

## MAPPING OF THE ELEMENTS OF ELECTORAL GEOGRAPHY. CASE STUDY: PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN ROMANIA AND REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA AFTER 1989<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** Parliamentary elections since 1989 of two Romanian states have both similarities and differences, it emphasized manners and mapping chosen. Thus, a decrease of voters interest in the election process, faster and stronger to the west of the Prut, and the consistency of certain communities in various regions of Romania, Moldova respectively, to keep the policy options. This is underscored by taking into account some socio-demographic-economic indicators. Distribution of turnout and political options is analyzed in chrono-spatial terms, using a combination between hierarchical ascendant classification and principal components analysis.

**Key words:** voter turnout, political options, socio-demographic-economic indicators, ascending hierarchical classification, principal components analysis

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### INTRODUCTION

The paper aims to highlight the chrono-spatial evolution of turnout and political choices of voters in Romania and Republic of Moldova since 1989. This is highlighted by both hierarchical ascendant classification, and especially through the combination between this method and principal components analysis. This combination of methods is used for all legislative elections, electoral variables are correlated with several socio-demographic-economic indicators.

### ISSUES

A first difficulty is the absence of detailed data for the first elections since 1989, which forced us to resort, in part, on estimates. Moreover, some socio-demographic-economic data are either insufficient (in Republic of Moldova was carried out one after the 1989 census), or is not a satisfactory degree of detail, which was either to resort again to the interpolations, to waive some of the indicators.

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### WORKING METHODOLOGY

We completed the first phase of the statistical data file, both for electoral variables (voter turnout, voters' political choices), as well as socio-demographic-economic indicators (ethnic and religious structure of population, population density, urban population share, alphabetization share, the share of graduates with higher education, population structure by age groups (youth, adults, elderly), income / gross domestic product per capita (at county level – in Romania, and at raion / district level – in the Republic of Moldova). The program used is Microsoft Excel 2003. All statistical information was given as the percentage.

The mapping followed statistical information processed. The methods of ascending hierarchical classification and principal components analysis are used<sup>2</sup>. Philcarto program are used to achieve the maps, and Adobe Illustrator – for the processing of cartographic representation. We mention that, given that part of the data used are estimated (for Republic of Moldova – especially before the year 2000 and for Romania – for the year 1990), the results have yet provisional.

### CHRONO-SPATIAL EVOLUTION OF THE TURNOUT AND POLITICAL OPTIONS IN ROMANIA AND REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA AFTER 1989

In terms of turnout, in Romania, in 1990 there was a decrease in the rate of voter participation in the elections of any kind (I. Boamfă, R. I. Șerban-Horia, 2009). In the parliamentary elections, the turnout rate of over 86% in May 1990, it was only 39.2% in the last legislative elections in November 2008. There is, first, in the counties with Hungarian majority, the turnout exceeded the national average by 2000. Later, amid growing discontent of the Hungarian electorate, the turnout fell below the national average, the share of parliamentary of UDMR (DUHR)<sup>3</sup> not yet affected because the Romanian electorate that not much comes to a vote. This is seen especially in Transylvania, where voters have generally had a turnout above the national average before the year 2000, but later, amid disappointment provoked by the CDR (RDC)<sup>4</sup>, this presence became limited (figure 1).

In the electoral options, is highlighted, primarily the ethnic vote of the Hungarian electorate for UDMR mainly in eastern Transylvania. Then point out that Bucharest, southern Transylvania and Banat vote with the center-right forces (represented, successively, by the PNȚCD (CDNPP<sup>5</sup> – 1990, CDR – 1992 to 2000, PNL-PD Justice and Truth Alliance<sup>6</sup> – 2004, PDL<sup>7</sup> – 2008), their joining were up, after 2000, and the northern Transylvanian counties, where previously, in response to the Hungarians vote with UDMR, voted with Romanian nationalist groups (PUNR<sup>8</sup> – before 2000, then PRM<sup>9</sup>). The areas situated to east and south of the Carpathians noted, constantly, by a vote of the Social Democrats, but after 2000 gradually, along PSD (SDP)<sup>10</sup>, it is stated in these areas, PNL (figure 2), which seems to "re-conquest" the space, which it dominated in the interwar period (I. Boamfă, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Philippe Waniez, *Cartographie thématique et Analyse des Données*, CNRS, Bordeaux, 2008, p. 191-194. Here is an overview of the combination of the two methods.

<sup>3</sup> Uniunea Democrată a Maghiarilor din România (Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania).

<sup>4</sup> Convenția Democrată Română (Romanian Democratic Convention).

<sup>5</sup> Partidul Național Țărănesc-Creștin Democrat (Christian Democratic-National Peasant Party).

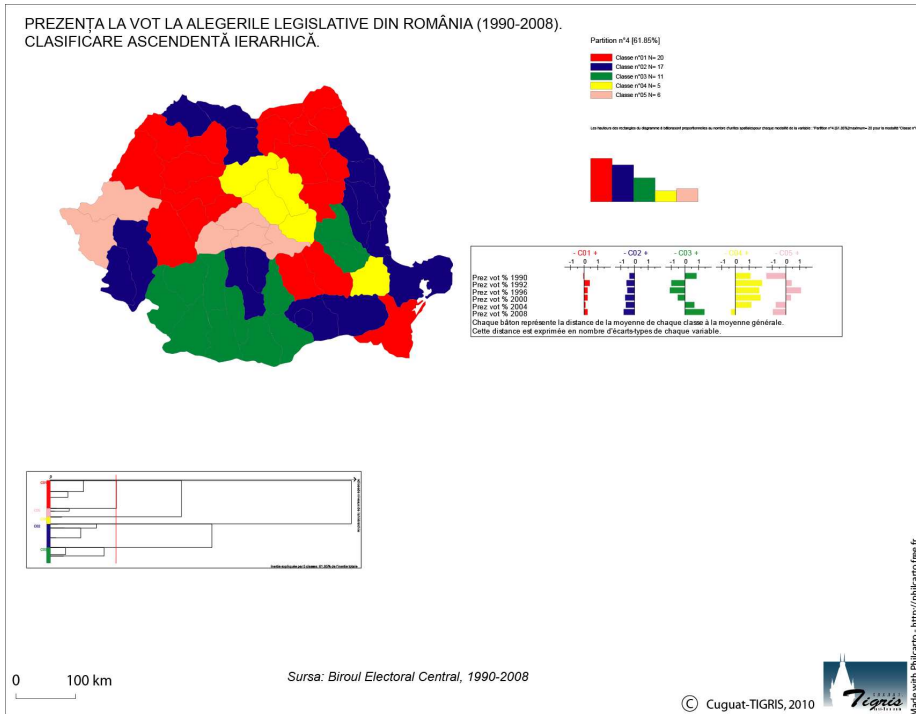
<sup>6</sup> In Romanian, Alianța D.A. PNL-PD (formed by PNL – National Liberal Party and PD – Democratic Party), the Justice and Truth Alliance PNL-PD.

<sup>7</sup> Partidul Democrat-Liberal (Democratic Liberal Party).

