

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Macro-Level Data

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
Torbjørn Jagland	Prime Minister	labor
Bjørn Tore Godal	Foreign Affairs	Labor
Gerd Liv Valla	Justice	Labor
Ranveig Frøland	Petroleum & Energy	Labor
Bendik Rugaas	Planning & coordination	Labor
Sissel Rønbeck	Transport & Communication	Labor
Torbjørn Berntsen	Environment	labor
Gudmund Hernes	Health	Labor
Turid Birkealand	Cultural Affairs	labor
Vers Stoltenberg	Finance	Labor
Grete Knudsen	Trade & Industry	labor
Kjell Opseth	local Government	Labor
Sylvia Brustad	Children/Family Affairs	labor
Dag Terje Andersen	Agriculture	Labor
Kari Norheim-Larsen	Foreign Aid	Labor
Karl Eirik Schjøtt Pedersen	Fisheries	Labor
Jørgen Kosmø	Defence	Labor
Hilkka Marta Solberg	Social Affairs	Labor
Reidar Sandal	Education, Research & church Affairs	labor

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	International Organization Party Belongs to (if any)
Liberals	1882	Liberal Parties	Liberal International
Conservatives	1882	Conservative	Intern. Demo. Union
Labour Party	1894	Social Demo. Parties	Socialist International
Centre Party	1921	Agrarian Parties	Intern. Network of Center parties
Communist Party	1924	Communist Parties	
Christian Peoples Party	1933	Christian Demo. Parties	CDI and EUCD
Socialist Left Party	1961	Socialist Parties	New Left Forum
Progress Party	1973	Right Liberal Parties	European Research Group
Red Electoral Alliance	1973	Communist Parties	

Ideological Party Families:

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

International Party Organizations:

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

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	

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)? *See the article: "One for the Record - the 1997 Starting election", Bernt Aardal 1998.*

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

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

b) (If yes) Did any electoral alliances form?

Yes No

c) (If yes to b) List the party alliances that formed:

Name of Alliance	Parties in the Alliance
Alliance 1: _____	_____
Alliance 2: _____	_____
Alliance 3: _____	_____
Alliance 4: _____	_____
Alliance 5: _____	_____

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. 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 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.

Details of Information Needed

The kinds of details that are needed are indicated by the following list of questions. *If you are sending a copy of the electoral code, then there is no need to answer these questions separately.* If you are not sending the electoral code, then these questions may help in deciding what to send.

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?

1 segment 19
2 segments 1

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

2) How many primary electoral districts are there? 19

3) For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from in that district? 4-15

4) How many secondary electoral districts are there? 1

5) How many tertiary electoral districts are there? -

II. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.

6) Exactly how are votes cast by voters? LIST nu

6a) How many votes do they or can they cast? 1

6b) Do they vote for candidates, for lists, or for both? (Explain) LISTS

7) Are the votes transferable? NO

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

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

III. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

10) Exactly how are votes converted into seats? By using a modified version of Saint Laquès formula. The first divisor is 1.4 and then 3.5, 7 and so on.

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

Only parties that win more than 4 percent of the votes can share in the distribution of the 8 adjustment seats.

10b) What electoral formula or formulas are used? Modified Saint hague

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.

IV. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF ELECTORAL ALLIANCE.

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

12a) Can parties run joint lists? YES

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? NO

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 _____

CSES Macro-Level Data: more detailed information for some of the questions**1. The Cabinet per 04.02.97**

Name	Minister of	Party affiliation
Torbjørn Jagland	Prime Minister	Labor Party
Gerd Liv Valla	Justice	Labor Party
Ranveig Frøland	Petroleum and Energy	Labor Party
Bendik Rugaas	Planning and Coordination	Labor Party
Sissel Rønbeck	Transport and Communication	Labor Party
Torbjørn Berntsen	Environment	Labor Party
Gudmund Hernes	Health	Labor Party
Turid Birkeland	Cultural Affairs	Labor Party
Jens Stoltenberg	Finance	Labor Party
Grete Knudsen	Trade and Industry	Labor Party
Bjørn Tore Godal	Foreign Affairs	Labor Party
Kjell Opseth	Local Government and Regional Development	Labor Party
Sylvia Brustad	Children and Family Affairs	Labor Party
Dag Terje Andersen	Agriculture	Labor Party
Kari Norheim-Larsen	Foreign Aid	Labor Party
Karl Eirik Schjøtt-Pedersen	Fisheries	Labor Party
Jørgen Kosmo	Defence	Labor Party
Hill-Marta Solberg	Social Affairs	Labor Party
Reidar Sandal	Education, Research and Church Affairs	Labor Party

