

Europe: Fact Sheet on Parliamentary and Presidential Elections

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Contents

Introduction	1
European Elections in 2023	2
European Parliamentary and Presidential Elections	4

Figures

Figure	1. European	Elections	Scheduled	for 2023		;
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Tables

Contacts

Author Information

Introduction

This report provides a map of parliamentary and presidential elections that have been held or are scheduled to be held at the national level in Europe in 2023, and a table of recent and upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections at the national level in Europe. It includes dates for direct parliamentary elections only, and excludes indirect elections.¹

Europe is defined in this product as the 50 countries under the portfolio of the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. The report does not include the Holy See (Vatican City), as there are not any direct presidential or parliamentary elections held there. Electoral rules and governance structures can vary widely across European countries.

Sixteen European countries are scheduled to hold direct presidential and/or parliamentary elections in 2023. Some dates may be subject to change due to snap elections, parliamentary votes of no confidence, or other factors. Thus far in 2023, snap elections² have been scheduled in two European countries—Bulgaria and Slovakia.

Parliament, or the legislative body, may be unicameral, with one legislative chamber, or bicameral, with a lower and upper chamber. In bicameral systems, the lower chamber is usually directly elected by the people and is the more powerful of the two (for example, the House of Commons in the United Kingdom). The upper chamber is frequently appointed or indirectly elected, and has more limited powers (for example, the House of Lords in the United Kingdom). Both the lower and upper chambers are directly elected in six countries (Czech Republic, Italy, Poland, Romania, Spain, and Switzerland).

The presidential election process in European countries varies.³ In many European countries, presidents or heads of state are elected directly by the people in a popular vote; however, in thirteen countries, presidents are indirectly elected by Members of Parliament.⁴ There are twelve monarchies in Europe, including the Holy See.⁵ In lieu of a president, monarchs typically serve as

¹ A direct election is an election where a political party or elected representative is chosen directly through a vote of the citizens. An indirect election is one where the citizen's vote for an intermediate body that is empowered to select the elected official(s).

² In a parliamentary system, a snap election is an election that is held prior to its regularly scheduled date.

³ In **parliamentary republics**, the president as head of state typically has a ceremonial and largely nonpolitical role. In these republics, executive power arises from the legislature and is vested in a prime minister as head of government. In some parliamentary republics, the prime minister is chosen as part of political party negotiations following parliamentary elections; in others, the prime minister may be chosen by the president and/or approved by the parliament. The role of prime minister is often fulfilled by the leader of the majority party or majority coalition of parliament. In **presidential republics**, presidents are elected directly by the people and serve as both the head of state and the head of government. Cyprus and Turkey (Türkiye) are the only countries in Europe with a full presidential system. See **Table 1**, footnotes 1 and m for more information on Turkey. **Semi-presidential republics**, such as France, are a hybrid of these systems, providing for both a directly elected president and a prime minister responsible to parliament.

⁴ The thirteen countries are Albania, Armenia, Estonia, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Kosovo, Latvia, Malta, San Marino, and Switzerland.

⁵ Per the CIA World Factbook, Denmark, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom are considered constitutional monarchies. Belgium is referred to as a parliamentary democracy under a constitutional monarchy. The Holy See is labeled an ecclesiastical elective monarchy (or "absolute monarchy"). Andorra is considered a "parliamentary democracy" that retains its heads of state in the form of a co-principality; "the two princes-the president of France and the Spanish bishop of Urgell–serve with joint authority as heads of state." For more information see https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/.

the head of state with limited or ceremonial powers.⁶ In these instances, presidential elections are denoted as N/A or nonapplicable in the table below.

CRS has gathered the information presented in this report from numerous sources, including the U.S. Department of State, Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA's) World Factbook, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) Election Guide, Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), and other news sources.

Figure 1 includes a map and calendar of the European parliamentary and presidential elections scheduled to be held in 2023, including those already held.

Table 1 provides the dates of the last and next parliamentary and presidential direct elections in Europe. The "last election/runoff" column displays the dates of the most recent direct parliamentary and/or presidential elections. In many instances, the "last election/runoff" column includes more than one date, as parliamentary and/or presidential elections may occur in two-rounds with the top two candidates from an initial election advancing to a runoff election if no candidate receives a majority (this is the system in France).

