Comparative Study of Electoral Systems
Module 5: Macro Report
Version: September 14, 2016

Country: El Salvador

Date of Election: February 3, 2019

Prepared by: FUNDAUNGO

Date of Preparation: October 2022

This version of the Macro Report is updated with information obtained in subsequent communication with the collaborators.

NOTES TO COLLABORATORS

- There are eight sections (numbered A-H inclusive) in this report. Please ensure that you complete all the sections.

- The information provided in this report contributes to the macro data portion of the CSES, an important component of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. 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, district data) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.

- Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.

- Where brackets [ ] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an "X" within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]

- If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

A) DATA PERTINENT TO ELECTION AT WHICH MODULE WAS ADMINISTERED

1a. Type of Election:
    [ ] Parliamentary/Legislative
    [ ] Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential
    [X] Presidential
    [ ] Other; please specify: _____

1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?
    [ ] Upper House
    [ ] Lower House
    [ ] Both
    [ ] Other; please specify: _____

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential? The president that won the election in 2019 was a member of the FMLN, and under this party he was elected mayor of Nuevo Cuscatlán (2012-2015) and San Salvador (2015-2018); due to differences, in October 2017, he was expelled from the FMLN, and then founded a new political party: Nuevas Ideas. This new political party could not complete its registration on time to participate on the 2019 election, therefore he participated and won election with the political party GANA.

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Please also provide a website link to this data if possible.
    (Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings. Please also list cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties).

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
Nuevas Ideas	all
Nueva Ideas was legalized by the Supreme Electoral Court (TSE) on 24 August 2018. (although founded on 25 October 2017), but NI could not register for 2019 presidential el in time, so he ran under the banner of GANA	

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (i.e.: total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count.
(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings).

3a. What was the party of the president <u>after</u> the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?
   Nuevas Ideas.

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Please provide a website link to this data if possible.
(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings. Please also list cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties).

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
Nuevas Ideas	All

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)?   Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count.
(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings).

4a. Please provide **a source** of data detailing the official election results at the **national level** (votes and seats) for **all** parties participating in the election. Please provide a website link to this data if possible. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format.
(Note: There is no requirement to detail the results here. Instead, an official source where this data can be accessed is sufficient).
The Supreme Electoral Tribunal publishes electoral results
   https://www.tse.gob.sv/elecci%C3%B3n-2019/inicio

4b. Please provide **a source** of data detailing the official election results at the **district level** (votes and seats) for **all** parties participating in the election. Please provide a website link to this data if possible. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format.
(Note: There is no requirement to detail the results here. Instead, an official source where this data can be accessed is sufficient).

The Supreme Electoral Tribunal publishes electoral results at national, municipal, voting center, and Voting Receiving Boards level.
https://www.tse.gob.sv/elecci%C3%B3n-2019/inicio

4c. Can voters cast a ballot before Election Day(s)? (i.e.: Is early voting possible)?
    [ ] Yes, for the whole electorate
    [X] Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

       _____Residents abroad (mainly Salvadorans in United States)_____

    [ ] No

4d. Can voters cast a ballot by mail?
    [ ] Yes, for the whole electorate
    [X] Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:
       _____Residents abroad (mainly Salvadorans in United States)_____
    [ ] No

4e. Can voters cast a ballot by the Internet?
    [ ] Yes, for the whole electorate
    [ ] Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

    _____

    [X] No

B) PARTY POSITIONS

5a. Ideological family of political parties: Please indicate the ideological party family for each party by using the numbered categories below. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. GANA	Right 9. Conservative Parties
B. Coalition "Alianza por un Nuevo País" (ARENA-PCN-PDC-DS)	Right 7. Right Liberal Parties
C. FMLN	Left 3. Socialist Parties
D. VAMOS	Center 15. Christian humanism
E. Nueva Ideas	15. Emerging party
F.	
G.	

H.	
I.	

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.)

(1) Ecology Parties	(6) Liberal Parties	(11) Agrarian Parties
(2) Communist Parties	(7) Right Liberal Parties	(12) Ethnic Parties
(3) Socialist Parties	(8) Christian Democratic Parties	(13) Regional Parties
(4) Social Democratic Parties	(9) Conservative Parties	(14) Independents
(5) Left Liberal Parties	(10) National Parties	(15) Others

5b: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? 8_____

6a1. Ideological Positions of Parties: Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator(s)). Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Left										Right
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. GANA								X			
B. Coalition Alianza por un Nuevo País (ARENA-PCN-PDC-DS)									X		
C. FMLN				X							
D. VAMOS						X					
E.											
F.											
G.											
H.											
I.											

6a2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? 8 _____

6a3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

6b1. 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. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Name of dimension: _____
Label for 0 position: _____
Label for 10 position: _____

Party Name	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A.											
B.											
C.											
D.											
E.											
F.											
G.											
H.											
I.											

