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Comparative Study of Electoral Systems
Module 2: Macro Report
August 23, 2004

Country: Russia

Date of Election: March 14, 2004 – presidential election

NOTE TO 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 (e.g., electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.

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".)

NOT APPLICABLE. Cabinet posts in Russia are not allocated by party affiliation or membership. Systematic data on party affiliations of cabinet ministers, if any, are not available.

Name of Political Party

Number of Portfolios

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

NA

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").

NA

Name of Political Party

Number of Portfolios

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

NA

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 Membership |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|--|---|
| A. United Russia | 2001 | “Party of Power”* | | |
| B. KPRF – Communist Party of Russian Federation (party) | 1993 | Communist | | |
| C. LDPR – Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (party) | 1990 | Nationalist | | |
| D. Motherland (bloc) | 2003 | Nationalist | | |
| E. Yabloko (party) | 1993 | Liberal | | |
| F. Union of Right Forces (party) | 1999 | Liberal | | |

* Supports President Vladimir Putin and the present government. Putin supports the party, but is not a member and did not run for re-election in 2004 as its nominee.

NOTE: These are the six parties (and blocs) about whom we asked the CSES questions concerning parties. Only two of these entities – the KPRF and the LDPR – had nominees in the March 2004 presidential election.

In addition to these six, two other entities cleared 3 percent in the State Duma election of December 2003 – the Agrarian party, founded 1993, an “agrarian” party; and the electoral bloc of the Party of Pensioners and the Party of Social Justice, established in 1999, which we classify as “socialist.” No questions were asked about these two organizations. The Agrarians took 3.7 percent of the party-list vote in December 2003 and the Pensioners-Social Justice group took 3.1 percent.

Finally, it should be mentioned that one minor party, the Russian Party of Life, established in 2002, nominated a candidate for president in 2004. The candidate was Sergei Mironov, the speaker of the Federation Council (the unelected upper house of parliament), who polled 0.7 percent of the popular vote. We classify the Party of Life as being in the “party of power” ideological family, i.e., as essentially supporting the government of President Putin. It participated in the 2003 Duma election as one of two parties in a bloc with the Party of Russia’s Rebirth. This bloc took 1.9 percent of the popular vote.

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).

(A) Ecology Parties
(B) Communist Parties

(G) Liberal Parties
(H) Right Liberal Parties

(M) Agrarian Parties
(N) Ethnic Parties

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| (C) Socialist Parties | (I) Christian Democratic Parties | (O) Regional Parties |
| (D) Social Democratic Parties | (J) National Parties | (P) Other Parties |
| (E) Conservative Parties | (K) Independents | |
| (F) Left Liberal Parties | (L) Single Issue Parties | |

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

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?

Keep in mind that the election in question was a presidential election, not a parliamentary election.

So far as the 2003 Duma election is concerned, Yabloko, Union of Right Forces, Agrarians, and Pensioners all received more than 3 percent of the ballots in the party-list vote but did not clear the 5 percent threshold. Yabloko, Union of Right Force, and Agrarians were more or less established organizations which had held seats in previous elections. These three parties elected a small number of deputies – 9 all told – in single-member districts, but had too few deputies to form an organized caucus in the Duma.

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

The Kremlin
The bureaucracy

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 | |
|---|------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------|--|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | |
| A. United Russia | | | | | | | | X | | | | |
| B. KPRF – Communist Party of Russian Federation | X | | | | | | | | | | | |
| C. LDPR – Liberal Democratic Party of Russia | | | | | | X | | | | | | |
| D. Motherland | | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| E. Yabloko | | | | | | | X | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|
| F. Union of Right Forces | | | | | | | | | X | | |
| G. Agrarian | | | X | | | | | | | | |
| H. "Pensioners" – bloc of Russian party of Pensioners and Party of Social Justice | | | X | | | | | | | | |

NOTE: We would put both the Agrarian party and the Pensioners-Social Justice bloc at 2. We would put the Russian Party of Life at 4.

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

Yes for most parties

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.