The "next election" column indicates the projected date when the next direct national election is expected to be held, based on law or practice. In most European countries, general elections occur at least once every four to six years. Unless laws or decisions in a particular country set a specific election day, dates are calculated based on the dates of the most recent election and length of the term. Elections that are expected to occur by a specific month/year are listed in the table according to that month/year.

European Elections in 2023

Sixteen European countries are scheduled to hold presidential and/or parliamentary elections in 2023. These dates may be subject to change due to snap elections, parliamentary votes of no confidence, or other factors.

⁶ Some parliamentary systems, such as that of the United Kingdom, coexist with hereditary monarchies. In these systems, called parliamentary constitutional monarchies, monarchs typically serve as the head of state with limited or ceremonial powers. Prime ministers serve as the head of government, and may be appointed formally by the monarch, based on election results and often with the approval of parliament.



Figure I. European Elections Scheduled for 2023

Source: Created by CRS, using data from the U.S. Department of State, Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA's) World Factbook, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) Election Guide, Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), and other news sources.

Notes: Table is current as of February 13, 2023. Table includes direct elections only. Europe is defined as the fifty countries (excluding the Holy See) under the portfolio of the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs.

European Parliamentary and Presidential Elections

	Parliament	ary Elections	Presidential Elections		
Country	Last Election/ Runoff	Next Election	Last Election/ Runoff	Next Election	
Albania	Apr. 25, 2021	Apr. 2026	Indirect	Indirect	
Andorra	Apr. 7, 2019	Apr. 2023	N/A	N/A	
Armenia	June 20, 2021	June 2026ª	Indirect	Indirect	
Austria	Sept. 29, 2019	Sept. 2024	Oct. 9, 2022	Oct. 2028	
Azerbaijan⁵	Feb. 9, 2020	Feb. 2025	Apr. 11, 2018	Apr. 2025	
Belarus ^ь	Nov. 17, 2019	Nov. 2023	Aug. 9, 2020	Aug. 2025	
Belgium	May 26, 2019	May 2024	N/A	N/A	
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Oct. 2, 2022	Oct. 2026	Oct. 2, 2022	Oct. 2026	
Bulgaria	Oct. 2, 2022 ^c	April 2, 2023₫	Nov. 14, 2021/ Nov. 21,2021	Nov. 2026	
Croatia July 5, 2020		July 2024	Dec. 22, 2019/ Jan. 5, 2020	Dec. 2024	
Cyprus	May 30, 2021	May 2026	Feb. 5, 2023/ Feb. 12, 2023	Feb. 2028	
Czech Republic	Chamber of Deputies: Oct. 8-9, 2021	Chamber of Deputies: Oct. 2025	Jan. 13-14, 2023/ Jan. 27-28, 2023	Jan. 2028	
	Senate: Sept. 23, 2022 - Oct. 1, 2022	Senate: Sept. 2024			
Denmark	Nov. I, 2022 e	Oct. 2026	N/A	N/A	
Estonia Mar. 3, 2019 Mar. 5		Mar. 5, 2023	Indirect	Indirect	
Finland Apr. 14, 2019		Apr. 2, 2023	Jan. 28, 2018	Jan. 2024	
France	June 12, 2022/ June 19, 2022	June 2027	Apr. 10, 2022/ Apr. 24, 2022	Apr. 2027	
Georgia Oct. 31, 2020/ Nov. 21, 2020		Oct. 2024	Oct. 28, 2018 ^f	Indirect	
Germany	Sept. 26, 2021	Sept. 2025	Indirect	Indirect	
Greece	July 7, 2019	July 2023	Indirect	Indirect	
Hungary	Apr. 3, 2022	Apr. 2026	Indirect	Indirect	
celand	Sept. 25, 2021	Sept. 2025	June 27, 2020	June 2024	
reland	Feb. 8, 2020	Feb. 2025	Oct. 26, 2018	Oct. 2025	
Italy	Chamber of Deputies & Senate: Sept. 25, 2022g	Chamber of Deputies & Senate: Sept. 2027	Indirect	Indirect	
Kosovo	Feb. 14, 2021	Feb. 2025	Indirect	Indirect	

