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

Country: PERU

Date of Election: April 9 / June 4 2006

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".)

Name of Political Party	Number of Portfolios
Perú Posible	4
Independents	12

1a. What was the size of the cabinet before the election?
15 + Prime Minister (Presidente del Consejo de Ministros)

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").

Name of Political Party	Number of Portfolios
Partido Aprista Peruano	5+1 (Prime Minister)
Renovación Nacional	1
Independents	9

2a. What was the size of the cabinet after the election?
15 + Prime Minister (Presidente del Consejo de Ministros)

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

Note: We are only qualifying the parties that reached the electoral threshold in the last elections. The remaining parties have no significant role in Peruvian politics.

PARTY NAME	YEAR FOUNDED	IDEOLOGICAL FAMILY	INTERNATIONAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP
A. Unión por el Perú UPP /Partido Nacionalista Peruano PNP	1994 / 2005	J	
B. Partido Aprista Peruano	1924	D	27
C. Partido Popular Cristiano (Unidad Nacional)	1965	I	13
D. Alianza por el Futuro	2005	K	
E. Acción Popular	1956	Centrist party	
F. Restauración Nacional	2005	K	
G. Perú Posible	1999	K	

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   (98) Don't Know
(00) Not Applicable

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

UPP- Partido Nacionalista
Restauración Nacional

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

Frente Independiente Moralizador

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

NO

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. Uniòn Por el Perú-Partido Nacionalista Peruano				x							
B. Partido Aprista Peruano							x				
C. Partido Popular Cristiano - Unidad Nacional								x			
D. Alianza por el Futuro									x		
E. Acción Popular							x				
F. Restauración Nacional							x				
G. Perú Posible							x				

The meaning of left and right is not the same as it was. Positions toward issues as privatization of State owned enterprises or services are to be considered, as well as on exoneration of taxes to foreign investment in mining. The support of the Free Trade Agreement between USA and Perú is also an issue, and labor laws.
In terms of cleavage, the emergence of Ollanta Humala as a candidate under the label of Unión por el Perú UPP and Partido Nacionalista Peruano PNP resulted in a division of votes between the Highlands and the Coast, nationalists and free market, Capital City and modern central economy, vs the relegated provinces.

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

YES

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.

Name of dimension:

   Label for left hand position:

   Label for right hand position:

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

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

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)?

- Rise of a new outsider in Peruvian politics who held a nationalistic discourse: Ollanta Humala.
- Media campaign against a candidate: Ollanta Humala
- Despite an important cycle of economic growth (since 2001 thru 2006), the outgoing government finished its mandate with very little popular support, contributing to the delegitimization of politics in Peru.
- Social inequalities became major issue in campaign
- Deep regional inequalities in terms of economic development

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
X   Yes

If yes, please complete the following:

Alliance Name	Participant Parties (please indicate dominant members with an "*")
UPP-Partido Nacionalista Peruano	Unión por el Perú / Partido Nacionalista Peruano*
Unidad Nacional	Partido Popular Cristiano* / Partido Solidaridad Nacional / Renovación Nacional
Frente de Centro	Acción Popular* / Somos Perú / Coordinadora Nacional de Independientes
Alianza por el Futuro	Cambio 90 / Nueva Mayoría / Sí Cumple*

7. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates:

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

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

Party of Candidate	Name of Presidential Candidate
A. UPP/Partido Nacionalista Peruano	Ollanta Humala Tasso
B. Partido Aprista Peruano	Alan García Pérez
C. Unidad Nacional	Lourdes Flores Nano
D. Alianza por el Futuro	Martha Chávez
E. Frente de Centro	Valentín Paniagua Corazao
F. Restauración Nacional	Humberto Lay Sun
Parties and candidates below didn't reach a significant % of votes in the last elections	
Concertación Descentralista	Susana Villarán
Justicia Nacional	Jaime Salinas
Partido Socialista	Javier Diez Canseco
Alianza Para el Progreso	Natale Amprimo
Con Fuerza Perú	Pedro Koechlin von Stein
Movimiento Nueva Izquierda	Alberto Moreno
Fuerza Democrática	Alberto Borea
Avanza País	Ulises Humala
Renacimiento Andino	Ciro Gálvez
Progresemos Perú	Javier Espinoza
Reconstrucción Democrática	José Cardó Guarderas
Resurgimiento Peruano	Ántero Asto
Y se llama Perú	Ricardo Wong
Luis Guerrero	Perú Ahora

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?
        X   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:

2. How many primary electoral districts are there?
25

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

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).

District	Number of Members
Amazonas	2
Ancash	5
Apurímac	2
Arequipa	5
Ayacucho	3
Cajamarca	5
Callao	4
Cusco	5
Huancavelica	2
Huánuco	3
Ica	4
Junín	5
La Libertad	7
Lambayeque	5
Lima and voters living in other countries	35
Loreto	3
Madre de Dios	1
Moquegua	2
Pasco	2
Piura	6
Puno	5
San Martín	3
Tacna	2
Tumbes	2
Ucayali	2

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		One					
Segments	Number	1	2	3 or more	1	2	3 or more
Primary Districts	Number	25					
	No. of members*	120					
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?
The vote is mandatory   (for citizens between 18 and 70 years old), personal, equal and secret.
The voter has to go to the electoral center with his DNI (National Identification Document).
He/she receives a ballot and cast two votes: presidential and parliamentary, inside a secret chamber.
The ballot is a single sheet of paper with the name of all the party symbols and names of candidates for the presidency in the first part, and in the second one, the symbols for the Congress election, with two boxes to write down the number of the preferred candidates. This last step is optional.

6a. How many votes do they or can they cast?
One for President. But they can choose two candidates for Congress.
- Presidential
- Parliament

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

- Presidential: candidates
- Parliament: lists or candidates. There is double preferential vote but it is optional.

7. Are the votes transferable?
No.

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

9. Are there any other features of voting that should be noted?

The members of the voting stations are selected by lot among the competent citizens (three per
voting stations). The average size of voting stations is 200 citizens and there are around 90,000
voting stations in the country. Ballots are counted in each voting station at the end of the
election's day, then an official voting report is issued in each voting station and the physical
ballots are destroyed. The official count in computer centers is done adding the votes reported in
the official voting reports.

C. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

10. Exactly how are votes converted into seats?
President: Direct election

Parliament:
a) The number of valid votes obtained is determined by each list of candidates.
b) The total of valid votes obtained for each list is divided into 1, 2, 3, etc, depending on the
number of congress man/woman that must be elected.
c) The partial quotients are put in descendent order, until having a number of quotients equal to
de number of congress man/woman that must be elected. The quotient in the last place will be
the distributing number.
d) The total of valid votes of each list is divided into the distributing number to establish de
number of congress man/woman correspondent to each one of them.
e) The number of congress man/woman of each list is defined by the whole number part of the
quotient obtained. If the number of congress man/woman is not reached the one who has the
biggest decimal part is elected.
f) If there is tie, a draw between de candidates with equal number of votes must be done.

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?

A threshold of 4% or five candidates of a list elected in two or more different electoral districts
was imposed for the general elections of 2006. For the next election (2011) the threshold will be
5% or six candidates of a list elected in two or more electoral districts.

10b. What electoral formula or formulas are used?
The distributing number system: the D´Hondt method (with the series of divisors) with a final
step added.

11. If there are lists, are they closed, open, or flexible?
> ❑ closed
> ❑ flexible, but in practice virtually closed
> ❑ <mark>flexible</mark>
> ❑ flexible, but in practice virtually open
> ❑ open

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 11 of this section for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature.

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?

National registered parties may form an alliance with any other registered party. In the electoral districts, regional parties may form an alliance with national parties.

12a. Can parties run joint lists?
> <mark>X Yes</mark>
> ❑ No

12b.   Is there apparentement or linking of lists
> ❑ Yes
> ❑ <mark>No</mark>

12c. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?
> ❑ <mark>Yes</mark>
> ❑ 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?
> ❑ <mark>Yes</mark>
> ❑ No

12e. Other?

13. Are joint lists possible?
Yes.

13a. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists?
For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc.
No.

14. 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?
❑   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?
- 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)

2a. If by direct election, by what process?
- ❑   Plurality election
- X   Run-off or two-ballot system
- ❑   Other (Explain)

2a1. If by run-off system, how are the candidates selected for the final round?
X <mark>The 2 candidates with the highest vote totals advance to the second round</mark>

❑ 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?
<mark>X Yes</mark>
❑ 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
<mark>X   No</mark>

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
- X   Yes, and the requirement to override the veto is:

The observations about laws must be done by de President in the next 15 days they are presented to him. After being reconsidered by the Congress, the President promulgates the law with the vote of more than a half of members of Congress. (Article 180, Constitution).

3d. Partial veto?
- X   No
- ❑   Yes, and the requirement to override the veto is:

3e. Issue decrees with the power of law?
- X   Yes
- ❑   No

3f. Emergency powers?
- X   Yes
- ❑   No

3g. Negotiate treaties and international agreements?
- ❑   No
- X   Yes, provided the following additional requirements are met:

The President can celebrate or ratify treaties without the approval of the Congress if they are about issues not concerning to: human rights, sovereignty or integrity of State, national defense, financial obligations of the State.

3h. Commander of the armed forces?
- X Yes
- ❑   No

3i. Initiate referenda or plebiscites?
- ❑   Yes
- X   No

3j. Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality?
- X   Yes
- ❑   No

3k. Convene special legislative sessions?
- X   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?
- X   Yes
- ❑   No

4a. Is the Head of Government also the Head of State?
- X   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.
- X   Names ministers and assigns portfolios alone
- ❑   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 (Please explain):

 6. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the policy making process?
Please 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
- X   Refers legislative proposals to party or legislative committees
- X   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:
- x   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
- X   By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Please explain):
- ❑   Other (Please explain):

The president can change the cabinet (entirely or partially) at any moment. All motion of censure against the cabinet or one minister must be presented by no less than 25% of the legal number of congress man/woman. The motion must be debated and voted between the 4th and the 10th natural day of its presentation. Its approval requires the vote of more than a half of the legal number of members of the Congress (Article 132, Constitution). If the censure is against the Prime Minister all the cabinet is dismissed. If the Primer Minister resigns by his own, all the cabinet is dismissed.

D.   QUESTIONS REGARDING THE LEGISLATURE

8. Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections?
No   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):

The Congress can not be dissolved in its last year of mandate.

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):

The President is allowed to dissolve the Congress if it has censured two cabinets or has denied them the trust. With the decree of dissolution, the President must present the extraordinary call to elections for a new Congress.

❑   Other (Explain):

10. Is there a second chamber of the legislature? No_X_   Yes_____, it is:
❑   directly elected
❑   indirectly elected through the following process:

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):

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?
   X   Yes
   ❑   No

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

Jurado Nacional de Elecciones (www.jne.gob.pe)
Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales (www.onpe.gob.pe)
Constitución Política del Perú 1993