
Belgium

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MAIN BORDER CHANGES

In the eighteenth century until 1797, the territory of present-day Belgium was made up of the Austrian Low Countries (ruled by the Habsburg dynasty), the Diocese of Liège, and the Duchy of Luxemburg. These territories previously belonged to the Spanish Habsburgs and were transferred to Austria in 1715. The Habsburg Low Countries were annexed by revolutionary France in 1795. During this period the country was divided into nine *départements* (today's provinces) on the French model, disregarding linguistic homogeneity within these units; like the French departments, they were created in order to make it possible to reach the *chef-lieu* within one day of travel. At the Congress of Vienna of 1815, the Belgian provinces were incorporated into the United Kingdom of the Netherlands which also included the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.

After Belgian independence in 1830, The Netherlands kept control over Luxemburg—bound by personal union to the Dutch crown but part of the German Union (*Deutsches Bund*)—and the province of Limburg. In 1839, the Treaty of London of 19 April established that the French-speaking western part of Luxemburg and the southern half of the province of Limburg would be annexed to Belgium. In the aftermath of World War I (Treaty of Versailles), Belgium acquired the mostly German-speaking territories Moresnet (1919), Eupen, Sankt Vith, and Malmédy (1925) from the German Empire. During World War II these German-speaking territories returned temporarily to Germany (1940–44).

ELECTORAL DEVELOPMENT

Before independence: 1815–1830

From 1815 until 1830, when the Belgian provinces were incorporated into the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, suffrage was the same as in The Netherlands, and the Belgian provinces sent 200 representatives to the *Staten-Generaal* (see also Country Chapter 12 on The Netherlands). Suffrage was limited by census. In the cities all men aged 25 years and over paying a minimum tax varying from 13 gulden in Luxemburg to 150 gulden in Brussels were entitled to vote. Opposition to the union with the Dutch crown came mainly from the Liberal and Catholic groups who were against the regime of William I and Protestantism. After the Revolution of 1830 the provisional government of Belgium called for new elections (3 November 1830) for the National Congress. These were held under the same suffrage requirements as under Dutch rule. The decree of 16 October 1830 reduced the amount of taxes to 25–75 gulden in the rural areas and granted voting rights to holders of university degrees, magistrates, lawyers, judges, and priests. The National Congress issued a new constitution on 7 February 1831 establishing a parliamentary system and passed a new electoral law on 5 March 1831. Census requirements were maintained.

Period of 'suffrage censitaire': 1831–1892

Between 1831 and 1892, suffrage was restricted by census requirements (*suffrage censitaire*). To be entitled to vote, citizens aged 25 and over were required to pay a minimum tax ranging from 20 to 100 gulden (80 according to some sources). This

tax was higher in the cities than in the countryside but was standardized at 20 gulden (or 42.8 francs) on 12 March 1848 with the reform adopted under the influence of the French February Revolution. Elections were direct and held by a two-ballot majority system in 41 multi-member constituencies (the *arrondissements administratifs*) of very different sizes. Voters had the right to cast as many votes as there were seats to be returned in each constituency (multiple voting). Seats were allotted to the candidates obtaining the absolute majority. If no absolute majority was reached in the first ballot, a second ballot was held. The number of candidates admitted to the second ballot was twice the number of seats still to be returned. A relative majority was required at the second ballot (plurality). Elections were partial: half of the representatives of the *Chambre des Représentants* (or *Kamer der Volksvertegenwoordiger*) were elected every two years to a four-year term. General elections were carried out only if the parliament was dissolved. Secret balloting was introduced in 1877. The census system was subject to different manipulations: for example, in 1871 the Catholics changed the tax on alcoholic beverages into an indirect tax so that more than 12,000 citizens (among them many liberal café-owners) lost the right to vote. In 1878 the Liberals no longer recognized home-ownership as a census criterion, thus depriving around 9,000 individuals of the right to vote.

Period of 'vote plural': 1893–1898

The constitutional revision of 7 September 1893 (adopted by the *Chambre des Représentants*) and the electoral laws of 12 April and 28 June 1894 introduced universal male suffrage and plural vote (*vote plural*). Each male Belgian citizen aged 25 and over had the right to cast one vote. One supplementary vote was given 1) to family fathers aged 35 and over paying a minimum of five francs in house taxes, and 2) to citizens aged 25 and over recognized as homeowners (house valued at 2,000 francs or at an annual rent of 100 francs); these two criteria could not be cumulated. Two supplementary votes were given to citizens aged 25 and over in possession of a diploma of advanced schooling and to teachers or civil servants. However, none had the right to cast more than three votes. Until 1899, this system overlapped with that of multiple voting (that is, voters having the right to cast as many votes as there are seats to be returned). The electoral system did not change from the preceding period. Voting was however made compulsory with the 1893 electoral reform.¹

Period of 'vote plural' and PR: 1900–1914

On 29 December 1899 PR replaced the two-ballot majority system. Multiple voting and *panachage* were not allowed while the plural vote remained in force until 1919. The PR formula designed by Victor D'Hondt was applied. Belgium was the first Western European country to introduce the PR electoral system at the national level (with the exception of the *Rigsråd* in Denmark).

Period of universal suffrage and PR: 1919–present

On 9 May 1919 universal suffrage for all men aged 21 and over was introduced and the plural vote abolished. In 1920–21 the repeal of the plural vote and the lowering

of the voting age were written into the Constitution, which provided for universal male suffrage, the PR electoral system, and secret balloting. Women were granted the right to vote if they were widows or mothers of fallen soldiers. The electoral law of 22 October 1919 retained the D'Hondt PR formula but added the possibility of *apparentement provincial*. According to this system, the distribution of seats was carried out at two levels: the *arrondissements* and the *provinces* (two-tier system). Provincial distribution was carried out when two or more lists of different *arrondissements* had made a joint official declaration of *apparentement*. The distribution of seats at the provincial level was carried out by a quota system instead of the D'Hondt system. Each voter had the right to cast a preference vote for one candidate. Elections were held every four years, and since then the entire Chamber of Representatives has always been up for election at the same time (see Synopsis 2 below).

On 27 March 1948 women were fully enfranchised. In 1981, the voting age was reduced to 18 years and over. Before the 1995 election a complete redistricting took place (see Synopses 5 and 6).²

TERRITORIAL UNITS AND LEVELS OF AGGREGATION

1847–98.—Elections were held in 41 *arrondissements administratifs*. The results at this level can be aggregated into nine *provinces*. The total national figures do not include the constituencies in which the election was unopposed.

1900–91.—The number of constituencies was reduced to 30 *arrondissements administratifs* and nine *provinces*. The following original *arrondissements* were aggregated: Fournes–Dixmude–Ostende; Roulers–Tielt; Tournai–Ath; Huy–Waremmes; Gand–Eeklo; Tongres–Maaseik; Arlon–Marche–Bastogne; Neuf-château–Virton; and Dinant–Philippeville.

1995.—In 1995 a complete redistricting took place. The 30 *arrondissements* became 20 *circonscriptions* or *kiesdistricte* (see Synopses 5 and 6). The number of provinces increased from nine to 11 given the division of the former province of Brabant into three parts: Bruxelles, Brabant flamand (Louvain), and Brabant wallon (Nivelles).

SOURCES AND DATA SPECIFICITIES

Data for 1919–95 are fully documented by official statistics and by collections carried out by private scholars (see the List of Sources in Appendix 3). Concerning 1847–1914, a more detailed note on sources is necessary.

Results for this period have been collected by Moyne (1970). This work provides the number of eligible voters, the number of actual voters, the number of valid votes, and the results by political parties for the entire period (see Table 1 for missing information). These are presented by *arrondissement*, by province, and for the entire kingdom. Information about unopposed constituencies (the *élections tacites*) and the building of electoral cartels is also reported. For 1894–1914, Moyne's data are based on the following official sources: the *Bulletin du Ministère de l'Intérieur*, the *Situation du Royaume*, and the *Annuaire Statistique de la Belgique*. For 1847–92, by contrast, official information is lacking. The main sources used by Moyne were reports in the press: the *Journal de Bruxelles*, *L'indépendant belge*, *L'observateur*

belge, *L'émancipation*, the *Journal de Liège*, the *Gazette de Liège*, and *Le bien public*.

Moyne's book has been subject to severe criticism of its reliability,³ focusing in particular on the sloppy presentation of results in the tables, graphs, and maps. A number of incongruent formulations and definitions have been pointed out. With regard to data collection, criticism focuses on the inadequacy of the material collected (newspapers) and the difficulties of determining the partisan affiliation of certain groups of candidates and their inclusion in the ranks of a given party. Furthermore, critics point out that local newspapers should have been used in addition to the national newspapers, which could have added more and more solid material.

It is not the task of the present work to judge this dispute or whether Moyne's data are sufficiently reliable or not. This work is currently the only available source for the 1847–1914 period.

Until 1914, the partial renewal of the *Chambre des Représentants* was the rule, and only in case of dissolution of the parliament was the lower house re-elected in its entirety (see Synopsis 2 for the list of the alternating *arrondissements*).⁴ From 1847 to 1898 two groups of 19 and 22 *arrondissements* alternated; from 1900 to 1914 two groups of 15 *arrondissements* alternated.

Until 1899 each voter had as many votes as there were seats to be returned in each constituency (multiple voting). The sum of these votes constitutes the value for the number of valid votes. In order to obtain values which can be interpreted in the light of the 'one man, one vote' equivalence, Moyne divides the number of votes by the number of seats (called *puissance électorale utilisée*) for the valid votes figures as well as for the party results figures. Since not all voters used all of their votes, this estimation is approximate. The data set on CD-ROM presents both values (votes and votes divided by the number of seats).

In 1893 the plural vote was introduced to limit the effects of the introduction of universal male suffrage. As before, it is possible to estimate the 'one man, one vote' equivalence by dividing the number of votes by the number of seats. However, until 1919, when the plural vote was discontinued, it is not possible to distinguish between voters entitled to cast either one, two, or three votes. Since the 1900 election, when PR was introduced, it is no longer necessary to estimate since multiple voting was abolished.

From 1847 to 1898 the two-ballot system was used. For the second ballot only the number of votes are available and not the estimation of the 'one man, one vote' equivalence.

From the 1960s until the 1980s, the major Belgian parties split according to the linguistic cleavage. The Catholic party split in 1968 into the *Parti social-chrétien/Christelijke Partij*; the liberal party in 1972 into the *Parti de la liberté et du progrès/Partij voor Vrijheid en Vooruitgang*; and the socialist party in 1978 into the *Parti socialiste belge/Belgische Socialistische Partij*. The Greens split in 1981, the first election in which they fulfilled the criterion to be included in this collection, that is, gaining at least five per cent of the votes nationally or within at least one constituency. The two wings of the party are *Agalev* and *Ecolo* (see Synopses 3 and 4 for details on political parties). For each of these parties, results are presented for each of the two linguistic wings since the dates of separation. Only since 1991,

however, do official publications explicitly distinguish between the two linguistic wings of the socialist, liberal, Catholic and Green parties. Before this date results for the two wings have been disaggregated according to the *arrondissements* in which each wing was present. In Brussels, however, both wings are present, thus before 1991 it is not possible to separate the results of the two wings there. The aggregated results for the two wings of each of the four parties in Brussels have been ranged in the column of the Walloon party.

In 1991 the two wings of the Socialist, Catholic and Liberal parties presented common lists in the *arrondissement* of Verviers (no. 24). In this case the aggregated results of the two wings are ranged in the column of the Walloon wing. In 1995 in Verviers only the Socialist Party presented a common list for the two wings; again the results are presented in the Walloon column.

TABLE 1 Missing information on Belgian elections

Variable	Year of election	Missing constituencies	Number of missing constituencies
Valid votes and party votes	1848	Audenarde/Oudenaarde	1
Valid votes and party votes	1859	Ypres/Ieper	1
Valid votes (second ballot)	1854	Bruxelles/Brussel	1
Valid votes (second ballot)	1856	Bruxelles/Brussel	1
Voters	1894	Bruxelles/Brussel	1
Voters	1914	All constituencies	15

Notes: National totals are influenced by missing figures in the single constituencies. The 1914 election was a partial election. National totals also missing.

SYNOPSIS 1 Development of electoral law

Elections	Enfranchisement and equality of voting conditions	Electoral system
<i>1. Period of suffrage censitaire: 1831–92</i>		
1831	Equal male suffrage with voting age of 25 years and over. Suffrage restricted to citizens paying a minimum tax (between 20 and 100 gulden, different in cities and rural areas).	Direct elections held by a two-ballot majority system in multi-member constituencies. Multiple voting with possibility of cumulating votes on same candidate. Second ballot contested by twice the number of first candidates as seats (still) to be allocated in constituency. Plurality applied to second ballot. Partial elections. Integral renewal only after dissolution of chambers.
1848	Reduction and standardization of direct tax requirement to 20 gulden.	
1877	Introduction of secret ballot.	
<i>2. Period of vote plural: 1894–98</i>		
1894	Universal male suffrage. Introduction of plural vote with a maximum of three votes.	Introduction of compulsory voting.
	<p>Additional votes:</p> <p>— <i>one additional vote</i> given 1) to family fathers aged 35 years paying a minimum tax of five francs and 2) to citizens aged 25 years, homeowners or owners of real estate (<i>vote censitaire</i>). These two votes could not be cumulated.</p> <p>— <i>two additional votes</i> given to citizens aged 25 years in possession of a diploma of advanced schooling and to teachers or civil servants (<i>vote capacitaire</i>).</p>	
<i>3. Period of PR and vote plural: 1900–14</i>		
1900	As above.	Introduction in 1899 of PR with the D'Hondt formula.
<i>4. Universal suffrage and PR: 1919–present</i>		
1919	Abolition of plural vote. Voting age lowered to 21 years and over. Voting right given to widows and mothers of soldiers fallen in the war.	PR with D'Hondt formula. The possibility of provincial <i>apparentement</i> introduced. Two tiers: <i>arrondissement</i> and <i>province</i> . Parliament always renewed integrally. In 1919 the number of constituencies reduced from 41 to 30. Preferential voting with the possibility of expressing one preference.
1948	Enfranchisement of women.	
1981	Voting age reduced to 18 years and over.	
1995		Number of constituencies reduced from 30 to 20.