No

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

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. Social and political stability
2. Economic recovery and growth
3. Personal popularity of President Putin
4. Party loyalties
5. Administrative resources, manipulation of the mass media

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 to 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?

No
 Yes

If yes, please complete the following:

| <u>Alliance Name</u> | <u>Participant Parties (please indicate dominant members with an "*")</u> |
|----------------------|---|
| Alliance 1: | |
| Alliance 2: | |
| Alliance 3: | |
| Alliance 4: | |
| Alliance 5: | |

7. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates:

In order of finish:

| <u>Candidate</u> | <u>Nominated by</u> | <u>Name of Party Leader</u> |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Vladimir Putin (incumbent) | Independent | NA |
| Nikolai Kharitonov | KPRF | Gennadii Zyuganov |
| Sergei Glaz'ev | Independent | NA |
| Irina Khakamada | Independent | NA |
| Oleg Malyshkin | LDPR | Vladimir Zhirinovskii |
| Sergei Mironov | Russian Party of Life | Mironov |

NOTE: Putin was strongly supported by the United Russia party, though not officially nominated by it. Glaz'ev was one of the leaders of the nationalist Motherland bloc in December 2003. Khakamada was one of the leaders of the liberal Union of Right Forces slate in December 2003.

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.

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
 - 2 segments
 - more than 2

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

A. NATIONAL PARTY-LIST VOTE FOR STATE DUMA (LOWER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT) – FILLS 225 SEATS OUT OF 450

2. How many primary electoral districts are there?

One “general federal district”

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

225 altogether

3a. If districts elect varying number of members, please list the districts, indicating the number of members elected from that district. (Attach separate sheets, as required).

No

4. How many secondary electoral districts are there?

None

5. How many tertiary electoral districts are there?

None

If possible, please summarize the information above for questions 1-3 and 4-5 in the table here:

| Chambers/Houses | | Lower | | | Upper | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|-------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-----------|
| Segments | Number | 1 | 2 | 3 or more | 1 | 2 | 3 or more |
| Primary districts | Number No. of members* | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Secondary districts | Number No. of members* | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Tertiary districts | Number No. of members* | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

*Please report the total number of members for all districts, per segment.

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.

6. Exactly how are votes cast by voters?

Voters given ballot with names of each party or bloc, with top three individuals on list or entrant. Voter ticks off name of preferred party. Voter also has option of voting "Against all."

6a. How many votes do they or can they cast?

One

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

Lists

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

B. SINGLE-MEMBER TERRITORIAL DISTRICTS – FILLS 225 SEATS OUT OF 450

2. How many primary electoral districts are there?

225

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

One

3a. If districts elect varying number of members, please list the districts, indicating the number of members elected from that district. (Attach separate sheets, as required).

No

4. How many secondary electoral districts are there?

None

5. How many tertiary electoral districts are there?

None

If possible, please summarize the information above for questions 1-3 and 4-5 in the table here:

| Chambers/Houses | | Lower | | | Upper | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|-------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-----------|
| Segments | Number | 1 | 2 | 3 or more | 1 | 2 | 3 or more |
| Primary districts | Number No. of members* | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Secondary districts | Number No. of members* | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Tertiary districts | Number No. of members* | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

*Please report the total number of members for all districts, per segment.

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.

6. Exactly how are votes cast by voters?

Voters given ballot with names of each candidate, with party or bloc nominating the candidate, if any, indicated. Voter ticks off name of preferred party. Voter also has option of voting "Against all."

6a. How many votes do they or can they cast?

One

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

Candidates

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?

Independent candidates, not nominated by any party or bloc, permitted to enter.

C. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

10. Exactly how are votes converted into seats?

Simple plurality, subject to qualification that winning candidate must receive more votes than votes cast against all candidates.

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

NA

If so, what is the threshold?

10b. What electoral formula or formulas are used?

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

NA

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D. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF ELECTORAL ALLIANCE.

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 forming alliances in the system?

Several entrants in the party-list vote were electoral blocs created before the election. This practice had been more common in the 1990s. Otherwise, no formal joint lists were permitted

12a. Can parties run joint lists?