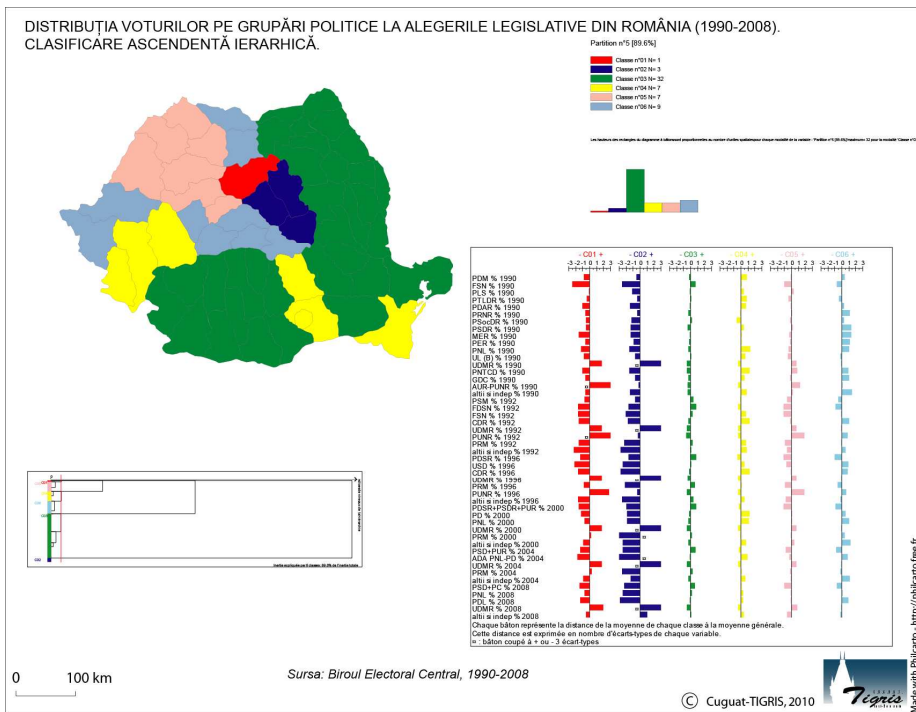
<sup>8</sup> Partidul Unității Naționale Române (Party of National Romanian Unity).

<sup>9</sup> Partidul România Mare (Great Romania Party).

<sup>10</sup> Partidul Social-Democrat (Social Democratic Party).

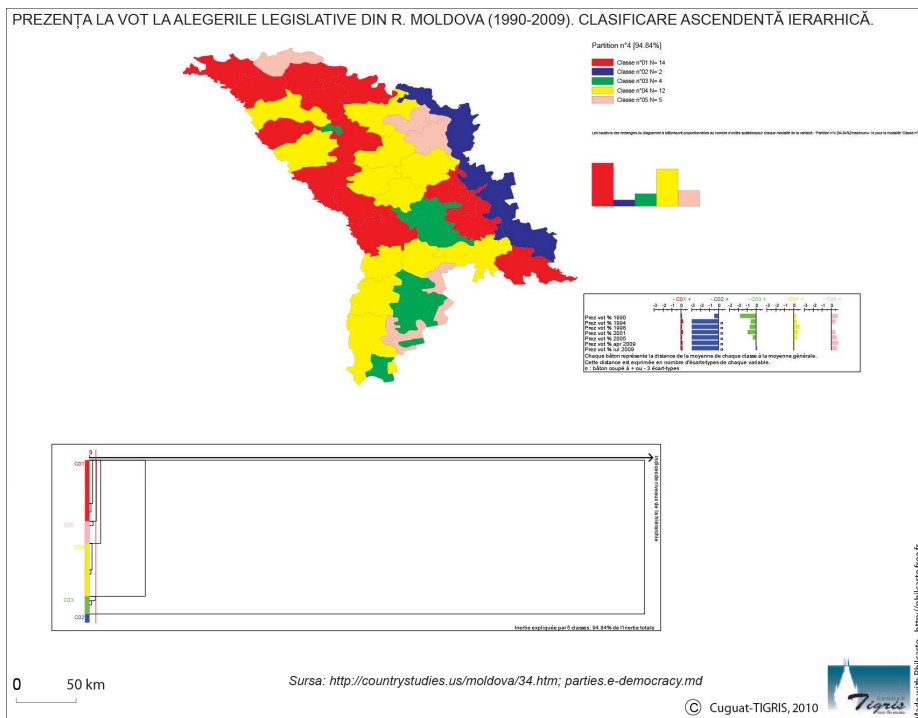


**Figure 1.** Voter turnout to the Romania’s parliamentary elections (1990-2008). Hierarchical ascending classification



**Figure 2.** Distribution of voter’s political options to the Romania’s parliamentary elections (1990-2008). Hierarchical ascending classification

In the east part of the Prut notes the trend of declining interest in election times. Thus, in 1990, when Republic of Moldova was still just a part of the USSR, registering a turnout rate of about 84%, the percentage decreased in the last election in April and July 2009 at about 58% . It is noted that large urban centers (Chişinău and Bălţi), and Găgăuzia recorded values below the national average participation at the polls<sup>11</sup>. In contrast, other regions were found, in general, the above average values. Gradually, however, these differences tend to fade, especially due to lower share of voters coming to vote throughout the Republic of Moldova. May we add that, after 1990, no data about the territory of the Dniester River (Transnistria), which is not subject to the authority of the Moldovan Government and therefore, the Transnistrian electorate does not participate in the Moldovan national elections (figure 3).



**Figure 3.** Voter turnout to the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova (1990-2009). Hierarchical ascending classification

The central and southern part of the country and, primarily, Chişinău, has been noted consistently as a supporter of the center-right forces, whether they were called FPM (PFM), FPCD (CDFP), or, more recently, PPCD (CDPP)<sup>12</sup>, and, after 2005, AMN (OMA)<sup>13</sup>, PL (LP)<sup>14</sup> or PLDM (LDPM)<sup>15</sup>. In contrast, the north of the

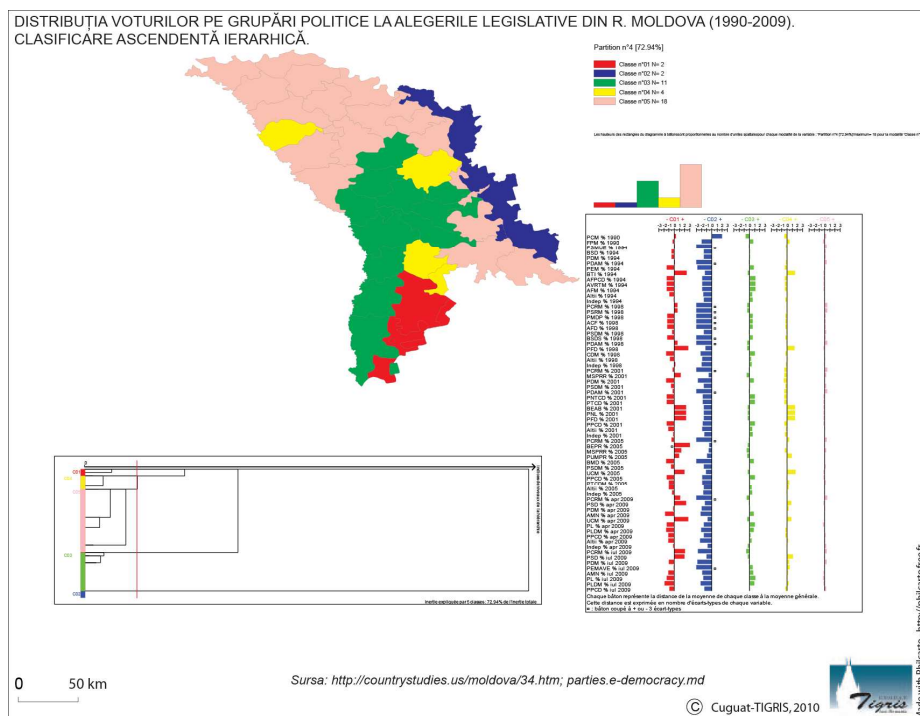
<sup>11</sup> This absenteeism at the polls for Chişinău and Bălţi reminds the interwar period, especially the elections after the 1930. Also, voters in the capital of Republic of Moldova joined the Bucharest, showing the same disinterest in elections, both before 1940 and after 1989.