POLITICAL PARTIES IN NORWAY SINCE 1882

Party Name	Election Contested	
	Years	Number
1 Liberals (Venstre - literally Left)	1882ff	33
2 Conservatives (Høyre - literally Right); from 1903 to 1913 known as the Unionist Party (Samlingspartiet) ¹	1882ff	33
3 Moderates (Moderate Venstre - literally, Moderate Left)	1888-1903	6
4 Labour Party (Det Norske Arbeiderparti - DNA)	1894ff	29
5 Worker Democrats (Arbeiderdemokratene); from 1921 Radical People's Party (Radikale Folkeparti)	1906-1936	11
6 Liberal Left (Frisinnede Folkeparti) ²	1909-1936	10
7 Agrarian League (Landmandsforbundet); from 1921 the Farmers' Party (Bondepartiet); re-named Centre Party (Senterpartiet) in 1959	1915ff	22
8 Social Democratic Workers' Party (Norges Sosialdemokratiske Arbeiderparti) ³	1921-1924	2
9 Communist Party (Norges Kommunistiske Parti - NKP) ⁴	1924ff	18
10 Christian People's Party (Kristelig Folkeparti)	1933ff	16
11 Commonwealth Party (Samfunnspartiet) ⁵	1933-1949	4
12 National Socialists (Nasjonal Samling - literally National Unity)	1933-1936	2
13 Joint Non Social Lists ⁶	1949-1981	9
14 Socialist People's Party (Sosialistisk Folkeparti); since 1975 Socialist Left Party (Sosialistisk Venstreparti) ⁷	1961ff	10
15 Anders Lange's Party (Anders Langes Parti); since 1977 Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet) ⁸	1973ff	7
16 New People's Party (Det Nye Folkepartiet); since 1980 Liberal People's Party (Det Liberale Folkeparti) ⁹	1973-1988	4
17 Red Electoral Alliance (Rød Valgallianse) ¹⁰	1973ff	7

¹ In 1903 and 1906 the Conservatives made an electoral alliance with a section of the Liberals, the Liberale Venstre.

² The Liberal Left, a breakaway group from the Venstre, included many of the Liberale Venstres allied with the Conservatives in 1903 and 1906.

³ The Social Democrats left the Labour Party in 1919 when the latter decided to join the Third International. The two parties were reunited in 1927.

⁴ In 1973 contested the election as part of the Socialist Electoral Alliance. In 1975 the party split, with the NKP reemerging as a separate party, but a large section of the party (including its former leader) remaining in the Alliance to form the Socialist Left Party.

⁵ The party contested in 1945 election under the name Nytt Norge (New Norway).

⁶ Local electoral alliances formed by the Conservative, Liberal, Agrarian (Centre), Christian People's Party and Liberal People's Party.

⁷ In 1973 contested the election as part of the Socialist Electoral Alliance with the Communist Party, a breakaway group from the Labour Party, and independent socialists. In 1975 the majority of the Communist Party resumed its separate identity, and the remaining components of the alliance became the Socialist Left Party. In 1989 the Communist Party and the Red Electoral Alliance contested under the name Environment and Solidarity (Fylkeslistene for Miljø og Solidaritet).

⁸ Literally Anders Lange's Party for Substantial Reduction of Taxes, Duties and Governmental Intervention (Anders Langes parti til sterk nedsettelse av skatter, avgifter og offentlige inngrep).

⁹ Breakaway of Venstre members who favoured Norwegian membership in the European Community. Reunited with Venstre in 1988.

18 The Greens (Miljøpartiet De Grønne)	1989ff	3
19 The Pensioner's Party (Pensjonistpartiet)	1989ff	3

In 1989 the following parties also ran for election: Stop Immigration, The Liberals - European Party, Freely Elected Representatives and Future for Finmark.

In 1993 the following parties also ran for election: Stop Immigration, Christian Conservative Party, New Future Coalition Party, The Liberal People's Party, Common Future, Freedom Party against the EU, Nature Law Party and Society Party.

In 1997 the following parties also contested election: White Electoral Alliance (Stop Immigration), Cross Political Representatives, the Liberal People's Party, Fatherland's Party, Society Party, New Future Coalition Party, Christian Conservative Party, Nature Law Party, the Justice Party and B-E.