SYNOPSIS 2 Dates and type of elections

Date of election	Type of election	Date of election	Type of election
8 June 1847	Partial (group 1)	<i>continued</i>	
13 June 1848	General	29 May 1904	Partial (group 1)
11 June 1850	Partial (group 2)	27 May 1906	Partial (group 2)
8 June 1852	Partial (group 1)	24 May 1908	Partial (group 1)
13 June 1854	Partial (group 2)	22 May 1910	Partial (group 2)
10 June 1856	Partial (group 1)	2 June 1912	General
10 December 1857	General	24 May 1914	Partial (group 1)
14 June 1859	Partial (group 2)	16 November 1919	General
11 June 1861	Partial (group 1)	20 November 1921	General
9 June 1863	Partial (group 2)	5 April 1925	General
11 August 1864	General	26 May 1929	General
12 June 1866	Partial (group 1)	27 November 1932	General
9 June 1868	Partial (group 2)	24 May 1936	General
14 June 1870	Partial (group 1)	2 April 1939	General
2 August 1870	General	17 February 1946	General
11 June 1872	Partial (group 2)	29 June 1949	General
9 June 1874	Partial (group 1)	4 June 1950	General
13 June 1876	Partial (group 2)	11 April 1954	General
11 June 1878	Partial (group 1)	1 June 1958	General
8 June 1880	Partial (group 2)	26 March 1961	General
13 June 1882	Partial (group 1)	23 May 1965	General
10 June 1884	Partial (group 2)	31 March 1968	General
8 June 1886	Partial (group 1)	7 November 1971	General
12 June 1888	Partial (group 2)	10 March 1974	General
10 June 1890	Partial (group 1)	17 April 1977	General
14 June 1892	General	17 December 1978	General
14 October 1894	General	8 November 1981	General
5 July 1896	Partial (group 2)	13 October 1985	General
22 May 1898	Partial (group 1)	13 December 1987	General
27 May 1900	General	24 November 1991	General
25 May 1902	Partial (group 2)	21 May 1995	General
<i>continued</i>			

Note: Until 1914 two types of elections were held: partial elections of the chambers, in which two groups of *arrondissements* alternated, and general elections of the chambers. The two groups of *arrondissements* are as follows for the 1847–98 period:

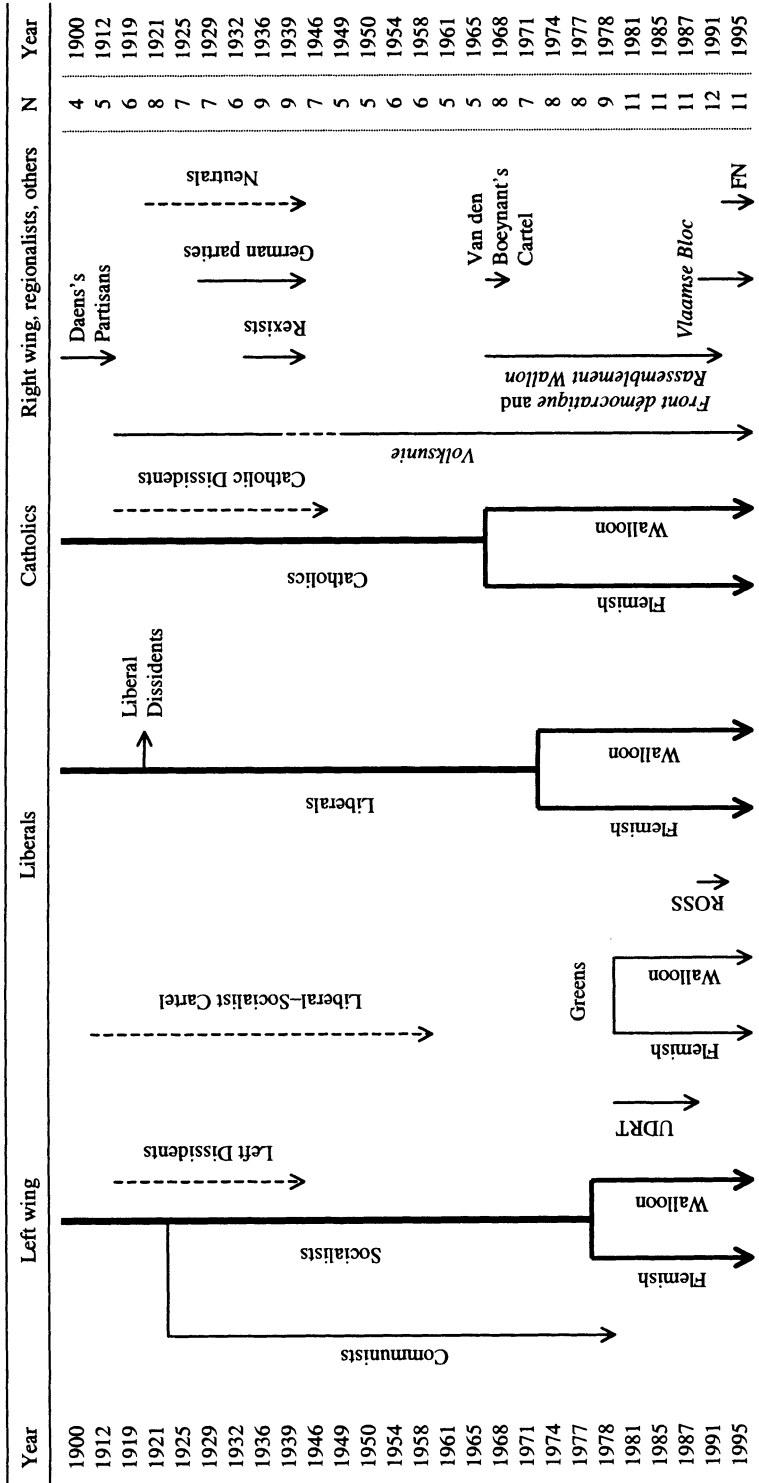
1. *Group 1:* Gent, Eeklo, Saint-Nicolas, Dendermonde, Aalst, Oudernarde, Mons, Soignes, Tournai, Ath, Charleroi, Thuin, Liège, Huy, Waremme, Verviers, Hasselt, Tongeren, Maaseik.
2. *Group 2:* Anvers, Malines, Turnhout, Bruxelles, Leuven, Nivelles, Bruges, Fournes, Dixmonde, Oostende, Courtrai, Roeselare, Tielt, Ypres, Arlon, Bastogne, Marche, Neufchateau, Virton, Namur, Dinant, Philippeville.

And for the 1900–14 period:

1. *Group 1:* Gent-Eeklo, Saint-Nicolas, Dendermonde, Aalst, Oudernarde, Mons, Soignes, Tournai, Ath, Charleroi, Thuin, Liège, Huy-Waremme, Verviers, Hasselt, Tongeren-Maaseik.
2. *Group 2:* Anvers, Malines, Turnhout, Bruxelles, Leuven, Nivelles, Bruges, Fournes-Dixmonde-Oostende, Courtrai, Roeselare-Tielt, Ypres, Arlon-Bastogne-Marche, Neufchateau-Virton, Namur, Dinant-Philippeville.

Since 1919 only general elections are held.

SYNOPSIS 3 The Belgian party system tree (1900–1995)



Notes: Only parties participating in elections and receiving at least five per cent of the votes nation-wide or within at least one constituency are considered. N: Number of parties participating in election according to this rule. Independent candidates and 'other parties' category not included. No partial elections considered.

Legend: FN = National Front; UDRT = Democratic Union for the Respect of Labour; ROSS = Radical Change and Social Fighters for an Honest Society.

SYNOPSIS 4 Political parties

Code	Names, changes, splits, and mergers	Contested elections	
		Years	N
AG	<i>Agalev-Anders gaan leven</i> - Live Differently, Greens (Flemish), established an independent Flemish organization in 1982.	1981–95	5
CVP/ PSC (CC before 1968)	<i>Parti social-chrétien</i> (Walloon) and <i>Christelijke volkspartij</i> (Flemish) - Social-Christian Party and Christian People's Party (since 1945 with these names). Both derived from the <i>Parti catholique belge</i> - Belgian Catholic Party. Former <i>Union catholique belge</i> - Belgian Catholic Union, since 1937 known as <i>Bloc catholique belge</i> - Belgian Catholic Bloc, a federation of <i>Parti catholique social</i> - Social Catholic Party (Walloon) and <i>Katholieke Vlaamse Volkspartij</i> - Flemish Catholic People's Party (Flemish). In 1968 the two linguistic wings separated into two different parties.	1847–1995	61
DC	<i>Dissidences catholiques</i> - Catholic Dissidents (<i>Sinistres</i> , <i>Démocrates chrétiens</i> , <i>Ouvriers chrétiens</i> , <i>Union catholique démocratique</i> , <i>Catholiques nationalistes</i> , etc.).	1919–29, 1936, 1946	6
DG	<i>Dissidences de gauche</i> - Leftist Dissidents (<i>Action socialiste révolutionnaire</i> , <i>Radicaux socialistes</i>).	1919–21, 1936–39	4
DL	<i>Dissidences libérales</i> - Liberal Dissidents (sometimes this corresponds to <i>Cartel libéral-socialiste-Liberaal-socialistische kartel</i> - Liberal–Socialist Cartel).	1921	1
ECO	<i>Ecolo-Ecologistes confédérés pour l'organisation de luttes originales</i> - Ecologist Confederation for the Organization of New Struggles (Walloon), established in 1978 by Walloon environmentalists. In 1981 collaborated with <i>Agalev-Anders gaan leven</i> - Live Differently, Greens (Flemish).	1981–95	5
FD	<i>Front démocratique des Bruxellois francophones</i> - Francophone Democratic Front of the Bruxellois, established in 1964. In 1991 the <i>Front démocratique des francophones-Parti pour la Wallonie</i> - Francophone Democratic Front of the Bruxellois–Walloon Party, and in 1995 in alliance with the <i>Parti réformateur libéral</i> - Liberal Reform Party.	1968–91	9
FN	<i>Front national-Nationaal Front</i> - National Front, established in 1983.	1995	1
K	<i>Parti communiste de Belgique-Kommunistische partij van België</i> - Communist Party of Belgium.	1925–78	17
LS	<i>Cartel libéral-socialiste-Liberaal-socialistische kartel</i> - Liberal–Socialist Cartel, provincial level alliances between the <i>Parti libéral-Liberale partij</i> - Liberal Party and the <i>Parti ouvrier belge-Belgische werkliedenpartij</i> - Belgian Workers' Party, later the <i>Parti socialiste belge-Belgische socialistische partij</i> - Belgian Socialist Party.	1894–98, 1906–12, 1945, 1950– 58	11
N	<i>Neutres</i> - Neutrals (<i>Comité de justice</i> , <i>Combattants</i> (1921), <i>Classes moyennes</i> , <i>Indépendants</i> , <i>Défense du Luxembourg</i> , <i>Médiateurs du régime</i> , <i>Parti wallon</i> , <i>Agriculteurs</i> (1925), <i>Frenssen-Technocrates</i> , <i>Réalistes</i> , <i>Agrariens</i> , <i>Parti national</i>).	1919–25, 1936–39	5

continued

continued

Code	Names, changes, splits, and mergers	Contested elections	
		Years	N
PD	<i>Partisans de Daens (Parti démocrate-chrétien)-Daensisten (Christene volkspartij)</i> - Daens's Partisans (Christian Democrat Party), founded by the Abbé Daens in 1893.	1894–1914	11
PLDP	<i>Parti libéral démocrate et pluraliste</i> - Liberal Democrat and Pluralist Party, before 1974 <i>Parti libéral de Bruxelles</i> - Brussels Liberal Party.	1974	1
PPA	<i>Partis pro-allemands</i> - Pro-German Parties, designates different parties not necessarily linked such as <i>Parti populaire chrétien d'Eupen</i> - Eupen's People's Christian Party (1929), <i>Christlich Volkspartei</i> - Christian People's Party (1929–32), <i>Heimattreue Front</i> - Front for Home Loyalty (pro-Nazi in 1939), <i>Christlich Unabhängige Wählerverband</i> - Christian Independent Voters Association and <i>Partei der Deutschsprachigen Belgier</i> - Party of the German-Speaking Belgians (since 1971).	1929–32, 1939	3
PVV/ PRL (L before 1974)	<i>Parti de la liberté et du progrès-Partij voor vrijheid en vooruitgang</i> - Party of Liberty and Progress, reconstituted in 1961. Before 1961 <i>Parti libéral-Liberale partij</i> - Liberal Party. In 1970 the two linguistic wings separated into two different parties. The <i>Parti de la liberté et du progrès</i> - Party of Liberty and Progress in 1976 <i>Parti des réformes et de la liberté de Wallonie</i> - Party of Reforms and Freedom for Wallonia, and since 1979 <i>Parti réformateur libéral</i> - Liberal Reform Party (Walloon, in 1995 in alliance with <i>Front démocratique des Bruxellois francophones</i> - Francophone Democratic Front of the Bruxellois); and the <i>Partij voor vrijheid en vooruitgang</i> - Party of Liberty and Progress, in 1992 the <i>Vlaamse liberalen en democraten-Partij van de burger</i> - Flemish Liberals and Democrats-Citizen Party (Flemish).	1847–1995	61
REX	<i>Rex</i> - Rexists.	1936–39	2
ROSS	<i>Radicale omvormers en sociale strijders voor een eerlijke maatschappij</i> - Radical Change and Social Fighters for an Honest Society, established in 1991.	1991	1
RW	<i>Rassemblement wallon</i> - Walloon Rally, before 1968 <i>Parti wallon</i> - Walloon Party (not to be confused with the 1985 party which includes personalities from the <i>Rassemblement wallon</i> - Walloon Rally and two other minor Walloon parties). The <i>Front wallon</i> - Walloon Front, wing of the <i>Parti wallon des travailleurs</i> - Walloon Workers' Party which merged with the <i>Rassemblement wallon</i> - Walloon Rally in 1968.	1968–81	6
SP/ PS (S before 1978)	<i>Parti socialiste belge-Belgische socialistische partij</i> - Belgian Socialist Party (before 1945 <i>Parti ouvrier belge-Belgische werkliedenpartij</i> - Belgian Workers' Party, established in 1885). In 1978 the two linguistic wings separated into two different parties, <i>Parti socialiste</i> - Socialist Party (Walloon) and <i>Belgische socialistische partij</i> - Belgian Socialist Party since 1980 <i>Socialistische partij</i> - Socialist Party (Flemish).	1894–95	35




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Code	Names, changes, splits, and mergers	Contested elections	
		Years	N
UDRT	<i>Union démocratique pour le respect du travail-Respect voor arbeid en democratie</i> - Democratic Union for the Respect of Labour.	1981–87	3
V	<i>Volksunie</i> - People's Union, established in 1954. In 1950–54 <i>Christelijke vlaamse volksunie</i> - Christian Flemish People's Party. In 1949 <i>Vlaamsch concentratie</i> - Flemish Concentration. In 1936–39 <i>Vlaamsch nationaal verbond</i> - Flemish National League. Until 1932 <i>Frontpartij</i> - Front Party. In 1995 <i>Volksunie-Vrije democraten</i> - People's Union–Free Democrats.	1919–39, 1949, 1954– 95	22
VB	<i>Vlaamse blok</i> - Flemish Bloc, established in 1978 as a merger of the <i>Vlaamse volkspartij</i> - Flemish People's Party (established in 1977) and <i>Vlaamse nationale partij</i> - Flemish National Party (established in 1977 as a splinter from the <i>Volksunie</i> - People's Union).	1991–95	2
VDB	<i>Cartel van de Boeynants</i> - Van de Boeynant's Cartel.	1968	1

SYNOPSIS 5 Available information by levels of aggregation

	Year	Lower level				Upper level			
		N	1847–1898	N	1900–1991	N	1847–1991	N	1995
Two ballots	1848	41	Arrondissements	30	Units of 1900	20			9
	1857	41		30		20			9
	1864	41		30		20			9
	1870	41		30		20			9
	1892	41		30		20			9
	1894	41		30		20			9
PR elections	1912			30	Groups of arrondissements administratifs (first tier)	20	Units of 1995	Provinces (second tier)	9
	1919			30		20			9
	1921			30		20			9
	1925			30		20			9
	1932			30		20			9
	1936			30		20			9
	1939			30		20			9
	1946			30		20			9
	1949			30		20			9
	1950			30		20			9
	1954			30		20			9
	1958			30		20			9
	1961			30		20			9
	1965			30		20			9
	1968			30		20			9
	1971			30		20			9
	1974			30		20			9
	1977			30		20			9
	1978			30		20			9
	1981			30		20			9
1985			30	20	9				
1987			30	20	9				
1991			30	20	9				
	1995				20	Circon.		11	Prov.

Legend:  Printed election results in handbook and available on CD-ROM.
 Election results available only on CD-ROM.
 Continuity of the levels of aggregation.

N Number of territorial units.

Notes: Only general elections have been included in the table until World War I. Circonscriptions in 1995 are larger groups of arrondissements administratifs. The aggregation of data for 1847–98 problematic because of multiple voting and uncontested constituencies.



