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Date: January 28 2003

## Comparative Study of Electoral Systems

### Module 2: Macro Report

Version 2002-10-23

Country (Date of Election):

New Zealand July 27 2002

NOTE TO THE COLLABORATORS: The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project- your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated! Any supplementary documents that you can provide (i.e. electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and will be made available with this report to the CSES community on the CSES web page.

#### Part I: Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered

1. Report the number of portfolios (cabinet posts) held by each party in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".)

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Portfolios</u>
Labour	16
Alliance	4

1a. What was the size of the cabinet before the election? 20

2. Report the number of portfolios (cabinet posts) held by each party in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all").

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Portfolios</u>
Labour	19
Progressive Coalition	1

2a. What was the size of the cabinet after the election? 20

3. Political Parties (most active during the election in which the module was administered and receiving at least 3% of the vote):

Party Name/Label	Year Party Founded	Ideological Family	European Parliament Political Group (where applicable)	International Party Organizational Memberships
A. Labour	1916	Social Democratic		Socialist International
B. National	1936	Conservative		
C New Zealand First	1993	Nationalist/ Populist		
D. Act	1995	Right Liberal		
E. Green	1990	Ecology		
F. United Future	2001	Christian Democratic		
G. Progressive Coalition	2002	Left Liberal		
H Alliance	1992	Socialist		

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation).

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

The following lists provide examples of political groups and organizations that a particular party might belong to. Please report any and all international affiliations for each party.

European Parliament Political Groups:

European People's Party  
 European Democrats  
 Party of European Socialists  
 European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party  
 Confederation of European United Left  
 Nordic Green Left  
 Greens  
 European Free Alliance  
 Europe for the Nations  
 Europe of Democracies and Diversities

International Party Organizations:

Asia Pacific Socialist Organization  
 Caribbean Democratic Union  
 Christian Democratic International  
 Christian Democratic Organization of America  
 Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats  
 Democratic Union of Africa  
 Eastern European Social Democratic Forum  
 Green Movement

Humanist Party	Liberal International
International Communist Union	Natural Law Party
International Democrat Union	Pacific Democratic Union
International League of Democratic Socialists	Organization of African Liberal Parties
	Socialist International
	Socialist Inter-Africa

3a. Were there any significant parties not represented in parliament *before* the election?

No.....  
 .....

3b. Were there any significant parties not represented in parliament *after* the election?

Yes, theAlliance.....  
 .....  
 .....

3c. Were there any other non-represented parties or independent actors whom you believe to have had a significant effect on the election?

Yes, two individuals, one, Nicky Hagar, the author of a book alleging a government cover up of an unauthorised release of genetically-modified plants and the other, John Campbell, a television journalist who confronted the Prime Minister on the matter during the campaign.

4a. Ideological Positions of Parties

Please indicate Parties A-F's positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). If this dimension is not appropriate, please provide an explanation of the salient cleavages, and parties' relative positions.

Party Name	LEFT	RIGHT
A. Labour ...	0 1 2 3 <b>4</b> 5 6 7 8 9 10	
B. National.....	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 <b>8</b> 9 10	
C. New Zealand First...	0 1 2 3 4 5 <b>6</b> 7 8 9 10	
D. Act.....	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 <b>9</b> 10	
E. Green.....	0 1 2 <b>3</b> 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	
F. United Future.....	0 1 2 3 4 5 <b>6</b> 7 8 9 10	
G. Progressive Coalition	0 1 2 3 <b>4</b> 5 6 7 8 9 10	

H Alliance

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

4aa. Do you believe there would be general consensus on these placements among informed observers in your country?

Probably

4b. If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on an alternative dimension, other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings of the parties on this dimension.

NA

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. Relatively prosperous economy...
2. A very poor election campaign by the National party
3. Continued popularity of the Prime Minister, Helen Clark
4. A decline in trust in the government due to allegations of a GM cover-up
5. Media attention to a political party, United Future, in the last week of the campaign

5a. Do you believe there would be general consensus about the importance of these factors among informed observers in your country?

Yes

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. There were no electoral deals at the constituency level in 2002. The Progressive Coalition included another political party, the Democrats, who have since left the coalition. However, none of their members were elected to Parliament. The Alliance also included the Mana Motuhake party, which also left after the election.

## 7. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates

In legislative elections, please report the leader of each party.

In presidential elections, list presidential candidates and their parties. If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this below.

<u>Party of Candidate</u>	<u>Name of Party Leader or Presidential Candidate</u>
A. Labour	Helen Clark.
B. National	Bill English
C. New Zealand First	Winston Peters
D. Act	Richard Prebble
E. Green	Jeanette Fitzsimons/Rod Donald
F. United Future	Peter Dunne
G Progressive Coalition	Jim Anderton
H. Alliance	Laila Harre

### **Part II: Data on Electoral Institutions**

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

#### **A. QUESTIONS ABOUT ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.**

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**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 during the counting process 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?

TWO

Please answer the following questions (questions 2 through 11) for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature:

**FIRST SEGMENT: PARTY VOTE:**

2. How many primary electoral districts are there? ONE for the party vote.

3. For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from each district? 51

4. How many secondary electoral districts are there? NONE

5. How many tertiary electoral districts are there? NONE

**B. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.**

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6. Exactly how are votes cast by voters? .  
Secret ballot, with a single ballot paper with two halves that are detached.

6a. How many votes do they or can they cast? .  
One in this segment, one in the other

6b. Do they vote for candidates, for lists, or for both? (Explain)...  
In this segment, for closed party lists.

7. Are the votes transferable? ..NO.

8. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated? . NO

9. Are there any other features of voting that should be noted?...NO

C. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

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10) Exactly how are votes converted into seats?

