

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems:

Macro-Level Questionnaire with Variable Labels,
And Other Variables Included in the CSES Macro-Level Component

PART I: DATA PERTINENT TO THE ELECTION AT WHICH THE MODULE WAS ADMINISTERED

Q1.1. Variable number/name in the dataset that identifies the primary electoral district for each respondent.

v114

Q1.2. 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
Davíð Oddsson	Prime minister	Independence party
Halldór Ásgrímsson	Minister for Foreign Affairs	Progressive party
Björn Bjarnason	Minister of Education	Independence party
Finnur Ingólfsson	Minister of Industry and Commerce	Progressive party
Geir H. Haarde	Minister of Finance	Independence party
Gudmundur Bjarnason	Minister of Environment and Agricultural Affairs	Progressive party
Halldór Blöndal	Minister of Communications	Independence party
Ingibjörg Pálmadóttir	Minister of Health and Social Security	Progressive party
Páll Pétursson	Minister of Social Affairs	Independence party
Thorsteinn Pálsson	Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs and Minister of Fisheries	Independence party

Q1.3. Political Parties (active during the election at which the module was administered): Year Party Founded

	Political Party	Year Party founded
v10000a	A. Alliance	1999

(an electoral alliance (joint lists) of Social Democratic Party (1916), People's Alliance (1956), Women's Alliance (1983), People's Movement (1994). The Alliance became a formal political party in 2000).

v10010b	B.	Progressive party	1916
v10020c	C.	Independence party	1929
v10030d	D.	Left Greens	1998
v10040e	E.	Liberal party	1999

Q1.3. Political Parties (active during the election at which the module was administered): Ideological family

		Political Party	Ideological Family
v10001a	A.	Alliance	Social Democratic
v10011b	B.	Progressive party	Agrarian /Liberal
v10021c	C.	Independence party	Conservative
v10031d	D.	Left Greens	Left Socialist/Ecology
v10041e	E.	Liberal party	Liberal

NOTE: The following is a list of likely classifications. If however, the primary dimensions of party politics are not adequately captured by this list, please provide alternative classifications and an explanation of where parties are situated.

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

Q1.3. Political Parties (active during the election at which the module was administered): International party organization

		Political Party	International Party Organization
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v10002a	A.	Alliance	Socialist International (In 1999 SDP was a member. When the Alliance became a formal political party in 2000 the new party joined the Socialist International)/Nordic Council Social Democratic Party Group
v10012b	B.	Progressive Party	Liberal International/Nordic Council Center Party Group
v10022c	C.	Independence party	European Democratic Union/Nordic Council Conservative Party Group
v10032d	D.	Left Greens	Nordic Council Left Socialist Party Group
v10042e	E.	Liberal party	None

NOTE: The following is a list of likely international party organizations, but certainly is not intended to be exhaustive. Report international party organizations as appropriate.

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

Q1.4.a. Parties position in left-right scale (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator):

	Political Party	LEFT	RIGHT
v10003a	A. Alliance	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
v10013b	B. Progressive party	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
v10023c	C. Independence party	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
v10033d	D. Left Greens	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	

v10043e

E. Liberal party

0 1 2 3 4 5 **6** 7 8 9 10

Appendix V.

QI.4.b. If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on a dimension other than the leftright dimension, please also provide your own rankings on this other dimension.

QI.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)?

v10063 1. Economic prosperity and stability

v10064 2. Restructuring of the left wing of Icelandic politics (emergence of the Alliance and the Left Greens)

v10065 3. Welfare state issues

v10066 4. Fisheries management

v10067 5. Environment

QI.6.a. Were electoral alliances permitted during the election campaign?

v10060 The electoral system does not allow electoral alliances of parties presenting many lists. Parties can however form electoral alliances and present joint lists, as was the case in 1999. (Individual parties can also present more than one list in a constituency and have votes for both (all) lists counted as party votes when supplementary seats are allocated).

QI.6.b. (If alliances were permitted) Did any electoral alliances form?

v10061 Yes, four of the parties who obtained MPs in 1995 (Social Democratic Party, People's Alliance, Women's Alliance and People's Movement) joined in an electoral alliance, simply called The Alliance (Samfylkingin). The Alliance presented joint lists in all eight constituencies.

