

Macro-Level Data Questionnaire

1. Variable number/name in the dataset that identifies the primary electoral district for each respondent:
mh2/mh1; th2/th1; nh2/nh1

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 Office Held	Political Party
Vladimir Putin	Prime Minister	Our Home is Russia (NDR); in December 1999 openly supported Unity (Edinstvo)
Nikolai Aksenenko	First Deputy PM in charge of the industrial “block”	Independent
Viktor Khristenko	First Deputy PM in charge of the financial “block”	Our Home is Russia (NDR)
Ilya Klebanov	Deputy PM	Independent
Valentina Matvienko	Deputy PM in charge of the social “block”	Independent
Vladimir Shcherbak	Deputy PM in charge of agriculture	Independent
Ilya Yuzhanov	Minister of Anti-monopoly policy and support for entrepreneurship	Russia’s Democratic Choice (DVR)
Evgeniy Adamov	Minister of Atomic Energy	Independent
Vladimir Rushaylo	Minister of Interior	Independent
Farit Gazizullin	Minister of State Property	Independent
Sergei Shoigu	Minister of Civil Defense, Emergencies, and Liquidation of Consequences of Natural Disasters	Our Home is Russia (NDR) until September 1999. Then, co-founder and leader of Unity (Edinstvo)
Mikhail Lesin	Minister of Publishing and Media	Independent
Leonid Drachevskii	Minister of CIS Affairs	Independent
Yurii Shevchenko	Minister of Health	Independent
Igor Ivanov	Minister of Foreign Affairs	Independent
Vladimir Egorov	Minister of Culture	Independent
Aleksandr Pochinok	Minister of Taxes	Russia’s Democratic Choice (DVR)
Mikhail Kirpichnikov	Minister of Science and Technology	Independent
Igor Sergeev	Minister of Defense	Independent
Vladimir Filippov	Minister of Education	Independent
Boris Yatskevich	Minister of Natural Resources	Independent
Vladimir Starostenko	Minister of Telecommunications	Independent
Aleksei Gordeev	Minister of Agriculture and Procurement	Agrarian Party
Viktor Kalyuzhnyi	Minister of Fuel and Energy	Independent
Mikhail Fradkov	Minister of Trade	Independent
Sergei Frank	Minister of Transportation	Independent
Sergei Kalashnikov	Minister of Labor and Social Development	Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR)

Vyacheslav Mikhailov	Minister of Federal and National Affairs	Yabloko
Boris Ivanyuzhenkov	Minister of Physical Culture, Sport, and Tourism	Independent
Mikhail Kasyanov	Minister of Finance	Independent
Andrei Shapovalyants	Minister of Economy	Independent
Yurii Chaika	Minister of Justice	Independent
Dmitrii Kozak	Minister	Independent
Aleskandr Livshits	Minister	Independent

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	Intn'l Org Party Belongs to
Communist Party of the Russian Federation ("???????????????? ?????? ????????? ?????????")	Feb 1993	Communist	Union of Communist Parties
"Unity" Inter-regional Movement (Bear) ("? ?????????????? ????????? ?????????") ("? ?????????")	3 Oct 1999	Government	
Fatherland- All Russia ("?????????- ??? ?????")	4 Aug 1999	National	
Union of Right Forces ("???? ?????? ???")	29 Aug 1999	Right liberal	
Zhirinovskii Bloc ("???? ?????? ?????")	13 Oct 1999	National	
Yabloko ("????????????? ?????")	Nov 1993	Liberal	
Communists and Workers of Russia for the Soviet Union ("?????????, ????????? ?????? - ?????????")	22 Aug 1999	Communist	
Women of Russia ("? ?????? ?????")	1 Oct 1993	Women's issues	
Pensioners Party ("????? ?????????")	29 Nov 1997	Professed non-ideological	
Our Home is Russia ("???? "?? ? - ?????")	22 May 1995	Liberal	
Russian Party for the Defense of Women ("????????? ?????? ?????? ?????")	30 Sept 1998	Women's issues	
Congress of Russian Communities and Yurii Boldyrev Movement ("????????? ?????? ?????? ?????? ? ?????? ? ?????????")	29 Sept 1999	National	
Stalinist Bloc- For the USSR ("????????? ??? - ?? ???")	22 Aug 1999	Communist	
For Civic Dignity ("? ?????????? ?????????")	10 Oct 1998	Liberal	
All Russian Political Movement "In Support of the Army" ("????????????? ?????????? ?????????? ? ?????????")	July 1997	National/ Communist	
Peace. Labor. May ("? ?. ????. ? ??")	Fall 1999	Regional/Populist	
General Andrei Nikolaev and Academician Svyatoslav Fedorov's Bloc ("???? ????????? ?????? ?????????, ????????? ?????????")	2 Oct 1999	Socialist	
Russian All Peoples Union ("????????? ?????????")	21 Sep 1991	Other (USSR-restorationist)	
Party of Peace and Unity ("????? ? ?? ?")	14 Dec 1996	Communist	

