Prepared by: Paul Beck

Date: 6/10/05

Comparative National Election Project
Memo on Macro Information

Country: United States

Date of Election: November 2, 2004

Election Type (Presidential, Legislative- two chambers or one): Presidential. Legislative elections on same ballot to elect all of lower house (House of Representatives) and 1/3 of upper house (Senate)

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

1. Political Parties (Receiving at least 3% of the vote, OR electing one MP):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name In English and Own Language and Party Label</th>
<th>Ideological Family</th>
<th>European Parliament Political Group (where applicable)</th>
<th>International Organizational Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Democratic Party</td>
<td>Moderate Left Liberal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Republican Party</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
(C) Socialist Parties
(D) Social Democratic Parties
(E) Conservative Parties
(F) Left Liberal Parties
(G) Liberal Parties
(H) Right Liberal Parties
(I) Christian Democratic Parties
(J) National Parties
(K) Independents
(L) Single Issue Parties
(M) Agrarian Parties
(N) Ethnic Parties
(O) Regional Parties
(P) Other 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.
European Parliament Political Groups:
(1) European People’s Party
(2) European Democrats
(3) Party of European Socialists
(4) European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party
(5) Confederal Group of European United Left
(6) Nordic Green Left
(7) Greens
(8) European Free Alliance
(9) Europe for the Nations
(10) Europe of Democracies and Diversities
(00) Not Applicable
(98) Don’t Know

International Party Organizations:
(11) Asia Pacific Socialist Organization
(12) Caribbean Democratic Union
(13) Christian Democratic International
(14) Christian Democratic Organization of America
(15) Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
(16) Democratic Union of Africa
(17) Eastern European Social Democratic Forum
(18) Green Movement
(19) Humanist Party
(20) International Communist Union
(21) International Democrat Union
(22) International League of Democratic Socialists
(23) Liberal International
(24) Natural Law Party
(25) Pacific Democratic Union
(26) Organization of African Liberal Parties
(27) Socialist International
(28) Socialist Inter-Africa
(00) Not Applicable
(98) Don’t Know

2. Please place the parties that you have characterized according to the Gunther and Diamond 2001 typology. Please see the documents attached which include the article by Gunther and Diamond, as well as the tables, references and figure. Please note that in the figure, the lines connecting party species to their respective genus are missing.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Party Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Democratic Party</td>
<td>Catch-all electorallist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Republican Party</td>
<td>Catch-all, tending toward programmatic electorallist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Please give the complete election results for the most recent election and the previous election of the type you are analyzing.

### MOST RECENT ELECTION 2004

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Percentage of Votes</th>
<th>Parliamentary Seats</th>
<th>Lower House</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Democratic</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>Presidential¹</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Republican</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>Presidential¹</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+1 independent who votes with Democrats on procedural issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PREVIOUS ELECTION OF THE SAME TYPE 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Percentage of Votes</th>
<th>Parliamentary Seats</th>
<th>Lower House</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Democratic</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
<td>Presidential²</td>
<td>47.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Republican</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
<td>Presidential²</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Green Party</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>Presidential²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Presidential winner is candidate who receives majority of electoral votes across 50 state “districts,” with each state’s electoral votes going to state-wide popular vote plurality winner in all but one state. Each state has 2 electoral votes, then the remainder are allocated on the basis of population. In 2004, the Democrat won 252 electoral votes, the Republican 286.

² In 2000, the Democrat won 266 electoral votes, the Republican 271.
4. Ideological Positions of Parties:

Please indicate Parties A-F's positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CNEP Principal Investigator).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name in English /Label</th>
<th>Left</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Democratic</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Republican</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

4.2. Would you agree that the “Left-Right” cleavage is a meaningful concept in your country? It is OK, though meaning of left-right has changed from class-based to religion and race-based.

4.3. Are there any other relevant cleavages in your country? Where would you place each party regarding that/those cleavages? (For each cleavage fill out a table below, indicate the cleavage name, and what values 0 and 10 represent as well as each party’s position along the cleavage)

CLEAVAGE NAME:
0 = secular
10 = religious

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name in English /Label</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Democratic</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Republican</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)? For 2004 Election:

1. War on terror

2. Religiosity

3. War in Iraq

4. Economy

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

7. Electoral Alliances:

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 among parties 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, Not relevant for US two-party system
☐ Yes

If yes, please complete the following:

Alliance Name          Participant Parties (please indicate dominant members with an "*")

Alliance 1:

Alliance 2:

Alliance 3:

Alliance 4:

Alliance 5:
8. Party Leaders, Prime Ministerial and Presidential Candidates:

In legislative elections, please report the leader of each party, as well as the PM candidate.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name English and Label</th>
<th>Name of Party Leader</th>
<th>Presidential / PM Candidate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Democratic Party</td>
<td></td>
<td>John Kerry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Republican Party</td>
<td></td>
<td>George W. Bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Part II: The Media and Secondary Organisations**

In order to contextualise the information which is provided by the surveys on media use, as well as organizational memberships, we would like to ask you to provide some details concerning these intermediary organizations.