<sup>12</sup> Formation called, in Romanian, Frontul Popular din Moldova – FPM (Popular Front of Moldova), Frontul Popular-Creştin Democrat – FPCD (Christian Democratic-Popular Front) and finally, Partidul Popular-Creştin Democrat – PPCD (Christian Democratic-Popular Party).

<sup>13</sup> Alianța Moldova Noastră (Our Moldova Alliance).

<sup>14</sup> Partidul Liberal (Liberal Party).

country has witnessed a close vote given to the national average of left parties, whether they were represented by PDAM (DAPM)<sup>16</sup>, either, especially the Communist Party. The most obvious is the support for minority voters in the South, whether by the Gagauz, or the Bulgarians of Taraclia (figure 4). Obviously, the only choices the Transnistrian electorate voted for the Moldovan legislature to Chişinău, the votes have been directed, preponderant, for the communist group.



**Figure 4.** Distribution of voter's political options to the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova (1990-2009). Hierarchical ascending classification

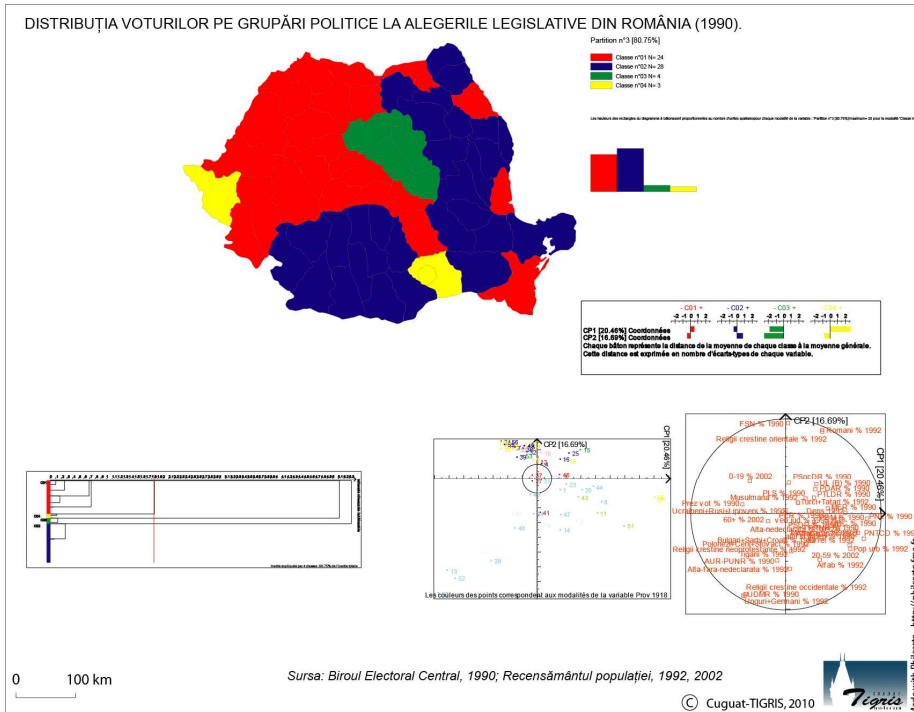
## PECULIARITIES OF THE ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR OF VOTERS IN ROMANIA AND IN REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA

To mark features on the electoral behavior of voters in the two Romanian states, Romania, the Republic of Moldova, we used a combination of principal components analysis and hierarchical ascending classification. This latter method takes over as new variables, the first two factors resulting from the realization of principal components analysis. As the original variables were selected, on the one hand, the electoral indicators – turnout, voters' choices for various political parties and independent candidates – as well as various socio-demographic-economic variables: national and religious structure of population, population structure age groups, the percentage of urban population, population density, the share of alphabetization, the rate of graduates of literate population, the living standards (as reflected in Romania, by the income per capita, expressed in dollars for 1995, respectively, by the gross domestic product per capita, in euro for 2005, and in Republic of Moldova – the salary per capita,

<sup>15</sup> Partidul Liberal Democrat din Moldova (Liberal Democratic Party of Moldova).

<sup>16</sup> Partidul Democrat Agrar din Moldova (Democratic Agrarian Party of Moldova).

expressed in euro for 2007). Given their importance to both countries' parliamentary life, we have highlighted in particular the electoral profile of voters who voted for parties that have obtained legislative mandates.



**Figure 5.** Distribution of voter's political options to the Romania's parliamentary elections (1990). Principal component analysis and hierarchical ascending classification

In the first elections in post-revolutionary Romania, the affluence turnout was extremely high, occurring frequently, queues at polling stations. However, shy, to show a greater willingness to express their political choices among older voters. In terms of policy options, the FSN (NSF)<sup>17</sup> was especially preferred by Romanians, adepts of Orthodox religion in the counties situated of east and south of the Carpathians. The Democratic Party of Work<sup>18</sup> received more votes from the Banat region where found, with modest percentage, more minorities (Bulgarian, Serbian, Slovak, and Czech). Instead, announcing, though, the founding in 1992, Democratic Convention, the voters of the traditional parties – National Liberal Party, PNȚCD and even PSDR (RSDP)<sup>19</sup> – are among urban dwellers with higher incomes, higher education, especially concentrated in the Capital and west of the Carpathians, but also in large urban settlements in the east and southeast. As expected, the Hungarian electorate voted with UDMR in Transylvania (figure 5). In contrast, the nationalist party, the coalition AUR-PUNR (ARU-RUNP)<sup>20</sup> was voted