?????????)			
Russian Socialist Party ("??????? ????????????????????????????")	27 Apr 1996	Socialist	
Movement of Patriotic Forces "Russian Deed" (???????????????????????????????? "???????? ????")	18 Sept 1999	Religious/ National	
Conservative Movement of Russia ("????????????????????????????????????")	Feb 1997	Conservative	
All-Russian Socio-Political Movement "Spiritual Inheritance" ("????????????????????????????????- ??")	27 May 1995	Left/National	
Social Democrats ("????????-????????????")	Early 1996	Social Democratic	
Socialist Party of Russia ("???????????????????? ????????????????")	4 Apr 1996	Socialist	
Russia's Voice ("????????????????")	3 Sept 1999	Right liberal	
All-Russian Party of the People ("???????????????? ????????????????????????????????")	April 1997	Independent (vehicle for lobbying on behalf of his leader's commercial interests)	

4. Parties' position in left-right scale:

a) CSES collaborator assessment:

Party Name	Left	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Right
Communist Party of the Russian Federation		X									
Unity (Bear)						X					
Fatherland-All Russia					X						
Union of Right Forces									X		
Zhirinovskii Bloc						X					
Yabloko								X			

5. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome. Parliamentary elections 1999:

1. The war in Chechnya
2. Putin's endorsement of Unity
3. Putin's skyrocketing popularity
4. Terrorist attacks in Moscow
5. Media war between supporters and opponents of Fatherland-All Russia and Unity

Presidential elections 2000:

1. Yeltsin's resignation in December 1999 and Putin's becoming acting president.
2. Continuing support for the war in Chechnya.
3. Near-unanimous media support for Putin.

6. Electoral Alliances

- a) Were electoral alliances permitted during the election campaign? Yes
- b) Did any electoral alliances form? Yes
- c) List of the alliances:

Name of Alliance	Parties in the Alliance
"Bear" ("? ?????")	Russian Movement "Generation of Freedom" ("???????? ????????????????????????????????"), Russian Christian-Democratic Party (??), "Refah" (Prosperity) ("????") ("????????????????"), People's-Patriotic

Grigorii Yavlinskii	initiative group
Stanislav Govorukhin	initiative group
Umar Dzhabrailov	initiative group
Ella Pamfilova	“For Civic Dignity” Movement
Aleksei Podberezkin	initiative group
Yurii Skuratov	initiative group
Konstantin Titov	initiative group
Aman Tuleyev	initiative group

Part II: Data on Electoral Institutions

We are providing copies of the 1999 Federal Law on the Election of Deputies of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation and the 1999 Federal Law on the Election of the President of the Russian Federation.

Part III: Data on Regime Type

Questions regarding the Head of State.