SYNOPSIS 6 Territorial units (*arrondissements administratifs* and provinces): 1847–1995

Provinces 1847–1991		<i>Arrondissements</i> 1847–1898		Groups of <i>arrond.</i> 1900–1991		<i>Circonscriptions</i> 1995	
01	Anvers	01	Anvers/Antwerpen	01	Anvers	01	Anvers
		02	Malines/Mechelen	02	Malines	02	Malines–Turnhout
		03	Turnhout	03	Turnhout		
02	Brabant	04	Bruxelles/Brussel	04	Bruxelles	03	Bruxelles
		05	Louvain/Leuven	05	Louvain	04	Louvain
		06	Nivelles/Nijvel	06	Nivelles	05	Nivelles
03	Flandres occidentales/West Vlaanderen	07	Bruges/Brugge	07	Brugge	06	Bruges
		08	Furnes/Veurne	08	Furnes–Dixmude– Ostende	07	Furnes–Dixmude– Ostende–Ypres
		09	Dixmude/Diksmuide				
		10	Ostende/Oostende	09	Courtrai	08	Courtrai–Roulers– Tielt
		11	Courtrai/Kortrijk				
		12	Roulers/Roeselare	10	Roulers–Tielt		
		13	Tielt	11	Ypres		
04	Flandres orientales/Oost Vlaanderen	15	Gand/Gent	12	Gand–Eeklo	09	Gand–Eeklo
		16	Eeklo				
		17	Saint-Nicolas/Sint- Niklaas	13	Saint-Nicolas	10	Saint-Nicolas– Termonde
		18	Termonde/Dender- monde	14	Termonde		
		19	Alost/Aalst	15	Alost	11	Alost–Aidemarde
		20	Audenarde/Oudena- arde	16	Audenarde		
05	Hainaut/Henegou- wen	21	Mons/Bergen	17	Mons	12	Mons–Soignes
		22	Soignes/Zinnik	18	Soignes		
		23	Tournai/Doornik	19	Tournai–Ath– Mouscron	13	Tournai–Ath– Mouscron
		24	Ath/Aat				
		25	Charleroi	20	Charleroi	14	Charleroi–Thuin
		26	Thuin	21	Thuin		
06	Liège/Luik	27	Liège/Luik	22	Liège	15	Liège
		28	Huy/Hoei	23	Huy–Waremme	16	Huy–Waremme
		29	Waremme/Borgworm				
		30	Verviers	24	Verviers	17	Verviers

continued

continued

Provinces 1847–1991	<i>Arrondissements</i> 1847–1898	Groups of <i>arrond.</i> 1900–1991	<i>Circonscriptions</i> 1995
07 Limbourg/ Limburg	31 Hasselt	25 Hasselt	18 Hasselt–Tongres– Maaseik
	32 Tongres/Tongeren	26 Tongres–Maaseik	
	33 Maaseik		
08 Luxembourg/ Luxemburg	34 Arlon/Aarlen	27 Arlon–Marche– Bastogne	19 Arlon–Marche– Bastogne– Neufchâteau–Virton
	35 Bastogne/Bastenaken		
	36 Marche		
	37 Neufchâteau	28 Neufchâteau–Virton	
38 Virton			
09 Namur/ Namen	39 Namur/Namen	29 Namur	20 Namur–Dinant– Philippeville
	40 Dinant	30 Dinant–Philippeville	
	41 Philippeville		

Legend:  Aggregation of *arrondissements* in 1900.
 Aggregation of *arrondissements* in 1995.

Notes: The Flemish names of territorial units have not been repeated in each column for space reasons. In 1995 Bruxelles named Bruxelles–Hal–Volvorde. In 1995 the *arrondissement* of Ypres was included in constituency no. 07. In 1995 the name of electoral constituencies changed to *circonscription/kieskring*.

In 1995 the province of Brabant was divided into three parts:

- 1) Bruxelles
- 2) Brabant flamand/Vlaams Brabant: Louvain
- 3) Brabant wallon/Wals Brabant: Nivelles

The number of provinces therefore increased from nine to 11.

ELECTION RESULTS FOR BELGIUM 1919–1995

COLUMNS:

<i>Code</i>	Code for constituencies.
<i>Constituencies</i>	Name of constituencies.
<i>Electorate</i>	Absolute figures of persons entitled to vote.
<i>Voters</i>	Voters (total votes cast: valid, invalid, and blank) as a percentage of electorate (turnout).
<i>Total valid votes</i>	Valid votes as a percentage of total votes (voters).
<i>Party votes</i>	Votes for each party as a percentage of total valid votes.
<i>Other parties</i>	Total votes for parties with less than five per cent nation-wide and less than five per cent in all constituencies as a percentage of total valid votes.

Results in absolute figures, as percentage distributions by parties and regions, in SPSS, SAS, and Excel formats according to different file structures are available on CD-ROM.

ELECTION RESULTS 1 Belgian general election of 1919

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Volksunie	Catholic Dissidents	Left Dissidents	Neutrals
1	Anvers	160,144	87.83	95.41	34.88	34.34	16.95	5.84	-	.88	7.11
2	Malines	56,819	86.58	100.00	45.00	29.19	12.91	4.77	-	-	8.14
3	Turnhout	42,703	93.68	91.18	67.74	13.61	8.98	8.26	-	-	1.41
4	Bruxelles	292,926	87.39	93.59	29.62	29.01	24.37	2.67	.24	-	14.09
5	Louvain	75,938	89.97	92.54	40.02	26.75	16.14	4.64	10.65	-	1.78
6	Nivelles	53,537	90.96	96.04	28.19	49.04	22.76	-	-	-	-
7	Bruges	43,444	88.43	95.62	38.87	23.14	6.54	10.80	11.25	-	9.39
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	46,815	80.94	90.67	43.32	15.41	28.41	9.53	3.34	-	-
9	Courtrai	56,447	92.57	96.22	53.16	35.86	9.35	-	1.63	-	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	46,130	85.41	94.10	74.64	17.22	3.63	-	-	-	4.51
11	Ypres	34,242	59.16	90.57	47.88	14.67	14.30	-	18.49	-	4.67
12	Gand-Eeklo	133,893	89.15	94.02	41.85	30.67	16.18	-	-	-	2.90
13	Saint-Nicolas	48,067	89.72	96.20	57.35	22.01	8.41	10.76	-	-	1.48
14	Termonde	39,199	89.03	92.79	53.82	26.18	14.11	2.36	1.50	-	2.03
15	Atost	57,301	86.83	95.85	36.86	26.75	11.49	-	24.24	-	.66
16	Audenaarde	32,930	85.85	94.25	46.01	29.28	19.32	5.39	-	-	-
17	Mons	77,726	91.52	96.56	20.34	65.01	13.47	-	-	-	1.17
18	Soignes	50,784	91.49	96.65	22.40	57.38	18.06	-	-	-	2.16
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	74,814	89.70	96.16	33.45	41.06	25.49	-	-	-	-
20	Charleroi	129,984	86.51	95.72	17.92	67.44	11.53	-	-	-	3.10
21	Thuin	40,613	90.19	94.19	26.86	48.20	23.12	-	-	-	1.83
22	Liège	156,024	88.78	94.76	57.13	57.13	18.71	-	-	1.64	2.14
23	Huy-Waremme	52,370	95.10	96.06	27.45	51.10	19.27	-	-	-	2.19
24	Verviers	50,702	90.42	94.64	34.99	39.47	18.23	-	-	6.31	1.00
25	Hasselt	32,952	91.51	91.09	58.70	5.45	18.71	-	17.14	-	-
26	Tongres-Maaseik	43,899	92.08	94.26	62.02	6.65	21.65	-	9.68	-	-
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	36,526	89.90	94.17	49.31	21.35	29.34	-	-	-	-
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	28,965	90.41	93.80	47.00	25.09	27.91	-	-	-	-
29	Namur-Namen	61,394	90.35	94.76	36.13	48.45	14.79	-	-	-	.63
30	Dinant-Philippeville	43,422	91.09	94.51	44.02	30.37	21.97	-	-	-	3.64
1000	Belgium	2,102,710	88.50	94.69	36.63	36.61	17.64	2.60	2.11	.34	4.06

ELECTION RESULTS 2 Belgian general election of 1921

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Volksunie	Catholic Dissidents	Liberal Dissidents	Left Dissidents	Neutrals	Other parties
1	Anvers	178,673	89,66	96,18	28,04	35,24	20,31	5,87	9,13	-	-	1,41	-
2	Malines	59,037	93,17	95,11	42,42	30,21	12,21	6,58	5,55	-	-	3,02	-
3	Turnhout	44,153	93,77	93,66	59,56	16,82	5,42	7,09	10,25	-	-	.86	-
4	Bruxelles	317,436	91,10	91,93	33,25	27,29	23,89	3,26	.38	1,32	.53	10,08	-
5	Louvain	78,366	92,82	94,57	46,42	25,00	16,90	5,90	3,00	-	-	2,78	-
6	Nivelles	55,001	92,54	96,57	32,36	44,41	19,21	-	-	-	-	4,01	-
7	Bruges	45,373	90,86	94,09	50,79	23,51	18,10	5,80	1,80	-	-	-	-
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	49,854	86,12	94,15	49,26	13,53	28,28	7,59	1,34	-	-	-	-
9	Courtrai	61,684	92,65	96,26	28,80	32,31	8,10	2,16	28,64	-	-	-	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	49,750	88,53	96,25	68,42	14,32	2,46	13,52	-	-	-	1,28	-
11	Ypres	34,726	76,51	93,09	38,31	15,48	13,04	22,68	10,48	-	-	-	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	142,406	90,49	95,30	45,76	29,95	13,55	4,96	2,61	-	1,87	1,29	-
13	Saint-Nicolas	49,198	91,10	96,57	45,07	23,41	8,13	4,72	16,73	-	-	1,92	-
14	Termonde	40,524	89,52	95,98	35,94	27,24	13,51	1,72	19,94	-	-	1,65	-
15	Alost	60,378	87,64	97,38	47,10	24,06	12,27	2,55	14,02	-	-	-	-
16	Audenaarde	33,335	86,44	95,53	37,70	21,46	19,38	3,29	18,18	-	-	-	-
17	Mons	81,971	93,30	97,39	21,65	62,88	15,47	-	-	-	-	1,98	-
18	Soignes	52,879	93,93	97,54	23,85	56,77	17,40	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	76,975	90,87	96,68	35,23	37,08	25,74	-	-	-	1,95	-	-
20	Charleroi	139,759	91,22	95,87	19,34	64,76	14,63	-	1,27	-	-	-	-
21	Thuin	41,845	93,26	97,04	29,48	42,73	27,79	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	Liège	166,335	92,44	95,74	22,32	57,09	19,03	-	-	-	-	1,55	-
23	Huy-Waremme	55,565	93,14	96,65	29,67	47,81	22,52	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	Verviers	52,479	93,09	94,69	42,96	34,91	17,42	-	-	-	-	2,67	2,03
25	Hasselt	34,734	92,87	91,87	58,35	5,94	11,64	1,56	13,77	8,30	-	.44	-
26	Tongres-Maaaseik	46,475	91,63	94,35	62,42	7,70	18,33	3,92	6,76	-	-	.87	-
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	37,425	91,67	95,13	54,59	20,14	25,27	-	-	-	-	-	-
28	Neuchâteau-Virton	29,546	92,73	96,08	53,63	22,49	23,88	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	Namur-Namen	64,458	92,86	95,98	41,18	34,15	17,85	-	-	-	6,82	-	-
30	Dinant-Philippeville	46,453	92,29	96,06	52,59	27,80	17,35	-	2,26	-	-	-	-
1000	Belgium	2,226,793	91,13	95,20	37,01	34,81	17,80	3,04	4,27	.31	.46	2,24	.05

ELECTION RESULTS 3 Belgian general election of 1925

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Communists	Volkswaer	Catholic Dissidents	Neutrals	Other parties
1	Anvers	193,011	92.13	95.51	33.82	38.22	17.55	.55	7.22	-	2.64	-
2	Maines	63,150	94.39	96.04	43.78	34.62	9.18	-	7.60	-	4.81	-
3	Turnhout	46,842	94.85	94.41	61.43	20.48	4.48	-	12.75	-	.86	-
4	Bruxelles	336,281	92.50	93.41	36.15	36.07	19.42	3.56	3.34	-	.99	.47
5	Louvain	81,830	95.50	94.99	44.96	30.72	17.92	-	6.02	-	-	.39
6	Nivelles	57,116	93.36	96.50	30.26	51.47	18.27	-	-	-	-	-
7	Bruges	48,104	91.87	95.23	48.22	30.64	14.09	-	5.42	1.63	-	-
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	52,506	88.23	94.99	46.39	21.67	21.14	-	10.80	-	-	-
9	Courtrai	65,673	93.86	96.87	25.61	35.86	8.49	.91	3.08	26.05	-	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	52,387	90.82	96.71	49.08	20.16	2.01	-	11.64	17.11	-	-
11	Ypres	36,280	84.58	93.94	25.82	21.94	9.07	-	29.00	14.17	-	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	147,972	92.79	95.19	43.84	35.03	13.28	.83	4.26	4.80	-	-
13	Saint-Nicolas	48,492	92.68	96.95	53.38	26.64	5.68	-	2.21	10.04	-	-
14	Termonde	42,227	93.91	96.35	52.49	33.01	11.25	-	3.25	-	-	-
15	Alost	63,085	92.07	97.51	41.76	31.98	8.99	-	17.27	-	-	-
16	Audenarde	34,328	92.66	96.17	32.73	30.09	17.75	-	3.23	16.21	-	-
17	Mons	85,249	93.91	97.12	21.04	66.17	11.20	1.59	-	-	-	-
18	Soignes	55,380	93.66	97.55	22.77	59.36	16.22	1.66	-	-	-	-
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	78,378	93.40	96.59	34.57	43.85	21.58	-	-	-	-	-
20	Charleroi	145,879	92.06	96.01	19.76	62.93	11.95	4.62	-	-	.73	-
21	Thuin	43,859	92.90	96.75	26.97	48.67	21.43	1.23	-	-	1.70	-
22	Liège	174,999	93.05	95.31	20.37	55.90	13.20	6.32	-	-	4.20	-
23	Huy-Waremme	55,861	95.85	96.28	23.94	50.92	18.86	1.75	-	-	4.53	-
24	Verviers	70,649	94.01	93.34	38.82	37.01	11.04	2.60	-	-	10.54	-
25	Hasselt	37,310	94.12	92.66	65.68	14.65	12.99	-	6.68	-	-	-
26	Tongres-Maaseik	48,089	93.77	95.91	64.96	12.06	15.90	-	6.40	-	.68	-
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	37,835	92.07	96.87	44.78	23.88	16.72	-	-	-	13.34	1.28
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	29,839	93.31	96.38	46.33	25.23	17.46	-	-	-	9.83	1.14
29	Namur-Name	66,853	93.21	96.35	25.66	45.87	13.46	.71	-	14.30	-	-
30	Dinant-Philippeville	46,652	93.12	96.17	46.99	35.49	17.52	-	-	-	-	-
1000	Belgium	2,346,096	92.84	95.49	36.11	39.43	14.64	1.64	3.87	2.52	1.68	.12

