

Part I: Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered

1. Variable number/name in the dataset that identifies the primary electoral district for each respondent. AMPER

2. Names and party affiliation of cabinet-level ministers serving at the time of the dissolution of the most recent government.

| Name of Cabinet Member | Name of the Office Held | Political Party |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| ----- | ----- | ----- |

3. Political Parties (active during the election at which the module was administered).

| Name of Political Party | Year Founded | Ideological Family Party is Closest to | Int'l Org. Party Belongs to |
|-------------------------|--------------|--|-----------------------------|
| ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |

Ideological Party Families:

| | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Ecology Parties | Liberal Parties | Agrarian Parties |
| Communist Parties | Right Liberal Parties | Ethnic Parties |
| Socialist Parties | Christian Democratic | Regional Parties |
| Social Democratic | Parties | Other Parties |
| Parties | Conservative Parties | Independents |
| Left Liberal Parties | National Parties | |

THIS DIMENSION IS NOT AT ALL APPLICABLE IN THE THAI CONTEXT. IN FACT, VERY FEW ASIAN PARTIES ARE IDEOLOGICALLY ORIENTED. (This may be because the Communist Party is outlawed.)

International Party Organizations:

| | |
|--|---|
| Socialist International | Liberal International |
| Confederation of Socialist Parties of the European Community | Federation of European Liberals, Democrat, and Reform Parties |
| Asia-Pacific Socialist Organization | International Democrat Union |
| Socialist Inter-African | Caribbean Democrat Union |
| | European Democrat Union |
| Christian Democratic International | Pacific Democrat Union |
| European Christian Democratic Union | The Greens |
| European People's Party | |

AGAIN, THIS IS NOT A RELEVANT DIMENSION FOR THAI PARTIES.

4. (a) Parties position in left-right scale (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator):

THIS IS AN IRRELEVANT DIMENSION IN THE THAI PARTY CONTEXT

| Party Name | LEFT | | | | | | | | | | RIGHT |
|------------|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------|
| 1. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 2. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 3. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 4. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 5. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 6. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

4. (b) If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on a dimension other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings on this other dimension.

Name of dimension:

Label for left position: _____

Label for right position: _____

| Party Name | LEFT | | | | | | | | | | RIGHT |
|------------|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------|
| 1. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 2. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 3. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 4. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 5. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 6. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |

5. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)?

THE ECONOMY (Understood as the Asian fiscal crisis and its management ; many people refer to it as the "IMF crisis.")

CORRUPTION AND SCANDALS - A Prachatipatthai cabinet minister confessed to having misled on an assets declaration and resigned from the government. Ministry of Finance officials took responsibility for mishandling bank collapses, etc. Much of this was mostly trivial, but the Thai press is rather vicious about these things.

CANDIDACY OF TAKSIN SHINAWATRA - A new face, extremely wealthy, put together the new party, Thai Rak Thai, and caused defections from the older parties in substantial numbers. He provided huge amount of pre-election money to get the party going and the pre-election publicity seemed to have an important impact on the election.

TAKSIN'S PROMISES

1. 1,000,000 Baht for every village
2. Guaranteed access to health care for 35 Baht per visit.

6. Electoral Alliances

Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the constituency level as, for example, in Finland. Documenting who is allied with whom, and how, in each constituency is a large task and we do not expect you to do more than make some general reference to the existence of constituency-level alliances. Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the national level -- these are the alliances that we would like you will identify. Information is sought on who is allied with whom and on the nature of the electoral alliance.

- a) Were electoral alliances permitted during the election campaign?
Yes _____ No X
- b) (If yes) Did any electoral alliances form?
Yes _____ No X
- c) (If yes to b) List the party alliances that formed:

This is too complicated to answer "yes" or "no." There were no electoral alliances to affect the election. However, during the election, it was quite clear that alliances were already forming to create the future government coalition. A faction of Kwam Wang Mai, for example, became part of Thai Rak Thai just before the campaign started. Later the Thai Rak Thai prime minister named the head of Kwam Wang Mai as Minister of Defence. However, this activity never seemed to affect the campaign per se.