**TV**

1. **Please list the major TV networks in your country. Indicate whether these are private or publicly owned.**
   - Private: ABC, CBS, Fox, NBC + scores of cable outlets
   - Public: PBS (but very small audience)

2. **Please indicate whether you consider them to be politically neutral or politically biased. If they are biased, please indicate whether you consider them biased towards a specific party or generically left- or right-leaning.**
   - Fox is right-leaning. Others are more or less neutral.

3. **Is the political information that the networks provide high or low quality information?**
   - All have high quality (though biased for Fox) shows in terms of informational content, but they attract small audiences. Large audience news programming has declined over time.

**RADIO**

4. **Please list the major Radio channels in your country. Indicate whether these are private or publicly owned.**
   - Most radio channels are local and private, though they are now owned as subsidiaries of national corporations, such as Clear Channel which has 100s of stations. Much of programming, especially talk shows, are produced nationally and sold to local stations.
   - Most cities and university towns have public broadcasting stations, which subscribe to national programming thru Public Broadcasting Service.

5. **Please indicate whether you consider them to be politically neutral or politically biased. If they are biased, please indicate whether you consider them biased towards a specific party or generically left- or right-leaning.**
   - Most are non-political, but those in the talk radio area are generally featuring nationally syndicated programming that is right-leaning, sometimes extremely so.

6. **Is the political information that the radio channels provide high or low quality information?**
   - Generally low quality, usually news headlines only. Talk radio provides depth, but it is usually heavily ideological and conservative.

**NEWSPAPERS**
7. Please list the major Newspapers in your country. Indicate whether these are private or publicly owned.

Only USA Today, The Wall Street Journal, and The New York Times are distributed nationally on a daily basis, but each has no more than several million regular readers (in a national population of 300M). The remaining 1500 newspapers are distributed locally. All are private.

8. Please indicate whether you consider them to be politically neutral or politically biased. If they are biased, please indicate whether you consider them biased towards a specific party or generically left- or right-leaning.

Although about half of all American newspapers endorse candidates on their editorial pages, this partisanship rarely extends to news stories, which are generally neutral politically. Over time, even editorial endorsements for president have been decreasing.

9. Is the political information that the newspapers provide high or low quality information?

The leading big city dailies – NY Times, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, etc. – contain depth of high quality info provided by their own reporters. Most others rely on these reports or the Associated Press and other wire services, and their coverage is of lower quality, most often very shallow.

SECONDARY ORGANISATIONS

TRADE UNIONS

10. Please identify the major Trade Unions in your country. Describe their internal characteristics, including whether they function as closed/open shop; how the members are elected; their approximate size vis-à-vis the labour force, as well as other relevant information.

13% of American workers belong to trade unions – and the percentage has been declining steadily over time. Most unions are organized by type of job or industry with local organizations combining into national job/industry associations. 75% of all labor union members belong to unions contained in the AFL-CIO federation. Another 8% belong to the rival Teamsters federation. Where state law allows (about 21 states forbid closed shops) unions typically are closed shops. About 2 million of workers in unionized work places are not members of the prevailing union, opting out under so-called “open shop” state laws. In open shop states, workers join unions by paying dues and declaring their membership.

11. Please indicate for each Trade Union above whether it is linked to a specific party, and state its name.

AFL-CIO almost always endorses Democrats and is a powerful part of the Democratic party coalition. Teamsters are more independent of parties, having endorsed several Republicans for president in recent decades.

RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS

12. Please identify the major Religious organizations / Churches in your country. Describe their approximate size vis-à-vis the population, as well as other relevant information.
About 80% of all adults designate themselves as religious in surveys – 77% as Christians. 25% of adult Americans are Catholics, 15% are Baptists. No other denomination is claimed by more than 7% of adults. The Catholic church is centralized and hierarchial, while most others are decentralized.

13. Please indicate for each Religious organization/Church above whether it is linked to a specific party, and state its name.
   To retain their tax-free status, churches cannot be involved in politics. Yet, without officially endorsing candidates, many (e.g., Catholics and Baptists in recent years) churches have suggested how their members should vote.