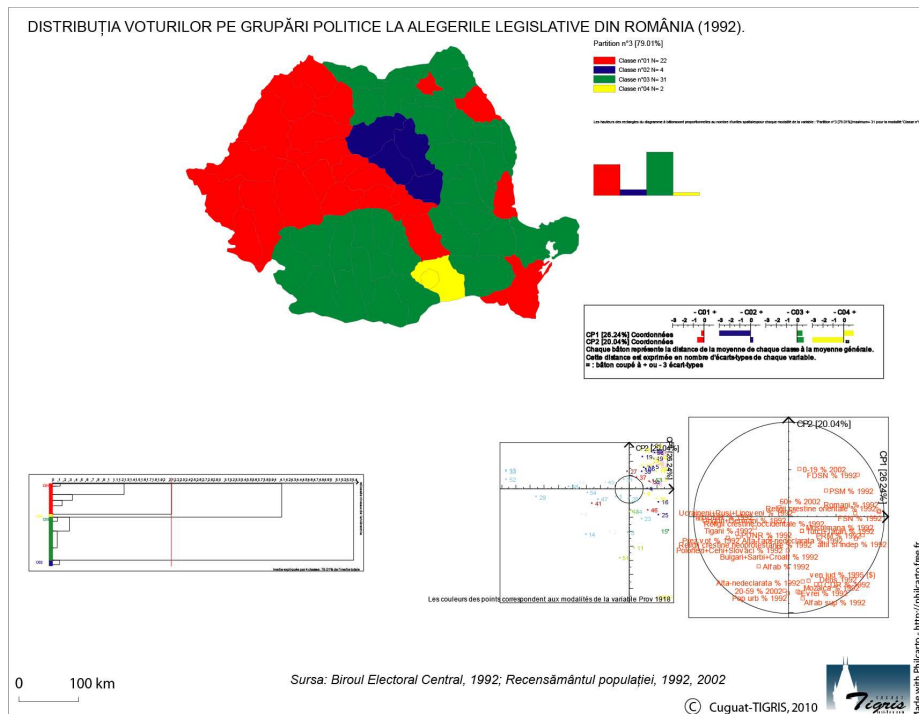
<sup>17</sup> Frontul Salvării Naționale (National Salvation Front).

<sup>18</sup> In Romanian, Partidul Democrat al Muncii.

<sup>19</sup> Partidul Social-Democrat Român (Romanian Social Democratic Party).

<sup>20</sup> Alianța pentru Unitatea Românilor-Partidul Unității Naționale Române (Alliance for the Romanians Unity-Romanian National Unity Party) was a political formation between PUNR and PR (Partidul Republican – Republican Party).

by the Romanian electorate especially in central and western part of Transylvania, concentrated in counties with a large Hungarian minority.



**Figure 6.** Distribution of voter's political options to the Romania's parliamentary elections (1992). Principal component analysis and hierarchical ascending classification

The 1992 elections have already shown large group turnout rates in counties with a large Hungarian minority, although the percentage of those who go to the polls, yet three quarters of the electorate. With regard to political preferences, this election was the only one far-left party has enjoyed since 1989, the broad support: PSM (SPW)<sup>21</sup> was based mainly on the Romanian electorate votes in counties outside the Carpathians (especially the south-western units of the country). The FDSN (DFNS)<sup>22</sup>, detached from the FSN, has won the most seats, with the support of the same electorate to the east and south of the Carpathians, but also to the rural counties in northern Transylvania. A similar profile had the electorate that supported near the remains of the FSN (figure 6). The CDR (in which the most important party was PNȚCD) has, however, largely urban voters, with higher education and income. PUNR received the same votes: from the Romanian nationalists' voters in central-western part of Transylvania. New appeared on parliamentary politics, PRM seems to have benefited at first, surprisingly, an electorate focused on counties outside to the Carpathians, partly as a profile closer to that of FSN, but supporters of the densely populated, highly educated and earn over average.

<sup>21</sup> Partidul Socialist al Muncii (Socialist Party of the Work).

<sup>22</sup> Frontul Democrat al Salvării Naționale (Democratic Front of National Salvation).



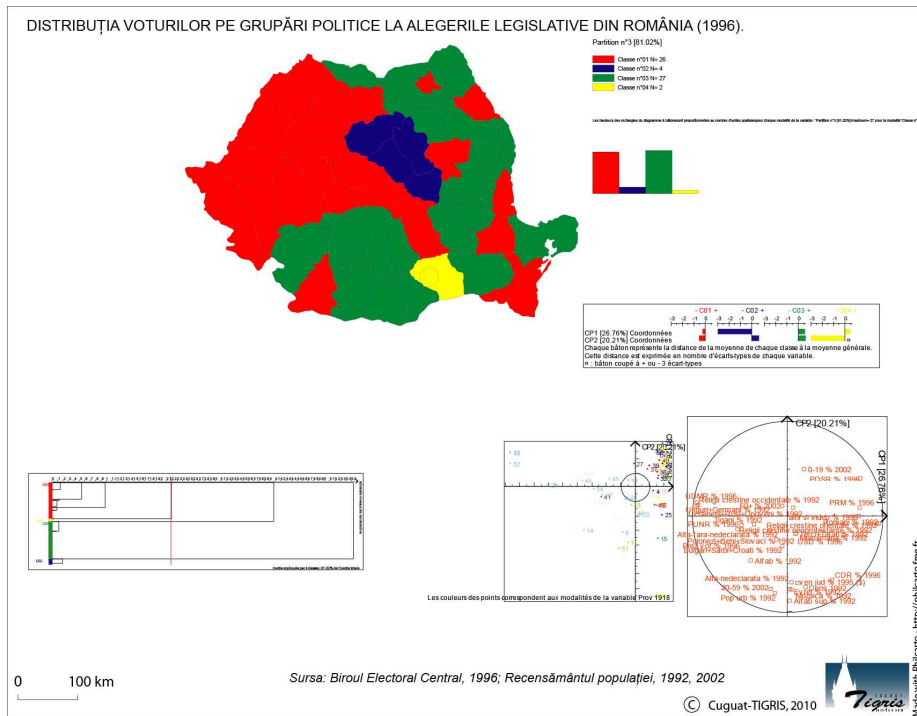


Figure 7. Distribution of voter’s political options to the Romania’s parliamentary elections (1996). Principal component analysis and hierarchical ascending classification