7. (If a presidential election was held concurrently with the legislative elections) List presidential candidates:

| Name of Presidential Candidate | Party of Candidate* |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|
|--------------------------------|---------------------|

*or parties, if multiple endorsements are allowed.

8. Please include aggregate and constituency returns with the study materials provided when the data are archived.

Part II: Data on Electoral Institutions

A central theme in the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems concerns the impact of electoral institutions on voting behavior and election outcomes. In order to assess the impact of institutions properly, a necessary preliminary step is to obtain accurate information on those institutional arrangements. The purpose of this document is to describe the kind of information we are asking you to provide.

Overview of Information Needed

In most countries, the best source of the needed information is the electoral statute or code that currently governs lower house elections. If the text of the law is available in a variety of different languages, please send a version in the most accessible language available. In any event, please also provide full bibliographic information on the source of the information sent.

In a few countries, such as the U.K., there may not be a single statute that governs elections. In such cases, our hope is that you will do your best to provide an accurate description of the electoral system in response to the detailed questions described below.

For those countries in which there is an electoral statute, there may also be other sources of information on the electoral procedure that you know of: perhaps the constitution specifies part of the electoral system, or perhaps a local scholar has written a description of the electoral system, or districts available. It would be helpful if these materials could be sent as well.

I. QUESTIONS ABOUT ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

Definitions: An electoral district is defined as a geographic area within which votes are counted and seats allocated. If a district cannot be partitioned into smaller districts within which votes are counted and seats allocated, it is called primary. If it can be partitioned into primary districts, and there is some transfer of votes and/or seats from the primary districts to the larger district, then the larger district is called secondary. If a district can be partitioned into secondary districts (again with some transfer of votes and/or seats), it is called tertiary.

In some electoral systems, there are electoral districts that are geographically nested but not otherwise related for purposes of seat allocation. In Lithuania, for example, there are 71 single-member districts that operate under a majority runoff system, and also a single nationwide district that operates under proportional representation (the largest remainders method with the Hare quota). Neither votes nor seats from the single-member districts transfer to the nationwide district, however. The two processes are entirely independent (with voters having one vote in each district). In this case, the nationwide district, although it contains the 71 single-member districts, is not considered to be secondary. It is primary. One might say that there are two segments to the electoral system in such cases.

1) How many segments (as just defined) are there in the electoral system? The Thai system is highly similar in structure to that of Lithuania.

For the first segment, please answer the following questions (questions 2 through 11):

2) How many primary electoral districts are there? 2 There are two ballots cast, one for candidates in single-member districts, the other for a party in a party-list balloting.

3) For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from in that district? 1 for the 400 single-member districts; 100 for the party-list ballot.

4) How many secondary electoral districts are there? None, as I understand the typology.

5) How many tertiary electoral districts are there? None

II. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.

6) Exactly how are votes cast by voters? 2 One for the single-member district; one for the party-list ballot.

6a) How many votes do they or can they cast?

6b) Do they vote for candidates, for lists, or for both? Both

7) Are the votes transferable? No

8) If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated? NA

9) Are there any other features of voting that should be noted?

First, it should be noted that candidates for the single-member districts are not eligible for the party-list balloting and vice versa.

Second, election for the Senate occurs in an entirely separate election (March 4, 2000). This is based upon multi-member districts (provinces) with proportional to population representation. However, voters can cast a vote for only one candidate. This means that in Bangkok, for example, with 18 Senators, a person can be elected to the Senate with 5.6 percent of the vote. (I have done a paper on this.)

III. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

10) Exactly how are votes converted into seats?

10a) Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats? If so, what is the threshold?

This is true only for the party-list ballot. The threshold is 5 percent of the vote.

10b) What electoral formula or formulas are used?

11) If there are lists, are they closed, open, or flexible?