Table I. European Parliamentary and Presidential Elections

	Parliament	ary Elections	Presiden	tial Elections	
Country	Last Election/ Runoff	Next Election	Last Election/ Runoff	Next Election	
Latvia	Oct. I, 2022	Oct. 2026	Indirect	Indirect	
Liechtenstein	Feb. 7, 2021	Feb. 2025	N/A	N/A	
Lithuania	Oct. 11, 2020/ Oct. 25, 2020	Oct. 2024	May 12, 2019/ May 26, 2019	May 2024	
Luxembourg	Oct. 14, 2018	Oct. 8, 2023	N/A	N/A	
Malta	Mar. 26, 2022	Mar. 2027	Indirect	Indirect	
Moldova	July 11, 2021	July 2025	Nov. I, 2020/ Nov. I5, 2020	Nov. 2024	
Monaco	Feb. 5, 2023	Feb. 2028	N/A	N/A	
Montenegro	Aug. 30, 2020	Aug. 2024	Apr. 15, 2018	Mar. 19, 2023	
Netherlands	Mar. 17, 2021	Mar. 2025	N/A	N/A	
North Macedonia	July 15, 2020	July 2024	Apr. 21, 2019/ May, 5 2019	Apr. 2024	
Norway	Sept. 13, 2021	Sept. 2025	N/A	N/A	
Poland Sejm & Senate: Oct. 13, 2019		Sejm & Senate: Oct. 2023	June 28, 2020/ July 12, 2020	June 2025	
Portugal	Jan. 30, 2022 ^h	Jan. 2026	Jan. 24, 2021	Jan. 2026	
Romania Chamber of Deputies & Senate: Dec. 6, 2020		Chamber of Deputies & Senate: Dec. 2024	Nov. 10, 2019/ Nov. 24, 2019	Nov. 2024	
Russian Federation ^b	Sept. 19, 2021	Sept. 2026	Mar. 18, 2018	Mar. 2024	
San Marino	Dec. 8, 2019	Dec. 2024	Indirect	Indirect	
Serbia	Apr. 3, 2022 ⁱ	Apr. 2026	Apr. 3, 2022	Apr. 2027	
Slovakia	Feb. 29, 2020	Sept. 30, 2023 [;]	Mar. 16, 2019/ Mar. 30, 2019	Mar. 2024	
Slovenia	Apr. 24, 2022	Apr. 2026	Oct. 23, 2022/ Nov. 13, 2022	Oct. 2027	
Spain	Congress of Deputies & Senate: Nov. 10, 2019	Congress of Deputies & Senate: Dec. 2023	N/A	N/A	
Sweden	Sept. 11, 2022	Sept. 13, 2026	N/A	N/A	
Switzerland National Council & Council of States: Oct. 20, 2019 ^k		National Council & Council of States: Oct. 22, 2023	Indirect	Indirect	
Turkey ^ı (Türkiye) ⁿ	June 24, 2018	May/June 2023	June 24, 2018	May/June 2023	
Ukraine	July 21, 2019	July 2024	Mar. 31, 2019/ Apr. 21, 2019	Mar. 2024	
United Kingdom	Dec. 12, 2019	May 2, 2024	N/A	N/A	

Source: Created by CRS, using data from the U.S. Department of State, European Council, Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA's) World Factbook, International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) Election Guide, Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), and other news sources.

Notes: Table is current as of February 13, 2023. Europe is defined as the fifty countries (excluding the Holy See) under the portfolio of the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. N/A means nonapplicable. The "last election/runoff" column may include more than one date, as parliamentary and/or presidential elections may often occur in two-rounds with the top two candidates from an initial election advancing to a runoff election if no candidate receives a majority. Unless a country sets a specific election day, dates in the "next election" column are calculated based on the dates of the most recent election and length of the term. Elections that are expected to occur by a specific month/year are listed in the table according to that month/year.