QI.6.c. (If alliances were permitted and alliances formed) List the party alliances that formed:

Political Party

Name of Alliance

Other Alliance Members

A.	Social Democratic Party	Alliance	People's Alliance, People's Movement, Women's Alliance
B.	People's Alliance	Alliance	Social Democratic Party, People's Movement, Women's Alliance
C.	People's Movement	Alliance	Social Democratic Party, People's Alliance, Women's Alliance
D.	Women's Alliance	Alliance	Social Democratic Party, People's Alliance, People's Movement

NOTE: If alliances occurred not at the national level but at the district level, please provide a general summary of which parties were involved in alliances and what the nature of that alliance was.

Q1.7. List presidential candidates or party leaders, as appropriate:

	Political Party	Name of Party Leader
A.	Alliance	Margrét Frímansdóttir
B.	Progressive party	Halldór Ásgrímsson
C.	Independence party	Davíd Oddsson
D.	Left Greens	Steingrímur J. Sigfússon
E.	Liberal party	Sverrir Hermannsson

Appendix II.

Q1.8. If the national team plans to collect aggregate election returns (or constituency-level returns) please include these returns with the study materials provided when the data are archived.

PART II: DATA ON ELECTORAL INSTITUTIONS

A. Questions about Electoral Districts

Note: In the following question, the first variable label applies to the lower house, and the second label, to the upper house.

QII.A.1. How many segments are there in the electoral system?

- v10086** One segment
v10098 Althingi (the Icelandic legislature) is unicameral. No Upper House.

Definition: In some electoral systems, electoral segments 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. As the two voting counting processes are entirely independent (with voters casting a ballot in each segment), the Lithuanian system has two segments.

Note, systems with multiple segments are different from systems with multiple tiers: In some systems, there is a corrective tier to compensate for disproportionality in seat allocation. As seats in these corrective tiers are allocated according to the 'original' vote totals, the number of tiers is independent of the number of segments.

Note: In the following questions, the labels apply to the lower house, first segment; lower house, second segment; upper house, first segment; and upper house, second segment, respectively.

QII.A.2. How many primary electoral districts are there?

- v10087** **Eight.**
v10092
v10098
v10103

Definition: 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.

QII.A.3. For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from in that district?

Electoral district	Members elected
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Number of members elected given below is the number of MPs elected in a primary district on the basis of constituency results (total of 50 MPs, seats allocated by LR-Hare). But as the number of supplementary seats (total of 13 seats, allocated at the second tier, using the d'Hondt-rule for division of seats between parties) is fixed to particular districts, we also give (in brackets) the number of supplementary seats allocated to each district.

Reykjavik	15 (+ 4 supplementary seats)
Reykjanes	9 (+ 3 supplementary seats)
West	4 (+ 1 supplementary seat)
West Fjords	4 (+1 supplementary seat)
North West	4 (+1 supplementary seat)
North East	5 (+1 supplementary seat)
East	4 (+ 1 supplementary seat)
South	5 (+ 1 supplementary seat)

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v10094

v10100

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QII.A.4. How many secondary electoral districts are there?

NOTE: See Definition, above.

There is one secondary electoral district. Results from the whole country are used as the basis for allocation of supplementary seats at the second tier.

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v10095

v10101

v10106

QII.A.5. How many tertiary electoral districts are there?

NOTE: See Definition, above.

None

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v10096

v10102

v10107

B. Questions About Voting

Note: In the following questions, the labels apply to the lower house, first segment; lower house, second segment; upper house, first segment; and upper house, second segment, respectively.

QII.B.6. Exactly how are votes cast by voters?

v10109 Voters go to one particular polling booth, located close to their home. They cast a vote for a list. They are allowed to change the ranking order of candidates on the list they vote for (but this is not effective as the ranking order is only changed if at least

half of the voters for a list have made the same change). Voters can cast an absentee ballot during a period up to eight weeks before polling day.

v10111
v10113
v10115

QII.B.6.a. How many votes do they or can they cast?

v10109 Only one vote.
v10111
v10113
v10115

QIIB.6.b. Do they vote for candidates, for lists, or for both?

v10110 For lists (but they can alter the ranking order of candidates, see answer to QII.B.6).
v10112
v10114
v10116

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QII.B.7. Are the votes transferable?

v10110 Votes are not transferable
v10112
v10114
v10116

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QII.B.8. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

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v10112
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v10116;

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QII.B.9. Are there any other features of voting that should be noted?