OTHER RELEVANT ORGANISATIONS

14. Please give details of any other relevant secondary organizations. Describe its internal characteristics, where relevant, as well as its size, and state its political links.
   The US has well over 35,000 secondary organizations with some kind of formal status. They range in size from the 35,000,000 member America Association for Retired Persons to highly specialized local organizations. To protect their tax-free status, their political operations are organized through Political Actions Committees, which endorse and contribute money to candidates across the partisan and ideological spectrum.
**Part III: Data on Electoral Institutions**

**Definitions:** Whenever a country’s electoral system includes only one electoral formula, it is said to have one segment. Increasingly, electoral systems around the world use more than one electoral formula. In these cases, the number of segments that exist depend on whether the formulas are related for the purposes of seat allocation or not. If they are, then there is still only one segment since the formulas are integrated to some extent. That is the case in Germany. If they are not related, then each electoral formula and the districts it is applied in counts as one segment. This is the case 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).

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.

1. **How many segments are there, as defined above, in your electoral system?**
   Each house of national Congress has one segment

   Please answer the following questions (questions 2 through 7) for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature:

2. **How many primary electoral districts are there?**
   House of Representatives – 435
   Senate – 50

3. **For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from each district?**
   If district variation exists please state the average district dimension as well as its range.
   House – 1
   Senate – 2 (1 at a time in different years)

4. **Please explain in detail how votes are cast by voters. First, indicate how many votes can be cast. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated? Are votes cast for candidates, lists, or both? Finally, state whether votes are transferable.**
   House and Senate: 1 vote for each office, for candidate, not transferable.

5. **We would like you to explain exactly how votes are converted into seats. Please state the electoral formula(s) which are used. Indicate whether there is a legally mandated threshold that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats, and state what the threshold is. If there are lists, please explain their characteristics, namely whether they are open, closed or flexible.**
Single-member districts, plurality winner in all states but Louisiana, where run-off is held between top two candidates in round 1 if no majority winner. Louisiana run-off can be between candidates within same party.

**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.

Please repeat questions 2 through 5 of this section for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature.

No list in U.S.
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.

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. Please indicate who the Head of State is and how s/he is selected. If the Head of State is elected, please indicate in detail the election system. Is it a direct or indirect election? If the election is direct, how many rounds of voting are there? If there is a second round of voting how are candidates chosen for this second round? If the Head of State is elected indirectly please state the procedure involved. How is the electoral college formed? Does it deliberate? What voting procedure is used by the electoral college?
   Same as in #2. Head of Government and Head of State are same person/Office, the President.

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.

2. Please indicate who the Head of Government is and how s/he is selected. If the Head of Government is elected independently of the legislature, please indicate in detail the election system. If the Head of Government is selected after legislative elections, please indicate how it happens.
   Chief Executive is the President, who is elected independent of legislature every 4 years – whereas legislative elections occur every 2 years. Presidential winner is candidate who wins majority of state electoral votes. Each of 50 states has 2 electoral votes plus
additional votes proportional to population. In all but one state, all electoral votes go to plurality vote winner in state; Maine votes go to plurality winner in each House district.

3. **Indicate the way(s) in which the government can be dismissed, and the Legislature can be dissolved, if at all.**

   Cannot be dismissed/dissolved except through regular election – every 4 years for President, every 2 years for House of Representatives, every 2 years for 1/3 of Senators. Individual members of legislature and President can be removed through impeachment and conviction.

In some countries, the Legislature has two Chambers. We would like to obtain the following information regarding the organization of the Legislature in your country:

4. **Please indicate whether there is a second chamber in your country, and explain briefly the way it is formed, i.e. whether through direct or indirect election.**

   Second chamber, the Senate, is directly elected within each of 50 state constituencies. Each state has 2 Senators, who serve staggered 6-year terms.

5. **How would you describe the actual legislative powers of the Second Chamber:**

   ‘A’ is the correct answer since all bills have to pass in both chambers to become law.

   a. Equal to those of the first Chamber
   b. Less than those of the first Chamber but still substantial
   c. Unable to make substantial alterations in legislation, but some minor improvements in bills are often proposed
   d. Effectively powerless.

8. Please indicate if there is a constitutionally guaranteed division of power between the central government and regional and/or local governments? Does the central government have the power to remove elected officials of regional and/or local governments?

   United States has federal system, with powers divided between national and state governments. Central government cannot remove lower-level officials.
Part VI: References.

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

- Statistical Abstract of the United States

- CIA World Factbook (www.cia.gov/publications/factbook) — good source for all countries