

## **Macro-level Data needed for CNEP II Uruguay**

### **1. Structure of national government**

Uruguay has a semi-presidential regime since the 1967 Constitution.

The Executive has exclusive initiative in some subjects, like taxes, and the Parliament can modify the legislative proposals of the government, but the Executive has the possibility of "veto" for the parliament changes.

The CNEP survey focus the 1994 National Election that included the Presidential election, the Parliamentary elections and the Local Governments.

All of these candidates was choosen simultaneously and the voters had to vote only for one political party.

It was forbidden to vote different political parties for each candidature.

Now the electoral law has changed, with the 1996 Constitutional reform, and the national elections includes four different instances.

First, in April there is a primary election to select the Presidential candidate of each political party (we have only one presidential candidate of each political party now, but the former electoral system allowed the political parties to have several candidates for the presidency).

Second, we have the National Election of the Parliament in October and the first round to select the President.

Third, in November, we have the second round between the two candidates that obtained the best electoral support.

And fourth, in May of the next year we have the elections for the Local Governments.

Uruguayan legislature is bicameral. The Senate is composed by 31 Senators, elected at the National level and the Representative Chamber is composed by 99 legislators, elected by the different Departamentos (similar to Provinces).

Both chambers work in a similar way in the legislative function. Every law must be aproved by the Senate and the Representative Chamber.

There is only one difference, the Senate has to aprove the nomination of the Directory of the Public Enterprises and the Officials of the Armed Forces.

Uruguay has a centralized state structure. It's a small and very homogeneous country without relevant social cleavages, and that's why it's not necessary the federal structure.

Uruguay is divided in 19 Departamentos, that are similar to Provinces. We have a departmental government in each Departamento.

They don't have a lot of power, and don't receive many resources. Departamental Governments can extract only specific taxes, specially included in the Constitution, and they have only limited subjects to rule.

## **2. Electoral law.**

The uruguayan electoral system is proportional.

The Senate is composed by 31 Senators; 30 of them are elected in an unique national circumscription according to a proportional rule. The thirty first Senator is the Vice president and he integrates the Senate giving to the President's party an extra vote in the chamber.

The Chamber of Diputies is composed by 99 Diputies that are elected according to a proportional rule, then each political party obtains as many members of the chamber as votes they have.

The uruguayan electoral system is one of the most proportional system of the world.

The most salient features of the uruguayan electoral system are:

1. Proportional rule to integrate the parliament.
2. The electoral districts varies according to the population. The smallest is Flores that has two diputies and the largest is Montevideo that has 44 diputies. Most of the electoral districts have two or three diputies.
3. There is not a minimum-vote requirement to obtain representation in the Parliament.

There is not bias in the political parties distribution of the seats at the Parliament.

Each political party gets so many seats as its electoral percentage.

For example, in 1994 the Colorado Party obtained 32% of the votes and this party has 11 Senators and 32 Diputies; the National Party obtained 31% of the votes and has 10 Senators and 31 Diputies; Frente Amplio obtained 30,5% of the votes and has 9 Senators and 31 Diputies; and Nuevo Espacio obtained 5% of the votes and has 1 Senator in 31 and 5 Diputies.

## **3. Social cleavages.**

Uruguay is a very homogeneous country and we don't have significant social cleavages.

We can only indicate the difference between Montevideo, the capital town, and the rest of the country, called "Interior".



High quality TV channels: Three private TV channels daily news.

### 5. Basic nature of campaign.

Almost every commercial advertising is paid in radio, papers and TV.

Free air time is provided for presidential candidates of each political party previous to the election. The format of free air time presentations is free. Most of them are very bored candidate's talkings.

There is not a regulatory commission to oversee the conduct of the campaign. Everything is free.

### 6. Basic election data.

#### Percent of electoral abstention (1971-1994)

	<b>Electorate</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Abstention</b>
1971 National Election	1.878.132	1.658.368	11.4%
1984 National Election	2.197.503	1.930.931	12.1%
1989 National Election	2.319.022	2.056.355	11.3%
1994 National Election	2.330.154	2.118.760	9.1%

#### Percent of blank or spoiled ballots (1971-1994)

	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Blank or spoiled ballots</b>
1971 National Election	1.658.368	45.955 (2.8%)
1984 National Election	1.930.931	44.569 (2.3%)
1989 National Election	2.056.355	85.769 (4.2%)
1994 National Election	2.118.760	89.401 (4.2%)

#### Percent of valid votes for each party (1971-1994)

	<b>1971</b>	<b>1984</b>	<b>1989</b>	<b>1994</b>
Partido Colorado	41	41	39	32.3
Partido Nacional	40.2	35	30.2	31.2
Frente Amplio	18.3	21.5	21.2	30.6
Nuevo Espacio	---	---	9	5.2
Others	0.5	2.5	0.6	0.7
Total	100	100	100	100

**Percent of total seats in legislature for each party (1971-1994)**

	1971		1984		1989		1994	
	Sen	Dip	Sen	Dip	Sen	Dip	Sen	Dip
Partido Colorado	14	41	14	41	9	39	11	32
Partido Nacional	12	40	11	35	13	30	10	31
Frente Amplio	5	18	6	21	7	21	9	31
Nuevo Espacio	---	---	---	2	9	1	5	
Others	---	---	---	2	---	---	---	---

**7. Female participation in the labor force**

**Evolution of economically active female rate**

Year	%
1963	23.9
1975	27.7
1984	39.4
1994	45.5

**Economically active female rate (1994)**

Age	Total	Economically active	Actively employed
14 - 19	100	31.8	18.4
20 - 24	100	62.4	54.3
25 - 29	100	65.8	63.2
30 - 39	100	66.4	64.9
40 - 49	100	63.5	63.9
50 - 59	100	43.3	47.1
60 and over	100	8.8	10.1

**Level of education achieved by females by age cohorts (1994)**

Age	WithoutBasic education	Secondary education	Superior education
12 - 14	0.3	25.7	73.8
15 - 19	0.1	12.7	80.8
20 - 24	0.5	15.6	58.9
25 - 29	0.6	22.6	51.1
30 - 34	0.7	25	52.8
35 - 39	0.8	30.1	51.7
40 - 44	1.3	39.8	44
45 - 49	1.2	46.7	37.8
50 - 54	1.5	61.2	34.3
55 - 59	3.9	62.9	25.1
60 and over	8.3	71.2	14.5

## **8. Secondary associations**

### **(1) The structure of trade unions and their relationship with political parties.**

It's not mandatory for workers employed by an unionized firm to become members of trade unions.

There is a peak trade union at the national level that is called PIT-CNT (Plenario Intersindical de Trabajadores - Convención Nacional de Trabajadores). CNT was founded in 1964, and it's the first national trade union organization. In 1973 the dictatorship forbidden the CNT and it didn't work since 1973 til 1984. In 1983 was founded the PIT that was the new name of CNT. Afterwards, with the return to democracy PIT and CNT became a unique organization with the new name PIT-CNT.

There is not separate union federations like in Spain. There is only one national trade union organization (PIT-CNT) that includes everybody.

PIT-CNT has special links with the Frente Amplio. Most of the trade union leaders belong to Frente Amplio fractions and it's very common that trade union leaders are candidates for the Parliament in the Frente Amplio. For example, economist advisors of Frente Amplio are the same than the economist advisors of PIT-CNT.

In Uruguay we have an important union for public-sector employees. COFE (Confederación de Funcionarios del Estado) includes all the trade unions of the public-sector employees and, at the same time, this federation integrates the PIT-CNT.

Trade union membership is declining permanently in the last ten years.

It's possible to indicate, at least, two reasons for this situation: (a) the strategy and the discourse of PIT-CNT has become traditional, boried and old, (b) the labour market structure has changed in the last years; the industry workers have declined significantly and a lot of workers work in small and micro enterprises.