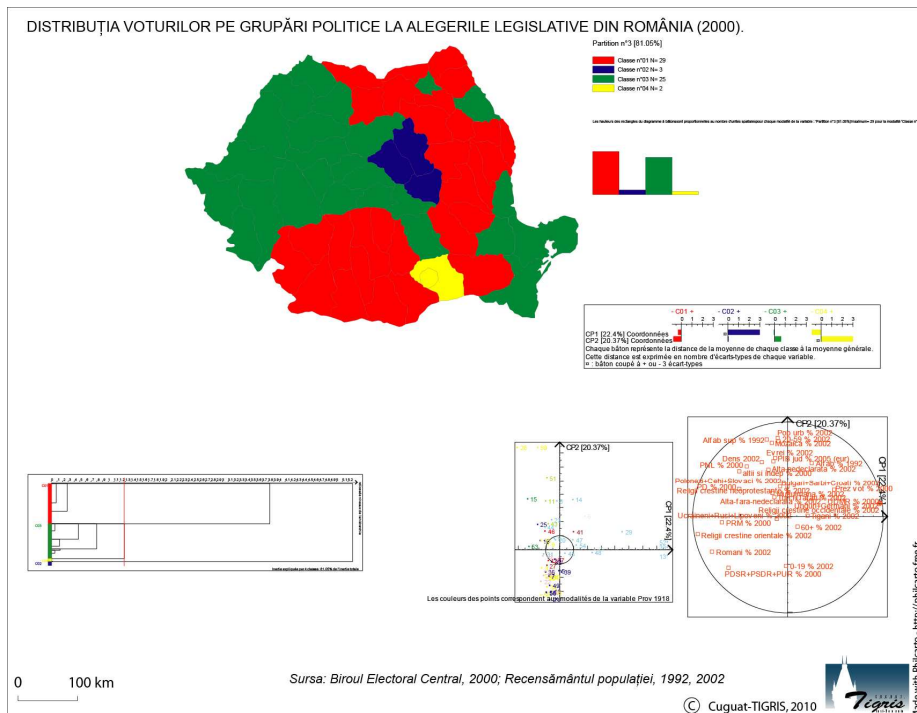
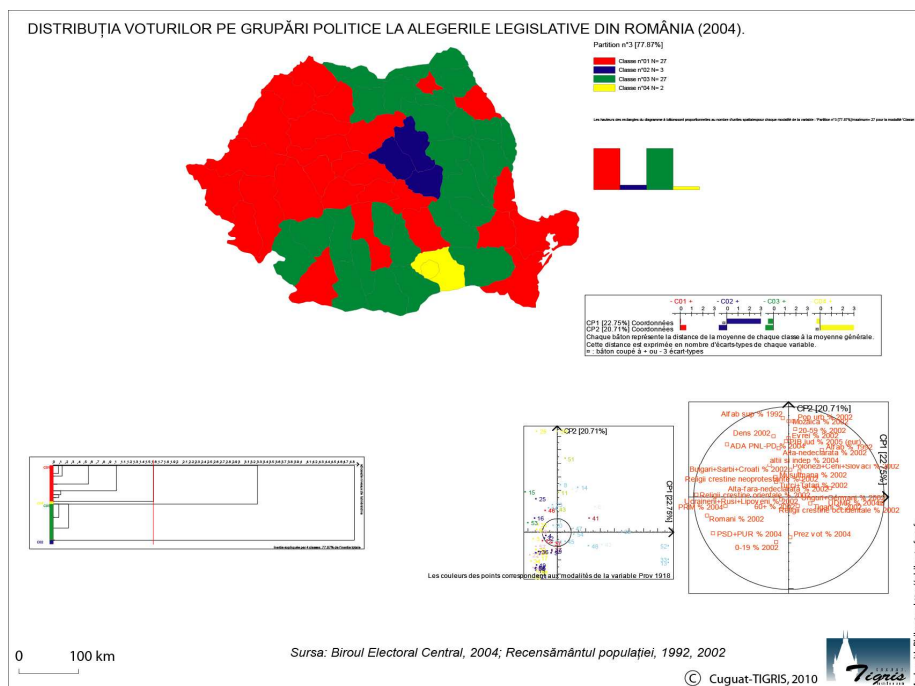


Figure 8. Distribution of voter’s political options to the Romania’s parliamentary elections (2000). Principal component analysis and hierarchical ascending classification



Winning elections in 1996 by CDR stands out and if we mention that, besides the presence of above-average Hungarian voter turnout, faithful UDMR, came to the polls in large numbers of adult voters from the Capital, and from the largest part of Transylvania and Banat (aged between 20 and 60 years), the main core of supporters of this party. PDSR<sup>23</sup> (formerly FDSN) was supported further by the Romanian voters, Orthodox, in most counties outside the Carpathians, but also in Maramureş (figure 7), the profile is similar to the PRM voters. Former FSN, renamed the Democratic Party and allied with PSDR in the alliance called USD (SDU)<sup>24</sup>, enjoyed supporters with a growing profile to the electorate like CDR. This formation, but also UDMR and PUNR, they kept still supporters. However, as we mentioned, the PRM (GRP) won followers among the Romanians of rural counties outside of the Carpathians, with a profile very close to those of the PDSR.



**Figure 9.** Distribution of voter's political options to the Romania's parliamentary elections (2004). Principal component analysis and hierarchical ascending classification

The turnout above average of voters remained a feature for the electorate loyally to UDMR, but for the Romanians and adulthood. The latter, however, were "dispersed" in terms of the options between the PNL, CDR2000, and PD<sup>25</sup>. How much of the electorate faithful CDR, opted for the National Liberal Party (except for PD), can be explained, at least in part, the failure of the winning group in 1996 in an attempt to remain in Parliament. If voters PDSR<sup>26</sup> (ally with PSDR and PUR<sup>27</sup>),

<sup>23</sup> Partidul Democrației Sociale din România (Party of Social Democracy of Romania).

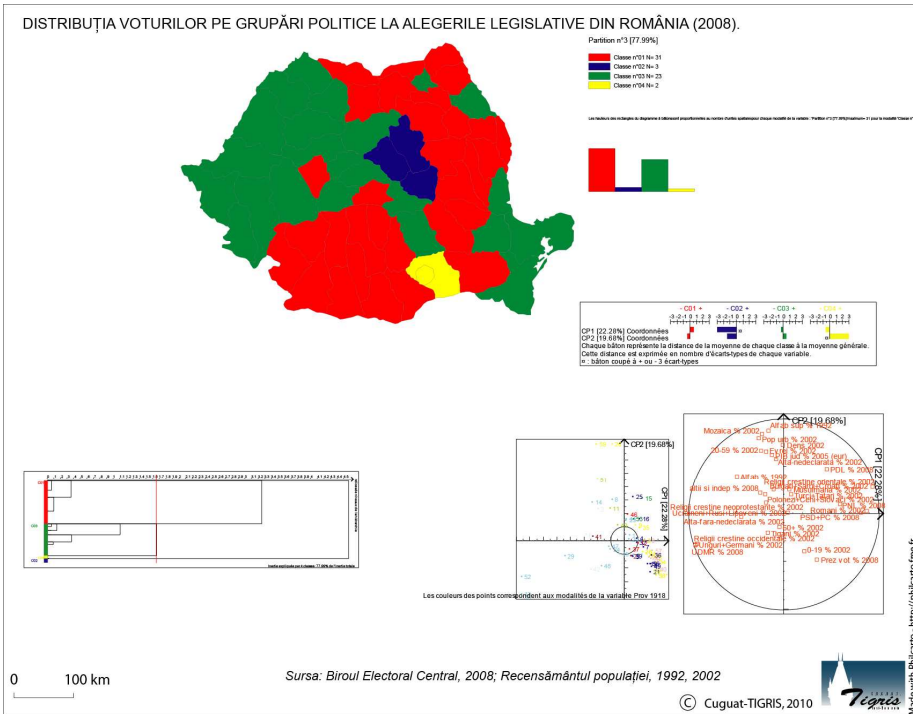
<sup>24</sup> Uniunea Social-Democrată (Social Democratic Union).

<sup>25</sup> This also explains the dispersion of votes, on the one hand, partly, the failure CDR2000 to enter the Parliament, and on the other - modest percentages obtained by the parties of the former government in the legislature: PD, PNL and UDMR gathered each, about 7% of the seats.

<sup>26</sup> The name is used, in this election, for the alliance led by PDSR: in Romanian – Polul Democrației Sociale din România (the Pole of Social Democracy in Romania).

and the UDMR have retained features, PRM has received votes of many dissatisfied, which previously supported other parties, removing PUNR for a term, and make this party the second Romanian parliamentary political force (figure 8).

Elections in 2004 brought, among other changes, the change of the profile of voters that are present in large numbers to vote. If prior to the polls in large numbers, was the Hungarian supporters of UDMR, at this election the voters supported especially the National Union PSD + PUR (led by PSD, the new name of PDSR after the merger with PSDR). They, like those of the PRM, are found largely among Orthodox Romanian voters in most counties outside of the Carpathians, in Maramureş and the northern Transylvania (figure 9). The formation of the D.A. Alliance PNL-PD and the hope that it will gain power, made a majority of voters and loyal former CDR to support this new formation, emphasizing thus the decline of PNŢCD. The evidence is provided by the voter profile of the elector who voted the Alliance: with graduate education, urban, adult between 20 and 60 years, with income above the average. Even if some of the Hungarians no voted, UDMR kept largely supporters, like PRM, for that matter.