¹⁰ Until 1991, Red Electoral Alliance was an alliance between The Workers Communist Party (Arbeidernes Kommunistparti (AKP-ml)) and independent socialists. In 1991 the party was separated from the Workers Communist Party and became an independent party. In 1989 the Communist Party (NKP) and the Red Electoral Alliance contested the election under the name Environment and Solidarity (Fylkeslistene for Miljø og Solidaritet).

3. Political Parties formal membership in an international organization

	Formal membership in a organization			
Party	Europe	Year of membership	Global	Year of membership
Socialist Left Party	New Left Forum (NLF)	1991		
Labor Party	Party of European Socialists (PES) European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity (EFDS).	1993 1993	Socialist International (SI)	1951
Liberal Party			Liberal International (LI)	1948
The Christian Peoples Party	The European Union of Christian Democrats (EUCD)	1981	Christian Democratic International (CDI)	1981
The Center Party			International Network of Centerparties (INC)	1991
The Conservative Party	European Democrat Union (EDU) European Peoples Party (EPP)	1978 1995 (associated member)	International Democratic Union (IDU)	1983
The Progress Party	European Research Group	1994		

10. Electoral districts and the method by which votes are cast and counted.

The Norwegian electoral system is based on the principle of direct election and of proportional representation in multimember constituencies. In other words, voters vote directly for representatives for their constituencies by casting vote for one of many electoral lists put up in the constituency. Representatives are elected in proportion to the number of votes cast for each list. Both political parties and other groups can propose lists of candidates. Candidates are listed in order of priority. However, voters are entitled to make changes on ballot papers. In general and county election, this is restricted to changing the order of candidates or striking out candidates' name. For changes made to ballot papers by voters to affect the selection of individual representatives, over half the voters must make changes in favour of the same candidate. In other word, it takes a great deal of changed ballot papers to influence the choice of persons.

Seats and districts

The total number of seats in the Parliament (Storting) increased from 150 to 155 in 1973 and then to 157 in 1985. Three years later, the new electoral system added 8 adjustment seats to the previous 157 districts seats. This means that at present the total number of seats is 165.

There are 19 regional units / counties in Norway. From 1953 these administrative regional units (fylker) became the new electoral districts, and the old distinction between urban and rural constituencies was removed. Only the two largest cities, Oslo and Bergen, were allowed to form separate electoral districts.

Method by which votes are cast and counted

In 1953 a modified version of Saint Laguë's method was introduced. The first divisor is 1.4 instead of 1.5. This is meant to maintain a high threshold against small parties. The Saint Laguë formula replaced the d'Hondt formula for transforming votes into seats. The former method favored the largest party. In 1949 Labor had an over-representation of 11 percentage points, but in 1953 after the introduction of Saint Laguë, this overrepresentation was reduced to 4.6 percent points.

Using the Saint Laguë method, the number of constituency representatives is distributed among the lists by dividing the votes received by each list by 1.4, 3,5,7 and so on. The votes for each list are divided as many times as the highest number of representatives the list can be

expected to win. The quotients are numbered consecutively, the biggest 1, the next biggest 2, etc. Seats are distributed consecutively among the lists according to the size of the quotients. The distribution of the 8 additional representatives «at large» is the responsibility of the National Electoral Committee, on the basis of the results arrived at by the County Electoral Committees. These representatives are allotted to parties which are under-represented in proportion to the votes cast for them nationwide. Parties which have won more representatives in the county election results than would have resulted from a nationwide count nevertheless retain their representatives. The «representatives at large» go to those party county lists with the highest quotients remaining after the distribution of the regular representatives. Only registered parties that win more than 4 percent of the votes can share in the distribution of these extra representatives.

In effect, the adjustment seats give the more densely populated regions more seats than before the reform in 1988.

The present electoral system can be summarized as follows (Aardal 1998:18).

- 157 seats are allocated in 19 districts, following the administrative province boundaries.
- 8 adjustment seats are allocated among parties who have received at least 4,0 percent of the national vote, giving the parties a number of seats that correspond to their share of the votes in the best possible way.
- The parties who have won one or more adjustment seats, will win these seats in the district (districts) where they have the largest number of remaining votes (after divisions for districts seats). This means that the adjustment seats go to the most densely populated districts.
- Allocation of seats is in all instances done by the modified Sainte Laguë method with 1,4 as the first divisor.