Macro-Level Data Questionnaire

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

1. Preceding the election,
Number of portfolios (cabinet posts) for each party in cabinet. *If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".*

Name of Political Party	Number of Portfolios
Akcja Wyborcza Solidarnosc (AWS)	19
Independent, nominated by AWS	2

1a. What was the size of the cabinet before the election?____21_____

2. After the election,
Number of portfolios (cabinet posts) for each party in cabinet. *If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".*

Name of Political Party	Number of Portfolios
Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej (SLD)	9
Unia Pracy (UP)	1
Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL)	2
Independent, nominated either by SLD or PSL	4

2a. What was the size of the cabinet after the election?_____16___

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

Name of Political Party	Year Founded	Ideological Family Party is Closest to	International Organization Party Belongs to (if any)
SLD	1999	Social-Democratic	
UP	1992	Socialist	
PSL	1989	Agrarian	
PO	2001	Right Liberal	
PiS	2001	Conservative	
LPR	2001	National	
SRP*	2001	Agrarian (Populist)	
AWSP*	2001	Christian Democratic	
UW	1996	Liberal	

*Samoobrona Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (SRP) has been registered as a party in 2001, however "Samoobrona" (Self-defense) as a trade union had existed since 1992 and contested the 1993 and 1997 election.
AWSP (Akcja Wyborcza Solidarnosc Prawicy), registered as a new party in 2001, is a splinter product of AWS (established in 1996 an umbrella coalition of about 30 organizations, parties and trade unions of Solidarity pedigree).

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

Before: UP   After: AWS, UW

3b. Were there any other non-represented parties you believe to be significant?

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

International Party Organizations:

Socialist International
  Confederation of Socialist
  Parties of the European
Community
  Asia-Pacific Socialist Organization
  Socialist Inter-African

Christian Democratic International
European Christian Democratic Union
European People's Party

Liberal International
Federation of European Liberal,
Democrat, and Reform Parties

International Democrat Union
Caribbean Democrat Union
European Democrat Union
Pacific Democrat Union

The Greens

In what follows three ways of depicting Polish parties' positions are presented: first, is the L-R economic positions; second, the most important for the L-R positioning, the socio-cultural (de facto: liberalism—traditionalism) L-R; and finally, L-R positioning as it occurs in the public discourse (shown in the right column of point 4b)

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

Economic L - R

Party Name	LEFT										RIGHT	NA
1. **SLD**	0	1	2	3	4	**5**	6	7	8	9	10	
2. **UP**	0	**1**	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
3. **PSL**	0	**1**	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
4. **PO**	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	**9**	10	
5. **SRP**	**0**	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
6. **PiS**	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	**7**	8	9	10	
7. **LPR**	0	1	2	3	**4**	5	6	7	8	9	10	
8. **AWSP**	0	1	2	3	4	**5**	6	7	8	9	10	
9. **UW**	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	**9**	10	

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

Yes, more or less_____

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: Socio - cultural Liberalism vs. Traditionalism / Conservatism
Label for left hand position: Liberalism

Label for right hand position: Conservatism

Party Name	LEFT										RIGHT	Overall LR position as used in the Polish public discourse*
1. **SLD**	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	3
2. **UP**	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1
3. **PSL**	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	5
4. **PO**	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8
5. **SRP**	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1
6. **PiS**	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	7
7. **LPR**	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	9
8. **AWSP**	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	9
9. **UW**	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	6

* each party's position on the scale

4. (bb) Do you believe there would be general consensus about these placements among informed observers in your country?
YES

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. Economic slowdown during 1997-2001 from about 5 to 1% GDP growth
2. Four reforms (administration, health, pension, education) introduced simultaneously - some of them fairly unsuccessful
3. Populist economic policies enacted by the senior coalition partner – AWS, which led to the withdrawal from the cabinet of the junior partner - UW
4. Corruption, nepotism by the heirs of "Solidarity" movement politicians led to dramatic alienation of the mass publics
5. Oppositional propaganda (esp. of SLD) launching serve criticism and up exaggerated attacks on the government, leading to a substantial increase in mass expectations.

5. (a) Do you believe there would be general consensus about these placements among informed observers in your country?
MORE OR LESS, 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
↓

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

Yes
↓

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

	Name of Alliance	Parties in the Alliance
Alliance 1:	SLD / UP	SLD + UP
Alliance 2:	AWSP	Ruch Spoleczny Akcji Wyborczej Solidarnosc (RS AWS)
		Zjednoczenie Chrzescijansko-Narodowe (ZChN)
		Polska Partia Chrzescijanskich Demokratow (PPChD)

Alliance 3: _____   _____
Alliance 4: _____   _____
Alliance 5: _____   _____

7. (If a presidential election was held concurrently with the legislative elections) List presidential candidates

NA

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.