C. Questions About Converting Votes to Seats

Note: In the following questions, the labels apply to the lower house, first segment; lower house, second segment; upper house, first segment; and upper house, second segment, respectively.

QII.C.10. Exactly how are votes converted into seats?

v10117 Primary districts: by LR-Hare (see also answer to QII.C.10.a)
Second tier: by d'Hondt. (using total number of votes for a party nationwide and the number of MPs already obtained by the party. Supplementary seats are only allocated to parties who have already obtained at least one seat in a primary district).

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v10121

v10123

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

v10118 Primary districts: In order to be eligible a party list must have obtained at least 2/3 of the LR-Hare quota in the district. The quota is defined as the total number of valid votes in the district divided by the total number of seats in the district (including the district's supplementary seats, see answer to QII.A.3. The additional one vote in the standard definition of quotas is omitted in the law). If some lists are ruled out for this reason, the quota is recomputed by leaving out the votes of the smallest of these lists, after which the quota is recalculated and the test applied again, etc. The seats are now allocated to the remaining party lists, using the method of largest remainder (LR-Hare).

Second tier: In order to qualify for a supplementary seat, a party must have had at least one MPs elected in a primary district.

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v10122

v10124

QII.C.10.b. What electoral formula(e) are used?

v10117 Primary districts: LR-Hare

Second tier: d'Hondt.

v10119

v10121

v10123

QII.C.11. If there are lists are they closed open or flexible?

v10110 Flexible
v10112
v10114
v10116;
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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.

D. Questions about the Possibility of Electoral Alliances

QII.D.12. What are the possibilities of alliance in the system?

v10060 Political parties can form electoral alliances if they so wish. The alliance is then treated as it was one party in all electoral procedures. On the ballot the parties forming the alliance can put their names (e.g. List A, presented by Party A, Party B, Party C, and Party D). Party labels for individual candidates on such joint lists are not allowed (each candidate's name, occupation and address appears on the ballot).

QII.D.12.a. Can parties run joint lists?

v10125 Yes, see answer to QII.D.12.

Definition: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together.

QII.D.12.b. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

v10127 Apparentment is not allowed (was suggested but rejected in the 1950s!).

Definition: 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.

QII.D.12.c. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

v10129 Lists can be endorsed by more than one party, but a formal endorsement for individual candidates on the ballot paper is not allowed (see answer to QII.D.12).

QII.D.12.d. Do parties withdraw their lists or candidates in some constituencies urging their supporters there to vote for an ally' s list or candidate?

v10131 This has never happened in the present electoral system. (The method was used in the 1956 election in Iceland when the Social Democrats and the agrarian Progressives formed an electoral alliance, which obtained almost half of the MPs with only one third of the national vote. This was possible as the electoral system was a mixture of single-member districts (simple majority), multi-member districts (PR), and supplementary seats. In the 1959 electoral reforms, single member districts and simple majority was abolished, and all seats were allocated by PR.)

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QII.D.12.e. Other alliances? Not in parliamentary elections.

QII.D.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.

v10126 No (see answer to QII.D.12.)

QII.14. If appurement 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?

v10128

QII.D.15. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party is this reflected on the ballot?

v10130 Lists can be endorsed by more than one party, but a formal endorsement for individual candiates on the ballot paper is not allowed (see answer to QII.D.12).

PART III: DATA ON REGIME TYPE

Note: 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. Questions regarding the Head of State.

QIII.A.1. Who is the Head of State?

v10074 The President

Appendix VI.

QIII.A.2. How is the head of state selected?

v10075 Direct elections for a four year term.

Appendix VI.

QIII.A.2.a. If the head of state is selected through direct election by what process?

v10076 Simple majority nationwide (no districts).

