,
  - 6 representatives of non-economic activities<sup>16</sup>

22. These sectors compose electoral colleges. Each interest group (chamber, association, society or professional organization functioning at national level etc.) appoints a certain number of electors depending on their size. They may also nominate a candidate for the national council. Electoral colleges elect by simple majority.

23. The National Council brings together the interests of various social groups within a single institution. Decisions are adopted on the basis of discussions held at the professional level. In order to preserve a high level of professionalism and keep political interests separate from the workings of the National Council, the legislator decided that members would not hold their office professionally. Members are employed in the social and economic fields represented in the national council through interest groups, thus allowing them to maintain daily contact with the fields they represent. mandates last 5 years, one more than the mandate of National Assembly members.

24. The composition of the national council is designed to neutralise the influence of political parties, which are involved in legislative processes primarily through the National Assembly. The National Council does not represent all citizens of Slovenia, but only specific social and economic interests. Its position and structure therefore necessitate a specific election system, and one that differs from the system used to elect deputies to the National Assembly. The main differences are in the method of election, the right to vote, the role played by political parties, the system used to assign mandates, and the term of office served.

25. According to the site of the National Council, indirect elections enable closer ties to be maintained between members of interest groups and their representatives than would be the case with direct elections. It is precisely for this reason that political parties are not specifically represented in the elections, although the workings of the national council are not entirely free of political influence. Political parties exert greatest influence through those members representing local interests. They are elected by local community representative bodies. These bodies are formed as a result of general elections - in which, of course, political parties play a decisive role. political parties exert much less influence over representatives of so-called 'functional' interests than they do over representatives of local interests.

## **6. DESIGNED AND INHERITED MEMBERSHIP**

**6.1 United Kingdom** (until 1999): membership in the House of Lords was limited to hereditary peers until 1958. These could transmit membership to their descendents. In 1958, the Life Peerage Act authorised the creation of life baronies (i.e. restricted to the incumbent) without fixing any cap. The number of life peers increased substantially. The labour party, who has committed itself during much of the 20th century to the abolition of the House of Lords, passed in 1999 a reform that targeted mainly the elimination of hereditary peerage. The 1999 House of Lords Act limited to 92 the number of hereditary peers allowed to remain in the chamber. These were elected by their colleagues according to the rules set for this purpose. As part of this movement in favour of reform, the Labour Government also created an Independent Appointments Commission (3 non party members and 3 party members) whose task is: a) to make recommendations for non partisan political peers (i.e. people's peers); and b) to investigate the suitability of all nominees for peerages. In march 2007, the House of Commons voted in favour of a wholly elected chamber but the House of Lords rejected this decision and voted instead in favour of a wholly appointed chamber.

## MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS BY PARTY AND TYPE OF PEERAGE

1 February 2008

*By Party Strength*

Party	Life Peers	Hereditary: Elected by Party	Hereditary: Elected Office Holders	Hereditary: * Royal Office Holder	Bishops	Total
Conservative	154	39	9	0	0	202
Labour	211	2	2	0	0	215
Liberal Democrat	73	3	2	0	0	78
Crossbench	167	29	2	2	0	200
Bishops	0	0	0	0	25	25
Other**	12	2	0	0	0	14
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>617</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>734</b>

**NB** Excludes 15 peers who are on leave of absence.

By Type	Men	Women	Total
Archbishops and bishops	25	0	25
Life Peers under the Appellate Jurisdiction Act 1876	22	1	23
Life Peers under the Life Peerages Act 1958	465	144	609
Peers under House of Lords Act 1999	89	3	92
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>601</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>749</b>

1 February 2008

Source: House of Lords

[http://www.parliament.uk/directories/house\\_of\\_lords\\_information\\_office/analysis\\_by\\_composition.cfm](http://www.parliament.uk/directories/house_of_lords_information_office/analysis_by_composition.cfm)