ELECTION RESULTS 4 Belgian general election of 1929

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Communis- tists	Volkswijte	Catholic Dissidents	German parties	Other parties
1	Anvers	211,064	93,78	93,91	34,90	34,24	19,01	1,08	8,89	-	-	1,88
2	Malines	69,799	94,59	95,81	44,71	33,11	10,98	-	11,20	-	-	-
3	Turnhout	52,971	95,21	94,03	53,76	16,44	4,54	-	25,26	-	-	-
4	Bruxelles	361,490	94,22	93,57	36,73	30,29	23,32	3,27	4,76	.09	-	1,55
5	Louvain	89,615	95,01	92,95	45,12	27,58	18,82	1,73	6,36	-	-	.39
6	Nivelles	60,635	94,63	96,36	30,64	47,01	20,19	1,07	1,10	-	-	-
7	Bruges	51,066	91,96	95,59	42,29	24,38	11,98	.63	3,91	16,81	-	-
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	55,160	88,63	95,17	39,21	17,66	27,92	-	15,21	-	-	-
9	Courtrai	72,771	95,53	96,50	19,99	32,90	9,40	1,71	6,70	29,31	-	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	54,129	93,45	96,78	55,53	18,43	1,48	-	12,75	10,95	-	.86
11	Ypres	35,474	93,40	93,86	23,23	16,31	9,09	2,22	30,52	18,63	-	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	156,404	94,17	93,22	47,10	33,18	12,43	2,03	4,28	-	-	.98
13	Saint-Nicolas	52,623	93,09	95,92	55,23	26,08	8,07	.69	9,93	-	-	-
14	Termonde	45,850	94,24	96,01	49,68	31,63	12,72	.67	5,29	4,71	-	-
15	Alost	67,529	91,94	97,26	34,36	28,32	11,59	.46	20,55	-	-	-
16	Audenaarde	36,436	92,70	96,37	23,51	25,95	25,18	.53	24,84	-	-	-
17	Mons	89,108	94,57	97,10	23,56	61,78	11,14	3,53	-	-	-	-
18	Soignes	58,058	94,33	97,53	23,16	57,41	16,90	2,53	-	-	-	-
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	80,260	94,63	95,88	33,30	41,69	22,70	2,32	-	-	-	-
20	Charleroi	151,320	93,38	95,71	22,76	56,74	14,52	3,80	-	-	-	2,18
21	Thuin	46,391	92,03	97,03	28,02	47,62	22,04	2,32	-	-	-	-
22	Liège	184,817	93,84	95,27	27,23	54,13	13,76	4,03	-	-	-	.84
23	Huy-Waremme	58,792	95,04	96,61	25,28	48,67	24,16	1,89	-	-	-	-
24	Verviers	74,604	94,34	93,93	32,96	36,28	15,65	2,94	-	-	12,18	-
25	Hasselt	42,552	94,22	92,34	58,60	15,19	10,87	-	15,33	-	-	-
26	Tongres-Maaeik	52,691	94,77	94,74	48,55	11,39	19,94	-	17,32	2,79	-	-
27	Arion-Marche-Bastogne	38,888	94,07	95,06	52,16	25,54	22,29	-	-	-	-	-
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	31,177	94,33	95,96	52,00	27,75	20,25	-	-	-	-	-
29	Namur-Namen	69,297	94,22	95,66	39,16	40,31	18,57	1,95	-	-	-	-
30	Dinant-Philippeville	47,475	94,40	96,61	51,80	32,81	15,39	-	-	-	-	-
1000	Belgium	2,498,446	93,93	95,03	36,60	36,02	16,55	1,94	5,94	1,92	.36	.67

ELECTION RESULTS 5 Belgian general election of 1932

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Communists	Volkswaite	German parties	Other parties
1	Anvers	221,542	93.87	97.23	38.90	38.73	14.44	1.25	5.53	-	1.14
2	Malmes	73,045	95.52	97.52	48.21	35.44	9.17	.69	6.48	-	-
3	Turnhout	56,414	96.30	97.26	58.87	17.80	3.49	-	19.85	-	-
4	Bruxelles	372,485	93.92	95.44	34.31	32.23	23.72	3.77	4.10	-	1.86
5	Louvain	92,505	95.42	96.37	47.49	29.30	16.49	.58	5.98	-	.15
6	Nivelles	61,392	95.06	97.43	30.59	52.14	14.77	1.88	.40	-	.21
7	Bruges	52,846	97.40	97.40	45.70	29.22	13.56	.46	11.06	-	-
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	56,024	91.06	96.16	42.75	23.31	17.63	-	15.78	-	.52
9	Courtrai	77,007	95.48	98.06	50.83	35.31	6.72	1.56	5.58	-	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	55,118	94.62	96.27	64.07	21.96	2.16	.64	11.17	-	-
11	Ypres	36,389	94.87	96.68	42.48	19.24	10.44	1.55	26.28	-	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	160,878	93.86	96.65	40.81	30.74	10.03	3.54	10.65	-	4.23
13	Saint-Nicolas	54,805	94.04	97.88	55.42	27.31	6.59	.45	10.22	-	-
14	Termonde	47,627	94.56	97.66	50.50	30.97	8.45	-	10.08	-	-
15	Alost	69,819	93.35	98.41	39.09	29.98	10.91	1.07	18.96	-	-
16	Audenaarde	37,033	90.71	97.33	43.32	28.11	23.81	-	4.77	-	-
17	Mons	89,574	94.70	98.07	20.84	63.59	9.45	4.48	-	-	1.63
18	Soignes	58,119	94.53	98.09	24.22	59.69	13.06	3.02	-	-	-
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	80,599	93.26	97.50	33.84	43.16	17.71	1.28	-	-	4.01
20	Charleroi	150,290	94.01	97.25	20.64	55.77	13.04	9.22	-	-	1.33
21	Thuin	45,489	94.27	97.99	29.24	47.85	18.15	4.76	-	-	-
22	Liège	185,672	94.46	96.96	24.33	51.04	11.92	8.01	-	-	4.70
23	Huy-Waremme	58,053	96.62	97.45	27.40	49.89	19.31	2.22	-	-	1.17
24	Verviers	75,653	94.43	96.16	38.77	33.35	11.84	4.83	-	11.21	-
25	Hasselt	45,020	95.03	95.66	58.31	15.12	9.98	-	16.07	-	.52
26	Tongres-Maaseik	54,981	95.24	96.78	55.80	13.24	13.68	-	17.28	-	-
27	Arion-Marche-Bastogne	39,109	94.22	95.86	55.44	28.93	15.64	-	-	-	-
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	31,318	94.51	96.88	54.39	28.78	16.83	-	-	-	-
29	Namur-Namen	69,786	94.08	97.03	34.97	42.90	20.34	1.79	-	-	-
30	Dinant-Philippeville	46,251	96.60	97.61	49.49	33.34	15.79	-	-	-	1.37
1000	Belgium	2,554,843	94.31	96.91	38.54	37.12	14.28	2.81	5.60	.33	1.32

ELECTION RESULTS 6 Belgian general election of 1936

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Communists	Volkswaite	Neutrals	Reexists	Left Dissidents	Catholic Dissidents
1	Anvers	233,353	94.17	92.76	31.66	34.91	12.93	3.08	5.19	5.11	6.78	.35	-
2	Malines	77,492	95.20	93.26	40.31	31.93	11.70	2.72	7.50	1.40	4.45	-	-
3	Turnhout	61,763	95.28	93.95	48.15	16.80	3.85	1.18	25.79	-	4.24	-	-
4	Bruxelles	389,425	94.63	92.19	23.20	25.16	16.23	10.24	5.93	3.47	15.77	-	-
5	Louvain	97,298	95.55	91.89	36.55	26.53	18.06	2.06	7.98	.68	8.15	-	-
6	Nivelles	63,197	95.34	95.92	18.26	43.42	17.66	6.57	-	-	14.09	-	-
7	Bruges	55,902	93.84	94.67	35.49	28.40	10.56	-	15.69	.40	9.45	-	-
8	Fumes-Dixmude-Ostende	59,362	91.19	93.68	33.99	22.81	15.77	-	20.70	.46	6.73	-	-
9	Courtrai	81,567	95.92	94.77	40.17	36.10	6.22	-	6.06	.46	10.99	-	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	57,938	94.69	93.56	47.06	20.17	1.42	-	18.49	1.79	11.08	-	-
11	Ypres	37,834	97.47	91.72	30.02	21.84	10.54	-	28.61	-	8.72	-	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	167,299	94.39	93.22	35.76	26.33	8.89	5.35	15.57	1.27	6.83	-	-
13	Saint-Nicolas	57,454	93.83	95.00	49.04	28.05	6.20	1.09	10.75	-	4.87	-	-
14	Termonde	50,341	94.70	94.90	44.83	30.06	12.55	1.83	7.34	-	3.38	-	-
15	Alost	73,533	93.05	96.63	24.28	25.71	13.66	4.29	17.57	1.66	6.42	-	6.41
16	Audenaarde	38,173	92.85	95.25	30.60	24.49	23.45	2.87	6.84	-	11.76	-	-
17	Mons	91,006	94.93	96.56	11.68	43.96	9.07	14.70	-	1.44	7.45	8.45	3.25
18	Soignes	58,659	95.07	96.40	12.79	50.19	14.38	7.94	-	1.12	5.89	-	7.68
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	81,831	95.05	95.67	23.44	38.70	14.82	3.91	-	4.28	10.43	-	4.41
20	Charleroi	150,419	93.81	96.76	10.48	49.76	8.61	13.73	-	.16	8.60	1.52	7.13
21	Thuin	45,496	94.89	96.42	15.87	40.60	15.39	10.30	-	.98	12.18	-	5.67
22	Leège	187,020	95.54	95.53	12.28	42.20	8.57	16.55	-	-	19.42	-	-
23	Huy-Waremme	59,374	95.41	96.73	15.23	44.21	17.76	6.95	-	-	15.85	-	-
24	Verviers	77,409	95.17	83.72	29.11	27.83	8.20	10.53	-	2.04	22.29	-	-
25	Hasselt	49,303	95.05	93.74	40.05	15.78	13.98	-	22.48	-	7.71	-	-
26	Tongres-Maaseik	59,288	94.68	95.40	40.36	11.87	14.64	-	25.78	2.96	4.39	-	-
27	Ation-Marche-Bastogne	40,648	94.05	95.64	34.08	23.90	13.42	-	-	-	28.60	-	-
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	31,977	95.08	96.38	34.38	24.79	11.17	-	-	-	29.65	-	-
29	Namur-Namen	70,776	94.87	95.98	20.70	42.42	17.59	-	-	-	19.29	-	-
30	Dinant-Philippeville	47,570	95.11	96.51	31.01	30.54	16.56	-	-	-	21.88	-	-
1000	Belgium	2,652,707	94.67	94.07	27.67	32.11	12.40	6.06	7.12	1.60	11.49	.42	1.12

ELECTION RESULTS 7 Belgian general election of 1939

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Communists	Volkswaie	Neutrals	Rexists	Left Dissidents	German parties	Other parties
1	Anvers	235,777	93.42	93.29	31.62	34.79	12.76	1.48	10.26	5.54	2.39	-	-	1.16
2	Malines	77,920	94.41	92.62	40.33	33.37	8.47	1.51	12.09	-	1.53	-	-	2.69
3	Turnhout	63,282	94.67	92.16	51.46	16.27	3.92	-	27.52	-	.83	-	-	-
4	Bruxelles	396,984	93.15	92.50	26.82	26.13	7.77	7.77	5.25	3.85	7.26	-	-	-
5	Louvain	98,852	93.35	91.31	36.68	26.48	22.30	1.55	10.53	-	2.44	-	-	-
6	Nivelles	63,000	93.39	95.12	23.22	36.58	25.04	6.62	-	2.07	6.46	-	-	-
7	Bruges	56,891	93.43	93.87	40.88	28.85	12.90	1.12	13.52	-	2.73	-	-	-
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	59,922	91.57	93.08	38.18	21.70	18.28	-	19.15	-	2.69	-	-	-
9	Courtrai	82,668	94.66	94.74	47.41	28.72	8.94	3.81	6.52	-	4.59	-	-	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	58,066	94.21	91.88	54.39	18.14	1.76	1.06	22.76	-	1.88	-	-	-
11	Ypres	38,253	93.52	94.44	36.36	15.06	15.68	2.42	28.49	-	1.99	-	-	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	167,972	93.55	93.48	41.34	27.48	13.29	2.79	13.63	-	1.47	-	-	-
13	Saint-Nicolas	57,986	92.67	94.79	47.75	25.50	11.35	-	14.73	-	.67	-	-	-
14	Termonde	50,620	93.66	94.23	45.43	28.47	14.17	-	10.71	-	1.22	-	-	-
15	Alost	74,029	93.46	96.17	32.21	25.63	15.33	4.87	19.22	-	2.75	-	-	-
16	Audenaarde	38,174	93.88	93.19	34.29	27.26	26.27	3.04	9.13	-	-	-	-	-
17	Mons	89,660	92.94	96.50	18.04	48.45	12.09	11.48	-	-	3.54	-	-	-
18	Soignes	57,947	93.35	96.34	22.17	48.19	18.75	7.84	-	-	3.05	-	-	-
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	81,196	93.24	95.31	31.86	35.91	22.69	4.38	-	-	5.15	-	-	-
20	Charleroi	148,355	92.58	95.32	16.30	47.04	17.91	11.31	-	2.65	3.17	1.62	-	-
21	Thuin	45,015	92.69	95.57	23.10	36.17	22.65	11.08	-	.69	6.31	-	-	-
22	Liège	187,011	93.33	95.36	17.18	40.60	17.06	16.02	-	.74	8.39	-	-	-
23	Huy-Waremme	58,902	93.68	95.87	21.28	40.08	26.15	6.79	-	-	5.71	-	-	-
24	Verviers	77,628	92.99	94.38	31.85	21.69	17.37	10.20	-	-	7.05	-	11.83	-
25	Hasselt	50,541	93.67	91.33	47.67	14.44	11.65	-	23.68	-	2.56	-	-	-
26	Tongres-Maaseik	60,278	93.83	93.81	50.98	11.87	8.45	-	25.10	-	3.60	-	-	-
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	40,807	92.07	93.20	44.85	20.16	19.79	-	-	1.22	13.99	-	-	-
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	31,993	92.24	94.73	46.02	22.06	19.81	-	-	.93	11.19	-	-	-
29	Namur-Namen	70,459	92.78	94.77	32.22	34.23	21.90	6.11	-	-	5.53	-	-	-
30	Dinant-Philippeville	47,153	92.73	95.07	43.49	28.45	20.40	-	-	-	7.66	-	-	-
1000	Belgium	2,667,341	93.31	93.96	32.71	30.19	17.19	5.36	7.93	1.34	4.44	.31	.34	.18

ELECTION RESULTS 8 Belgian general election of 1946

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Communists	Liberal-Socialist Cartel	Catholic Dissidents	Other parties
1	Anvers	243,869	88.33	96.42	47.09	38.03	7.65	4.52	-	.55	2.17
2	Malines	81,685	91.38	96.88	54.64	35.06	6.41	3.27	-	.63	-
3	Turnhout	70,338	91.70	95.89	75.66	18.69	2.51	1.57	-	1.57	-
4	Bruxelles	416,361	88.70	95.49	35.45	33.34	12.12	15.79	-	2.55	.76
5	Louvain	103,010	92.58	95.13	49.14	33.21	11.56	4.33	-	.56	1.20
6	Nivelles	63,253	91.60	97.00	24.52	39.56	10.16	21.92	-	3.83	-
7	Bruges	60,709	90.37	97.07	51.40	36.38	9.03	2.54	-	.65	-
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	61,250	87.92	95.44	51.33	25.97	17.38	4.05	-	1.26	-
9	Courtrai	86,188	92.07	96.59	52.06	30.69	5.52	10.07	-	1.65	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	60,553	91.66	96.14	73.45	21.52	1.74	2.60	-	.68	-
11	Ypres	39,547	89.77	96.41	57.88	23.60	12.35	5.35	-	.82	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	170,884	90.39	95.66	54.83	29.79	9.03	5.01	-	1.34	-
13	Saint-Nicolas	59,202	91.52	96.82	65.80	24.78	4.00	3.52	-	1.90	-
14	Termonde	52,569	90.09	96.60	57.96	27.60	8.22	6.22	-	-	.80
15	Alost	76,185	91.32	97.71	49.26	24.94	10.14	14.87	-	-	-
16	Audenarde	38,339	93.78	96.54	43.34	25.47	20.73	8.58	-	1.88	-
17	Mons	87,298	91.19	96.85	16.48	44.58	7.32	28.97	-	2.65	-
18	Soignes	56,161	92.06	97.09	19.01	47.71	9.81	20.76	-	2.71	-
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	80,135	92.10	95.94	27.45	27.83	18.16	24.68	-	1.89	-
20	Charleroi	144,084	90.78	96.10	16.47	46.84	7.15	25.43	-	3.23	.88
21	Thuin	43,966	91.08	96.04	26.46	36.71	10.42	22.50	-	3.90	-
22	Liège	183,742	90.82	96.17	19.19	41.06	8.32	25.51	-	4.58	1.34
23	Huy-Waremme	59,306	92.28	96.91	23.91	38.75	16.23	18.22	-	2.88	-
24	Verviers	74,449	82.84	95.47	44.04	26.84	9.20	14.50	-	5.42	-
25	Hasselt	56,414	89.72	95.00	69.60	-	-	3.06	21.16	6.18	-
26	Tongres-Maastricht	64,903	90.93	95.81	77.87	-	-	4.32	17.81	-	-
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	40,153	90.78	95.61	56.23	-	-	12.77	26.54	4.46	-
28	Neuchâteau-Virton	32,059	91.28	96.28	55.95	-	-	11.38	29.64	3.03	-
29	Namur-Namen	71,103	91.44	96.42	34.63	37.71	8.59	15.98	-	3.10	-
30	Dinant-Philippeville	47,081	91.66	96.51	45.72	30.58	10.91	10.37	-	2.43	-
1000	Belgium	2,724,796	90.30	96.14	42.54	31.57	8.93	12.69	1.60	2.17	.51