- closed __X__
- flexible, but in practice virtually closed _____
- flexible _____
- flexible, but in practice virtually open _____
- open _____

Definitions: A list is closed if the seats that are awarded to that list are always occupied by the candidates in order of their appearance on the list (i.e., if the list gets x seats then necessarily the top x names on the list get the seats). A list is open if the question of which candidates on the list get the seats that are awarded to the list is determined solely by the votes that each candidate receives. A list is flexible if it is neither closed nor open.

Because the candidates cannot stand in both the single-member district contests AND the party list balloting, the list is CLOSED for the party list ballot.

IV. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF ELECTORAL ALLIANCE.

12) What are the possibilities of alliance in the system?

12a) Can parties run joint lists? NO

12b) Is there apparentement or linking of lists? NO

12c) Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party? NO

12d) Do parties withdraw their lists or candidates in some constituencies, urging their supporters there to vote for an ally's list or candidate? There may be a case, but I do not recall one.

12e) Other? _____

Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

13) If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc.

14) If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements

- lists of the same party in the same constituency? _____
- lists of the same party from different constituencies? _____
- lists of different parties in the same constituency? _____

15) If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

- _____ Yes, candidate s name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
- _____ Yes, candidate s name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him or her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- _____ Yes, other (please explain)
- _____ No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper

Part III: Data on Regime Type

Below are various questions about the type of regime--presidential, parliamentary, semi-presidential--in your country. There are two potential problems with these questions that should be noted at the outset. First, in some countries there may be a discrepancy between the de jure (or legal) situation and the de facto (or practical) situation. For example, in Great Britain the Queen still possesses a legal right to veto legislation, but this right has not been exercised since 1707. In the case of such obviously obsolete powers, please answer according to the de facto situation. Otherwise, describe the de jure situation. A second potential problem is that the questions may not be phrased optimally for the situation in your particular country. In such cases, please answer as best you can, providing some indication of the difficulties as you see them.

I.) Questions regarding the Head of State.

1) Who is the Head of State?

- _____ President
- Monarch
- _____ Prime Minister serves as ceremonial head of state
- _____ Other (please specify) _____

2) How is the head of state selected?

- _____ Direct election
- _____ Indirect election
- _____ Birth right
- _____ Divine right
- Other (Explain) King may name successor, most assuredly a member of the Royal Family. If King does not name a successor, the Parliament may name the successor through a process too complicated to explain, here. technically, the succession is not limited by gender or by primogeniture.

a) If by direct election, by what process?

- _____ Plurality election
- _____ Run-off or two-ballot system
- _____ Other (Explain)

(i) If by run-off system, what is the

Threshold for first-round victory? _____

Threshold to advance to second round? _____

Threshold for victory in second round? _____

b) If by indirect election, by what process?

_____ Electoral college

_____ Selection by the legislature

_____ Other (Explain)

(i) If by electoral college,

How are electors chosen?

Does the electoral college deliberate? _____ Yes

_____ No

What is the voting procedure used by the electoral college?

(ii) If by the legislature,

By which chamber(s) of the legislature?

What is the voting procedure used?

3) If there is a Head of State, does the Head of State have the following powers?

a) Introduce legislation? _____Yes No

b) Require expedited action on specific legislation? _____Yes
No

If yes, what is the default if the legislature takes no action?

Definitions: A Head of State possesses a partial veto when he or she can target specific clauses of a piece of legislation for veto, while promulgating the rest. In the U.S., such vetoes are sometimes called line item vetoes. A Head of State possesses a package veto when he or she can veto the entire piece of legislation submitted by the legislature, but cannot veto some parts and accept others.

c) Package veto? Yes _____ No

If yes, what is the requirement to override the veto?