### **(2) The structure of business associations.**

There is a national organization of business associations that is called COSUPEM (Consejo Superior Empresarial) and includes Federación Rural, Asociación Rural (agrarian associations), Cámara de Industrias (industry association), Cámara de Comercio (trade off association), Unión de Exportadores (exportation association).

Micro and small firms have created, recently, a specific organization that is called ADMYPE (Asociación de micro y pequeñas empresas). But this organization isn't very powerful.

In the agrarian sector we have Comisión Nacional de Fomento Rural that includes a lot of small agrarian firms, but Asociación and Federación Rural are more important than Comisión Nacional de Fomento Rural.

Traditionally, the agrarian organizations have had close links with Partido Nacional and industry association were close to Partido Colorado. But nowadays, it's possible to indicate that most of business organizations have good relationships with both traditional parties.

Frente Amplio and Nuevo Espacio have relationships with business organizations but they are not close to them.

### **(3) Religious organizations.**

Catholic Church is the unique religion with significant membership in Uruguay.

In 1996 in Montevideo, 47.9% of the people belonged to Catholic church and 21% were christians or simply believes in God; 17% were agnostics or non believers and only 4.4% belonged to others religions.

It's possible that the afrobrasilian religions and the pentecostal american religions are growing up in Uruguay now, but they receive less than 5% of religious support.

Catholic church in Uruguay isn't very strong, since the colonial period the Catholic church wasn't very important and during the nineteenth century was very dependent from the Argentine Catholic church.

When the uruguayan catholic church started to develop its own structure, at the beginning of this century, the uruguayan government was a liberal and anticlerical and take off a lot of power to the Catholic church since the first decades of this century.

## **9. Basic socioeconomic structure:**

### **Evolution of the percentage of active labor force per sector of economical activity**

	<b>1963</b>	<b>1975</b>	<b>1985</b>	<b>1996</b>
Agriculture	19.7	17.8	15.8	11.8
Industry	30.7	28.4	27.5	24.9
Service	49.6	53.8	56.7	63.3
Total	100	100	100	100

The unemployment rate during the last five years has been between 10 and 12%. Now Uruguay has an unemployment rate of 11.2%. But it's necessary considerate that about 45% of the labor force has labor problems (subemployment, informal jobs, unstable employment, etc.)

### **Evolution of the population residing in urban and rural areas**

	<b>1985</b>	<b>1996</b>
Urban area		
Population	2.590.229	2.872.077
Percentage	87.6	90.8
Rural area		
Population	365.012	291.686
Percentage	12.4	9.2
Total		
Population	2.955.241	3.163.763
Percentage	100	100

**Percent of the population residing in urban areas (1996)**

**More than 500.000 residents**

	Residents	Percent
Montevideo	1.307.562	41.3

**Between 100.000 and 499.999 residents**

None	---	---
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**Between 50.000 and 99.999 residents**

Salto	93.120	
Paysandú	74.575	
Las Piedras	66.584	
Ciudad de la Costa	66.402	
Rivera	62.873	
Total	363.554	11.5

**Between 20.000 and 49.999 residents**

Total	489.214	15.5
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**Between 5.000 and 19.999 residents**

Total	290.271	9.2
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**Minus than 5.000 residents**

Total	421.496	13.3
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## **Major Parties and Politicians in Uruguay 1994 Data Set**

### **Parties**

**PC -- Partido Colorado.** One of the two traditional parties in Uruguay that was founded in 1836. It's a liberal party situated in the center-right and right of the uruguayan political system. The Partido Colorado has been permanently in the government since 1865 till 1958; and won in 1966, 1971, 1984 and 1994. The Partido Colorado created a "batllista model" in Uruguay at the beginning of the century that developed the uruguayan welfare state. The most relevant difference with the Partido Nacional is that the Partido Colorado has been the most international party while the Partido Nacional is a nationalist one. The Partido Colorado has received political support specially from the urban population.

**PN -- Partido Nacional.** One of the two traditional parties in Uruguay that was founded in 1836 like the Partido Colorado. It's another liberal party situated in the center-right and right of the uruguayan political system. The Partido Nacional has been the opposition party and received an electoral support next to 40% during all the period. Partido Nacional won in 1958, 1962 and 1989, but in spite of being almost always in the opposition has sustained a very strong electoral support because different nationalist fractions have participated permanently in the government with the Partido Colorado. The Partido Nacional has received political support specially from the rural population.

**FA -- Frente Amplio-Encuentro Progresista.** Left and center left coalition integrated by the former Partido Socialista, Partido Comunista and different independent left groups that was founded in 1971. In 1994 the Frente Amplio created a new political agreement called Encuentro Progresista, that included the Partido Demócrata Cristiano and a small group spoiled from the Partido Nacional. Frente Amplio has won in Montevideo (the capital of the country) in 1989 and 1994 and it's the most important opposition political party. Frente Amplio-Encuentro Progresista has about 30% of the votes of the country in 1994 national election. Frente Amplio has received political support from Montevideo.

**EN -- Nuevo Espacio.** Center left party that was created in 1989 when they separated from the Frente Amplio. It's a socialdemocrat party that includes some socialchristian groups. Nuevo Espacio is another opposition political party that obtained 9% of the votes in 1989 and 5% of the votes in 1994. Nuevo Espacio has received political support specially from Montevideo.

### **Politicians**

**Julio Sanguinetti --** Head of the principal fraction of the Partido Colorado (Foro Batllista). President of Uruguay 1985-1990 and 1995-2000.

**Jorge Batlle --** Head of the second fraction of the Partido Colorado (Batllismo Radical) a very influential politician. He has been presidential candidate four times (1966-1971-1989 and 1994) and now he's the presidential candidate of the Partido Colorado in 1999.

**Luis A. Lacalle --** Head of the principal fraction of the Partido Nacional (Herrerismo). President of Uruguay 1990-1995.

**Juan A. Ramírez --** Presidential candidate of the Herrerismo in 1994. He was a Ministry of the former National Party government. He is now the head of Desafío Nacional a new fraction of the Partido Nacional.

Alberto Volonté -- Presidential candidate of Manos a la Obra in 1994. Manos a la Obra obtained in 1994 the best result of the Partido Nacional. President of the Partido Nacional since 1995 to 1998.

Tabaré Vázquez -- Presidential candidate of the Frente Amplio-Encuentro Progresista. He was the Governor of Montevideo 1990-1994. He is a very important leader of the frentista left. He's now the presidential candidate for 1999 national election.

Rafael Michelini -- Presidential candidate of the Nuevo Espacio in 1994. He is the leader of Nuevo Espacio and he is a Senator (1995-1999). He's now the presidential candidate for 1999 national election.

## Macro-level Data needed for CNEP II

### Uruguay

1. Basic information about the structure of national government (very brief answers will suffice).

Presidential, semi-presidential or parliamentary?

Semi-presidential

What kind of election did your CNEP survey focus upon?

National Election that included the Presidential election, the Parliamentary elections and the Local Government. All of these candidates was chosen simultaneously and the voters had to vote only for one political party. It was forbidden to vote different political parties for each candidature. Now the electoral law has changed, in 1996, and the national elections includes four different instances.

First, in April there is a primary election to select the Presidential candidate of each political party (we have only one presidential candidate of each political party now, but the former electoral system allowed the political parties to have several candidates for the presidency).

Second, we have the National Election of the Parliament in October and the first round to select the President. Third, in November, we have the second round between the two candidates that obtained the best electoral support. And fourth, in May of the next year we have the elections for the Local Governments.

If a parliamentary system, to what extent does parliament have the real ability to initiate legislation or modify the legislative proposals of the government?

We have a semipresidential regime. The Executive has exclusive initiative in some subjects, like taxes, and the Parliament can modify the legislative proposals of the government, but the Executive has the possibility of "veto" for the parliament changes.

Bicameral or unicameral legislature?

Bicameral.

The Senate is composed by 31 Senators, elected at the National level.

The Representative Chamber is composed by 99 legislators, elected by the different regions.

If bicameral, how equal are the two houses in terms of their real political importance?

Both of them work in a similar way in the legislative function. Every law must be approved by the Senate and the Representative Chamber. There is only one difference, the Senate has to approve the nomination of the Directory of the Public Enterprises and the Officials of the Armed Forces.

Centralized, federal or quasi-federal state structure

It's a centralized state structure. It's a small and very homogeneous country without relevant social cleavages, and that's why it's not necessary the federal structure.

How much power is in the hands of sub-national government bodies at each level (municipal, provincial or regional)?

Uruguay is divided in 19 Departamentos, that are similar to Provinces. We have a departmental government in each Departamento. They don't have a lot of power, and don't receive many resources.

The Departamental Governments can extract only specific taxes, specially included in the Constitution, and they have only limited subjects to rule.

## 2. Electoral law.

Describe the basic form of the electoral system--PR, single-member plurality, single-member majority, multi-member non PR, etc.

The uruguayan electoral system is highly proportional.

The Senate is composed by 31 senators; 30 of them are elected in an unique national circumscription according to a proportional rule. The thirty first Senator is the Vice president and he integrate the Senate giving to the President's party an extra vote in the chamber.

The Representatives Chamber is composed by 99 diputies that are elected according to a proportional rule, then each political party obtains as many members of the chamber as votes it obtains.

And, the uruguayan electoral system is one of the most proportional system of the world.

Be as specific as you can in describing the most salient features of the system--e.g., for PR systems, how large are electoral districts, and is there a minimum-vote requirement at the district or national level?

1. Proportional rule to integrate the parliament.
2. The electoral districts varies according to the population. The smallest is Flores that has two diputies and the largest is Montevideo that has 44 diputies. Most of the electoral districts have two or three diputies.
3. There is not a minimum-vote requirement to obtain representation in the Parliament.

Write a general statement concerning the electoral law's representational biases and its overall impact on the structure of the party system.

There is not bias in the political parties distribution of the seats at the Parliament.

Each political party gets so many seats as its electoral percentage. For example, in 1994 the Colorado Party obtained 32% of the votes and this party has 11 Senators in 31 and 32 Diputies in 99; the National Party obtained 31% of the votes and has 10 Senators in 31 and 31 Diputies; Frente Amplio obtained 30,5% of the votes and has 9 Senators in 31 and 31 Diputies; and Nuevo Espacio obtained 5% of the votes and has 1 Senator in 31 and 5 Diputies.

## 3. Politicized social cleavages.

Along what lines: class, religion, language/culture/ethnicity, region, urban/rural?

Uruguay is a very homogeneous country and we don't have significant social cleavages.

We can only indicate the difference between Montevideo, the capital town, and the rest of the country, called "Interior".

The electoral behaviour expresses an important difference between Montevideo and the rest of the country.

The left parties obtain an important electoral support in Montevideo, in fact Frente Amplio has ruled in Montevideo since 1990. While the traditional parties are stronger in the rest of the country, every Departamental Governments have belonged to these parties.

If your country contains significant ethnic/cultural/linguistic minorities, describe them, and provide information concerning whether they are concentrated in one geographical area or dispersed throughout the country.

How deep and divisive have these cleavages been **in the past** and **at present**?

The electoral differences between Montevideo and Interior have installed specially since 1970, when the left parties started to grow up.

#### 4. Structure of the media.

Is there a single national market for each medium, or is the media system completely decentralized?

There is a single national market for each medium. But we have local media system in each Departamento with a local scope. Then we have a national market with national TV channels, radio stations and newspapers; and simultaneously we have local TV channels, radio stations and papers.

List of major national newspapers (if any), television networks and radio chains, specifying whether they are public sector or private sector, and roughly indicating their respective shares of the market.

National newspapers:                    El País (private, pro National Party, and the leader of the market)  
    La República (private, pro Frente Amplio, and the second)  
    El Observador (private, liberal, and the third)

National TV channels:                    Canal 5 (public, very small audience)  
    Canal 4, Canal 10 and Canal 12 are private channels that work as a  
oligopolic group. They share the market almost completely.

National radio stations                :            We have 4 or 5 national private radio stations with a strong audience, and 2 national public radio stations that are only cultural stations with a very small audience.

Are there regulatory or oversight bodies that supervise broadcasting (and if so, do they deal with just public sector or both public and private sectors)?

There is a Dirección Nacional de Comunicaciones (Communication National Direction) that depends on the Ministry of Defense that has the power of allow the TV channels and radio stations. But there is not a body to supervise broadcasting.

What is the composition of the regulatory/oversight bodies, and how are members chosen? How frequently and decisively do they intervene?

Brief statement of political biases (if any) of each major newspaper/TV/radio network.

see above

Brief statement summarizing your subjective assessment of the extent to which each outlet presents reader/viewer/listener with a large volume of high-quality policy-relevant information (as opposed to personalized, trivialized sound-bite journalism).

High quality papers	El Observador
High quality weekly	Busqueda, Brecha, Crónicas Económicas
High quality radio stations	El Espectador, Sarandí, Nuevotiempo
High quality TV channels	There are some special news and political news.

#### 5. Basic nature of campaign.

Is paid commercial advertising legal (for both public and private, and for each medium)?

Yes, almost every commercial advertising is paid and legal.

How important is paid commercial advertising?

More than 90% of the commercial advertising is paid in our country

Is free air time provided to parties and candidates?

Yes, free air time is provided for presidential candidates of each political party in the short time previous to the election.

If yes, what is the format of these presentations, and how are time-slots allocated?

The format of free air time presentations is free. Most of them are very boring talkings from the candidate

Does a regulatory commission exist to oversee the conduct of the campaign?

No, absolutely. Everything is free.

What is its composition, and how much real authority does it have?

#### 6. Basic election data.

For all elections over the past 20 years, present

percent of eligible electorate casting ballots;

percent of blank or spoiled ballots;

percent of valid vote for each party (with separate sets of figures for legislature and executive in presidential or semi-presidential systems);

percent of total seats in legislature for each party.

7. What is the rate of female participation in the labor force? Please provide specific statistics on the percentage of females age 18-65 who are "economically active" (i.e., in the labor force, but not necessarily employed). If you have these broken down by age cohorts, and can also provide us with the percentage of females actively employed, that would be very useful.

What is the level of education achieved by females, by age cohort? If available, please supply census data providing such information.

8. Describe the most salient features of key secondary associations, especially:

- (1) The structure of trade unions and their relationship with political parties.

Are there "closed shops" or "open shops" (i.e., is it mandatory for workers employed by a unionized firm to become members of trade unions)?

Is there one umbrella or "peak" trade union at the national level, or are trade unions specific to individual lines of employment?

Is there a separate union federation affiliated with specific parties (e.g., socialists-UGT, communists-CCOO), or one over-arching union federation? (If the latter, which party/ies does it tend to favor?)

Are any important unions specifically for public-sector employees?

Is trade union membership declining, stable or increasing over time?

- (2) The structure of business associations.

Is there a national "peak" organization of business associations?

Do big business belong to the same organization as small and medium-sized firms?

Do any such organizations have particularly close relationships with political parties?

- (3) Religious organizations.

If there is more than one religion with significant membership, provide an approximate breakdown of adherence to each major faith.

Are religions linked to ancillary secondary organizations (e.g., Catholic Action), and, if so, how strong are such organizations?

9. Basic socioeconomic structure:

- (1) Provide percentage of active labor force in agriculture, industry, construction (if listed

as a separate category), and the service sector.

- (2) What was the unemployment rate (approximately) at the time of your survey, and what is it now? Are there any peculiarities about the way unemployment rates are calculated in your country that would undermine their cross-national comparability.
- (3) Provide percent of the population residing in urban areas with more than 500,000 inhabitants, between 100,000 and 499,999 residents, between 50,000 and 99,999 inhabitants, between 20,000 and 49,999, between 5,000 and 19,999, and in small towns with fewer than 5,000 residents. If these categories do not mesh with the way census data are calculated in your country, please propose alternative cutting points.