ELECTION RESULTS 9 Belgian general election of 1949

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Communists	Volksumie	Other parties
1	Anvers	520,779	94.23	95.94	44.56	32.08	12.73	4.74	3.74	2.14
2	Malmes	165,371	95.42	95.71	52.98	29.73	12.58	2.30	2.41	-
3	Turnhout	141,742	95.93	94.37	74.58	18.22	5.00	.87	-	1.33
4	Bruxelles	905,679	92.96	93.67	35.50	28.01	23.00	8.57	1.77	3.15
5	Louvain	211,171	94.89	92.80	48.32	26.72	19.43	2.63	1.26	1.64
6	Nivelles	130,224	93.95	95.14	28.10	36.29	20.29	12.71	-	2.61
7	Bruges	128,302	94.70	94.92	52.38	27.45	14.61	1.72	3.47	.38
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	128,212	93.47	93.00	52.46	22.26	19.08	2.92	3.29	-
9	Coutrai	177,015	96.10	95.59	50.67	23.68	8.66	6.07	10.92	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	123,896	95.59	94.78	71.35	19.65	3.36	1.35	4.29	-
11	Ypres	78,902	95.30	92.69	57.66	16.66	22.48	3.20	-	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	352,191	94.69	95.21	52.86	25.63	13.58	2.80	3.90	1.22
13	Saint-Nicolas	118,285	95.12	95.99	60.71	24.36	7.91	2.77	4.26	-
14	Termonde	104,498	94.79	96.04	51.43	24.04	13.76	3.90	6.87	-
15	Alost	156,416	94.75	97.00	46.83	20.68	17.79	9.29	5.41	-
16	Audenaarde	78,281	95.63	96.17	46.53	21.76	26.03	4.12	1.55	-
17	Mons	177,008	93.65	94.48	20.95	45.39	11.11	18.72	-	3.83
18	Soignes	112,659	94.34	95.60	23.54	47.13	13.17	12.59	-	3.56
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	160,429	94.33	94.28	32.90	30.55	19.54	13.21	-	3.80
20	Charleroi	291,364	94.05	94.50	22.27	47.22	13.08	15.40	-	2.03
21	Thuin	89,363	93.96	94.33	30.71	37.96	14.49	13.58	-	3.26
22	Liège	381,957	94.35	95.19	25.62	40.99	15.59	15.18	-	2.62
23	Huy-Waremme	118,013	94.72	95.01	29.64	39.97	16.01	11.58	-	2.79
24	Verviers	151,630	95.27	91.48	49.87	25.42	12.86	8.39	-	3.46
25	Hasselt	115,730	95.72	93.01	70.32	15.42	13.16	1.10	-	-
26	Tongres-Maaseik	131,828	95.53	94.23	76.07	11.90	7.34	1.60	3.07	-
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	78,852	93.85	92.18	57.11	20.01	15.10	4.82	-	2.97
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	63,551	95.01	93.47	59.91	19.60	16.20	4.28	-	-
29	Namur-Namen	146,852	94.49	94.18	38.98	38.43	11.20	8.38	-	3.00
30	Dinant-Philippeville	95,252	94.53	93.83	48.29	27.64	14.32	5.93	-	3.82
1000	Belgium	5,635,452	94.41	94.56	43.55	29.75	15.25	7.49	2.07	1.90

ELECTION RESULTS 10 Belgian general election of 1950

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Communists	Liberal-Socialist Cartel	Other parties
1	Anvers	520,779	92.70	95.52	52.33	35.40	8.43	3.36	-	.48
2	Malines	165,371	94.14	95.03	59.27	31.67	7.55	1.51	-	-
3	Turnhout	141,742	94.85	93.77	77.25	18.71	3.32	.71	-	-
4	Bruxelles	905,679	91.19	94.26	39.68	38.38	16.93	5.01	-	-
5	Louvain	211,171	93.40	92.64	53.67	30.97	13.76	1.61	-	-
6	Nivelles	130,224	91.85	95.33	29.75	47.34	16.57	6.34	-	-
7	Bruges	128,302	93.02	94.46	58.32	29.92	10.53	.93	-	.29
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	128,212	91.22	92.62	55.31	25.08	17.87	1.74	-	-
9	Courtrai	177,015	94.47	95.35	60.24	29.36	6.79	3.60	-	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	123,896	93.96	94.35	75.67	20.62	2.75	.96	-	-
11	Ypres	78,902	93.43	94.06	59.19	19.88	18.78	2.15	-	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	352,191	92.91	94.87	58.65	28.81	10.64	1.91	-	-
13	Saint-Nicolas	118,285	93.69	95.98	67.02	25.52	5.53	1.94	-	-
14	Termonde	104,498	93.36	95.06	59.17	26.83	11.31	2.69	-	-
15	Alost	156,416	93.19	95.98	52.29	23.76	16.58	7.36	-	-
16	Audenarde	78,281	93.76	95.52	51.10	25.60	20.56	2.73	-	-
17	Mons	177,008	91.45	95.66	22.79	55.36	9.23	12.61	-	-
18	Soignes	112,659	92.07	96.08	25.65	54.38	12.18	7.80	-	-
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	160,429	92.02	94.84	35.06	38.65	17.75	8.53	-	-
20	Charleroi	291,364	91.87	96.00	24.05	56.61	9.88	9.46	-	-
21	Thuin	89,363	91.86	95.45	33.80	33.80	12.21	8.47	-	-
22	Liège	381,957	92.28	96.05	26.21	50.44	13.27	10.09	-	-
23	Huy-Waremme	118,013	92.60	95.14	31.45	47.96	13.47	7.12	-	-
24	Verviers	151,630	92.78	92.78	51.04	32.30	11.34	5.33	-	-
25	Hasselt	115,730	94.58	91.79	75.00	-	-	1.41	23.59	-
26	Tongres-Maaseik	131,828	94.39	93.69	80.48	-	-	1.66	17.87	-
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	78,852	91.98	91.17	61.07	-	-	3.62	35.31	-
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	63,551	93.39	92.91	62.52	-	-	2.34	35.14	-
29	Namur-Namen	146,852	92.36	95.03	40.41	46.79	9.36	3.44	-	-
30	Dinant-Philippeville	95,252	92.40	93.99	52.81	33.36	10.71	3.12	-	-
1000	Belgium	5,635,452	92.62	94.70	47.68	34.51	11.25	4.75	1.77	.05

ELECTION RESULTS 11 Belgian general election of 1954

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Communists	Liberal-Socialist Cartel	Volkswunie	Other parties
1	Anvers	550,139	93,69	95,53	42,19	39,52	8,81	2,44	-	4,28	2,76
2	Maines	175,386	94,06	95,30	49,69	34,11	8,43	.77	-	6,99	-
3	Turnhout	155,271	94,56	92,98	70,79	22,41	2,89	.37	-	3,20	.33
4	Bruxelles	947,999	92,13	93,25	29,56	42,25	18,00	3,33	-	1,34	5,53
5	Louvain	223,661	93,48	93,12	45,27	35,08	15,38	.75	-	3,52	-
6	Nivelles	132,759	93,59	95,39	25,31	51,85	16,66	3,69	-	.50	1,99
7	Bruges	135,667	92,97	94,73	51,33	33,63	11,60	.54	-	2,90	-
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	136,549	91,83	93,17	46,44	29,99	18,52	.87	-	2,64	1,55
9	Courtrai	187,164	94,74	95,13	55,30	32,64	7,93	2,06	-	1,00	1,08
10	Roulers-Tielt	130,738	94,15	94,55	67,85	23,55	4,40	.47	-	3,73	-
11	Ypres	79,982	95,26	94,30	48,87	21,49	23,94	1,10	-	4,60	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	365,679	93,23	95,01	53,25	29,62	12,24	1,44	-	2,72	.73
13	Saint-Nicolas	122,842	93,65	95,54	57,97	30,50	5,95	1,02	-	4,57	-
14	Termonde	108,892	94,10	95,43	52,01	30,80	13,14	1,90	-	2,16	-
15	Alost	164,435	93,82	97,14	40,14	23,82	24,79	4,97	-	6,29	-
16	Audenaarde	80,624	94,09	95,94	49,04	26,35	21,05	2,18	-	1,39	-
17	Mons	176,469	92,49	95,06	20,17	59,70	7,66	11,96	-	-	.51
18	Soignes	111,297	93,89	95,82	22,93	57,22	13,07	6,78	-	-	-
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	162,127	93,13	94,73	30,80	43,70	18,53	6,96	-	-	-
20	Charleroi	292,805	92,64	96,05	21,28	60,21	10,14	8,37	-	-	-
21	Thuin	89,141	92,61	95,14	30,53	48,48	13,63	7,36	-	-	-
22	Liège	389,948	92,83	95,53	24,22	52,36	12,56	9,87	-	-	.99
23	Huy-Waremme	118,358	93,30	96,19	29,61	53,11	11,58	5,70	-	-	-
24	Verviers	159,675	92,47	91,29	48,02	36,54	11,89	3,55	-	-	-
25	Hasselt	130,084	93,82	91,34	66,27	-	-	-	26,72	6,72	.29
26	Tongres-Maaseik	144,830	94,15	93,05	70,54	-	-	-	22,28	7,18	-
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	80,191	92,47	89,65	56,67	-	-	-	43,33	-	-
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	64,262	93,03	92,36	57,50	-	-	-	38,62	-	3,88
29	Namur-Namen	150,249	92,37	94,92	34,77	48,57	12,03	2,32	-	-	2,32
30	Dinant-Philippeville	95,869	92,64	93,71	48,02	34,42	13,46	4,10	-	-	-
1000	Belgium	5,863,092	93,18	94,46	41,15	37,34	12,15	3,57	2,10	2,20	1,50

ELECTION RESULTS 12 Belgian general election of 1958

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Communists	Liberal-Socialist Cartel	Volkswaie	Other parties
1	Anvers	568,372	94,29	95,94	46,29	40,22	8,79	-	-	4,47	.22
2	Malmes	180,671	94,95	95,86	55,87	32,97	7,35	-	-	3,81	-
3	Turnhout	164,542	95,84	95,46	75,06	19,61	3,04	-	-	2,28	-
4	Bruxelles	970,223	92,56	93,68	38,18	40,02	16,58	2,42	-	1,44	1,36
5	Louvain	230,445	94,12	94,05	49,17	30,27	17,81	.55	-	2,19	-
6	Nivelles	135,683	93,07	93,31	32,60	48,21	14,99	3,10	-	-	1,10
7	Bruges	140,496	93,75	96,34	54,22	35,22	8,07	-	-	2,23	.25
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	140,346	92,09	94,03	50,77	29,37	16,79	-	-	3,06	-
9	Courtrai	192,685	95,56	96,32	58,85	31,46	7,95	-	-	1,74	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	134,814	95,28	96,02	72,88	20,82	3,21	-	-	3,09	-
11	Ypres	80,487	94,91	95,36	57,26	22,02	18,44	-	-	2,28	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	370,553	93,89	95,77	55,64	28,38	11,04	-	-	4,54	.40
13	Saint-Nicolas	125,009	94,46	96,28	64,01	27,57	5,45	-	-	2,98	-
14	Termonde	111,586	94,83	96,12	58,60	28,66	10,22	-	-	2,52	-
15	Alost	168,181	94,72	97,01	44,55	27,77	22,25	-	-	5,43	-
16	Audenaarde	80,470	95,05	96,06	52,27	25,63	20,35	-	-	1,75	-
17	Mons	171,780	92,31	95,16	24,18	58,13	8,47	8,78	-	-	.45
18	Soignes	109,315	93,38	95,55	27,78	55,22	11,59	5,00	-	-	.42
19	Tourmai-Ath-Mouscron	158,780	93,31	94,39	34,46	41,59	17,98	5,55	-	-	.43
20	Charleroi	287,526	91,27	97,33	24,81	59,32	8,60	5,59	-	-	1,68
21	Thuin	87,238	93,04	95,25	36,19	46,21	11,10	5,26	-	-	1,24
22	Liège	389,261	92,67	94,92	27,10	51,70	7,14	7,14	-	-	2,36
23	Huy-Waremme	116,865	93,57	95,63	33,53	52,40	8,89	3,54	-	-	1,64
24	Verviers	157,803	93,11	92,49	52,36	33,30	10,09	1,88	-	-	2,38
25	Hasselt	140,033	95,26	94,61	70,08	-	-	-	27,16	-	.12
26	Tongres-Maaseik	154,398	95,40	95,24	73,40	-	-	-	22,06	-	-
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	80,439	92,92	91,46	61,30	-	-	-	37,84	-	.86
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	62,736	94,62	93,22	63,51	-	-	-	36,49	-	-
29	Namur-Namen	149,690	92,86	94,73	41,89	47,67	9,94	-	-	-	.50
30	Dinant-Philippeville	94,631	93,21	94,57	53,66	35,04	11,30	-	-	-	-
1000	Belgium	5,954,858	93,62	95,11	46,50	35,79	11,05	1,89	2,10	1,98	.70

ELECTION RESULTS 13 Belgian general election of 1961

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Communists	Volkunie	Other parties
1	Anvers	581,696	92.78	95.79	40.49	38.21	9.60	2.26	8.28	1.16
2	Malines	184,111	93.62	95.10	49.72	33.48	8.80	.89	7.12	-
3	Turnhout	171,339	94.58	94.17	68.26	20.77	5.02	.33	4.29	1.34
4	Bruxelles	985,544	91.61	93.21	32.63	39.21	15.80	3.10	2.51	6.75
5	Louvain	236,065	92.82	93.59	42.39	30.47	21.92	.73	3.28	1.21
6	Nivelles	135,903	92.07	94.82	28.18	48.20	12.68	5.32	-	5.62
7	Bruges	144,256	92.41	94.46	51.52	34.82	9.09	-	4.57	-
8	Fumes-Dixmude-Ostende	143,434	91.37	92.97	47.27	32.16	12.98	-	4.34	3.25
9	Courtrai	197,296	94.18	94.95	56.30	33.13	8.05	-	2.53	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	137,614	93.94	94.60	67.80	22.57	4.39	-	5.24	-
11	Ypres	81,393	93.35	94.23	52.26	24.42	20.21	-	3.11	.70
12	Gand-Eeklo	375,472	92.27	94.81	50.57	28.82	11.59	1.08	7.25	-
13	Saint-Nicolas	126,941	92.92	94.99	56.58	27.56	7.04	1.13	7.69	-
14	Termonde	113,162	93.51	95.24	52.71	28.16	10.53	1.73	6.30	.56
15	Alost	171,336	93.11	96.49	39.16	27.86	21.02	2.45	9.51	-
16	Audenaarde	80,906	93.47	95.56	48.96	26.65	20.98	1.01	2.41	-
17	Mons	170,016	90.80	95.66	20.38	47.76	7.84	12.46	-	11.55
18	Soignes	108,134	91.66	95.49	24.92	53.08	10.24	7.05	-	4.71
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	157,857	91.55	94.31	30.54	42.07	18.53	7.06	-	1.80
20	Charleroi	285,532	91.27	95.88	22.18	55.44	9.06	8.87	-	4.45
21	Thuin	87,049	91.27	94.90	29.82	45.28	11.67	7.95	-	5.29
22	Liège	387,926	91.71	95.39	24.34	50.72	11.94	8.35	-	4.65
23	Huy-Waremme	116,802	91.56	95.86	29.14	51.85	11.12	3.90	-	3.99
24	Verviers	158,503	91.39	92.64	47.41	33.12	12.18	2.42	-	4.87
25	Hasselt	147,371	93.76	93.12	59.45	21.78	12.11	-	5.51	1.16
26	Tongres-Maaseik	160,555	94.22	93.36	66.57	16.55	10.95	-	5.09	.84
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	80,879	91.42	90.25	53.17	31.97	14.86	-	-	2.13
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	63,453	92.22	92.69	55.02	28.27	14.59	-	-	2.78
29	Namur-Namen	150,933	91.35	93.87	36.64	46.70	11.01	2.87	-	1.51
30	Dinant-Philippeville	94,687	91.33	93.14	49.41	34.88	12.37	1.83	-	-
1000	Belgium	6,036,165	92.34	94.46	41.46	36.72	12.33	3.08	3.46	2.94