PR using the Sainte Lague formula on the basis of total seats: that is, the system is compensatory, party list seats being used to top up the House from a base of second segment seats allocated to each party, to the seat numbers calculated from the party vote alone.

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% or more of the party vote, or the winning of one or more electorate seats from the second segment.

10b) What electoral formula or formulas are used? ..Sainte Lague.

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

a.) closed

**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 parties place their candidates in the order they would like to see them elected, but voters can, with varying degrees of ease, change this order through votes they cast for individual candidates.

**SECOND SEGMENT: ELECTORATE VOTE**

2. How many primary electoral districts are there? 69

3. For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from each district? ONE

4. How many secondary electoral districts are there? NONE

5. How many tertiary electoral districts are there? NONE

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.

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6. Exactly how are votes cast by voters? Secret ballot

6a. How many votes do they or can they cast? .One for this segment, one for the other.

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

Candidates...

7. Are the votes transferable? ..No
8. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated? NO
9. Are there any other features of voting that should be noted? NO

#### C. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

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10) Exactly how are votes converted into seats?

Single-member plurality districts – the candidate with the highest number of votes wins.

10a) Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

Not in this segment.

10b) What electoral formula or formulas are used?

.Plurality in single-member districts

#### D. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF ELECTORAL ALLIANCE.

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**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?

.....  
Parties can form a ‘federal’ party, and run a joint list, as did the Alliance, which had a number of component parties. Apparentement as such is probably not possible in law but component parties can be registered as parties as well as the umbrella organisation that contests the election. Alliances are more frequently made by a larger party agreeing not to run a candidate in an electorate that a smaller party ally may win – National did not run in an electorate in 1996 and 1999, thus allowing the United party to gain a seat. While still running a candidate, parties may allow tacitly encourage their voters to cast an electorate vote for a small party ally – for example National for Act in 1996, and Labour for the Greens in 1999. There were no such arrangements in 2002.

12a. Can parties run joint lists? Yes, qualified as above

12b. Is there apparentement or linking of lists? Not as such

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

Yes, although not as a formal member of two parties.



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

13. Are joint lists possible? Yes, qualified as above

13a. 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. . NO.

15) If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot? NO.

### 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.

#### A. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE HEAD OF STATE.

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**Definitions:** The Head of State is typically the highest ranking official in the executive branch of government. Often, this position is held by a president or a monarch, and may be more ceremonial than effective. The Head of Government is usually the highest ranking official in the legislative branch of government. In some systems, this may be someone other than the Head of State (i.e. the prime minister in the Westminster systems), while in other cases, the roles of the Head of State and Head of Government are combined (i.e. in the United States, the president serves as both the Head of State and the Head of Government).

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? [Check all that apply.]

3a. Introduce legislation? ...No

3b. Require expedited action on specific legislation?...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.

3c. Package veto? . No in practice, except in an extreme situation where the Governor-General might use reserve powers to refuse to approve undemocratic legislation..

3d. Partial veto? ..... No

3e. Issue decrees with the power of law? ..... No

3f. Emergency powers? ..... Yes .

3g. Negotiate treaties and international agreements? ..... No .....

3h. Commander of the armed forces? ...No

3j. Initiate referenda or plebiscites? ....No

3k. Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality? .No

3m. Convene special legislative sessions? No

## B. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT.

**Definitions:** In some countries, the Head of Government is directly elected, in elections that may or may not occur concurrently with legislative elections. In these cases, the Head of Government is said to be elected independently of the legislature. In others, the Head of Government is the leader of the governing party or governing coalition in the legislature, and so, the selection of the Head of Government depends upon the distribution of seats in the legislature. In these cases, the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature.

1. Is the Head of Government elected independently of the legislature? .... No

1a. Is the Head of Government also the Head of State? . No

1b. If the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature, how is the Head of Government selected?

..... Appointed by the legislature alone as leader of a party that has the confidence of the House to govern

2. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the composition of the cabinet?  
[Check all that apply.]

- ..... Names ministers and assigns portfolios alone
- ..... Dismisses ministers and reassigns portfolios at own discretion

3. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the policy making process?

[Check all that apply.]

- ..... Chairs cabinet meetings
- ..... Calls votes of confidence in government
- ..... Other (Explain): ...Schedules of issues to be considered by Parliament, structure of legislative voting are matters determined in Cabinet, in which the Prime minister is 'first among equals'.

#### C. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE CABINET

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1. By what method(s) can the cabinet be dismissed?

By the prime minister **acting** alone. This is technically possible but could only happen in an extreme situation and would almost certainly lead to the Prime Minister's resignation soon afterward.

By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of those legislators voting is required – that is, a motion of no confidence would lead to a resignation of all Ministers.

#### D. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE LEGISLATURE

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1. Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections? ....Yes,  
..... By the prime minister **acting** alone - An early election can be called by the Prime Minister, but normally with the agreement of senior party colleagues and the Governor-General.  
..... By majority vote of the legislature. A motion of no confidence in the government would lead to an early election, unless a new government could be formed that could gain the confidence of the House.

2. If the legislature can be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections, are there restrictions on when and how the legislature can be dissolved?

No

3. Is there a second chamber of the legislature? ..... No ...

#### E. FEDERALISM

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1. Is there a constitutionally guaranteed division of power between the central government and regional and/or local governments? No

2. Does the central government have the power to remove elected officials of regional and/or local governments? .Yes

## F. REFERENCES

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Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described here.

New Zealand Electoral Commission, *The New Zealand Electoral Compendium*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Wellington, New Zealand Electoral Commission, 2003.

Cabinet Manual. Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Wellington, 2003.  
<http://www.dPMC.govt.nz/cabinet/manual/>