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

As it was mentioned, systems for electing second chambers vary greatly among European states. Six main procedures were identified, although there are not two equal cases even within each category. Territory, either regional and/or local level, plays always a role, even though the meaning of this role varies greatly. Other characteristics of the composition of the chamber need to be taken into account. These are the duration of the mandate in relation to the first chamber, the existence of procedures for partial renovation of the chamber, the age requirements, part-time or non-professional dedication required, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> Since Belarus is not a member of the Council of Europe and it is generally considered a non democratic country, it is not included in this survey. The Council of the Republic consists of 64 members. The procedure of forming the Council of the Republic combines elements of election and appointment. Eight members of the Council of the Republic are appointed by the President of the Republic of Belarus and the remaining members are elected by secret vote: eight members of the Council of the Republic are elected from each of the country's region and Minsk City at sessions of local Soviets of Deputies of the basic level. A citizen of the Republic of Belarus aged 30 and more, who has lived on the territory of the respective region or Minsk City for at least five years may be a member of the Council of the Republic. Information from the website of the Council of the Republic of Belarus:  
[http://www.sovrep.gov.by/index\\_eng.php/444....1.0.0.html](http://www.sovrep.gov.by/index_eng.php/444....1.0.0.html).

<sup>2</sup> Information from the website of the Council of States of Switzerland:  
<http://www.parlament.ch/e/dokumentation/wahlen-2007/wa-sr-staenderatswahlen/Pages/index.aspx>.

<sup>3</sup> Information from the website of the Senate of Czech Republic:  
[http://www.senat.cz/volby/jsv-eng.php?ke\\_dni=22.02.2008&O=6&lng=en](http://www.senat.cz/volby/jsv-eng.php?ke_dni=22.02.2008&O=6&lng=en)

<sup>4</sup> Information from the website of the Senate of Italy:  
<http://www.senato.it/english/business/28033/28040/genpagina.htm>.

<sup>5</sup> Information from the website of the Senate of Poland:  
<http://www.senat.gov.pl/k7eng/historia/nota14a.htm>

<sup>6</sup> Information from the website of the Senate of Romania:  
<http://www.senat.ro/PaginaPrincipala.aspx?tdID=13&divID=2&b=0&adr=%5cpagini%5cENGLEZA%5chistory+senate.htm>.

<sup>7</sup> Bosnia and Herzegovina's Constitution, art IV. Available at:  
<http://www.parlament.ba/index2.php?opcija=sadrzaji&id=11&jezik=e>.

<sup>8</sup> Information from the website of the Austrian Bundesrat:  
[http://www.parlinkom.gv.at/EN/AP/PA/PAHEUTE/BR/show.psp?P\\_TEXT=1&P\\_MEHR=J](http://www.parlinkom.gv.at/EN/AP/PA/PAHEUTE/BR/show.psp?P_TEXT=1&P_MEHR=J).

<sup>9</sup> Information from the website of the Council of Federation of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation:  
<http://www.council.gov.ru/eng/info/status/index.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Information from the website of Germany's Bundesrat:  
[http://www.bundesrat.de/nn\\_11400/EN/organisation-en/mitglieder-en/mitglieder-en-inhalt.html](http://www.bundesrat.de/nn_11400/EN/organisation-en/mitglieder-en/mitglieder-en-inhalt.html).

<sup>11</sup> Information from the website of the Senate of Belgium:  
<http://www.senate.be/english/SenateCompoEN.html>.

<sup>12</sup> Information from the website of the Senate of Spain:  
[http://www.senado.es/legis8/senadores/index\\_i.html](http://www.senado.es/legis8/senadores/index_i.html).

<sup>13</sup> For an overview of the topic, see Aja, Eliseo; Albertí Rovira, Enoch; Ruíz Ruíz Juan José (2005) La reforma constitucional del Senado, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales. See also the corresponding studies on the reform of the Senate in Francisco Rubio LLorente y José Álvarez Junco ; Eliseo Aja... [et al.] El informe del Consejo de Estado sobre la reforma constitucional : texto del informe y debates académicos Madrid : Consejo de Estado: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2006

<sup>14</sup> Information from the website of the Senate of France:  
[http://www.senat.fr/lng/en/election\\_senateurs.html](http://www.senat.fr/lng/en/election_senateurs.html).

<sup>15</sup> Information from the website of the Netherlands' Eerste kamer: <http://www.eerstekamer.nl/>.

<sup>16</sup> Information from the website of the National Council of Slovenia: [http://www.ds-rs.si/en/?q=about\\_NC](http://www.ds-rs.si/en/?q=about_NC)