- a. Armenia originally had elections scheduled for December 2023, but held snap elections on June 20, 2021. The prime minister announced the snap elections to address the political opposition that arose following a cease-fire agreement that he signed with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh. See CRS Report R46651, Azerbaijan and Armenia: The Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict, by Cory Welt and Andrew S. Bowen.
- b. Azerbaijan, Belarus and Russia are considered "authoritarian" governments according to Freedom House's Freedom in the World 2021. See Sarah Repucci and Amy Slipowitz, Freedom in the World 2021: Democracy Under Siege, Freedom House, 2021, at https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2021-02/FIW2021_World_02252021_FINAL-web-upload.pdf. For more information on Belarus and Russia, see: CRS In Focus IF10814, Belarus: An Overview, by Cory Welt and CRS Report R46518, Russia: Domestic Politics and Economy, by Cory Welt and Rebecca M. Nelson.
- c. Bulgaria held snap parliamentary elections on October 2, 2022 after the Petkov government, a four-party coalition, fell in June 2022. This is the fourth parliamentary snap election in Bulgaria since April 2021.
- d. As Bulgarian parties failed to form a government after the October 2022 parliamentary election, Bulgarian President Rumen Radev set April 2, 2023 as the date for the country's fifth parliamentary election since April 2021.
- e. Denmark originally had parliamentary elections scheduled for June 2023, but held snap parliamentary elections on November I, 2022. Prime Minister Mette Frederiksen announced the snap elections after a party in her coalition government threatened to withdraw support over her handling of a controversial decision to cull several million mink during the COVID pandemic.
- f. Constitutional amendments in 2017 changed the presidential elections to an indirect election. The 2018 presidential election in Georgia was the last in which the president was directly elected. Beginning in 2023, Georgia's president will be elected by Members of Parliament and local government representatives. See CRS Report R45307, Georgia: Background and U.S. Policy, by Cory Welt.
- g. Italy held snap parliamentary elections on September 25, 2022 following Prime Minister Draghi's resignation and the dissolution of parliament on July 21, 2022.
- h. In November 2021, the Portuguese president announced plans to dissolve parliament and called a snap election on January 30, 2022.
- i. Parliamentary elections in Serbia were supposed to occur in 2024. However, in October 2020, President Aleksandar Vucic announced that parliamentary elections would be held earlier. Both the parliamentary and presidential elections were held on April 3, 2022.
- J. In December 2022, Slovakia's coalition government lost a no-confidence vote in parliament. In late January 2023, Slovakia's parliament amended the country's constitution to enable early elections and approved Sept. 30, 2023 as the date for the snap election.
- k. Each canton in Switzerland organizes its elections for the Council of States. The first round of the election to the Swiss Council of States is held at the same time as elections to the National Council in all cantons, with one exception. The canton of Appenzell Innerrhoden holds its elections on the last Sunday in April (last election was Apr. 28, 2019). Depending on the results of the election, a second round or runoff election may be required in some cantons.
- I. On April 16, 2017, a constitutional referendum was held on amending the Turkish Constitution, including abolishing the office of the Prime Minister and replacing the country's existing parliamentary system with a presidential system. The referendum passed. On June 24, 2018, Turkey held snap elections, re-electing President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. "With the elimination of the prime minister's post, President Erdoğan now controls all executive functions ... and the capacity of the parliament to provide a check on his rule is, in practice, seriously limited," according to Freedom House's Freedom in the World 2021. See Sarah Repucci and Amy Slipowitz, Freedom in the World 2021: Democracy Under Siege, Freedom House, 2021, at https://freedom house.org/sites/default/ files/2021-02/FIVV2021_World_02252021_FINAL-web-upload.pdf.

- m. For more information, see CRS Report R41368, Turkey (Türkiye): Background and U.S. Relations, by Jim Zanotti and Clayton Thomas.
- n. In late 2021, President Erdogan directed the use of "Türkiye" (the country's name in Turkish) in place of "Turkey" or other equivalents (e.g., the German "Türkei," the French "Turquie") in Turkish government documents and communications. In June 2022, the United Nations accepted the Turkish request to change the country's name at the body to "Türkiye." In January 2023, the State Department spokesperson said that the department would use the revised spelling "in most formal diplomatic and bilateral contexts" where appropriate. The Board on Geographic Names retained both "Turkey" and "Republic of Turkey" as conventional names, and the spokesperson said that the State Department could use those names if it is in furtherance of broader public understanding. State Department Press Briefing, January 5, 2023.

Author Information

Sofia Plagakis Research Librarian

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