Please answer the questions below. If you can also send a copy of the electoral code governing lower house elections, that would be helpful.

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?

1 segment   **X**
2 segments _____
more than 2 _____

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

2) How many primary electoral districts are there?   **41**

3) For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from each district? _____   (If district variation exists, answer 3a)

mean = 11,22   from 7 to 19

     3a) If districts elect varying number of members, please list the districts, indicating the number of members elected from that district.

     District   Number of Members
                 (on separate page at the end)

4) How many secondary electoral districts are there?   NONE

5) How many tertiary electoral districts are there?   NONE

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.

     6) Exactly how are votes cast by voters?
         6a) How many votes do they or can they cast? **1 (ONE)**
     6b) Do they vote for candidates, for lists, or for both?
     (Explain): **Voters check a name of a candidate on a particular list**
     7) Are the votes transferable?   **NO**

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

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

C. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

     10) Exactly how are votes converted into seats?
Votes are first counted at the district level, the results then go to the National Election Committee to determine which parties and coalitions have cleared, respectively, the 5% and 8% threshold. Then this information goes back to the district level to distribute the seats according to the votes cast and electoral formula applied.
     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?
Modified St Lague (1.4, 3, 5, 7 etc)
     11) If there are lists, are they closed, open, or flexible? please code below
     a.) closed
     b) flexible, but in practice virtually closed
     c) flexible
     d) flexible, but in practice virtually open; or
     e) open
     (d) "almost open", except that parties decide who is on the top of the list

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.
If there was a second segment, please answer the following questions about that segment:
           -----REPEAT QUESTIONS 2 THROUGH 11 ABOVE-------

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?
> **2 or more parties can officially register a coalition**

> 12a) Can parties run joint lists?
> > ___**X**___**Yes** _____No

> 12b)   Is there apparentement or linking of lists?
> > _____Yes   ____**X**____**No**

> 12c) Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?
> > _____Yes   ____**X**____**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?_____
> > _____Yes   ____**X**____**No**

> 12e) Other? _____

13) Are joint lists possible? __**YES**__

> 13**a**) 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.
> > **higher (8 percent, nation-wide) threshold to be cleared by coalitions**

14) Is apparentement possible? ___**NA**__

> 14**a**) 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   _____No   **NA**

15a) please specify below:
1. Yes, candidate s name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties ____**NA**
2. 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 _____**NA**
3. Yes, other (please explain) _____**NA**

4.   No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper ____ **NA**

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.

I.) Questions regarding the Head of State.

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.

1) Who is the Head of State?
__**X**__ President
_____ Monarch
_____ Prime Minister serves as ceremonial head of state
_____ Other (please specify) _____

2) How is the head of state selected?
__**X**_ Direct election
____ Indirect election
____ Birth right
____ Divine right
____ Other (Explain) _____

a) If by direct election, by what process?
____ Plurality election
__**X**_ Run-off or two-ballot system
____ Other (Explain) _____

(i) If by run-off system, how are the candidates selected for the final round?

__**X**__ A certain number of candidates with the highest vote totals advance to the second round
            If yes, how many candidates advance? __**2**___
____ Any candidates with a vote percentage above a certain threshold advance to the second round
            If yes, what is the threshold percentage? _NA__
b) If by indirect election, by what process?
____ Electoral college
____ Selection by the legislature
____ Other (Explain) _____NA_____

(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?

NA

(ii) **If by the legislature**, by which chamber(s) of the legislature?
What is the voting procedure used?
NA

3) If there is a Head of State, does the Head of State have the following powers? [Check all that apply.]

a) Introduce legislation? __**X**__**Yes** ____No

b) Require expedited action on specific legislation? (i.e., set a deadline by which the legislature is required to act on the bill)? ____Yes _**X**__ **No**

c) Package veto? __**X**__**Yes** ____ No
↓
If yes, what is the requirement to override the veto?____**3/5 of the Lower House vote in the presence of at least 50% of its members (MPs)**

_____

d) Partial veto? ____Yes __**X**__ **No**
↓
If yes, what is the requirement to override the partial veto?

e) Issue decrees with the power of law? ____Yes __X__ **No**

f) Emergency powers? __**X**__ **Yes** ____ No

g) Negotiate treaties and international agreements? ____Yes __**X**__ **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? ___**X**__**Yes** ____No

j) Initiate referenda or plebiscites? __**X**__**Yes** ____No

k) Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality?
__**X**__**Yes** ____No

m) Convene special legislative sessions? ____Yes __**X**__**No**

II.) Questions about the Head of Government.

1) Is the Head of Government elected independently of the legislature?