Yes

No

12b. Is there apparentement or linking of lists

Yes

No

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

Yes

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

No

This practice did occur in some of the local districts. We have no data on how common it was.

12e. Other?

13. Are joint lists possible?

No

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.

14. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:

NA

- 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?

NA

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- 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/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other (please explain):

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.

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?

- 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)

2a. If by direct election, by what process?

- Plurality election
- Run-off or two-ballot system
- Other (Explain)

2a1. If by run-off system, how are the candidates selected for the final round?

- The 2 (#) candidates with the highest vote totals advance to the second round
- Any candidate with at least _____% of the popular vote advances to the second round

2b. If by indirect election, by what process?

- Electoral college
- Selection by the legislature
- Other (Explain)

2b1. If by electoral college, how are electors chosen?

2b2. Does the electoral college deliberate?

- Yes
- No

2b3. What is the voting procedure used by the electoral college?

2b4. If by the legislature, by which chamber(s) of the legislature? What is the voting procedure used?

3. Does the Head of State have the following powers? Please check all that apply:

3a. Introduce legislation?

- Yes
- No

3b. Require expedited action on specific legislation? (i.e., set a deadline by which the legislature is required to act on the bill)?

- Yes
- 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

Yes, and the requirement to override the veto is:

Vote of two-thirds of the combined membership of the two houses of parliament, i.e., State Duma and Federation Council.

3d. Partial veto?

No

Yes, and the requirement to override the veto is:

3e. Issue decrees with the power of law?

Yes

No

3f. Emergency powers?

Yes

No

3g. Negotiate treaties and international agreements?

No

Yes, provided the following additional requirements are met:

3h. Commander of the armed forces?

Yes

No

3i. Initiate referenda or plebiscites?

Yes

No

3j. Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality?

Yes

No

3k. Convene special legislative sessions?

Yes

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.

4. Is the Head of Government elected independently of the legislature?

- Yes
- No

4a. Is the Head of Government also the Head of State?

- Yes
- No

4b. If the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature, how is the Head of Government 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 (Please explain):

5. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the composition of the cabinet?

Please 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
- Dismisses ministers and reassigns portfolios at own discretion
- Other (Please explain):

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

Please check all that apply:

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 (Please explain):

C. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE CABINET

7. By what method(s) can the cabinet be dismissed? Please check all that apply:

By the head of state acting alone

- By the prime minister acting 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 (Please explain):
- Other (Please explain):

D. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE LEGISLATURE

8. Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections? _____No

X Yes:

X By the head of state acting alone

By the prime minister acting alone

By majority vote of the legislature

By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Please explain):

Other (Please explain):

9. If the legislature can be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections, are there restrictions on when and how the legislature can be dissolve? Please check all that apply:

X On the timing of dissolution (e.g. not within one year after a legislative election)

(Please explain):

Not in the first year after Duma election, or in the six months prior to scheduled presidential election

X 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) (Please explain):

If Duma has rejected president's candidate for prime minister 3 times

X Other (Explain):

If Duma has filed an impeachment charge against the president

10. Is there a second chamber of the legislature? No _____ Yes X, it is:

- directly elected
 indirectly elected through the following process:

Two members of the Federation Council from each constituent unit (“subject”) of the federation. One appointed by governor or chief executive of the constituent region, the second by its legislative assembly.

10a. If there is a second chamber and it is indirectly elected, are those who choose its members:

- wholly regional and/or local officials?
 partly regional and/or local officials?
 not necessarily regional and/or local officials?

10b. If there is a second chamber, does it have specific and exclusive legislative powers (i.e. the power to reject the executive’s proposed budget)?

- No
 Yes (Please explain):

A simple majority of members of the Federation Council may reject a bill passed by the Duma. In that case, a two-thirds majority of the Duma may override the upper house’s vote.

10c. If there is a second chamber, does it have the power to remove the cabinet or censure its ministers?

- Yes
 No

E. FEDERALISM

11. Is there a constitutionally guaranteed division of power between the central government and regional and/or local governments?

- Yes
 No

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

- Yes
 No

F. REFERENCES

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.