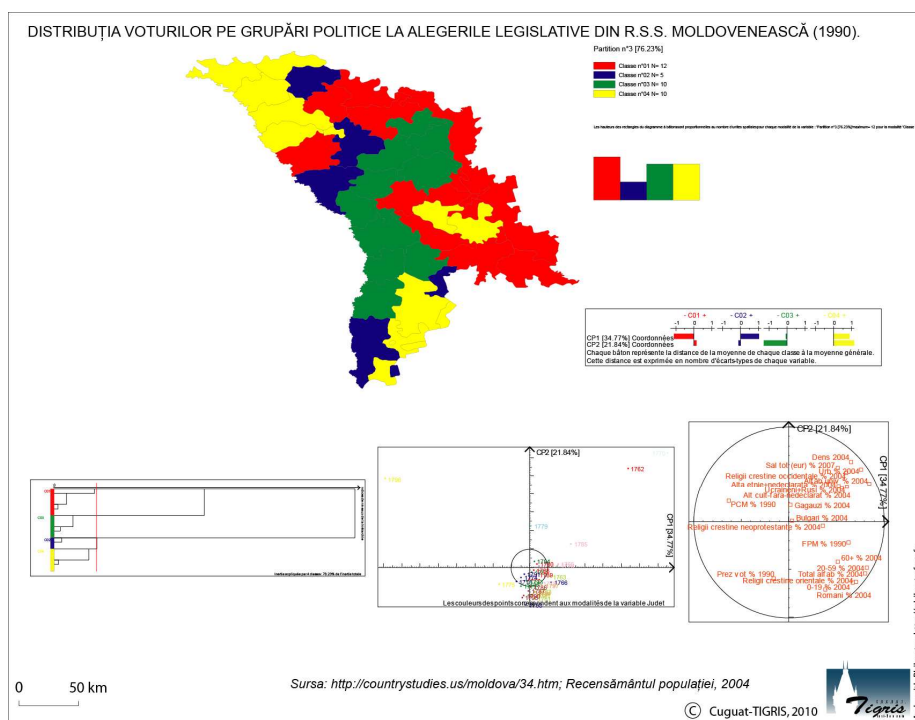
**Figure 10.** Distribution of voter's political options to the Romania's parliamentary elections (2008). Principal component analysis and hierarchical ascending classification

Last parliamentary elections so far (November 2008) brought to the polls less than four in 10 voters eligible to vote. Besides that, largely, this disciplined electorate supports PSD-PC<sup>28</sup> alliance, noting the fact that increasingly more, this electorate is older. The Alliance coordinated by the Social Democratic Party has benefited, as in previous elections, the same voters support. Instead, parts of the

<sup>27</sup> Partidul Umanist Român (Humanistic Party of Romania).

<sup>28</sup> Partidul Conservator (Conservative Party, formerly Humanistic Party of Romania).

former DA Alliance, PNL and PDL (former PD) have changed the electoral "pool": the National Liberal Party became a "competitor" of Social Democrats, supported especially in the rural counties outside of the Carpathians, while PDL has retained approximately the same electorate, only a small number and a profile of less than previously outlined. The share of Hungarian voters who no longer have to vote continues to grow, although it still sustains UDMR (figure 10).



**Figure 11.** Distribution of voter's political options to the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova (1990). Principal component analysis and hierarchical ascending classification

The first democratic elections held in Republic of Moldova have made a large number of voters to the polls, most conscientious are elderly. As in Romania, for the first time after 1938 (year of establishment of the royal dictatorship of Carol II<sup>29</sup>), similarly to the west of the Prut, 1990 was the first year in which exist an alternative to the "single party." The voters for PCM (MCP)<sup>30</sup> voted in particular in rural areas, minority representatives, and with non university studies (figure 11). The FPM was supported by the Romanian electorate, highly educated, urban – especially from Chișinău.

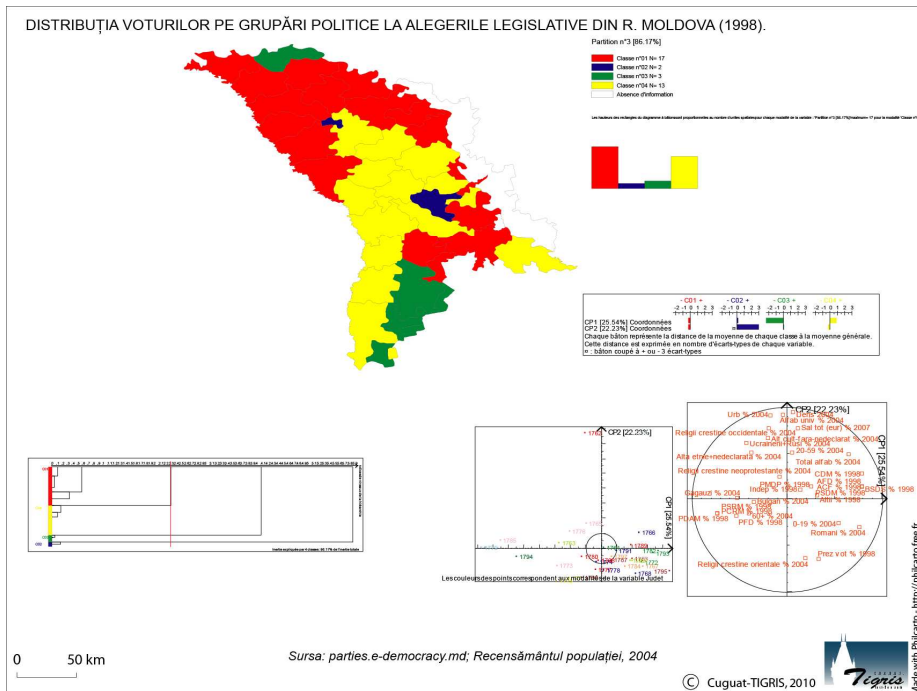
The next elections, the first of Moldova's independence were held in 1994. Conscious electorate to express option is among Romanians in rural areas, older and less literate. A left-wing party, electoral bloc of the Socialist Party – Unity-Edinstvo Movement<sup>31</sup> was supported by representatives of minorities (Russians, Ukrainians, Gagauz), in areas with a large elderly voters (figure 12). PDAM has

<sup>29</sup> At that time Bessarabia was part of the Romanian state.

