

# Notes

## 1 Towards a Regionalization of Statewide Electoral Trends in Decentralized States? The Cases of Belgium and Spain

1. The heavy losses of the Walloon Socialists in 1995 can be explained by a corruption scandal that hit them especially hard. The Flemish party president was clearly not involved and focused his campaign heavily on social security.
2. <http://argos.mir.es/MIR/jsp/resultados>

## 2 Territory and Electoral Politics in Germany

1. Berlin is excluded from consideration to simplify the analysis.
2. And there is indeed good reason to include the Left Party in Western Germany as it defines itself as an all-German party. Furthermore, it is represented in the Bundestag and contests elections throughout the country.
3. In this chapter, we slightly modify a simple model that has recently been used to analyse the relationship between federal and *Land* election results in Germany as well as in similar elections in other countries (Dinkel, 1977; Jeffery and Hough, 2001; Hough and Jeffery, 2006b). The original model, propagated by Rainer Dinkel, (consciously) focuses just on the performance of those parties which happen to be in federal government during a particular legislative period. It has a number of significant weaknesses (see Jeffery and Hough, 2001) and also lacks predictive power, but its effectiveness in showing basic trends none the less makes it a useful tool. In this model, Dinkel introduced the notion of 'expected vote share' for *Land* elections. This was a simple average of party vote shares in a *Land* at two successive federal *Land*. If the federal government parties scored, say, 50 per cent in a *Land* in one federal election and 46 per cent in the next, then its 'expected vote' for any *Land election* in the intervening period in that *Land* would be 48 per cent (see Jeffery and Hough, 2001). The result of the federal election *after* any round of *Land* elections is needed in order to calculate the trend in support for each of the parties. Despite a number of limitations, the model has a genuine heuristic value and it is one of the few attempts to systematically model the relationship between party performance in state and substate elections. It therefore provides a useful base from which to explore developments in party vote share both pre- and post-unification, and also to tease out some of the differences in nuance that exist between West and East.

## 3 Rediscovering the Region: Territorial Politics and Party Organizations in Germany

1. Even in times of divided majorities, the Bundesrat has vetoed only a small portion of federal laws. The peak level of obstruction was reached between 1976 and 1980, when the Bundesrat declined to endorse 15 federal laws, that is, just 5.7 per cent of the legislative output of the Bundestag (Sturm and Zimmermann-Steinhart, 2005: 57).