ELECTION RESULTS 14 Belgian general election of 1965

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Catholics	Social Democrats	Liberals	Communists	Volksunie	Other parties
1	Anvers	593,866	92.06	93.82	33.12	30.65	14.52	3.58	14.95	3.18
2	Malines	187,547	92.93	92.64	43.75	29.60	13.20	1.32	11.37	.76
3	Turnhout	181,134	94.38	91.69	60.31	18.39	11.32	.79	8.72	.46
4	Bruxelles	1,000,279	90.31	92.07	23.51	25.75	30.21	3.69	3.60	13.24
5	Louvain	249,825	92.55	91.76	38.00	25.63	28.51	1.38	5.98	.50
6	Nivelles	144,113	90.87	93.86	21.33	31.88	31.91	6.38	-	8.50
7	Bruges	149,564	92.02	92.80	43.28	30.14	12.88	.93	12.77	-
8	Fumes-Dixmude-Ostende	146,504	90.37	90.52	36.99	24.23	19.99	1.56	13.66	3.57
9	Courtrai	166,561	93.40	93.93	54.73	25.14	9.10	1.13	9.21	.69
10	Roulers-Tielt	140,707	93.37	92.43	56.04	21.00	5.08	.56	17.23	.09
11	Ypres	69,940	92.32	93.00	47.74	19.69	21.75	1.03	9.79	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	378,428	91.73	93.53	44.91	23.92	17.36	1.63	12.18	-
13	Saint-Nicolas	128,239	92.56	93.87	45.41	22.36	11.31	1.31	19.60	-
14	Termonde	114,791	92.94	93.72	44.26	26.95	15.12	2.33	11.34	-
15	Alost	173,320	92.92	95.73	33.14	23.94	26.60	2.55	13.77	-
16	Audenaarde	80,305	93.09	93.96	41.03	23.39	28.35	1.28	5.95	-
17	Mons	164,551	89.97	94.21	15.43	42.28	19.37	16.82	-	6.09
18	Soignes	102,168	90.07	94.15	19.35	42.31	23.03	9.97	-	5.34
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	200,867	91.04	92.61	28.23	34.46	25.78	9.73	-	1.79
20	Charleroi	277,834	90.18	93.82	15.36	40.60	23.56	9.79	-	10.68
21	Thuin	84,945	90.64	92.41	22.75	34.96	25.65	10.15	-	6.50
22	Lège	384,926	90.34	94.80	17.37	35.45	27.27	12.69	-	7.21
23	Huy-Waremme	105,047	91.82	95.09	22.46	46.43	21.35	9.75	-	-
24	Verviers	155,975	90.92	90.45	39.54	26.47	25.42	4.23	-	4.34
25	Hasselt	157,265	93.71	90.58	55.13	16.59	18.54	-	8.81	.93
26	Tongres-Maaseik	168,755	93.76	91.08	60.80	14.03	15.18	-	8.81	1.18
27	Arion-Marche-Bastogne	79,345	91.15	89.45	43.54	22.02	34.43	-	-	-
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	62,463	90.95	90.07	49.87	25.09	24.07	-	-	.97
29	Namur-Namen	150,197	90.66	93.02	29.39	33.22	23.74	11.88	-	1.77
30	Dinant-Philippeville	92,073	91.18	91.43	41.53	26.35	25.90	4.55	-	1.68
1000	Belgium	6,091,534	91.58	92.89	34.45	28.28	21.61	4.57	6.69	4.39

ELECTION RESULTS 15 Belgian general election of 1968

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Flemish Catholics	Walloon Catholics	Socialists	Liberals	Communists	Van den Broeynant's Cartel	Volkunie	FDf and RW	Other parties
1	Anvers	604,720	90.59	93.21	28.61	-	32.46	14.23	3.22	-	20.83	-	.64
2	Malines	190,298	91.67	92.46	40.59	-	29.64	13.21	1.09	-	15.46	-	-
3	Turnhout	188,472	93.07	90.32	52.23	-	20.81	10.83	.78	-	15.34	-	-
4	Bruxelles	1,008,920	89.17	94.02	-	2.28	20.48	24.38	2.18	27.93	6.55	15.40	.80
5	Louvain	255,178	90.98	91.67	33.21	-	27.58	26.52	1.21	-	11.15	-	.33
6	Nivelles	147,180	88.89	94.44	-	14.86	28.47	32.50	4.33	-	16.59	19.23	.62
7	Bruges	154,070	90.35	92.98	36.90	-	33.32	13.19	-	-	18.95	-	-
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	146,526	90.97	90.85	33.65	-	25.58	20.56	1.26	-	13.48	-	-
9	Courtrai	171,156	91.69	93.01	47.00	-	28.21	10.31	1.00	-	22.14	-	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	144,428	91.69	91.68	49.25	-	23.45	5.17	-	-	16.10	-	-
11	Ypres	70,739	90.15	91.34	43.54	-	23.19	17.17	-	-	16.31	-	.32
12	Gand-Eeklo	383,494	89.96	93.27	38.64	-	23.32	19.95	1.47	-	23.71	-	-
13	Saint-Nicolas	131,182	90.81	93.23	41.80	-	22.90	10.37	1.23	-	16.39	-	-
14	Termonde	117,188	91.10	93.21	38.75	-	28.71	14.26	1.90	-	17.41	-	-
15	Alost	176,251	91.17	95.44	30.93	-	26.14	23.52	2.00	-	7.40	-	-
16	Audenaarde	81,379	90.56	92.99	38.10	-	25.18	28.39	.94	-	-	-	-
17	Mons	164,248	87.74	93.94	-	16.33	42.21	22.00	12.80	-	-	6.35	.31
18	Soignes	101,122	88.73	94.45	-	17.58	41.66	23.84	7.73	-	-	8.63	.55
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	200,748	88.87	92.85	-	23.60	32.93	27.67	10.09	-	-	5.33	.37
20	Charleroi	276,815	88.19	94.55	-	13.10	41.63	22.29	7.84	-	-	14.55	.60
21	Thuin	85,049	88.61	93.35	-	18.85	34.89	27.04	8.08	-	-	10.41	.73
22	Liège	383,463	88.66	95.55	-	15.39	36.88	26.53	9.48	-	-	11.17	.54
23	Huy-Waremme	106,247	88.45	95.26	-	19.48	45.24	23.27	6.37	-	-	5.64	-
24	Verviers	156,228	88.94	92.22	-	34.10	23.76	30.64	3.35	-	-	6.89	1.25
25	Hasselt	164,987	92.28	90.36	47.21	-	19.80	15.70	-	-	17.28	-	-
26	Tongres-Maaseik	175,863	92.39	91.01	55.63	-	15.10	13.77	-	-	14.19	-	1.31
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	78,993	90.43	91.00	-	41.55	22.02	31.88	-	-	-	4.55	-
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	62,038	89.81	93.38	-	45.80	22.23	26.21	-	-	-	5.75	-
29	Namur-Namen	150,376	89.42	94.06	-	21.29	31.21	28.18	2.87	-	-	16.32	.13
30	Dinant-Philippeville	92,809	88.91	92.88	-	31.38	24.26	30.86	1.72	-	-	11.77	-
1000	Belgium	6,170,167	90.02	93.22	20.03	7.15	27.99	20.87	3.30	4.56	9.79	5.90	.41

Legend: FDF = Francophone Democratic Front; RW = Walloon Rally.

ELECTION RESULTS 16 Belgian general election of 1971

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Flemish Catholics	Walloon Catholics	Socialists	Liberals	Communists	FDF and RW	Volkswaie	Other parties
1	Anvers	615,882	91.89	92.03	30.33	-	30.00	13.07	3.32	-	22.50	.79
2	Malines	189,960	95.37	91.80	39.43	-	25.13	11.06	1.13	-	21.06	2.19
3	Turnhout	200,293	94.13	89.57	51.08	-	18.14	12.70	1.20	-	16.88	-
4	Bruxelles	1,005,558	90.72	92.12	-	23.84	20.53	14.20	2.58	28.07	8.30	2.48
5	Louvain	263,788	92.48	91.57	31.92	-	26.56	25.72	1.15	1.75	12.52	.39
6	Nivelles	153,760	90.36	93.31	-	15.77	26.14	16.19	3.56	36.11	-	2.22
7	Bruges	160,642	92.07	91.12	40.54	-	28.68	12.78	-	-	18.00	-
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	153,198	90.44	88.78	31.88	-	24.35	19.31	1.71	-	22.76	-
9	Courtrai	176,363	93.16	91.85	44.82	-	27.82	10.96	-	-	15.39	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	147,212	93.11	90.37	47.77	-	20.53	7.51	-	-	23.26	.92
11	Ypres	71,014	92.09	90.30	37.70	-	27.38	15.18	-	-	19.74	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	388,683	91.36	92.18	35.65	-	21.36	23.29	1.75	-	17.95	-
13	Saint-Nicolas	133,927	92.65	92.88	41.99	-	21.88	10.09	1.64	-	24.40	-
14	Termonde	119,709	92.87	92.30	33.39	-	27.82	17.07	2.14	-	19.57	-
15	Alost	179,994	93.03	94.66	29.82	-	24.62	26.25	2.50	-	16.81	-
16	Audenarde	81,283	92.49	92.72	37.70	-	22.90	28.64	-	-	7.89	2.87
17	Mons	163,411	89.34	92.89	-	15.31	45.16	14.28	13.63	11.62	-	-
18	Soignes	100,768	90.73	93.46	-	21.50	41.60	12.90	7.67	16.34	-	-
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	200,013	90.85	91.62	-	23.33	32.26	22.36	11.22	10.83	-	-
20	Charleroi	275,095	89.57	93.99	-	13.11	37.18	11.12	6.50	30.94	-	1.15
21	Thuin	85,741	90.05	92.68	-	18.38	34.07	18.56	5.41	23.59	-	-
22	Liege	381,621	89.93	94.70	-	16.40	38.98	16.88	6.78	20.96	-	-
23	Huy-Waremme	106,583	90.41	94.55	-	17.81	47.11	17.64	4.20	13.23	-	-
24	Verviers	156,555	90.48	90.85	-	31.65	23.46	20.67	2.49	15.18	-	6.55
25	Hasselt	177,306	93.78	89.02	44.87	-	24.99	11.59	.41	-	18.13	-
26	Tongres-Maaseik	188,172	93.57	87.69	49.01	-	17.40	15.78	.59	-	17.21	-
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	80,703	91.14	89.82	-	37.55	24.35	27.23	-	10.87	-	-
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	62,902	91.62	91.80	-	43.79	18.66	24.32	-	13.24	-	-
29	Namur-Namen	156,612	89.95	93.38	-	19.53	33.13	16.48	1.75	28.86	-	.26
30	Dinant-Philippeville	94,492	90.86	91.68	-	27.95	24.34	24.22	-	23.49	-	-
1000	Belgium	6,271,240	91.55	91.99	19.67	10.38	27.24	16.39	3.06	11.23	11.11	.92

Legend: FDF = Francophone Democratic Front; RW = Walloon Rally.

ELECTION RESULTS 17 Belgian general election of 1974

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Flemish Catholics	Walloon Catholics	Socialists	Flemish Liberals	Walloon Liberals	Communists	Volkswaite	FD, R.W., PLDP	Other parties
1	Anvers	621,317	90.69	93.41	35.90	-	25.07	12.72	-	2.53	19.20	-	4.58
2	Malines	191,792	94.27	92.01	41.57	-	24.63	12.02	-	1.43	19.68	-	.66
3	Turnhout	206,060	93.33	90.35	50.08	-	16.29	15.00	-	1.80	15.72	-	1.11
4	Bruxelles	1,010,026	88.79	91.81	-	26.92	19.41	-	8.16	3.60	8.96	31.90	1.04
5	Louvain	268,472	91.56	91.33	34.72	-	23.09	25.18	-	3.60	13.05	2.11	.26
6	Nivelles	157,873	89.33	92.74	-	19.57	30.50	-	14.92	3.92	.74	29.52	.83
7	Bruges	164,041	91.10	91.43	38.74	-	28.67	13.34	-	1.03	16.70	-	1.52
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	154,177	89.38	88.78	33.06	-	21.61	21.27	-	1.65	21.45	-	.96
9	Courtrai	179,212	92.14	91.62	44.56	-	25.74	12.60	-	1.87	15.23	-	-
10	Roulers-Tielt	148,194	92.36	90.18	51.33	-	18.18	8.77	-	-	21.71	-	-
11	Ypres	71,167	91.23	89.88	42.05	-	22.02	17.76	-	1.03	17.13	-	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	394,667	88.97	92.72	36.28	-	17.96	27.34	-	1.82	15.06	-	1.54
13	Saint-Nicolas	135,219	91.63	92.86	45.08	-	19.99	11.13	-	1.98	20.52	-	1.30
14	Termonde	120,585	91.78	92.02	38.58	-	22.81	19.81	-	1.66	17.15	-	-
15	Alost	181,597	91.83	94.60	31.84	-	22.81	25.82	-	2.04	15.53	-	1.95
16	Audenaerde	81,213	91.25	92.78	35.72	-	22.82	31.86	-	-	7.06	-	2.53
17	Mons	162,475	88.21	92.10	-	14.11	44.74	-	12.64	13.05	-	13.18	2.28
18	Soignes	100,939	89.23	92.28	-	21.93	43.02	-	11.69	7.47	-	14.88	1.02
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	198,633	89.94	90.61	-	23.92	33.54	-	20.69	11.27	-	10.59	-
20	Charleroi	273,129	88.68	92.89	-	17.08	43.35	-	8.90	5.79	-	23.02	1.86
21	Thuin	85,978	88.49	92.14	-	20.09	36.69	-	16.49	5.47	-	20.31	.95
22	Liège	379,990	88.84	94.52	-	19.43	40.36	-	12.02	6.84	-	20.82	.53
23	Huy-Waremme	106,171	89.41	94.85	-	24.62	48.60	-	12.60	4.11	-	10.08	-
24	Verviers	156,333	89.27	89.53	-	30.37	25.29	-	19.52	2.33	-	15.03	7.46
25	Hasselt	183,103	93.23	91.00	44.03	-	29.93	11.61	-	.60	12.52	-	1.31
26	Tongres-Maaiseik	194,103	93.17	89.84	48.81	-	20.20	14.91	-	.59	14.37	-	1.11
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	80,980	90.34	90.36	-	37.48	24.28	-	25.19	-	-	13.04	-
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	63,186	90.71	92.03	-	43.55	21.35	-	20.74	-	-	13.93	.43
29	Namur-Namen	157,461	89.47	93.03	-	22.51	37.63	-	15.33	-	-	22.43	2.11
30	Dinant-Philippeville	94,934	89.96	91.97	-	28.81	25.83	-	22.79	-	-	21.48	1.10
1000	Belgium	6,323,027	90.33	92.07	20.99	11.36	26.66	9.15	6.04	3.16	10.20	10.94	1.51

Legend: FDF = Francophone Democratic Front; RW = Walloon Rally; PLDP = Liberal Democratic and Pluralist Party.