QIII.A.2.a.i. If the head of state is selected through a run-off system, what is the threshold for first-round victory?

v10077

QIII.A.2.a.ii. If the head of state is selected through a run-off system, what is the threshold to advance to second round?

v10078

QIII.A.2.a.iii. If the head of state is selected through a run-off system, what is the threshold for victory in second round?

v10079

QIII.A.2.b. If the head of state is selected by indirect election, what is the process?

v10082
Appendix VI.

QIII.A.2.b.i. If the head of state is selected by electoral college, how are electors chosen? Does the electoral college deliberate? What is the voting procedure used by the electoral college?

Appendix VI.

QIII.A.2.b.ii. If the head of state is selected by the legislature, by which chamber(s) of the legislature? What is the voting procedure used?

Appendix VI.

QIII.A.3.a. Does the Head of State have the following powers: Introduce legislation?

v10132 No. While the constitution states that the president can introduce legislation to parliament, the standard interpretation is that this refers to the right of the government to introduce legislation, and the president's right is thus entirely formal. No president has ever attempted such an introduction on his/her own.

QIII.A.3.b. Does the Head of State have the following powers: Require expedited action on specific legislation? If yes what is the default if the legislature takes no action?

v10133 No.

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QIII.A.3.c. Does the Head of State have the following powers: Package veto? If yes what is the requirement to override the veto?

v10134 No.

Definition: 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.

QIII.A.3.d. Does the Head of State have the following powers: Partial veto? If yes, what is the requirement to override the partial veto?

v10135 No.
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Definition: 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.

QIII.A.3.e. Does the Head of State have the following powers: Legislate by decree? If yes, does this require that the legislature must first specifically delegate decree authority to the head of state by statute? If yes are there restrictions on the policy areas in which the head of state can legislate by decree? If yes are there other restrictions on the head of state s authority to legislate by decree?

v10136 No such powers.
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QIII.A.3.f. Does the Head of State have the following powers: Emergency powers? 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?

v10137 No such powers.

QIII.A.3.g. Does the Head of State have the following powers: Negotiate treaties and international agreements? If yes what other requirements are there for approval of treaties and international agreements negotiated by the head of state?

v10139 No. While the constitution states that the president negotiates treaties, this is entirely formal. The government negotiates treaties, and some of them need the approval of the legislature.

QIII.A.3.h. Does the Head of State have the following powers: Is the Head of State also the commander of the armed forces?

v10140 No. (There are no Icelandic armed forces. The Icelandic Coast Guard is the responsibility of the Minister of Justice).

QIII.A.3.h.i. Does the Head of State control promotions of high-ranking officers?

v10141

QIII.A.3.h.ii. Can the Head of State dismiss or demote high-ranking officers?

v10142

QIII.A.3.h.iii. Can the Head of State mobilize and demobilize troops?

v10143

QIII.A.3.i. Can the Head of State introduce referenda? If yes under what conditions?

v10144 If the president refuses to sign law passed by parliament, the law nevertheless take effect, but a referendum concerning the law shall take place. If the law is rejected in the referendum, it becomes void, if it is accepted it simply continues as law. No Icelandic president has used this power.

QIII.A.3.j. Can the Head of State refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality?

v10145 No.

QIII.A.3.k. Can the Head of State convene special legislative sessions? If yes is this the head of state s power exclusively or can any other (s) do this as well?

v10146 Formally the president convenes legislative sessions, but only on the advice of the prime minister.

Appendix XI.

B. Questions about the Head of Government.

QIII.B.1. Who is the Head of Government?

v10083 The Prime minister
Appendix VII.

QIII.B.2. If the Head of Government is not the Head of State how is the prime minister selected?

v10084 After an election, the president consults with party leaders on possible coalition formations, and then gives one of the party leaders a formal mandate to attempt a coalition formation. The decision on who becomes prime minister is on the other hand taken by the parties who actually form the coalition. The party leader who has the mandate to lead the coalition formation negotiations does not automatically become prime minister.

QIII.B.3. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the composition of the cabinet?

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)?

v10147 Formally the president nominates and dismisses ministers and assigns and reassigns portfolios, but only on the advice of the prime minister. However, major decisions concerning the cabinet are subject to an agreement of all coalition partners. Each party in the coalition decides what individuals fill the ministerial posts assigned to the party in the coalition agreement (formally this decision is taken by the party's parliamentary group, but often the party leader makes a proposal which is simply accepted). Replacement of individual ministers is usually only decided by the coalition party in question.