Re-pass the legislation by both houses of Parliament by a 2/3 vote.

d) Partial veto? _____Yes _____ No

If yes, what is the requirement to override the partial veto?

e) Legislate by decree? Yes _____No

If yes, does this require that the legislature must first specifically delegate decree authority to the head of state by statute? Yes No

If yes, are there restrictions on the policy areas in which the head of state can legislate by decree? Yes No

(Except with regard to the Palace Law, which is totally at the discretion of the King.)

If yes, are there other restrictions on the head of state's authority to legislate by decree? Yes No

f) Emergency powers? Yes No

If yes, what actions can the head of state take under emergency authority?

If yes, under what conditions can the head of state invoke emergency authority?

If yes, what restrictions are there on the head of state's authority to invoke and exercise emergency authority?

g) Negotiate treaties and international agreements? Yes No BUT REQUIRES APPROVAL AND KING HAS POWER TO "CONCLUDE" TREATIES

If yes, what other requirements are there for approval of treaties and international agreements negotiated by the head of state?

h) Commander of the armed forces? Yes No

If yes, does the head of state control promotions of high-ranking officers? BUT, TECHNICALLY CONFIRMS THEM. Yes No

If yes, can the head of state dismiss or demote high-ranking officers?

Yes No (Except for Permanent Secretary of State and Director General)

If yes, can the head of state mobilize and demobilize troops? Yes No

j) Introduce referenda? Yes No
If yes, under what conditions?

k) Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality? Yes No

m) Convene special legislative sessions? Yes No

If yes, is this the head of state's power exclusively, or can any other (s) do this as well? Yes, other power
 No other powers

(If yes, explain): 2/3 of the members of Parliament may convoke an emergency session. It is not clear that the King can convoke such a session without petition of Parliament.

II.) Questions about the Head of Government.

1) Who is the Head of Government?

President
 Prime Minister (or equivalent)
 Other (please specify) _____

2) If the Head of Government is a prime minister, how is the prime minister selected?

Appointed by the head of state alone
 Appointed by the legislature alone
 Nominated by the head of state, and approved by the legislature
 Nominated by the legislature, and approved by the head of state
 Other (Explain):

3) If there is a prime minister, what authorities does the prime minister have over the composition of the cabinet?

Names ministers and assigns portfolios alone (Formal power is held by Head of State)
 Nominates ministers for approval by the president
 Reviews and approves ministerial nominations made by the president
 Dismisses ministers and reassigns portfolios at own discretion
 Other (Explain):

4) If there is a prime minister, what authorities does the prime minister have over the policy making process?

Essential powers over legislation reside with Ministers and the National Assembly. Influence of PM is informal.

Prime Minister and Cabinet must resign membership from Parliament in order to serve in the Cabinet.

Chairs cabinet meetings
 Determines schedule of issues to be considered by the legislature
 Determines which alternatives will be voted on by the legislature, and in which order
 Refers legislative proposals to party or legislative

- committees
 Calls votes of confidence in government
 Other (Explain)

Legislation is controlled by the National Assembly and the Presidents of the House of Representatives and the Senate. (The President of the National Assembly is the President of the House of Representatives.) These are not necessarily leaders of the majority party.

III.) By what method(s) can cabinet members, or the entire cabinet, be dismissed?

- By the head of state alone
 By the prime minister alone
 By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of all legislators is required
 By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of those legislators voting is required
 By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Explain)
 Other (Explain)

There are a variety of methods, including removal by the Constitutional Court as a result of a petition of 50,000 citizens. There are a variety of ways to obtain removal of a Cabinet Minister.

IV.) Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections? Yes No

1) If yes, by what method?

Request by the Prime Minister to dissolve the Parliament, then a Royal Decree.

- By the head of state alone
 By the prime minister alone
 By majority vote of the legislature
 By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Explain)
 Other (Explain)

2) If yes, are there restrictions on when and how the legislature can be dissolved?

No On the timing of dissolution (e.g. not within one year after a legislative election)

No As a response to action/inaction by the legislature (e.g. only when the legislature has censured the cabinet; e.g. only if the legislature fails to pass the budget) (Explain)

Other (Explain)