ELECTION RESULTS 18 Belgian general election of 1977

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Flemish Catholics	Walloon Catholics	Social Democrats	Flemish Liberals	Walloon Liberals	Communists	Volkswaie	FDf and RW	Other parties
1	Anvers	621,757	95,46	95,25	42,23	-	25,45	9,87	-	1,81	17,86	-	2,79
2	Malines	199,168	96,57	93,68	43,73	-	24,11	12,04	-	1,10	18,11	-	.91
3	Turnhout	213,866	97,24	92,18	55,95	-	17,43	11,67	-	.73	13,45	-	.94
4	Bruxelles	976,166	92,87	92,97	-	28,88	16,43	-	12,54	2,45	9,42	27,71	2,58
5	Louvain	276,671	95,81	92,56	40,72	-	22,56	19,44	-	1,22	13,63	1,55	.87
6	Nivelles	170,094	94,81	93,05	-	25,42	30,87	-	19,74	3,20	.75	17,18	2,84
7	Bruges	167,847	95,92	92,79	44,08	-	28,79	10,63	-	.93	14,97	-	.60
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	154,588	94,80	90,31	35,87	-	23,92	20,26	-	1,55	17,86	-	.54
9	Courtrai	180,226	96,69	93,29	46,76	-	27,27	11,53	-	.98	12,91	-	.55
10	Roulers-Tielt	146,891	97,23	91,56	52,91	-	19,58	7,66	-	.48	19,01	-	.35
11	Ypres	70,425	94,81	91,24	47,65	-	21,34	15,19	-	.84	14,98	-	-
12	Gand-Eeklo	391,120	94,10	93,21	41,59	-	19,86	19,98	-	1,79	15,73	-	1,06
13	Saint-Nicolas	138,338	95,04	94,47	47,32	-	20,54	9,94	-	1,24	19,94	-	1,02
14	Termonde	122,637	94,47	93,81	42,47	-	22,15	16,32	-	1,38	17,24	-	.44
15	Alost	181,242	96,20	94,49	34,52	-	23,02	22,54	-	1,72	17,61	-	.58
16	Audenaarde	79,176	96,72	93,42	36,21	-	21,09	33,07	-	.77	8,60	-	.26
17	Mons	158,852	92,25	92,27	-	16,82	49,23	-	16,37	-	-	6,35	11,23
18	Soignes	103,167	93,20	92,42	-	24,79	46,38	-	12,44	-	-	9,22	7,16
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	193,107	94,96	90,40	-	26,18	36,94	-	21,79	-	-	5,43	9,67
20	Charleroi	253,066	97,64	92,78	-	19,21	46,16	-	12,63	6,55	-	11,90	3,55
21	Thuin	85,065	95,83	92,72	-	22,62	38,55	-	13,44	4,71	-	19,23	1,46
22	Liège	372,541	94,70	93,83	-	21,43	43,70	-	18,54	7,57	-	8,02	.73
23	Huy-Waremme	101,263	95,67	93,93	-	26,31	49,66	-	13,63	4,06	-	5,48	.85
24	Verviers	154,242	94,18	89,29	-	33,53	26,03	-	25,63	2,63	-	6,02	6,16
25	Hasselt	195,211	97,30	92,20	45,55	-	27,22	12,28	-	.48	13,36	-	1,12
26	Tongres-Maaseik	203,379	97,60	91,61	50,08	-	19,08	12,97	-	.46	16,09	-	1,33
27	Arion-Marche-Bastogne	83,488	91,70	89,81	-	44,56	-	-	25,84	-	-	-	29,60
28	Neuchâteau-Virton	63,931	94,35	92,81	-	52,81	-	-	23,11	-	-	-	24,08
29	Namur-Namen	167,068	94,03	91,06	-	27,51	37,18	-	17,93	2,64	-	12,63	2,10
30	Dinant-Philippeville	92,070	97,14	90,77	-	29,67	26,27	-	32,82	1,43	-	8,79	1,02
1000	Belgium	6,316,662	95,08	92,83	23,56	12,42	26,43	7,76	7,78	2,12	10,04	7,09	2,81

Legend: FDF = Francophone Democratic Front; RW = Walloon Rally.

ELECTION RESULTS 19 Belgian general election of 1978

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Flemish Catholics	Walloon Catholics	Flemish Socialists	Walloon Socialists	Flemish Liberals	Walloon Liberals	Volksunie	Communists	FDF and RW	Other parties
1	Anvers	625,262	95.24	94.10	42.48	-	23.01	-	13.63	-	9.94	2.79	-	8.14
2	Maines	202,248	95.84	92.20	44.27	-	23.10	-	14.70	-	11.99	1.90	-	4.04
3	Turnhout	220,587	97.06	91.21	55.87	-	16.37	-	14.76	-	9.26	1.30	-	2.44
4	Bruxelles	968,277	92.58	92.24	28.31	16.07	-	-	-	7.04	5.94	2.80	27.96	11.88
5	Louvain	281,700	95.83	91.15	39.01	-	22.95	-	20.80	-	8.73	2.07	-	6.44
6	Nivelles	176,643	94.72	91.43	25.99	-	-	27.55	-	17.71	-	3.40	15.63	9.71
7	Bruges	171,576	95.52	90.63	43.81	-	24.73	-	14.92	-	10.68	-	-	4.20
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	156,551	94.57	88.96	35.58	-	22.43	-	23.42	-	14.13	2.26	-	2.17
9	Courtrai	181,091	97.42	91.98	47.61	-	24.11	-	13.81	-	11.07	1.13	-	2.26
10	Roulers-Tielt	148,870	96.88	89.93	51.73	-	17.56	-	13.02	-	15.37	.87	-	1.46
11	Ypres	69,479	96.28	89.81	47.50	-	19.99	-	18.19	-	11.58	1.24	-	1.50
12	Gand-Eeklo	388,701	95.26	92.64	41.76	-	17.54	-	22.68	-	11.09	2.49	-	4.45
13	Saint-Nicolas	138,254	96.22	93.27	46.05	-	20.04	-	13.86	-	14.55	1.99	-	3.51
14	Termonde	121,928	96.13	93.13	43.44	-	19.48	-	20.32	-	12.54	1.93	-	2.29
15	Alost	182,421	96.05	93.14	35.52	-	23.94	-	21.34	-	12.61	2.64	-	3.96
16	Audenaarde	79,067	96.77	92.39	37.46	-	19.32	-	34.86	-	5.97	1.09	-	1.29
17	Mons	160,007	91.51	91.13	-	19.88	-	46.69	-	14.35	-	12.52	4.40	2.14
18	Soignes	102,399	94.63	91.19	-	25.78	-	43.40	-	13.78	-	7.84	7.45	1.75
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	194,026	94.20	88.48	-	27.59	-	35.93	-	20.74	-	8.02	4.62	3.10
20	Charleroi	263,586	92.81	91.33	21.22	-	-	43.13	-	11.60	-	8.18	10.78	5.09
21	Thuin	86,224	95.07	90.99	23.93	-	36.03	-	12.33	-	5.63	20.59	-	1.48
22	Liège	372,174	94.37	92.31	23.21	-	-	41.18	-	14.47	-	6.84	9.32	4.98
23	Huy-Waremme	101,396	96.12	92.61	27.27	-	-	47.96	-	12.91	-	4.83	6.74	.28
24	Verviers	154,266	94.88	88.15	34.28	-	-	23.81	-	24.25	-	3.24	6.21	8.21
25	Hasselt	201,936	97.17	91.28	45.01	-	26.43	-	14.33	-	10.64	.82	-	2.78
26	Tongres-Maaseik	209,185	97.58	90.12	48.54	-	18.62	-	14.22	-	15.85	.68	-	2.09
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	81,192	95.36	88.04	41.63	-	-	25.84	-	22.89	-	-	5.53	4.11
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	64,023	94.20	89.39	48.46	-	-	23.38	-	17.93	-	-	5.05	5.18
29	Namur-Namen	168,838	88.25	95.36	28.41	-	-	34.42	-	16.21	-	2.99	12.48	5.49
30	Dinant-Philippeville	94,748	95.80	89.49	32.58	-	-	26.87	-	27.97	-	1.41	8.35	2.82
1000	Belgium	6,366,655	94.78	91.74	23.65	12.62	11.55	13.83	9.29	6.25	7.01	3.26	7.04	5.51

Legend: FDF = Francophone Democratic Front; RW = Walloon Rally.

ELECTION RESULTS 20 Belgian general election of 1981

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Flemish Catholics	Wal. Catholics	Flemish Socialists	Wal. Socialists	Flemish Liberals	Wal. Liberals	Volksunie	FDF and RW	Flem. Greens	Wal. Greens	UDRT	Other parties
1	Anvers	671,722	94.50	94.54	28.99	-	21.17	-	17.75	-	15.03	-	6.13	-	8.68	2.24
2	Malines	220,374	95.45	92.57	33.15	-	21.74	-	18.05	-	16.30	-	4.69	-	4.83	1.23
3	Turnhout	252,314	96.80	91.60	41.54	-	17.70	-	18.42	-	13.58	-	4.06	-	3.99	.70
4	Bruxelles	999,901	91.93	92.94	-	19.72	-	15.89	-	21.91	17.39	-	-	5.12	5.21	6.97
5	Louvain	309,914	95.37	91.87	29.62	-	21.29	-	25.66	-	13.16	.77	4.38	-	3.57	1.55
6	Nivelles	199,324	93.77	94.22	-	14.23	-	27.75	-	28.06	.51	9.58	-	7.22	3.23	9.42
7	Bruges	191,515	93.62	91.35	31.99	-	22.36	-	19.44	-	16.32	-	4.23	-	3.98	1.67
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	164,729	97.98	89.93	27.61	-	22.44	-	27.60	-	16.86	-	-	-	5.48	-
9	Courtrai	198,704	96.57	92.18	35.64	-	23.27	-	20.21	-	13.56	-	4.02	-	2.90	.40
10	Roulers-Tielt	163,845	96.36	90.21	37.61	-	17.18	-	19.13	-	20.64	-	3.36	-	2.08	-
11	Ypres	75,772	95.44	90.06	36.97	-	21.06	-	21.02	-	17.64	-	4.57	-	3.31	.97
12	Gand-Eeklo	417,364	95.09	93.34	29.85	-	17.47	-	26.43	-	16.62	-	4.57	-	4.09	.92
13	Saint-Nicolas	151,357	96.20	94.27	32.03	-	22.91	-	17.75	-	17.14	-	3.83	-	5.40	.92
14	Termonde	133,377	96.07	93.54	35.92	-	18.20	-	22.87	-	16.28	-	3.00	-	3.73	-
15	Alost	196,922	96.18	94.02	26.50	-	23.50	-	24.44	-	18.91	-	2.59	-	4.07	-
16	Audenaarde	85,083	96.16	93.23	31.67	-	19.96	-	34.99	-	8.22	-	2.16	-	1.78	1.23
17	Mons	167,553	91.40	93.59	-	14.73	-	44.42	-	18.17	-	3.21	-	5.41	11.87	2.19
18	Soignes	109,363	94.05	93.17	-	18.57	-	39.31	-	18.42	-	3.74	-	4.98	11.76	3.22
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	205,477	93.94	90.73	-	22.46	-	36.43	-	23.56	-	1.76	-	5.14	7.93	2.72
20	Charleroi	277,996	92.07	93.84	-	16.08	-	43.24	-	15.70	-	5.20	-	5.19	11.59	2.99
21	Thuin	94,319	94.43	93.04	-	17.79	-	35.88	-	19.47	-	5.01	-	4.51	15.03	2.32
22	Liège	391,105	93.90	94.34	-	14.70	-	43.80	-	20.40	-	5.97	-	6.72	5.85	2.57
23	Huy-Waremme	110,384	95.17	93.77	-	18.87	-	45.69	-	19.90	-	4.60	-	4.86	3.87	2.21
24	Verviers	168,041	94.21	88.65	-	28.47	-	22.65	-	25.60	-	4.89	-	5.89	9.27	3.23
25	Hasselt	231,271	96.82	92.04	32.64	-	28.32	-	17.70	-	13.68	-	3.76	-	3.90	-
26	Tongres-Maaseik	281,188	97.19	90.47	36.37	-	19.62	-	17.75	-	20.78	-	2.93	-	2.55	-
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	90,651	94.60	90.60	-	32.07	-	23.40	-	29.34	-	2.48	-	6.51	.64	5.57
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	69,113	95.18	91.78	-	37.22	-	25.31	-	24.21	-	2.65	-	5.57	2.92	5.04
29	Namur-Namen	184,329	93.27	91.89	-	19.86	-	30.33	-	21.69	-	10.37	-	9.16	2.92	5.67
30	Dinant-Philippeville	104,459	95.83	92.32	-	26.34	-	28.02	-	26.77	-	6.84	-	5.62	1.37	5.03
1000	Belgium	6,877,466	94.54	92.66	17.57	8.92	11.46	13.60	11.54	9.93	9.77	4.21	2.19	2.63	5.48	2.72

Legend: FDF = Francophone Democratic Front; RW = Walloon Rally; UDRT = Democratic Union for the Respect of Labour.