- 1) Who is the Head of State? The President
- 2) How is the Head of State selected? Direct Election
 - If by direct election, by what process? Run-off
 - If by run-off system, what is the:
 - Threshold for first-round victory? 50%
 - Threshold to advance to second round? The two top finishers go on to the second round, provided the top finisher receives more votes than the “against all candidates” category.
 - Threshold for victory in second round? The victor has to beat not only the other candidate, but also the “against all candidates” vote.
- 3) Does the head of state have the following powers:
 - a) Introduce legislation? Yes
 - b) Require expedited action on specific legislation? No
 - c) Package veto? Yes. Veto can be overridden by a two-thirds vote in both houses of parliament.
 - d) Partial veto? No
 - e) Legislate by decree? Yes. The President is granted this permanent power by the constitution. There are no restrictions on the policy areas of the decrees. The only restriction is that the decrees cannot contravene the Constitution or existing federal laws.
 - f) Emergency powers? Yes. These powers are regulated by the Federal Law on Emergency Situations.
 - What actions can the head of state take under emergency? Under what conditions can the head of state invoke emergency powers? The head of state can invoke emergency powers “under circumstances, which present a real and imminent threat to citizens’ safety or the foundations of the constitutional order, and these circumstances cannot be eliminated without the implementation of emergency measures” (Art. 3, Federal Law on Emergency Situations) Such circumstances include: attempted coups; changes to the constitutional order or its foundations through violence; terrorist acts; blockade of particular localities; massive unrest; inter-nationality, inter-denominational or regional conflicts accompanied by violence, threatening the life and safety of citizens, and the normal functioning of governmental and social institutions; epidemics, resulting from accidents; dangerous natural disasters, associated (or potentially associated) with human victims. (Art. 4, Federal Law on Emergency Situations). The head of state must inform both houses of the legislature immediately about the implementation of an emergency situation.
 - g) Negotiate treaties? Yes. There are no other requirements for approval of treaties—the head of state negotiates and signs the treaties and agreements.
 - h) Commander of the armed forces? Yes.
 - Does the head of state control promotions of high-ranking military officials? Yes.
 - Can the head of state dismiss or demote high-ranking military officials? Yes.

Can the head of state mobilize or demobilize troops? Yes, in cases of aggression or imminent threat of aggression against the Russian Federation. He has to inform the legislature immediately if he does take such action. (Art. 4, par. 4 of Federal Law "On Defense")

i) Introduce referenda? Yes

j) Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality? Yes

k) Convene special legislative sessions? No

I.) Questions about the head of government.

1) Who is the head of government? The Prime Minister

2) How is the prime minister selected? Nominated by the head of state and approved by the legislature.

3) What authorities does the prime minister have? Nominates ministers for approval by the president.

4) What authorities does the prime minister have?
Chairs cabinet meetings

II.) By what method can cabinet members or the entire cabinet be dismissed?

By the head of state alone; by resignation; Also following these two procedures (Article 117 of the Russian Constitution): If the legislature expresses non-confidence in the government twice within three months, the President can either announce the resignation of the government or dissolve the legislature (Art. 117, par. 3 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation); d) If the legislature passes a no-confidence vote in the government, put before it by the Prime Minister, the President can decide whether to announce the resignation of the government or the dissolution of the legislature (Art. 117, par. 4 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation).

IV.) Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections? Yes.

1) By what method? By the head of state alone.

2) Are there restrictions on when and how the legislature can be dissolved? Yes. a) An acting president (the Prime Minister during the three months after a resignation/incapacitation/death of the President and leading to new presidential elections) cannot dissolve the legislature; b) the President has to dissolve the legislature if the legislature rejects his candidate for Prime Minister three times (Art. 111 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation); c) If the legislature expresses non-confidence in the government twice within three months, the President can either announce the resignation of the government or dissolve the legislature (Art. 117, par. 3 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation); d) If the legislature passes a no-confidence vote in the government, put before it by the Prime Minister, the President can decide whether to announce the resignation of the government or the dissolution of the legislature (Art. 117, par. 4 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation).