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Comparative National Election Project
Memo on Macro Information

Country: Spain

Date of Election: March 14, 2004

Election Type (Presidential, Legislative- two chambers or one): Parliamentary (two chambers, Congreso de los Diputados [Congress of Deputies] and Senado [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):

Party Name In English and Own Language and Party Label	Ideological Family	European Parliament Political Group (where applicable)	International Organizational Membership
A. Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)	Socialist (center-left)	Party of European Socialists	Socialist International
B. Partido Popular	Conservative	European People's Party	Democrat and People's Parties International
C. Izquierda Unida	Coalition (inc. Communist Party)	Party of the European Left	--
D. Convergència i Unió	Catalan nationalist (center-right)	Unió Democràtica de Catalunya: European People's Party Convergencia Democrática de Catalunya: European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party	Democrat and People's Parties International Liberal Internacional
E. Partido Nacionalista Vasco	Basque nationalist (center-right)	European Democratic Party	Alliance of American and European Democrats
F. Esquerra	Catalan	European Free Alliance	--

Republicana de Catalunya	nationalist/ Radical left		

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.
[Gunther, and Diamond, (2003), "Species of Political Parties: A New Typology", in *Party Politics*, vol.9, no.2., pp. 167-199]

Party Name In English and Own Language and Party Label	Party Type
A. PSOE (Spanish Socialist Worker Party—Partido Socialist Obrero Español	Catch-all
B. PP (Partido Popular—Popular Party)	Programmatic (but in 1993 was catch-all)
C. IU (Izquierda Unida—United Left)	Programmatic
D. . CiU (Convergència i Unió—Convergence and Union)	Pluralist-Nationalist
E. PNV (Partido Nacionalista Vasco—Basque Nationalist Party)	Pluralist-Nationalist
F. ERC (Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya—Republican Left of Catalonia)	Pluralist-Nationalist/ UltraNationalist

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- 14 March 2004

Party Name	Percentage of Votes	Parliamentary Seats
A. PSOE	42.59	164
B. PP	37.71	148
C. IU	4.96	5
D. CiU	3.23	10
E. PNV	1.63	7

PREVIOUS ELECTION OF THE SAME TYPE – 12 March 2000

Party Name	Percentage of Votes	Parliamentary Seats
A. PSOE	34.16	125
B. PP	44.52	183
C. IU	5.45	8
D. CiU	4.19	15
E. PNV	1.53	7

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.

Party Name in English /Label	**Left**										**Right**
	0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**
A. PSOE (shifting to left)					X						
B. PP (shifted to right)								X			
C. IU			X								
D. CiU						X					
E. PNV							X				
F. ERC			X								

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

Yes. Note that PSOE is probably now at position 3. Prior to 2004 election it was clearly at 4. PP would have been around 6 in 1993, but could now be as far as 8.

4.2. Would you agree that the "Left-Right" cleavage is a meaningful concept in your country?

Yes.

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: Regional/cultural nationalist
0 =
10 =

Party Name in English /Label											
	0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**
A. PSOE (Spanish, but with its Catalan branch dominated by Catalan nationalists)						X					
B. PP (increasingly Spanish nationalist)									X		
C. IU (Spanish, with Basque and Catalan regional branches adopting regional nationalist stands)			X								
D. CiU (Catalan nationalist)					X						
E. PNV (Basque nationalist)			X								
F. ERC (Catalan nationalist)		X									

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. The terrorist attacks of March 11 (three days before the election) AND the bizarre behavior of the governing PP following the attacks (i.e., denying Islamist origins and insisting instead—in the face of growing mountains of evidence—that this was an attack by ETA Basque terrorists, in a highly partisan effort to avoid blaming for the government's aggressive policy on the Irak war). This unexpected event became additionally relevant because one of the strategies of the PP during the election campaign was to use antiterrorism as a partisan *valence issue* against the PSOE, accusing it of being incapable of fighting terrorism, if not of collaborating with one of the so-called "friends of terrorism" (i.e., the ERC, which was part of a coalition government in Catalonia along with the Catalan branch of the PSOE).

2. The war in Iraq. The Aznar (PP) government's sending of troops to Iraq and its staunch support for Bush foreign policy was extremely unpopular with the overwhelming majority of Spaniards.

3. The economy was doing well, retaining support for governing PP.

4. Regional/nationalist issues, another *valence issue* for non-nationalist parties, depicting the PP government, on the one hand, and all other parties (from the radical, anti-system Basque Herri Batasuna to most nationalist and/or regionalist parties), including at the forefront the PSOE, on the other, about the unity of Spain, etc.

5. A secondary set of issues was the need to increase social welfare spending, broadening of the civil rights of homosexuals, including the right to marry and to adopt children. This was part of a strategy by the PSOE to capitalize on negative popular evaluations of the PP with regard to its increasingly conservative social policies, and to reinforce the PSOE's image as defender of civil liberties.

5. 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?

- Short-term electoral alliances occur very rarely, and most commonly in regional and above all in European elections. The most important forms of interparty alliance are durable, long-term alliances that constitute CiU (the principal Catalan nationalist political force—dominated by the CDC party) and IU (the principal nationwide party of the left, with the Partido Comunista de España—the Spanish Communist party—as the largest unitary party within a heterogeneous coalition of leftists and postmaterialist groups).

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.

Party Name English and Label	Name of Party Leader	Presidential / PM Candidate
A. PSOE—Socialist Party	José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero	Same
B. PP—Popular Party	Mariano Rajoy *	Same
C. IU—United Left	Gaspar Llamazares	Same
D. CiU—(catalan nationalist party)	Artur Mas	Josep Antoni Duran i Lleida
E. PNV (Basque Nationalist Party)	Juan José Imaz	Josu Iñaki Erkoreka
F. ERC (catalan nationalist)	Josep Lluís Carod Rovira	Joan Puigcercós

* In September, 2003, six months prior to the election, prime minister [Presidente del Gobierno] José María Aznar announced that he would not stand as the PP's candidate (having previously promised that he would only serve two terms). He designated as his successor both as candidate for prime minister and as party leader Mariano Rajoy, who had been a member of Aznar's governments ever since 1996.

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.

TVE1	Public
La 2	Public
Antena 3	Private
Canal +	Private
Telecinco	Private
Regional	Public (operated by regional governments)

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.

TVE1	pro-PP (then-governing party)
La2	neutral
Antena 3	pro-PP
Canal+	pro-PSOE
Telecinco	neutral
Regional	pro-regional-party in each region

3. Is the political information that the networks provide high or low quality information?

TVE1	high quality
La 2	high
Antena 3	medium
Canal+	high
Telecinco	high
Regional	medium to low

RADIO

4. Please list the major Radio channels in your country. Indicate whether these are private or publicly owned.

Ser	private
Cope	private
RNE	public
Onda Cero	private
Cadena 100	private

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.

Ser	pro-PSOE
Cope	pro-PP
RNE	pro-PP (then governing party)
Onda Cero	pro-PP
Cadena 100	pro-PP

6. Is the political information that the radio channels provide high or low quality information?

Ser	high
Cope	medium
RNE	high
Onda Cero	medium
Cadena 100	medium

NEWSPAPERS

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

All (listed below) 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.

El País	pro-PSOE
El Mundo	pro-PP
ABC	pro-PP
La Razón	pro-PP
La Vanguardia	pro-CiU
El Periódico	pro-PSOE (catalan branch, PSC/PSOE)
Avuí	pro-ERC or CIU (catalan nationalist)
La Voz de Galicia	pro-PP
Diario Vasco	pro-PP
Correo Vasto	pro-PP
Deia	pro-PNV (owned by this Basque nationalist party)
Egin	pro-Batasuna (political front for ETA terrorist organization)

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

El País	high
El Mundo	high
ABC	high
La Razón	tabloid
La Vanguardia	high
El Periódico	high
Avuí	medium
La Voz de Galicia	medium
Diario Vasco	medium
Correo Vasco	medium
Deia	low
Egin	low

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.

Spain is an "open shop" country. No worker is compelled to join a trade union, but all workers in each firm have the right to vote to elect their union representatives in collective

bargaining. This creates an incentive to be a "free rider" and largely accounts for low levels of trade union membership (approximately 15% of the labor force in 2000).

Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.—"Workers Committees"). This union emerged out of the Franco regime's corporatist system of "vertical syndicates" to which all workers and managers were compelled to belong, and which were dominated by the regime through the Labor ministry and the extensive Organización Sindical. However, following the regime's introduction of elections of shop stewards in 1966, the elected "workers committees" were increasingly dominated by nominees of the clandestine Communist party (PCE—Partido Comunista de España). The CC.OO. emerged from the Franco regime as the largest trade union. While majorities of members of the union's executive committees were Communists, the CC.OO. was never officially linked to the PCE. Nonetheless, both in the founding election of 1977 and in the 1979 election (when both the CC.OO. and the PCE reached their "high-water mark" of popular support and membership), the union did serve as an effective "transmission belt" of support for the party. The crisis of the PCE that began in 1982 (when its representation in the Congress of Deputies fell from 23 to 4), and the serious erosion of union membership that began in the late 1970s (reversed by increased union membership beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s) began to weaken this party-union tie. Today, the Comisiones Obreras could no longer be described as a Communist-dominated union.

Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT—General Union of Workers). The UGT was formally linked to the PSOE from the very founding of the party in 1878. While the UGT (unlike the UK Labour Party) was not officially represented within the structure of the party itself, the fact that all party members were compelled to join the UGT meant that the party dominated the union, with the membership of provincial executive committees of the party and the union overlapping considerably. The UGT emerged from clandestinity as the second-largest union in the late 1970s, but has subsequently overtaken the CC.OO. Initially, it did function effectively as a transmission belt of working-class support for the party, but even in the 1970s the somewhat coercive nature of the relationship between the UGT and the PSOE gave rise to resentment and tensions between party and union. The adoption by the PSOE governments of Felipe González (1982-1993) of strict monetary policies and aggressive "industrial restructuring" policies (in which tens of thousands of workers lost their jobs as the result of the closure of inefficient parastate factories, particularly in heavy industry) led to overt conflict between the UGT and the PSOE. By the mid-to-late 1980s, this led to a complete breakdown of the formal party/union relationship, and the UGT collaborated closely with the CC.OO. organizing a nationwide, and successful, general strike in 1988.

With the decline of PCE domination of the CC.OO. and the rupture of the century-long relationship between the PSOE and UGT, the specific partisanship of these unions has weakened substantially, and the two unions have begun to cooperate and pool infrastructural resources with each other.

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

See above.

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.

Under the Franco regime (1939-1975), Spain was a confessional state, and as recently as 1966, about 70% of Spaniards regarded themselves as "very good Catholics" or "practicing Catholics." However, even prior to Franco's death, the Church entered into a protracted process of organizational decline (as manifested in a collapse of recruitment to theological seminaries and subsequent decline in the number of priests of crisis proportions). And since the 1970s, Spain has undergone a profound process of secularization: by the turn of the 21st century, only about 30% of Spaniards described themselves as "very good" or "practicing" Catholics, while the share of "non-practicing Catholics," atheists or "indifferent" increased from 12% in 1970 to about 40% in numerous surveys.

While the Church explicitly supported Franco in the Civil War (1936-1939) and provided strong and badly needed support for the authoritarian regime that followed, by the 1960s some sectors of the Church began to distance itself from the regime. The Workers' Brotherhood of Catholic Action (HOAC) even functioned as de facto trade union organizations in the early 1960s, fomenting illegal strikes against the regime and the exploitation of workers. In the mid-1970s, the Church adopted a strictly neutral stance throughout the transition to democracy, and did not give support or endorsements to any political party (thereby making a major contribution to the consolidation of Spanish democracy). In return, party elites scrupulously avoided taking potentially polarizing stands on religious issues. While analysis of post-election surveys in the late 1970s and early 1980s indicated that the "historical memory" of the traditionally divisive religious cleavage (a primary cause of the civil war of 1936-1939) substantially affected electoral behavior (separating the traditionally anti-clerical Socialist and Communist parties from the more conservative AP [Alianza Popular-- now PP] and the now-defunct UCD [which governed from 1977 until its collapse in 1982]), analysis of our 1993 survey indicated that the religious cleavage had declined greatly in its impact on the vote.

All of this changed greatly following the election victory of the PP in 2000. While the first Aznar government (1996-2000), which lacked a parliamentary majority and depended on legislative support from centrist regional parties, adopted moderate policies, the securing of an absolute parliamentary majority in 2000 was followed by a notable radicalization. Divisive religious themes appeared in harsh attacks on the Socialist opposition, and many conservative policies (such as the reintroduction of religious instruction into public schools by the PP government, the increased flows of State Budget revenues to the Church, the imposition of religious-based constraints on scientific research—regarding stem cells, etc.) effectively revived the religious cleavage as a component in partisan conflict.

13. Please indicate for each Religious organization/Church above whether it is linked to a specific party, and state its name.

See above. There are no formal or institutional links between the Church and any party. However, the embrace of divisive religious themes by the PP beginning in 2000 reversed three decades of *rapprochement* between the Church and parties of the left. The marked rightward shift of the Roman Catholic Church under Pope John Paul II contributed to this development, but the conscious choice by Aznar to repoliticize the traditionally divisive religious cleavage appears to be the principal cause of this development.

Subsequently, the Socialist government of Rodríguez Zapatero has faced massive public demonstrations, coordinated by the leaders of the PP and the Episcopal Conference (made up of the bishops and Cardinals of the church in Spain), against the government's education policies and its return to the *status quo ante* with regard to religious instruction in schools, and its legalization of marriage among persons of the same sex. For the first time in Spanish history, bishops actively participated in street demonstrations against the government.

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.

Aside from trade unions (see above), the next most important organization engaged regularly in public policy debates is the Confederación Española de Organizaciones Empresariales (CEOE), which represents small, medium and big business, and practically exercises a monopoly of that representational function.

There are also thousands of smaller organizations to which citizens belong. However, levels of organizational membership and participation in Spain are quite low, compared to secondary-association participation levels in most other Western European countries. While affiliation levels have increased in recent years, only about 40 percent of Spaniards claim to belong to a formal group, and only about a third say they are active in its activities. Only one fifth contribute money to secondary organizations, and only one out of six works for it on a voluntary basis.

Those organizations which attract the largest number of members are sports groups, charities or social assistance groups, cultural organizations, parent-teacher organizations, union organizations, old-persons' and pensioners' groups, and groups committed to the defence of human rights and humanitarian activities. Those groups that report the highest levels of active participation by their members are those relating to sports, culture and education.

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?

One. However, the Congress of Deputies and the Senate have completely different electoral systems.

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

Since the Senate is a powerless body and our CNEP surveys do not even include a question concerning respondents' votes for the Senate, information is provided only for elections to the Congress of Deputies.

2. How many primary electoral districts are there?

Except for the North African enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla (which elect one Deputy each), the 50 provinces function as primary election districts (with a *de facto* minimum of three Deputies elected from each province).

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.

Districts range in size from 3 to 34 deputies; the mean magnitude is 6.7, among the lowest in Europe for countries with one-tier proportional electoral systems. Only two districts (Madrid and Barcelona) elect over 30 Deputies, and another four districts elect over ten seats; they belong to what might be labeled as the *proportional* electoral sub-system. These 6 districts (12% of the nationwide total of 52) elect 115 Deputies (33% of the 350 in the Congreso), and have a mean magnitude of 19.2. At the other extreme, 28 districts (54%) elect only 109 deputies (31%); their mean magnitude is 3.9, and they belong to what has been termed as the *plurality* sub-system. Finally, the remaining 18 so-called *intermediate* districts (35%) elect 126 Deputies (33%), and their mean magnitude is 7.4.

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.

Voters cast one non-transferable vote for closed and blocked lists of candidates.

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.

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.

Votes for closed lists of candidates are allocated according to the D'Hondt electoral formula. There is a 3% minimum threshold, but since it is applied at the provincial level it has no impact (except potentially only in two districts—Madrid and Barcelona, which each elect over 30 deputies). [Note: if the 3% minimum were applied to the national-level total of votes, regional nationalist parties would have been excluded from parliament.]

The combination of the systematic malapportionment (by which smaller districts, located within rural and sparsely populated areas, are overrepresented in their ratio of population to seats), the predominance of small districts (in which disproportionality is the rule regarding the votes/seats ratio), and the mild majoritarian advantages of the D'Hondt formula at the district level produces two complementary biases. The most important is the strong majoritarian bias that leads to overrepresentation of the two largest nationwide parties (and much more so for the largest party) and to the elimination of small parties with geographically dispersed bases of electoral support. However, small regionalist or nationalist parties that concentrate their votes in specific geographical areas receive fair representation (or are slightly overrepresented when they are able to become the largest parties in small districts). The second bias is more explicitly partisan, and favors conservative parties. Given the overrepresentation of rural, conservative regions, large parties of the center-right and right (UCD and PP) have benefited disproportionately from this majoritarian sub-system.

In short, the majoritarian tendency of this electoral system has had as its most important systemic impact the reduction of party-system fragmentation. This has benefited, at one time or another, both of the two largest parties (Socialists, on one hand, and UCD or PP, on the other), while the malapportionment that overrepresents rural areas has had a conservative partisan impact insofar as it benefits more the conservative major parties.

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?**

   The Head of State is a hereditary king, currently Juan Carlos I.

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.

The Head of Government is the leader of the largest party in the Congress of Deputies. The Presidente del Gobierno ("President of the Government"—prime minister) is invested by an absolute majority vote on the first ballot in the Congress of Deputies, but may be elected on the second ballot by a mere plurality. Only the Presidente del Gobierno (i.e., not the members of his/her Government as individual ministers or collectively) depends on this vote of investiture or can be removed from office by a motion of no-confidence.

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

Spain has adopted the German-style "constructive motion of no-confidence." A prime minister can only be removed from office by an absolute majority of members of the Congress of Deputies through a vote that simultaneously designates his/her successor. The impossibility of meeting that latter criterion in a parliament whose members range from very conservative members of the PP to Communists, and from Basque and Catalan nationalists to Spanish nationalists, has meant that only two motions of no-confidence have been introduced throughout the current democratic era, and that none has succeeded. That, coupled with the requirement of a mere plurality of parliamentary support in a second ballot regarding Investiture of a new prime minister, has facilitated extremely high levels of cabinet durability by single-party governments even when the governing party has lacked a parliamentary majority (which has been true of five of Spain's nine democratic governments).

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.

Four Senators are elected from each of Spain's 50 provinces. Voters cast three ballots for candidates on open lists. An additional 48 Senators are appointed by the parliaments of Spain's 19 Autonomous Communities.

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

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.**

The Senate ranges between categories c and d.

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?

Each of Spain's 19 *Comunidades Autónomas* ("Autonomous Communities" or regional governments) is governed by its own autonomy statute (*Estatuto*), as envisaged in Title 8 of the Constitution of 1978. Voters within those regions cast ballots to elect members to regional parliaments who, in turn, cast votes of investiture to establish regional governments. While these autonomy statutes vary substantially, the structures and procedures of parliamentary government at the regional level are similar to those at the national level. Similarly, elections are held within Spain's 8,000 *ayuntamientos* to elect city councils and, in turn, mayors (*alcaldes*). To date, regional elections have not been coterminous with national parliamentary elections, but they are held at the same time as municipal elections in most regions of Spain. The central government does not have the authority to remove office-holders at either the regional or municipal level.

A vestigial provincial level of government, however, is located between the Autonomous Communities and municipalities. Under Franco, these were administratively significant. However, since the creation of powerful regional governments throughout Spain, these *Diputaciones Provinciales* perform few, but still significant functions. The presidents of the *Diputaciones Provinciales* are elected by provincial deputies, who are, in turn, appointed by the city councils (*ayuntamientos*) to which they belong

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.

Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero, and Joan Botella, *Democracy in Modern Spain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004).