QIII.B.4.a. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the policy making process? Does the Head of Government chair cabinet meetings?

v10148 The prime minister chairs cabinet meetings and can be very influential concerning policy making. However, he has to come to an agreement with other party leaders in the coalition. While each government minister is responsible for his portfolio (no collective responsibility) all government legislation is approved by the government and the government parliamentary groups before it is introduced to the legislature.

QIII.B.4.b. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the policy making process? Does the Head of Government determine schedule of issues to be considered by the legislature?

v10149 De facto the prime minister and the leader(s) of the other coalition parties largely decide the parliamentary agenda. The Althingi Speakers (who have the formal power) usually do what the government wants in such matters. See also answer to QIII.B.4.a.

QIII.B.4.c. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the policy making process? Does the Head of Government determine which alternatives will be voted on by the legislature and in which order?

v10150 Not formally. While statutes on parliamentary procedures decide some of such matters, the Speakers sometimes have room for manoeuvre. In such cases they would usually seek advice from the prime minister and/or the leaders of the other government parties.

QIII.B.4.d. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the policy making process? Does the Head of Government refer legislative proposals to party or legislative committees?

v10151 In most cases it is quite clear what parliamentary committee shall deal with a particular legislative proposal. If this is not the case, Althingi makes the decision, and usually the result would be what the government wants.

QIII.B.4.e. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the policy making process? Does the Head of Government call votes of confidence in government?

v10152 Not as prime minister. Each member of the Althingi can ask for a vote of no confidence. If the no-confidence motion is accepted the government has to resign. The prime minister or the government can of course propose an Althingi resolution declaring confidence in the government, but the passing of such a resolution has no constitutional consequences. It might on the other hand be politically convenient.

QIII.B.5. By what method(s) can cabinet members or the entire cabinet be dismissed?

v10153 Cabinet members and the entire cabinet have to resign if parliament passes a vote of no confidence (of the whole cabinet or individual minister). Formally the president dismisses ministers, but only on the advice of the prime minister. Such advice is usually only given after consultation with other coalition partners: if the prime minister acted simply on his own in sensitive matters of this kind it could easily lead to coalition dissolution.

QIII.B.6. Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections?

v10154 Yes, the president can dissolve the Althingi on the advice of the prime minister, and fresh elections are called. Sometimes it is a part of the coalition agreement that the prime minister gives a promise not to give such an advice except all coalition partners agree.

QIII.B.7. If yes are there restrictions on when and how the legislature can be dissolved?

v10155 No.

PART IV: OTHER ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE MACRO-LEVEL COMPONENT:

Parties A-F: % popular vote in (lower house, first segment) legislature elections

	Political Party	% popular vote
v10004a	A. Alliance	26.8
v10014b	B. Progressive party	18.4
v10024c	C. Independence party	40.7
v10034d	D. Left Greens	9.1
v10044e	E. Liberal party	4.2

(Others obtained 0.8%: Humanist Party 0.4%, Christian Democratic Party 0.3%, Anarchists in Iceland 0,1%)

Parties A-F: % total seats won in (lower house) elections

	Political Party	% total seats won
v10005a	A. Alliance	27.0% (17)
v10015b	B. Progressive party	19.0% (12)
v10025c	C. Independence party	41.3% (26)
v10035d	D. Left Greens	9.5% (6)
v10045e	E. Liberal party	3.2% (2)

Parties A-F: % popular vote in (upper house, first segment) legislature elections

v10006a
v10016b
v10026c
v10036d
v10046e

Parties A-F: % total seats won in (upper house) elections

v10007a
v10017b
v10027c
v10037d
v10047e

Parties A-F: % popular vote in Head of State election

v10008a
v10018b
v10028c
v10038d
v10048e
v10058f

Years of Non-Concurrent Head of State elections

v10080

v10081

Number of Elected Legislative Chambers

V100085 1

Lower (Upper) House- First (Second) Segment - Number of Seats

v10088 63

v10093

v10099

v10104

Compulsory Voting

v10108 No.

Head of State- Power to Postpone Scheduled Elections or Extend
Presidential/Legislative Terms Indefinitely

V10138 No such powers.