

Macro Data Report (GREAT BRITAIN)

NOTE: The original report was prepared by CSES staff, and then revised and supplemented by the CSES collaborator in Great Britain. Professor John Curtice's comments are noted in italics, and provide the basis for the data that appear in the various datafiles.

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.

V114

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
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Crucial thing is that all of the Cabinet Minister at dissolution were Conservatives.

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

Name of Party	Year Founded	Ideological Party Family	International Org. Membership
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A Labour	1900	Left-Liberal	Socialist Int.
B Conservative	1841	Right-Liberal	
C Liberal Dems.	1988	Social Democrat	Liberal Int.
D SNP	1934	Regional	
E Plaid Cymru	1925	Regional	

Labour is Social Democrat. Liberal DEms are Left-Liberal. Conservatives are a Conservative party.

The Conservatives are (and were in 1997) members of the EPP in the European parliament. They are also members of the same international club that the US Republican party belongs to.

While technically the Lib Dems were founded in 1988 this is a bit misleading. The party was a product of a merger between the Liberals (founded 1859) and the Social Democrats (founded 1981). The former were by far the dominant part, not least in terms of party image and the kind of voters that backed them, so it would make more sense to say 1859. (If you say 1988 for the LibDEms you could say 1944 for the Conservatives as there was a merger that year (?) between the Tories and National Liberals (ex-right liberals!).)

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

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

For the 1997 election

Con 8, lab 4, LibDem4, SNP3, PC 3.

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)?

1. *Britain forced withdrawal from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism in Sept. 1992.*
2. *Perceived incompetence of the Conservative Party (initially fuelled by 1)*
3. *Perceived failure of the Conservative party to keep its promises - esp. perceived failure to keep 1992 promises on (lower) taxes and allegations of 'sleaze' (mixture of a series of petty corruption and sexual scandals)*
4. *Demand for better public services - esp. health and education - rather than lower taxes*
5. *Perceived divisions within the Conservatives party on Britain's relationship with the European Union.*

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

Strictly speaking the answer to this question is Yes. There is nothing to stop two or more parties forming an alliance in which they put up one representative in a constituency. It has happened in the past.

- b) (If yes) Did any electoral alliances form?
Yes ____ No X
- c) (If yes to b) List the party alliances that formed:

7. Please list party leaders and/or particularly visible candidates, and their party affiliations.

- A Labour- Blair
- B Conservative- Major
- C Lib. Dem.- Ashdown
- D SNP- Salmond
- E Plaid Cymru- Wigley

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 perhaps there is a map of the electoral 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 elected chambers are there in the legislature? 1

1a) How many segments (as just defined) are there in the each house of the legislature? 1

2) How many primary electoral districts are there? 659

But the figure for Great Britain, which is the area covered by the survey is 641. The remaining 18 are in Northern Ireland.

3) For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from in that district? 1

4) How many secondary electoral districts are there? 0

5) How many tertiary electoral districts are there? 0

II. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.

- 6) Exactly how are votes cast by voters?
 - 6a) How many votes do they or can they cast? 1
 - 6b) Do they vote for candidates, for lists, or for both? Candidates
- 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? No

III. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

- 10) Exactly how are votes converted into seats? SMSP
 - 10a) Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats? If so, what is the threshold? NA
 - 10b) What electoral formula or formulas are used? SMSP

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.

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

Some of us would argue that SMSP is a closed list system (i.e. a list of 1)

- 12) Is voting compulsory? No

IV. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF ELECTORAL ALLIANCE.

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.

- 12) What are the possibilities of alliance in the system? None.

Not so. Parties can agree to stand down for each other in one or more constituencies to to field a jointly agreed candidate.

- 12a) Can parties run joint lists? No

Effectively yes - see above.

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

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

Yes - see above.

12d) Do parties withdraw their lists or candidates in some constituencies, urging their supporters there to vote for an ally's list or candidate? CSES Staff: Yes?

This happened in one GB constituency in 1997. Both Labour and the Liberal Democrats stood down in favour of an Independent candidate in Tatton. Meanwhile in W. Brown West the Speaker (chair of the House of Commons) was not opposed by the Conservatives or the Lib Dems (she was a Labour member before becoming speaker)

12e) Are there other electoral alliances formed? No

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. NA

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

14a) lists of the same party in the same constituency?

14b) lists of the same party from different constituencies?

14c) 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? NA

At the law stood in 1997 they could be. Candidates were permitted to put up a five word description of themselves. Most used it to put their party label on the ballot, and this could in theory be the name of more than 1 candidate. It did not happen in 1997.

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? Monarch
- 2) How is the head of state selected? Birth right
- 3) Does the Head of State have the following powers?
 - a) Introduce legislation? No
 - b) Require expedited action on specific legislation? If yes, what is the default if the legislature takes no action? No

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? No
- d) Partial veto? No
- e) Legislate by decree? No
- f) Emergency powers? No
- g) Negotiate treaties and international agreements? No
- h) Commander of the armed forces? No
- j) Introduce referenda? No
- k) Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality?
No
- m) Convene special legislative sessions? No

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 not also the Head of State, how is the Head of Government 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):

I think the closest answer is appointed by the Head of State alone. The Prime Minister is appointed by the Head of State. There is no election in the House of Commons. All the commons can do is to attempt to bring down a PM by passing a vote of no confidence in his

govt (though that may precipitate an election rather than an immediate change of govt.)

3) What authorities does the prime minister have over the composition of the cabinet? [Check all that apply.]

- Names ministers and assigns portfolios alone
- 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) What authorities does the head of government have over the policy making process? [Check all that apply.]

- 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)

PM - or rather the govt - has most influence on the schedule of issues to be covered by the legislature but does not have complete control. So 'determines' too strong.

I would not say the PM determines the order in which alternatives are voted by the legislature. This ultimately lies in the hands of the Speaker of the House of Commons - though in practice the govt has considerable influence.

III.) By what method(s) can cabinet members, or the entire cabinet, be dismissed? [Check all that apply.]

- 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)

Formally I guess this answer is correct, but note that answer 4 is also effectively true. No govt can survive losing a vote of confidence unless it can win an election after dissolving the legislature.

IV.) Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections? If yes, by what method?

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)

Answer 3 should not be ticked. House of Commons cannot dissolve itself.

Strictly speaking the PM needs the consent of the Head of State to dissolve the legislature. It is also probably the case that in certain circumstances that consent could be withheld - viz. when requested by a PM who has failed to secure consent for the first Queen's Speech (the govt' annual programme) after an election.

Most Constitutional lawyers would also say that the monarch retains some de facto power to dissolve parliament on her own initiative, This power was used on behalf of the Crown by the Governor General in Australia in 1975 (and the Commonwealth being what it is this counts as a precedent here!)

If yes, are there restrictions on when and how the legislature can be dissolved? [Check all that apply.]

On the timing of dissolution (e.g. not within one year after a legislative election)

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)

Other (Explain)

Neither of these apply.