6b2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? _____

6b3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6c. Populist classification of parties: As Module 5 focuses in part on populism, please indicate the degree to which each of the parties (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator) can be characterized as a populist party? Please use the same parties used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire and label them the same way (A-I). The definition of populism advanced by the Module 5 theme committee is below:

DEFINITION: Populism can be defined as a thin-centred ideology that pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites and dangerous 'others' who are depicted as depriving "the people" of their rights, values, prosperity, identity, and voice. The emphasis on anti-elite/ anti-establishment rhetoric and the contrast between the "pure people" and the "corrupt elite" are thus indications of the degree to which a party is populist. Populist parties can be found across the left-right ideological spectrum. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is "not at all populist" and 10 is "very populist", where would you place each of the parties in your country?

| Party Name | Not at all populist | | | | | | | | Very populist | | |
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. GANA									y		
B. Coalition Alianza por un Nuevo País (ARENA-PCN-PDC-DS)				y							
C. FMLN				y							
D. VAMOS		y									
E.											
F.											
G.											
H.											
I.											

6c2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? 6_____

6c3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

_____

_____

_____

C) SALIENT ISSUES IN THE ELECTION

7. 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)?
    Note: Please rank the issues according to their salience (1 = most salient).

    1. An 'anti-elite' and 'anti-political' discourse of the candidate (Nayib Buleke) that won the election.

    2. Citizen discontent with traditional political parties (ARENA and FMLN) that had dominated presidential elections for the past 30 years.

    3.

    4

    5.

D) FAIRNESS OF THE ELECTION & ELECTION SCHEDULING

8a. How impartial was the body that administered the election law?
[X] Very impartial
[ ] Mostly impartial
[ ] Not very impartial
[ ] Not impartial at all

8b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?
[ ] Yes
[X] No

8c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?
[ ] Yes
[x] No
[ ] No international election observers

8d. On what date was the election originally legally scheduled to be held?
February 3, 2019

8e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 8d, please explain why.
February 3, 2019

E) ELECTION VIOLENCE

9a. To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation **during** the election campaign and on the election day?

[X] No violence at all
[ ] Sporadic violence on the part of the government
[ ] Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
[ ] Sporadic violence on all sides
[ ] Significant violence on the part of the government
[ ] Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
[ ] Significant violence of all sides

9b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?

[ ] Geographically concentrated
[ ] National

9c. To what extent was there violence following the election?

[X] No violence at all
[ ] Sporadic violence on the part of the government
[ ] Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
[ ] Sporadic violence on all sides
[ ] Significant violence on the part of the government
[ ] Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
[ ] Significant violence of all sides

9d. To what extent was there protest following the election?

[X] No protest at all
[ ] Sporadic protest
[ ] Significant protest

F) ELECTORAL ALLIANCES

10. Joint Lists/Candidates

There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are specifically interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.

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.

10a. Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

    [X] Yes
    [ ] No

10b. Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

    [X] Yes
    [ ] No

10c. If "Yes" was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

Alliance Name	Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an "*")
Alliance 1:	ARENA*, PCN, PDC, and DS
Alliance 2:	
Alliance 3:	
Alliance 4:	
Alliance 5:	

11. 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. (please mark all applicable responses)
    [ ] Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
    [ ] Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
    [ ] Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the
       regulations governing independent parties; please specify: _____
    [X] No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
    [ ] Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

12a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?
    [ ] Yes
    [X] No (No, at presidential election)

12b. 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

13a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?
    [X] Yes
    [X] No

13b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?
    [X] 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
    [X] Yes, other; please explain: _____

G) 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.

> ### Please note: Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.

Electoral Tier (Segment) and House

14a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

14b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

Questions about Voting

15a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.
On presidential election voters can only cast one vote

15b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)
(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)
  [ ] Candidates
  [ ] Party Lists
  [ ] Party Bloc Voting
  [X] Other; please explain:
On the presidential elections, ballot paper included party flags and the name of the parties.

15c. How many rounds of voting are there?
If no candidate achieves an absolute majority in the first round of the presidential elections, the Electoral Code contemplates a second round with the two candidates that achieved the highest number of valid votes. The second round is defined by the highest number of votes.

15d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?

[ ] Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)

[ ] Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)

[ ] Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)

16. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are transferred from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

[ ] Yes
[X] No

17. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

[ ] Yes
[ ] No

18. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

[ ] Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions
[ ] Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions
[] Yes; Without Sanction for Violation
[X] No

19. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

20a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?
  [ ] Yes
  [ ] No

20b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

20c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?
  [ ] Percent of total votes
  [ ] Percent of valid votes
  [ ] Percent of the total electorate
  [ ] Other; please explain: _____

20d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature. Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.

H) References

21. 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. Include website links if applicable.

Informe Final de Observación Electoral. Elecciones Presidenciales 2019
https://www.fundaungo.org.sv/products/informe-final-de-observacion-electoral-elecciones-presidenciales-2019

Informe final de la Misión de Observación Electoral de la OEA para las elecciones presidenciales en El Salvador del 3 de febrero de 2019
https://www.oas.org/documents/spa/press/CP41446SINFORMEFINALELSALVADOR.pdf

Ricardo Córdova y Violeta Cubas (2019). Las elecciones presidenciales de 2019: Análisis de los resultados electorales. San Salvador, FUNDAUNGO, UCA, UDB y FLACSO Programa El Salvador. Estudio Técnico 03-2019.

https://www.fundaungo.org.sv/products/las-elecciones-presidenciales-de-2019-analisis-de-los-resultados-electorales/427