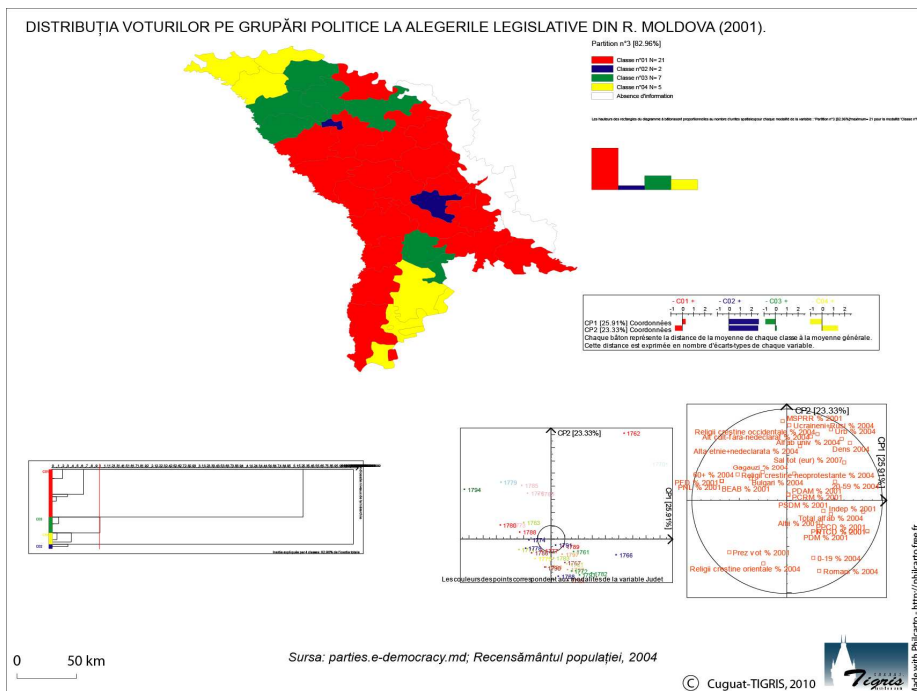
<sup>30</sup> Partidul Comunist al Moldovei (Moldavian Communist Party).

<sup>31</sup> In Romanian: Partidul Socialist-Mișcarea Unitatea-Edinstvo.

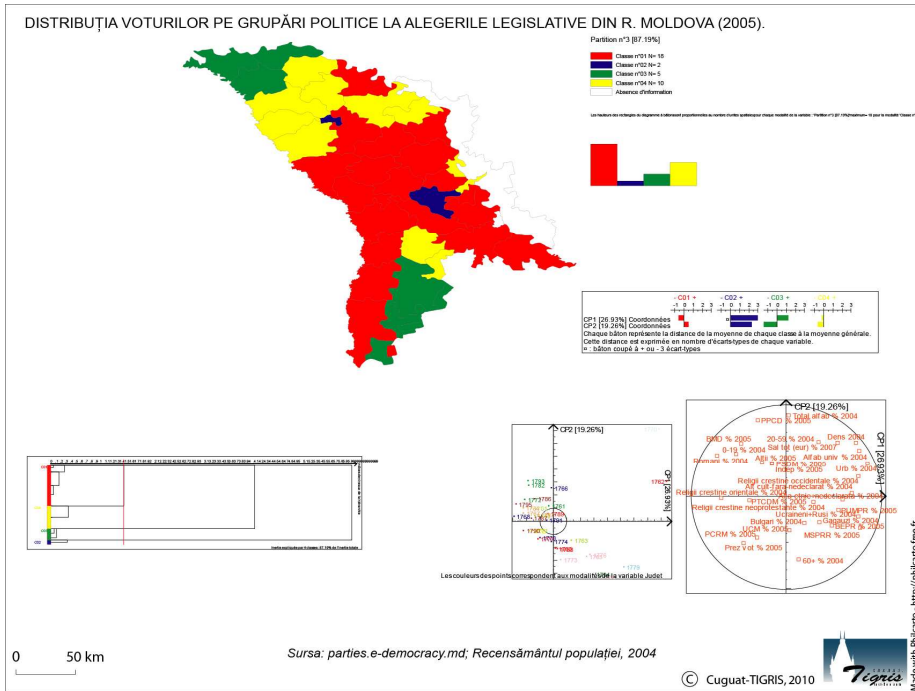




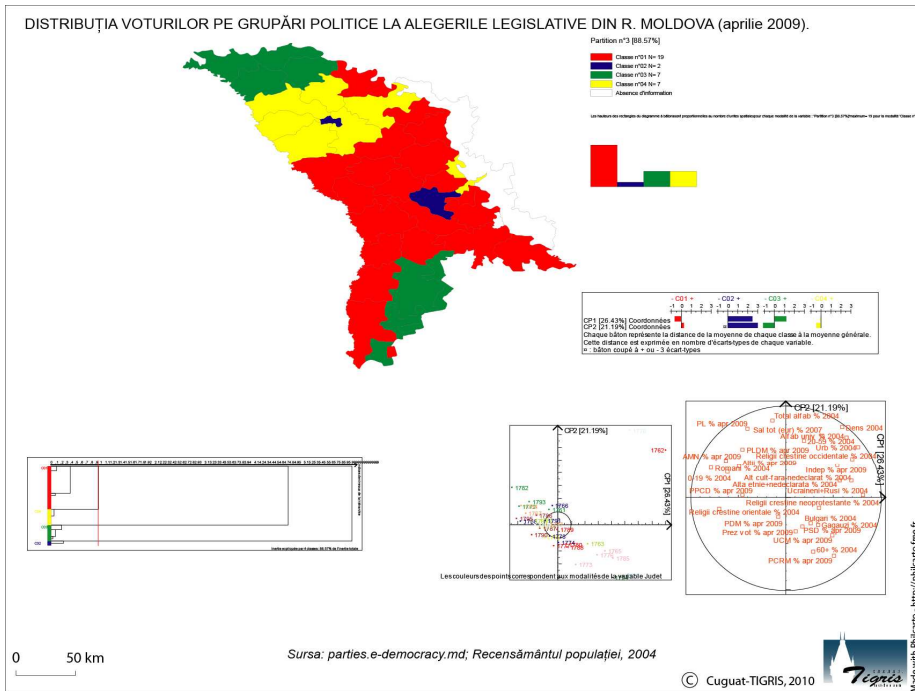
**Figure 13.** Distribution of voter’s political options to the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova (1998). Principal component analysis and hierarchical ascending classification



**Figure 14.** Distribution of voter’s political options to the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova (2001). Principal component analysis and hierarchical ascending classification



**Figure 15.** Distribution of voter’s political options to the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova (2005). Principal component analysis and hierarchical ascending classification

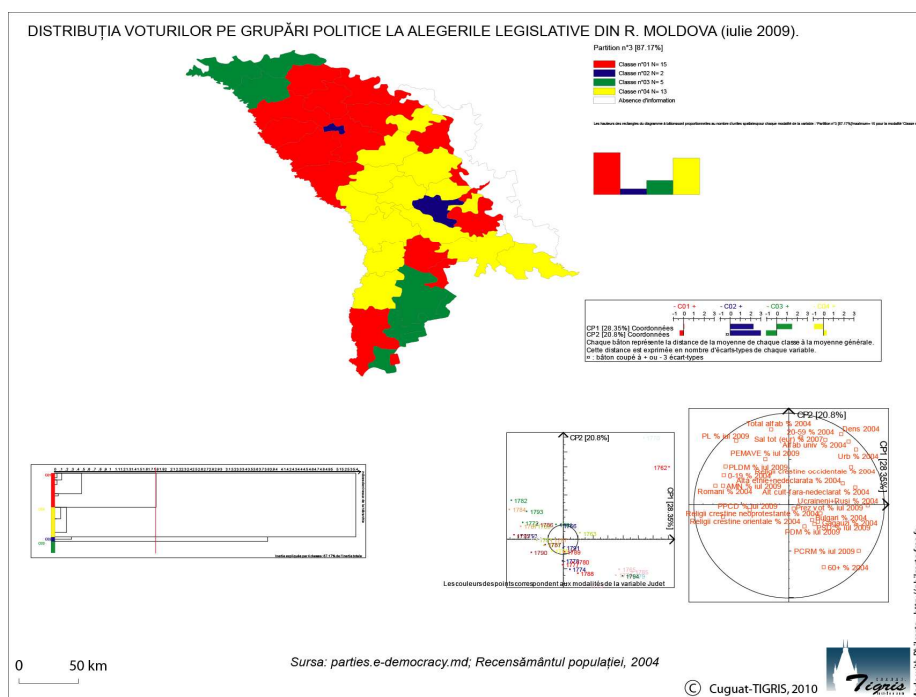


**Figure 16.** Distribution of voter’s political options to the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova (April 2009). Principal component analysis and hierarchical ascending classification



And the next election, voter turnout, down, recorded higher values among all Romanian, elderly, rural dwellers. Only three political parties have won parliamentary seats, the real winner was the Communist Party. Its electorate is formed largely of elderly, rural, with a modest level of education, not necessarily only among minorities. Another party, electoral bloc Braghiș Alliance<sup>37</sup>, a center group, had supporters especially among rural voters. PPCD (former FPCD) kept largely the voters who supported former CDM (figure 14).

And the 2005 election ended with a victory of the Communists, who have benefited from better mobilize its voters to the polls, largely rural elderly (figure 15). Educated Romanians, especially those in rural areas, have claimed particular the Democratic Moldova electoral bloc<sup>38</sup>, an alliance of center-left (liberal-social democratic), while the Romanian voters in urban areas continued to vote, in a good measure, all with PPCD.



**Figure 17.** Distribution of voter’s political options to the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Moldova (July 2009). Principal component analysis and hierarchical ascending classification

Elections in April 2009 ended with the controversial victory of the Communist Party. Again, the Communists have received a mobilization to vote of the same electorate, even if it consists mainly of elderly, with a modest level of education or supporters of national minorities (Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgarians, Gagauz). In contrast, the profile of the supporters of the other three political forces exceeded the threshold – AMN, PL and PLDM (all liberal) is almost the same: Romanian, with studies (in addition, liberals support from those earning higher than national average). Mostly, they made the PPCD electorate,

<sup>37</sup> In Romanian: blocul electoral Alianța Braghiș.

<sup>38</sup> The Romanian name is: blocul electoral Moldova Democrată.



which losing a large part of their support, he failed, for the first time, the entry in the Parliament. Announced, timidly, in 1998, outlined more clearly in 2005, voters return to the liberalism that dominated the region of Bessarabia in the interwar period, is more evident (figure 16).

Even if the Communist Party won a parliamentary majority, its failure to impose to the legislative its candidate for President of the Republic of Moldova, led to early elections in late July 2009. Peculiarities of elections do not differ too much from the spring of that year. Besides the four parties, have entered in the Parliament the representatives of the Democratic Party<sup>39</sup>, a social-democratic party (figure 17). In terms of voters who supported the entry of these parties in the legislature, the PCRM has a profile close to the supporters of the Democratic Party: elderly, rural and/or minority voters. AMN, PL and PLDM will retain approximately the same electorate, with many similarities in terms of their profile (again, the same addition to liberals, supported especially by those with high incomes).

### CONCLUSIONS

In explaining the electoral behavior of voters, the two Romanian states, in Romania, primarily, on the turnout, the show, before 2004, the Hungarian electorate, a fact explained by its desire to have secured the parliamentary representation. Later, amid a growing absenteeism of Hungarian voters, disappointed by the UDMR, shy, is emerging as a disciplined participation at the polls, voters who prefer the PSD, and among them, especially those over 60 years, evidenciate too in the debut of the first decade of post-revolutionary democracy.

The electorate who vote with the Social Democrats was constant, Romanian, adept of Orthodox religion, rural, with a share of alphabetization below the national average. The liberals were supported until 2004 (when they participated, along with PD, in the D.A. Alliance) an urban electorate, with higher education and income than the national average, similar to the PNȚCD (1990, alone and in 1992-1996, as a driving force of CDR). After 2000, the Peasants place among voters was taken by the DA Alliance (2004), respectively, PDL (2008). Breakaway from the FSN, the PD was preferred initially to an electorate like that of DNSF, but "electoral pool" party came gradually at the CDR (1996) and especially the Liberal Party (2000), which explains in part, the formation of the coalition with the Liberals in 2004 and the "seizure" of Peasant electorate. UDMR benefited steadily Hungarian electorate votes in Transylvania, having, as "electoral response", in the first decade after December, the vote of the Romanian nationalists for PUNR. Crossing party's voters to PRM (2000) has meant the disappearance of this party, although neither PRM has a better fate, missing entry into Parliament in 2008.

To east of the Prut, the average turnout over the Romanians Moldovans characterized especially the inhabitants of rural settlements. After 2000, and amid an aging population, this above-average turnout characterized mainly the rural electorate of over 60 years, the supporters of Communist Party.

In terms of policy options, with the Communists (PCM – 1990, PCRM – since 1998) have voted consistently, the representatives of minorities, whether it was about the Russian-speaking, about Gagauz, or even rural Romanian. Approximately the same "electoral pool" has PDAM and, more recently (July 2009), PDM (probably, as result of left of ex-communist Marian Lupu, the present leader of Democratic Party).

<sup>39</sup> In Romanian: Partidul Democrat din Moldova (PDM).

FPM has benefited from early last decade of the last millennium, by the considerable support of the Romanian Bessarabian electorate, recruited largely from urban areas (especially from Chişinău), adult age, educated (often university) and a level living above the national average. The political mistakes of the party, now, later, PPCD, leading to shift the center-right voters, to the liberal political formations: AMN, PL, PLDM, while PPCD remaining outside the Parliament (2009), this shift announcing a "re-conquest" by the liberal forces of Bessarabia, which they have controlled in the interwar period.

Be distinguished, thus some similarities between Romania and Republic of Moldova:

- The leftist vote of the rural electorate, with over 60 years, with a modest level of school education;

- The center and center-right political formations have voted by the educated voters, young adult, largely urban, with an above average standard of living;

- The support of urban voters, with above average education and income, both Christian-democratic parties (NPP - in Romania, FPM / FPCD / PPCD - in the Republic of Moldova) or groups created and coordinated by those parties (CDR - 1992-2000, CDM - 1998-2001) and their failure in the attempt to preserve their parliamentary presence (CDR2000 - 2000, PPCD - 2009);

- The beginning of the "regain" by the liberal parties of the areas outside the Carpathians (both in Romania and the Republic of Moldova), regions dominated by the National Liberal Party in the interwar period;

- The simplification of the political spectrum in both countries, the parliamentary presence of the center-left parties (Democratic Party - in the Republic of Moldova, PSD - in Romania), and with a liberal orientation (PL, AMN - Republic of Moldova, PNL - in Romania) or the conservative-liberal (PLDM - in the Republic of Moldova, PDL - in Romania); we can add the Communist Party (far-left party, to east of the Prut) and UDMR (which groups the most important representatives of ethnic minorities in Romania, as at least partly, the interests of minorities in Moldova are supported by the communist party).

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