2. In his classic study on the subject, Lehbruch (1976) identified a structural 'inconsistency' between a structure of party competition based on ideologically opposing party camps and the need for federal accommodation. In times of divergent majorities in Bundestag and Bundesrat, either partisan disagreement would lead to gridlock or an informal 'Grand Coalition' would delegitimize party competition in the electoral arena. With some nuances, Lehbruch maintained his position in later editions of the book (1998, 2000). For a critical discussion, see Sturm (1999) and Renzsch (2000).
3. The one partial exception is the CSU, which contests (federal and *Länder*) elections only in Bavaria. But while the CSU decided not to join the federal CDU in 1950, the two parties have cooperated closely since then and form a common party caucus in the Bundestag. The CDU does not contest elections in Bavaria.
4. [http://www.bundesfinanzministerium.de/lang\\_de/DE/Finanz\\_\\_und\\_\\_Wirtschaftspolitik/Foederale\\_\\_Finanzbeziehungen/Laenderfinanzausgleich/Vorl\\_C3\\_A4ufige\\_20Abrechnung\\_202004,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf](http://www.bundesfinanzministerium.de/lang_de/DE/Finanz__und__Wirtschaftspolitik/Foederale__Finanzbeziehungen/Laenderfinanzausgleich/Vorl_C3_A4ufige_20Abrechnung_202004,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf).
5. Interestingly enough, the German Party Law provides federal parties with the right to disown *Land* organizations and to deselected *Land* party executives which have defected from the common cause (see Poguntke, 1994: 207). Although this provision is rarely used in practice, the federal executive of the WASG (Labour and Social Justice – The Electoral Alternative, a left-wing offshoot of the SPD and the trade union movement) deselected the *Land* executives of Berlin and Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, both of which rejected a proposed merger with the PDS. However, in the Berlin case, a civil court declared the deselection void. The judges argued that competing with the PDS in a *Land* election would not violate the statutes of the WASG.
6. A similar party reform, involving similar internal conflicts between the *Land* party leadership and the three party districts, was carried by the SPD in Rhineland-Palatinate in 2002. In Lower Saxony, there still is staunch opposition to modifying the position of the four traditional party districts within the SPD *Land* organization.
7. Therefore, in legal terms the CDU consists of 17 *Land* branches. There is one *Land* party organization in each of the 16 *Länder*, except Bavaria (none) and Lower Saxony (three).
8. Own calculations, based on the data compiled by Niedermayer (2007). East Germany accounts for some 16 per cent of the German population.
9. There is an ongoing debate in the literature on whether federal developments – that is, growing electoral volatility and dissatisfaction with federal governments – or the growing autonomy of regional patterns of voting behaviour are the main factor explaining the degree of diversity of regional election results. See Detterbeck (2006: 15–24).
10. In the 1990s German parties introduced the option of using membership-wide meetings for selecting constituency candidates. In addition, some CDU *Land* parties allowed for postal ballots (Beil and Lepzy, 1995: 18–24; Scarrow, 1999: 348–9). While such intra-party plebiscites have been used to some extent, they have rarely challenged the capacity of local party elites to preselect candidates.
11. The *Land* party executives are strongly interlocked with the substate party in public office. The majority of their members are either *Land* government ministers and legislators or representatives of the subregional party branches, as in the case of the CDU Baden-Württemberg with its strong subunits. There are only a few active federal politicians at the *Land* party level (see Detterbeck, 2004: 23–5).

12. At the federal level, the single example has been the consultation of SPD members during the crisis of the party leadership race in 1993. At the *Land* level, electoral motives (for example, the oppositional SPD Baden-Württemberg in 2000) or internal disputes (for example, the oppositional CDU Rhineland-Palatinate in 2004 and the governing CDU Baden-Württemberg in 2006) led to intra-party plebiscites on party leaders and top candidates.
13. According to the Party Law, *Land* parties, which have won at least 1 per cent in the latest *Land* election, are eligible for €0.50 per vote (§ 19a, 6 Party Law). The remainder – €0.70 per vote in European, national and *Land* elections, as well as matching funds for member fees and small donations – is directed towards the federal parties (§ 18 Party Law). However, some of the money is subsequently channelled back to the substate and local branches in the form of organizational services and campaign assistance provided by the federal party headquarters (see Ebbighausen et al., 1996).
14. Political donations are the most important source of revenue for the FDP (some 40 per cent of total party income). The federal-level FDP experienced severe financial crises in the 1970s and 1980s (see Vorländer, 2007: 286). Both the Greens and the Left Party are financed primarily by their members (for detailed reports on both parties, see Ebbighausen et al., 1996: 325–402). For all three smaller parties, public subsidies, paid mainly to the federal party level, are the second most important contribution to their budgets.
15. See the annual reports (*Rechenschaftsberichte der Parteien*) published by the Bundestag on [www.bundestag.de](http://www.bundestag.de) [for the most recent reports, see *Bundestag Drucksachen* 14/2508; 15/2800; 15/5550; 16/1270; 16/5090].
16. An example of the former is the trend towards the left in SPD *Land* parties, which coincided with the passing of unpopular labour market and social policies by the Schröder federal government in 2002–3. An example of the latter is the move of the Baden-Württemberg Greens in 2006 towards economic policy preferences close to positions of the governing CDU, creating a basis for a potential new coalition (Debus, 2007).
17. Most significantly, SPD-FDP *Land* coalitions which had been formed as congruent coalitions in the 1970s ended with the change in federal government (CDU, CSU, FDP) in 1982. They were replaced in the early 1980s by either single-party governments or now congruent bourgeois coalitions (Detterbeck and Renzsch, 2003, 260–1). On the other hand, the *Land* level has sometimes served as a kind of laboratory for new federal coalition patterns. This applies to the SPD-FDP coalition in North Rhine-Westphalia (1966–80), the CDU-FDP coalition in the Saarland (1977–85) or the SPD-Green Party coalitions in Hesse (1985–7 and 1991–9) and other *Länder*, which pre-dated later government formations at the federal level.
18. ‘Abstention clauses’ have become a regular feature of coalition agreements at the *Land* level. The coalition partners agree to abstain in Bundesrat votes whenever they prove unable to agree on a common policy position.
19. At the time of writing (October 2007), there are six single-party governments (three CDU, one CSU, one SPD), four congruent Grand Coalitions (CDU-CSU and SPD) and six incongruent coalitions – five of them CDU-FDP governments and one a SPD-Green Party cabinet – in the *Länder*.
20. For example, the SPD in Saxony-Anhalt decided to rely on the external support of the PDS for its red–green coalition in 1994 and its single-party government in 1998. In both instances, the federal SPD leadership facing a Bundestag election

favoured a Grand Coalition for Saxony-Anhalt but failed to convince the *Land* party leadership.

21. Both have been particularly pronounced in cases where SPD *Land* parties cooperated with the PDS, i.e., in Saxony-Anhalt (1994–2002), Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania (1998–2006) and Berlin (since 2002). As of this writing, the federal party leader Beck favours a policy of not entering coalitions with the Left Party in the Western *Landtage*; however, *Land* party leaders have made clear that this is a decision to be taken by the individual *Land* parties. In other cases, SPD *Land* parties were internally split over favouring the Green Party or a bourgeois party as coalition partner (e.g., Bremen 1995, Schleswig-Holstein 1996, North Rhine-Westphalia 1995–2005).
22. Although there are no systematic data, estimates suggest that the federal headquarters of both the CDU and the SPD employ roughly as many people as all of their *Land* counterparts combined (Schmid, 1990: 146; Poguntke and Boll, 1992: 338–40). Both federal parties significantly expanded their party headquarters during the 1970s with staffing at around 200, though this fell back to around 150 during the 1990s (Detterbeck, 2002: 216–8).
23. The development of the CDU is particularly telling. In 1977–8, the substate party units held nearly half of the seats in the federal party executive, led by Helmut Kohl, Prime Minister of Rhineland-Palatinate. During the Kohl Chancellorship (1982–98) the trend was reversed. In 1992–3, national MPs and cabinet ministers held more than three quarters of the seats in the federal CDU executive committee. The *Land* party level was no longer strong enough to retain control of the federal party. After the loss of federal power in 1998, however, the representation of substate party elites rose again (see Detterbeck, 2002: 61–8).
24. Indeed, since 1991 only one out of seven SPD party chairmen has never been a *Land* prime minister, namely, Franz Müntefering, who served as SPD general secretary before leading the party from February 2004 to November 2005.

#### 4 Decentralization and Party Organizational Change: The Case of Italy

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1. Although it is worth pointing out that, with the exception of some Alpine areas, the languages and dialects spoken in Italy were all Latin and therefore closely related to the Tuscan dialect that became established as 'Italian'.
2. To give an idea of the discontinuity, the turnover of parliamentary personnel in the Italian lower chamber was an astonishing 71 per cent (Ignazi, 2002).