ELECTION RESULTS 21 Belgian general election of 1985

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Flemish Catho-lics	Wal. Catho-lics	Flemish Socia-lists	Wal. Socia-lists	Flemish Liberals	Wal. Liberals	Volkswunie	FDF	Flem. Greens	Wal. Greens	UDRT	Other parties
1	Anvers	680,989	93,51	94,52	30,40	-	23,50	-	14,99	-	12,85	-	8,60	-	.58	9,09
2	Malines	225,353	94,77	93,03	36,06	-	23,43	-	15,24	-	11,95	-	7,36	-	.34	5,62
3	Turnhout	267,295	96,49	91,90	44,25	-	20,28	-	13,47	-	11,37	-	7,23	-	.28	3,12
4	Bruxelles	992,848	90,27	92,21	-	21,59	-	20,00	-	27,72	6,39	8,29	6,28	3,89	5,83	
5	Louvain	320,186	94,63	91,68	33,65	-	25,59	-	20,35	-	10,03	.29	6,51	6,76	.64	2,95
6	Nivelles	207,903	93,26	93,71	-	19,38	-	31,25	-	32,77	.24	1,68	-	3,50	4,41	
7	Bruges	196,201	93,46	91,68	38,30	-	24,60	-	15,21	-	11,90	-	7,11	.28	2,60	
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	177,559	92,71	89,91	29,10	-	25,05	-	22,98	-	13,93	-	5,73	-	3,21	
9	Courtrai	204,640	95,71	92,56	38,42	-	25,56	-	16,53	-	10,49	-	5,97	-	3,03	
10	Roulers-Tielt	168,247	95,47	90,57	39,98	-	21,70	-	16,58	-	13,77	-	3,47	.12	4,37	
11	Ypres	77,216	94,43	90,72	40,24	-	25,40	-	14,80	-	12,60	-	5,17	-	1,79	
12	Gand-Eeklo	425,099	94,35	93,90	33,95	-	21,61	-	22,01	-	11,86	-	5,83	.25	4,49	
13	Saint-Nicolas	155,506	95,52	94,78	35,22	-	25,16	-	15,38	-	13,43	-	6,22	-	4,59	
14	Termonde	137,221	95,24	94,08	40,45	-	21,28	-	17,64	-	12,92	-	4,64	-	3,07	
15	Alost	200,689	95,43	93,59	29,60	-	27,39	-	20,97	-	14,06	-	4,90	-	3,08	
16	Audenaarde	86,057	94,86	93,28	33,16	-	22,77	-	32,46	-	6,40	-	3,91	-	1,31	
17	Mons	164,436	91,91	92,76	-	16,30	-	48,91	-	17,60	-	-	6,95	1,36	8,88	
18	Soignes	109,301	93,18	91,66	-	22,75	-	43,24	-	18,89	-	-	6,50	1,29	7,34	
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	205,261	93,24	91,04	-	24,15	-	39,36	-	26,05	-	-	5,71	.84	3,87	
20	Charleroi	273,619	91,31	92,79	-	21,90	-	44,89	-	17,02	-	-	7,12	1,72	7,35	
21	Thuin	96,483	92,87	92,24	-	21,68	-	39,07	-	25,22	-	-	6,74	1,09	6,19	
22	Lège	388,580	92,63	93,74	-	16,36	-	46,33	-	23,57	-	-	5,95	1,48	6,32	
23	Huy-Waremme	112,575	94,50	93,42	-	18,53	-	49,19	-	22,45	-	-	4,71	.85	4,28	
24	Verviers	172,011	93,33	89,45	-	33,07	-	27,02	-	24,70	-	-	5,32	1,33	8,57	
25	Hasselt	242,940	96,27	92,93	32,04	-	31,98	-	16,56	-	11,12	-	5,45	-	2,85	
26	Tongres-Maaseik	254,722	96,88	91,62	35,86	-	23,13	-	14,11	-	20,73	-	4,09	-	2,08	
27	Arion-Marche-Bastogne	92,611	94,37	90,42	-	35,51	-	23,58	-	32,74	-	-	4,81	1,24	2,13	
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	70,306	94,45	91,15	-	34,33	-	26,11	-	31,52	-	-	4,84	1,02	2,19	
29	Namur-Namen	187,569	92,34	91,30	-	23,10	-	38,55	-	23,44	-	-	7,97	2,25	4,68	
30	Dinant-Philippeville	107,780	94,31	90,64	-	29,81	-	32,34	-	28,61	-	-	5,36	.68	3,21	
1000	Belgium	7,001,203	93,59	92,55	19,31	9,93	13,38	14,93	9,71	11,25	7,88	1,19	3,47	2,78	1,15	5,01

Legend: FDF = Francophone Democratic Front; UDRT = Democratic Union for the Respect of Labour.

ELECTION RESULTS 22 Belgian general election of 1987

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Flemish Catholics	Wal. Catholics	Flemish Socialists	Wal. Socialists	Flemish Liberals	Wal. Liberals	Volksunie	Flem. Greens	Wal. Greens	FDF	UDRT	Other parties
1	Anvers	681,672	93.39	94.92	27.33	-	23.23	-	15.36	-	12.56	10.07	-	-	-	11.29
2	Malines	226,537	94.80	93.55	30.99	-	24.07	-	15.57	-	14.32	7.92	-	-	-	7.13
3	Turnhout	274,189	96.40	92.80	42.34	-	21.37	-	13.11	-	10.25	8.77	-	-	-	4.15
4	Bruxelles	983,384	89.82	93.00	-	20.19	-	24.49	-	28.63	6.67	-	6.70	8.18	-	5.13
5	Louvain	324,669	94.38	92.73	29.95	-	26.95	-	21.11	-	10.33	8.24	-	-	-	3.43
6	Nivelles	212,066	92.96	94.97	-	19.72	-	34.61	-	33.68	-	-	7.55	2.20	-	2.24
7	Bruges	199,801	93.71	92.66	34.67	-	25.87	-	16.91	-	10.81	8.50	-	.21	-	3.02
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ostende	180,408	93.05	91.16	27.29	-	25.98	-	22.68	-	13.63	6.99	-	-	-	3.43
9	Courtrai	207,151	95.46	93.23	34.97	-	26.91	-	16.98	-	11.04	7.56	-	-	-	2.55
10	Roulers-Tielt	169,698	95.18	91.72	36.39	-	23.24	-	19.36	-	12.63	6.00	-	-	-	2.39
11	Ypres	77,679	94.26	92.03	37.95	-	25.84	-	15.50	-	12.89	6.09	-	-	-	1.72
12	Gand-Eeklo	427,880	94.26	94.77	30.78	-	21.57	-	24.84	-	11.06	6.68	-	-	-	5.06
13	Saint-Nicolas	157,970	95.25	95.39	32.65	-	24.48	-	16.00	-	14.27	6.96	-	-	-	5.64
14	Termonde	138,713	95.13	94.53	36.55	-	22.64	-	18.30	-	13.44	5.65	-	-	-	3.42
15	Alost	201,978	95.04	94.05	26.08	-	27.32	-	22.58	-	14.31	5.87	-	-	-	3.84
16	Audenaarde	86,376	94.80	93.83	31.08	-	23.48	-	33.04	-	6.15	4.72	-	-	-	1.54
17	Mons	163,706	91.49	93.81	-	19.77	-	54.52	-	14.24	-	-	6.18	-	.37	4.91
18	Soignes	109,712	92.74	92.83	-	21.20	-	48.66	-	17.87	-	-	7.21	-	-	5.06
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	204,788	93.10	91.59	-	23.71	-	42.75	-	24.58	-	-	6.08	-	-	2.89
20	Charleroi	272,792	90.80	94.16	-	25.75	-	48.84	-	13.64	-	-	6.19	.65	-	4.93
21	Thuin	96,809	92.71	93.41	-	18.76	-	44.25	-	25.89	-	-	6.29	.42	-	4.40
22	Liège	388,069	92.16	94.66	-	16.75	-	50.23	-	21.98	-	-	6.31	.35	-	4.39
23	Huy-Waremme	113,634	94.25	94.53	-	18.30	-	53.08	-	20.72	-	-	5.07	-	-	2.82
24	Verviers	173,453	92.89	90.60	-	35.40	-	32.40	-	19.96	-	-	5.90	.25	-	6.10
25	Hasselt	247,555	96.15	93.43	30.74	-	31.95	-	14.31	-	13.07	6.33	-	-	-	3.59
26	Tongres-Maaseik	260,492	96.84	92.77	29.87	-	22.78	-	17.20	-	23.38	4.55	-	-	-	2.22
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	93,453	94.10	91.32	-	34.82	-	27.96	-	29.49	-	-	6.26	.57	-	.89
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	71,227	93.63	91.85	-	33.94	-	31.68	-	27.73	-	-	5.51	.62	-	.51
29	Namur-Namen	189,548	92.11	93.20	-	22.14	-	44.45	-	21.15	-	-	8.65	.80	-	2.81
30	Dinant-Philippeville	108,802	94.03	92.33	-	27.80	-	37.97	-	27.39	-	-	5.54	-	-	1.30
1000	Belgium	7,044,211	93.37	93.43	17.60	9.86	13.69	16.85	10.25	10.69	8.06	4.16	2.89	1.16	.10	4.67

Legend: FDF = Francophone Democratic Front; UDRT = Democratic Union for the Respect of Labour.

ELECTION RESULTS 23 Belgian general election of 1991

Code	Arrondissements	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Flem. Catho-lics	Wal. Catho-lics	Flem. Socia-lists	Wal. Socia-lists	Flem. Liberals	Wal. Liberals	Volksunie	Flem. Greens	Wal. Greens	FDF	VB	ROSS	Other parties
1	Anvers	682,823	92.84	95.66	19.23	-	16.89	-	15.06	-	7.68	9.77	-	-	20.68	8.07	2.61
2	Malines	230,050	94.06	94.01	29.02	-	18.07	-	14.51	-	8.89	7.63	-	-	15.03	5.72	1.12
3	Turnhout	284,942	96.11	93.00	36.36	-	17.32	-	14.15	-	7.74	8.74	-	-	8.37	6.14	1.19
4	Bruxelles	965,700	88.72	93.12	12.33	6.40	5.94	11.49	9.59	15.98	5.05	2.89	7.14	8.96	5.96	2.27	5.99
5	Louvain	334,059	94.05	92.42	23.06	-	25.32	-	21.91	-	7.35	8.75	-	-	7.62	5.08	.91
6	Nivelles	224,482	92.11	94.16	-	19.66	-	26.95	-	27.27	-	-	14.59	3.73	-	-	7.79
7	Bruges	205,508	93.14	93.12	29.28	-	20.19	-	18.82	-	7.47	9.59	-	-	6.52	7.20	.95
8	Furnes-Dixmude-Ost.	186,298	92.62	90.65	23.45	-	20.14	-	24.01	-	11.02	7.50	-	-	7.05	4.94	1.88
9	Courtrai	210,508	95.08	92.46	32.53	-	23.24	-	16.59	-	8.15	8.26	-	-	5.47	5.14	.63
10	Roulers-Tielt	172,943	94.97	91.41	36.64	-	16.91	-	19.85	-	11.29	6.76	-	-	3.94	4.30	.30
11	Ypres	78,342	94.25	92.02	39.58	-	19.85	-	16.49	-	9.39	6.82	-	-	3.41	4.17	.29
12	Gand-Eeklo	433,443	93.81	94.47	26.11	-	16.56	-	26.69	-	8.27	8.83	-	-	8.32	3.66	1.56
13	Saint-Nicolas	162,456	94.85	95.24	28.44	-	19.21	-	15.70	-	9.74	6.83	-	-	14.31	4.62	1.16
14	Termonde	141,561	94.84	94.02	29.77	-	19.88	-	20.02	-	9.74	5.91	-	-	9.23	5.07	.37
15	Alost	204,733	94.43	93.31	22.53	-	23.88	-	22.16	-	9.32	5.49	-	-	8.84	4.57	3.20
16	Audenaarde	87,311	93.98	92.40	31.94	-	18.31	-	29.89	-	5.17	6.08	-	-	5.02	3.36	.24
17	Mons	164,615	90.75	91.89	-	21.92	-	46.80	-	12.58	-	-	15.24	1.16	-	-	2.30
18	Soignes	111,100	91.94	91.31	-	21.06	-	41.19	-	18.56	-	-	15.96	-	-	-	3.24
19	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	205,942	92.77	89.82	-	24.52	-	37.74	-	20.95	-	-	14.63	-	-	-	2.17
20	Charleroi	273,499	89.66	92.58	-	17.42	-	46.80	-	14.97	-	-	13.53	-	-	-	7.27
21	Thuin	98,477	92.13	91.48	-	20.67	-	38.59	-	24.01	-	-	14.19	-	-	-	2.54
22	Liège	388,256	90.60	93.76	-	16.29	-	44.99	-	17.89	-	-	12.35	2.58	-	-	.84
23	Huy-Waremme	117,200	93.37	94.00	-	16.92	-	54.22	-	17.99	-	-	10.02	-	-	-	-
24	Verviers	179,602	91.37	89.34	-	37.00	-	27.83	-	19.43	-	-	13.72	1.35	-	-	.68
25	Hasselt	256,202	95.83	93.65	26.53	-	26.98	-	15.09	-	-	7.14	-	-	8.81	2.89	1.12
26	Tongres-Maaseik	269,019	96.06	93.00	27.51	-	20.16	-	20.81	-	17.78	5.34	-	-	5.25	2.12	1.02
27	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne	95,434	93.86	89.34	-	36.19	-	23.82	-	25.01	-	-	12.40	-	-	-	2.58
28	Neufchâteau-Virton	72,278	94.01	90.19	-	29.21	-	32.21	-	27.59	-	-	10.67	-	-	-	.31
29	Namur-Namen	195,218	91.66	92.45	-	23.24	-	39.73	-	16.66	-	-	15.27	-	-	-	5.10
30	Dinant-Philippeville	112,783	93.35	90.30	-	29.62	-	33.48	-	24.28	-	-	11.55	-	-	-	1.08
1000	Belgium	7,144,784	92.71	93.03	16.81	7.74	11.98	13.49	11.98	8.14	5.89	4.86	5.07	1.47	6.58	3.23	2.76

Legend: FDF = Francophone Democratic Front; VB = Flemish Bloc; ROSS = Radical Change and Social Fighters for an Honest Society.

ELECTION RESULTS 24 Belgian general election of 1995

Code	Circscriptions	Electorate	Voters	Valid votes	Flem. Catholics	Wal. Catholics	Flem. Socialists	Wal. Socialists	Flem. Liberals	Wal. Liberals	Volksumie	Flem. Greens	Wal. Greens	VB	FN	Other parties
1	Anvers	677,963	89,49	95,65	19,03	-	18,53	-	17,34	-	6,38	10,43	-	22,18	-	6,11
2	Malines-Turnhout	524,906	93,84	92,47	32,93	-	17,77	-	16,06	-	7,56	7,95	-	13,38	-	4,34
3	Bruxelles-Hal-Vilvorde	941,762	86,58	92,49	12,45	6,01	6,73	11,49	10,48	22,97	4,31	2,91	6,50	7,24	4,73	4,19
4	Louvain-Leuven	341,004	92,37	92,68	22,76	-	27,77	-	23,35	-	7,14	7,02	-	8,42	-	3,55
5	Nivelles	233,082	90,53	93,23	-	20,50	-	22,87	-	39,09	-	13,05	-	-	-	4,48
6	Bruges	208,197	91,96	92,59	29,80	-	20,77	-	21,94	-	6,97	7,10	-	9,38	-	4,04
7	Furnes-Dixmude-Ypres-Osten.	268,294	92,08	91,34	26,47	-	28,87	-	22,75	-	6,43	4,68	-	7,71	-	3,10
8	Courtrai-Roulers-Tielt	386,960	93,53	91,25	35,38	-	20,78	-	20,32	-	7,44	5,99	-	7,63	-	2,45
9	Gand-Eeklo	435,958	92,38	93,59	28,64	-	16,57	-	24,24	-	8,12	7,91	-	10,33	-	4,19
10	Saint-Nicolas-Termondee	309,090	93,37	93,87	28,68	-	17,47	-	21,29	-	7,74	6,53	-	14,04	-	4,25
11	Alost-Audenarde	297,598	91,97	92,43	25,40	-	21,18	-	28,65	-	7,15	4,99	-	9,68	-	2,95
12	Mons-Soignes	279,063	90,41	91,56	-	18,44	-	41,69	-	17,25	-	-	8,60	-	8,42	5,59
13	Tournai-Ath-Mouscron	206,671	91,50	88,93	-	22,47	-	36,00	-	22,99	-	-	10,07	-	4,81	3,66
14	Charleroi-Thuin	373,677	89,82	91,76	-	23,34	-	35,90	-	18,88	-	-	8,17	-	9,03	4,67
15	Liège	389,456	88,38	94,11	-	17,47	-	39,39	-	22,46	-	-	11,20	-	4,69	4,78
16	Huy-Waremme	120,294	92,54	93,05	-	18,24	-	44,72	-	20,89	-	-	10,22	-	2,48	3,44
17	Verviers	178,977	91,38	91,04	-	33,89	-	21,52	-	23,16	-	-	11,44	-	3,94	6,05
18	Hasselt-Tongres-Maaseik	541,603	94,66	92,56	30,10	-	22,81	-	20,76	-	7,93	5,66	-	9,72	-	3,02
19	Arlon-Marche-Bastogne-Neufchâteau-Virton	172,114	92,66	88,24	-	32,26	-	24,07	-	29,08	-	-	9,28	-	4,11	1,21
20	Namur-Dinant-Philippeville	315,801	91,10	90,57	-	22,97	-	31,41	-	25,57	-	-	11,41	-	6,93	1,72
1000	Belgium	7,202,470	91,15	92,53	17,18	7,73	12,56	11,87	13,15	10,26	4,67	4,43	4,01	7,83	2,28	4,04

Legend: VB = Flemish Bloc; FN = National Front.