    ____ Yes   go to 1a
    __X__ No   go to 1b

    1a) If Yes, is the Head of Government also the Head of State?
        ____ Yes
        __X__ No

    1b) If No, how is the Head of Government selected?
        ____ Appointed by the head of state alone
        ____ Appointed by the legislature alone
        __X_ 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) What authorities does the Head of Government have over the composition of the cabinet? [Check all that apply.]

        ____ Names ministers and assigns portfolios alone
        __X_ Nominates ministers for approval by the president
        ____ Reviews and approves ministerial nominations made by the president
        __X_ Dismisses ministers and reassigns portfolios at own discretion
        ____ Other (Explain):

4) If there is a prime minister, what authorities does the prime minister have over the policy making process? [Check all that apply.]
        __X_ Chairs cabinet meetings
        ____ Determines schedule of issues to be considered by the legislature
        ____ Determines which alternatives will be voted on by the legislature, and in which order
        ____ Refers legislative proposals to party or legislative committees
        ____ Calls votes of confidence in government
        ____ Other (Explain)

III.) Questions regarding the Cabinet

By what method(s) can the cabinet be dismissed?
[Check all that apply.]
____ By the head of state **acting** alone
____ By the prime minister **acting** alone
__X_ 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.) Questions regarding the Legislature

1) Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections?
_**X**_Yes→go to 1a
____No →go to section V

1a) If yes, by what method?
    __**X**_ By the head of state **acting** alone
    ____ By the prime minister **acting** alone
    __**X**_ By majority vote of the legislature
    ____ By some combination of the above, acting in concert
        *(Explain)*_____
    ____ Other
        *(Explain)*_____

2) If yes, are there restrictions on when and how the legislature can be dissolved? [Check all that apply.]

        ____**Only 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; only if the legislature fails to pass the budget)
          (Explain)
          1. if legislature fails to approve the budget
          2. if the designated prime minister fails to form a cabinet supported by
          parliamentary majority

        ____Other
          *(Explain)*_____

V.) Federalism

1) Is there a constitutionally guaranteed division of power between the central
government and regional and/or local governments?
__**X**_ **Yes**
____ No

2) Does the central government have the power to remove elected officials of regional
and/or local governments?
____ Yes
__**X**_ No

3) Is there a second chamber of the legislature?
__**X**_ **Yes**
____ No

    3a) If yes, does it have the power to reject the executive's proposed
budget?__**NO**___
    3b) If yes, does it have the power to remove the cabinet?__**NO**___
    3c) If yes, is it:
__**X**_ directly elected

_____ indirectly elected

3d) If yes and it is indirectly elected, are those who choose its members:
_____ wholly regional and/or local officials   NA
_____ partly regional and/or local officials
_____ not necessarily regional and/or local officials

Electoral Districts in Poland - Parliamentary Election' 2001

Electoral District Number	Voivodship (or part of)	Seat of District Electoral Commission	Number of seats
1	dolnoslaskie	Legnica	12
2	dolnoslaskie	Walbrzych	9
3	dolnoslaskie	Wroclaw	14
4	kujawsko-pomorskie	Bydgoszcz	12
5	kujawsko-pomorskie	Torun	13
6	lubelskie	Lublin	15
7	lubelskie	Chelm	12
8	lubuskie	Zielona Gora	12
9	lodzkie	Lodz	11
10	lodzkie	Piotrkow Trybunalski	9
11	lodzkie	Sieradz	12
12	malopolskie	Chrzanow	7
13	malopolskie	Krakow	14
14	malopolskie	Nowy Sacz	9
15	malopolskie	Tarnow	8
16	mazowieckie	Plock	10
17	mazowieckie	Radom	9
18	mazowieckie	Siedlce	12
19	mazowieckie	Warszawa	19
20	mazowieckie	Warszawa	10
21	opolskie	Opole	13
22	podkarpackie	Krosno	11
23	podkarpackie	Rzeszow	15
24	podlaskie	Bialystok	15
25	pomorskie	Gdansk	12
26	pomorskie	Gdynia	14
27	slaskie	Bielsko-Biala	9
28	slaskie	Czestochowa	7
29	slaskie	Gliwice	10
30	slaskie	Rybnik	9
31	slaskie	Katowice	13
32	slaskie	Sosnowiec	9
33	swietokrzyskie	Kielce	16
34	warminsko-mazurskie	Elblag	8
35	warminsko-mazurskie	Olsztyn	9
36	wielkopolskie	Kalisz	12
37	wielkopolskie	Konin	9
38	wielkopolskie	Pila	9
39	wielkopolskie	Poznan	10
40	zachodniopomorskie	Koszalin	8
41	zachodniopomorskie	Szczecin	13
		Total:	**460 seats**