

## 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.

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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
Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz	President of the Council of Ministers	SLD
Marek Belka	Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance	Ind.
Jarosław Kalinowski	Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture	PSL
Mirosław Pietrewicz	Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the State Treasury	PSL
Dariusz Rosati	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Ind.
Stanisław Dobrzański	Minister of National Defense	PSL
Leszek Miller	Minister of Administration and Internal Affairs	SLD
Wiesław Kaczmarek	Minister of Economy	SLD
Leszek Kubicki	Minister of Justice	Ind.
Jerzy Wiatr	Minister Edukacji Narodowej	SLD
Bogusław Liberadzki	Minister of Transportation and Marine Economy	Ind.
Stanisław Żelichowski	Minister of Environmental Protection, Natural Resources and Forestry	PSL
Andrzej Zieliński	Minister of Communication	Ind.
Zdzisław Podkański	Minister of Culture and Art	PSL
Ryszard Żochowski	Minister of Health and Social Welfare	SLD
Tadeusz Zieliński	Minister of Labor and Social Policy/Minister	Ind
Aleksander Łuczak	Chairman of the Committee for Scientific Research	PSL
Zbigniew Siemiątkowski	Minister without Portfolio	SLD
Zbigniew Kuźmiuk	Minister without Portfolio	PSL

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)
Labor Union (Unia Pracy)	1992	Socialist	Socialist International
National-Christian-Democratic Bloc for Poland (Narodowo-Chrześcijańsko-Demokratyczny Blok dla Polski)	1995	Conservative	
National Alliance of the Retired of the Republic of Poland (Krajowe Porozumienie Emerytów I Rencistów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej)	1997	Other	
Freedom Union (Unia Wolności)	1994	Liberal	Liberal International
Electoral Action Solidarity (Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność)	1996	Christian-Democratic	
Democratic Left Alliance (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej)	1991	Social-Democratic	Socialist International
Polish Peasant Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe)	1990 (1945)	Agrarian	
Union of the Republic's Rightists (Unia Prawicy Rzeczypospolitej)	1997	Conservative	
Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland (Ruch Odrodzenia Polski)	1995	Nationalist	
National Party of the Retirees (Krajowa Partia Emerytów I Rencistów)	1994	Other	

Polish National Community - Polish National Party (Polska Wspólnota Narodowa - Polskie Stronnictwo Narodowe)	1990	Nationalist
Self-defense Alliance (Przymierze Samoobrona)	1992	Agrarian
Social and Cultural Association of Opole Silesia German (Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Niemców na Śląsku Opolskim)	1990	Ethnic

Ideological Party Families:

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

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	International Democrat Union
Socialist Inter-African	Caribbean Democrat Union
Christian Democratic International	European Democrat Union
European Christian Democratic Union	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. Democratic Left Alliance	0 1 2 (3) 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
2. Polish Peasant Party	0 1 (2) 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
3. Freedom Union	0 1 2 3 4 5 (6) 7 8 9 10	
4. Labor Union	0 (1) 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
5. Electoral Action Solidarity	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 (7) 8 9 10	
6. Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland	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)?

1. Robust economy
2. Integration of the Conservative and Christian-Democratic Right under the AWS umbrella.
3. New Constitution and the Constitutional referendum of May 25, 1997.
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*
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\*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

Attention: See also documents on electoral law attached.

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 \_\_\_\_\_

2 segments \_\_\_\_\_

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

2) How many primary electoral districts are there? 52

3) For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from in that district?  
From 3 to 17

4) How many secondary electoral districts are there? 2

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? One

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

Voters select a party list and on this list must mark one name.

7) Are the votes transferable? No.

8) If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated? N/A

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 the use of D'Hondt formula.**

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? **5% for parties, 8% for coalitions.**

10b) What electoral formula or formulas are used? **D'Hondt**

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

closed

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?

**There is an option of forming a coalition of parties, to submit a join list of candidates.**

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 (a candidate may run only on one list).**

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.

There is a higher threshold for coalitions: 8% as opposed to 5% for parties.

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? \_\_\_\_\_

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

Attention: The information provided in this section relates to the constitution in force on the day of election (The Constitutional Act of 1992 -- attached). At the time of election, a new Constitution was already adopted by the parliament, and accepted in a national referendum. It went into force on October 16, 1997.

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) \_\_\_\_\_

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? 50%

Threshold to advance to second round? Two frontrunners advance.

Threshold for victory in second round? No.

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? [Check all that apply.]

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? Two-thirds of votes in the Sejm.

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

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?

Introduce martial law and state of emergency (see Article 36 and 37 of the Constitutional Act).

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

Martial law: Endangerment of state security by external forces (Article 36). State of emergency: threats to internal security or natural calamity (Article 37).

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

State of emergency: maximal time 3 months, plus additional 3, with Sejm's approval (Article 37).

g) Negotiate treaties and international agreements?  Yes  No

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?  
 Yes  No

If yes, can the head of state dismiss or demote high-ranking officers?  
 Yes  No

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

j) Introduce referenda?  Yes  No

If yes, under what conditions? **With consent of the Senate.**

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): \_\_\_\_\_

## 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? [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

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)

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

1) 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) \_\_\_\_\_

Other (Explain) The Sejm might be dissolved by it's own vote, or by President, under conditions specified in the Constitutional Act (Article 21, Article 62).

2) 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)  
(Explain) \_\_\_\_\_

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)  
See Articles 21 and 62.

Other (Explain) \_\_\_\_\_