#### 5 Decentralization and Party Organizational Change: The British and Spanish Statewide Parties Compared

1. Although *Izquierda Unida* was created as a coalition of different political parties (see Ramiro, 2003), it now describes itself as a 'sociopolitical movement' that brings together parties and individual people. See [www.izquierda-unida.es](http://www.izquierda-unida.es)

2. 'If United Left defends a federal and republican model for Spain, it must also do so in its own organization' (Statutes IU, VII Asamblea, art. 10, 2004).
3. Although the MPs of the PSC and those of the PSOE have formed a single parliamentary group in the Congress of Deputies since 1982, the PSC has threatened to form its own parliamentary group during periods of tensions between the two organizations.
4. The other part of the Federal Political Council is chosen directly by the regional federations, and when the whole Council has been elected it ratifies the election of the General Coordinator.
5. See Méndez Lago (2007: 93) for an analysis of the evolution of the presence of regional leaders in the PSOE's Federal Executive Committee.
6. Party statutes approved at the 36th congress (2004), art. 48.
7. Provincial sections are relevant because provinces are the electoral districts in general elections.
8. Membership ballots have been used in United Left and in the PSOE for the selection of candidates to the presidency of Autonomous Communities and the mayoralty of large cities.
9. The most recent one is the resignation of Josep Piqué, head of the Catalan PP, after denouncing repeated interference by the PP's central authorities in this regional branch (*El País*, 20 July 2007).
10. Roller and van Houten (2003: 18–9) argue that over time, and in particular when the PSOE was in the opposition to the PP in central office and under the leadership of Maragall, the PSC has increasingly affirmed its Catalan interests and adapted its strategy to the regional circumstances. This has sometimes created difficulties at the statewide level, particularly in relation to the reform of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia. One could interpret the end of Maragall's political career as a result of this assertiveness, which cost him the support of the PSOE, although there are also other factors internal to the PSC that could also help explain it.
11. The most recent example is the decision of the PSOE's Federal Executive Commission not to allow the Socialists in Navarre to form a coalition with the nationalist *Nafarroa Bai*, against the wishes of the regional branch, which had already committed to do so.

## 6 Devolution and Party Organization in the UK: Statewide Parties and Statewide–Regional Branch Relations over Candidate Selection in Scotland and Wales

1. The use of the term 'statewide' is used advisedly in a UK context, as in Northern Ireland the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat parties organize either not at all or certainly not on the same basis as elsewhere in the UK. Equally though, it should be noted that Northern Ireland represents less than 5 per cent of UK population.
2. The author acknowledges research conducted in the project 'Party Candidate Procedures and Characteristics at the 1999 Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly Elections' with the assistance of ESRC grant number L3227253004. The project was led by Professor David Denver and the co-researchers were Professor James Mitchell and Dr Lynn Bennie.

## 8 Authority in Multilevel Parties: A Principal–Agent Framework and Cases from Germany and Spain

1. It should be noted that there is evidence that the subnational level became somewhat stronger again in these parties from the late 1980s on (Jeffery, 1999a; Sturm, 2001; Benz, 2003).
2. This account is based on Sally and Webber (1994), Czada (1995), Renzsch (1998), Wachendorfer-Schmidt (2003) and especially Altemeier (1998).
3. Party considerations may have played some (limited) role in the negotiations. Waigel, the federal finance minister and main negotiator for the government, was the President of CSU, the party controlling the Bavarian government. He may have wanted to reach an agreement once he faced a common regional front led by Bavaria, in order to avoid a confrontation with his own party (Altemeier, 1998: 223–4; Sally and Webber, 1994: 27).
4. This draft is available at [www.parlament.cat/porteso/estatut/estatut\\_english.pdf](http://www.parlament.cat/porteso/estatut/estatut_english.pdf).
5. The new Catalan autonomy statute is available at [www.gencat.cat/generalitat/eng/estatut/index.htm](http://www.gencat.cat/generalitat/eng/estatut/index.htm).
6. The PSC and the ERC both lost some seats in these elections, while the CiU recaptured its position as the largest party in the Catalan parliament. Coalition negotiations eventually returned the same coalition as before to power, but with a reduced majority.
7. Another electoral consideration for the PSC was probably the fact that appearing to be extreme (by opposing the revised draft) might alienate the non-nationalist part of its electorate. Balancing nationalist and non-nationalist parts of its electorate has been a challenge for the PSC throughout its existence (Roller and van Houten, 2003).

## 9 Governing Strategies in Multilevel Settings: Coordination, Innovation or Territorialization?

1. Congruence is highly significant, as the general rule that regional coalitions observe in voting in the Bundesrat is to abstain when they do not all agree on the direction of the vote. An abstention technically counts as a vote against. Parties who are in opposition in the Bundestag and in government at the regional level thus have at their disposal a powerful tool with which to attempt to defeat federal government bills in the second chamber.
2. Notorious examples are the increases in fiscal allocations for Catalonia that were obtained by the CiU twice in succession from the PSOE and the PP at times when these two parties had formed a minority government and needed the legislative support of the CiU (Aja, 2003). These allocations were later extended to the other regions, but the example shows that government policy can be influenced by single territorial actors acting in the interest of their own region only.
3. This is now changing as the Linke attempted to pass the electoral threshold in three Western *Länder*. The first breakthrough occurred in the 2007 Bremen election, when the Linke gained parliamentary representation for the first time in a Western region, by winning 6 out of 151 seats (and 2 more than the FDP). This was followed by the 2008 Hessen, Lower Saxony and Hamburg elections.

4. Results are aggregated at regional level. The exact formula used for computing the index of dissimilarity is:

$$\text{Dissimilarity index} = \Sigma (|V_{i_{reg}} - V_{i_{nat}}| + \dots + |V_{N_{reg}} - V_{N_{nat}}|)$$

where  $V_{i_{reg}}$  = Percentage of votes that Party  $i$  received in regional elections

$V_{i_{nat}}$  = Percentage of votes that Party  $i$  received in the previous most recent national elections

$N$  = Number of parties winning votes.

5. A recent example is that of the Navarre Social Democratic Federation, which was strictly forbidden to enter a coalition agreement with the United Left (IU) and with the Basque nationalist parties in Navarre after the 2007 regional elections, although this meant keeping the party altogether out of government.
6. Although Méndez-Lago and Fabre (this volume) show that the IU is the most decentralized of the Spanish statewide parties, the fact that the central leadership still formally retains the power to veto regional coalitions with which it does not agree underscores the argument that parties are much willing to let regional branches decide when participation in executive power is at stake.
7. In recent years, the arrival of illegal immigrants in the harbours of the Canary Islands has intensified. Cooperation with the central government and the urgency of elaborating a joint immigration plan intensified accordingly.
8. The EA was born as a splinter from the PNV in 1995. Both parties define themselves as nationalist. The two big differences between them are: (1) the EA is more in favour of Basque independence while the PNV is the proponent of a special relationship of the Basque Country with Spain, to be defined through the people's right to self-determination; (2) the EA is more to the left while the PNV is a centre-right political party (Llera-Ramo, 2000).
9. Generally the territorial units are federated to the IU. The Basque EB used to be federated to the IU, but it changed its status in 2004 when it became a separate organization associated with the federal IU.
10. Previous research on Spain shows that the value of congruence also consistently varies depending on the type of party considered (SWP or NSWP) in combination with the weight it has at different levels of government (Ştefuriuc, 2009). As the SWP/NSWP classification is not valid across all multilevel settings (Germany being one case where it does not apply), this argument is not explored here.

## 10 How Statewide Parties Cope with the Regionalist Issue: The Case of Spain; A Directional Approach

1. The authors wish to thank Wilfried Swenden, Elodie Fabre and Enric Martínez-Herrera for their useful comments on an earlier draft. The usual disclaimer applies.
2. In contrast to directional and issue ownership theory, however, Meguid (2005: 349) argues that an accommodative strategy may challenge the exclusivity of a niche party and undermine its issue ownership and thus its electoral support. Her empirical findings (regarding the environmentalist and radical right parties) indicate that an accommodative strategy has a weak negative effect on the electoral success of the niche party, while an adversarial strategy has a much stronger positive effect. This model is based on a categorical distinction between the three

strategies and does not take into account the intensity of an accommodative or an adversarial stance.

3. Manifestos are a primary data source; most electoral debates in secondary sources, such as the mass media, would concentrate on policy pledges contained in the manifestos (Ashworth, 1999). Budge et al. (2001) refers to political texts as 'the major source of evidence . . . for how democracy functions'. Moreover, manifestos are major statements in which parties aim to present comprehensive accounts of their positions; they are issued by the whole party and not by one particular faction. Ashworth (1999) adds that party manifestos are publicly available and easily accessible, and they can be easily re-analysed. Moreover, in contrast with interview data, party programmes are suitable for quantitative content analysis.
4. Apart from this broad distinction between regionalist and non-regionalist statements we also applied a more fine-grained coding scheme, based on the Eurovoc Thesaurus, which reflects the specific policy fields allocated to the competence of either the regional or the national government. These data are not used in this chapter.

## **11 Statewide Parties and Regional Party Competition: An Analysis of Party Manifestos in the United Kingdom**

1. The elections to the Greater London Assembly and the Northern Ireland Assembly will not be studied because of the nature of the former as a city assembly and its more limited range of powers, and because of the different party system and the long interruptions in the functioning of the latter.
2. For a more detailed explanation of the coding scheme that was developed and why it departs from the traditional issue categorization of the CMP project, see the contribution by Maddens et al. in this volume and Pogorelis et al. (2005).
3. 'Regional government' is defined here as statements specifically referring to 'structures, principles, powers and autonomy'. Statements in a (statewide) manifesto like 'social security policies should take into account the specific social interests of Scotland' are considered as 'social security issues' when the overall salience profile of a party is analysed. In this sense 'regional government' is conceptualized differently from the 'regionalist issue' discussed below, where such a statement would be interpreted as an expression of a 'regionalist issue – institutional dimension' (alongside other issues which may express the cultural or identity component of regionalism).
4. The coding scheme is available upon request from Elodie Fabre.

## **Concluding Observations**

1. That said, the assessment of incongruence varies with the size of the (prospective) coalition party in a regional government: for senior parties incongruence offers the (strategically beneficial) opportunity to 'distance itself' from the statewide party and junior regional coalition partner. For junior parties, such as the NRW FDP, the disadvantages outweigh the benefits. A 'supportive' role outside the government may be preferable as a vote-seeking strategy.
2. The effect of the third variable (party type) has not been analysed in systematic detail for its effect on statewide party organizational decentralization. The rather centralized character of parties that revolve around a particular leader or 'brand' of



the party (such as Silvio Berlusconi for *Forza Italia*), or of parties that put a strong emphasis on ideological purity (such as the Italian Communists), speaks for itself. Yet most parties referred to here have acquired the features of catch-all parties, although they have been going through a process of 'cartelization' in recent years (Katz and Mair, 1995; Detterbeck, 2005, for a critique on the extent to which cartelization applies across most parties in Western Europe). Cartelization is said to strengthen the party-in-office vis-à-vis the extra-parliamentary party (party bureaucracy). However, this 'horizontal' shift in powers is not necessarily accompanied by a vertical shift (i.e., the parliamentary party at the statewide level does not necessarily have to develop into the hub of all party activities). Cartel parties operate in an electorally volatile environment and, compared with catch-all parties, they are increasingly dependent on state funding. These funds in turn hinge on their electoral performance at the statewide *and* regional levels. A 'stratarchical' organization is better suited to the task of translating regional electoral preferences into a coherent programme for regional elections. Yet, as Bradbury demonstrates in his coverage of candidate selection for UK devolved elections, statewide parties may seek to balance regional autonomy with vertical hierarchy by giving regional branches the right to select candidates, but only within centrally set parameters (for instance, with respect to ideology, gender and minority representation as well as the methods of candidate selection, often requiring a stronger influence of the local or regional rank and file). Furthermore, the explanatory power of cartelization is limited: if we assume that cartelization has affected the largest statewide parties within each of the countries in roughly equal measure, it cannot explain why the UK Liberal Democrats have a more decentralized organization than Labour or the Conservatives, or why the Spanish Conservatives are more centralized than the Spanish Social Democrats.

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