

Non State-wide Parties in Spain: An Attitudinal Study of Nationalism and Regionalism

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The contribution of regional parties to the development of the state of the autonomies in democratic Spain is the focus of this article. One of the most important features of the transformed state is non-state-wide parties (NSWPs) that have emerged as a result of diversity and expressions of regionalism. The level of electoral strength and institutional presence, attitudinal bases of their electoral support, and perceptions of the territorial space and representation of NSWPs are analyzed.

The emergence of new and diverse political arenas and opportunities in the Spanish communities is a product of the autonomous state. Is the state of autonomies enhanced by the large number of regional and nationalist parties contesting for power? As Michael Burgess has argued, the federal order generates different forms of collectivities, which become structured and institutionalized.¹ Pursuit of the dual goal of unity and diversity thus gives the federal principle its appeal as an integrating device. Spain is adapting itself to an autonomous state with federal features. Support for this system of autonomies is manifested in a number of ways, including public support for the idea of an autonomous state and for parties that are either national or regional in scope.

The party system in Spain is tied to a proportional electoral system designed to favor major parties and government stability. This system also encourages multiple parties and coalition governments, mainly at the autonomous level.² It is also developing in the context of center versus region

¹Michael Burgess, "Federalism and Federation: A Reappraisal," *Comparative Federalism and Federation*, eds. Michael Burgess and Alain-G. Gagnon (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. 3.

²Richard Gunther, Giacomo Sani, and Goldie Shabad, *Spain after Franco: The Making of a Competitive Party System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

issues. Does the party system present adequate political space to accommodate these issues, contributing to the state of autonomies? Another concern is the relationship between the increased regionalization of Spain and its impact on the party system. Does this process favor parties that define themselves in territorial terms? Exploration of the emergence of parties around the regional government system can cast light on questions related to the integration potential offered by federalization. In this regard, Daniel Elazar has suggested that political integration should be measured by the strength of the framework, not the relative strength of the center or peripheries. Under federal arrangements, "both the whole and the parts can gain strength simultaneously and, indeed, must do so on an interdependent basis."³ The contribution of regional parties to the development of the state of the autonomies is the focus of this article.

Recently "regional" parties have attracted an increasing amount of attention. This is due to the relatively significant, if uneven, electoral success of these parties. The emergence of the Leagues in Italy has been the most important phenomenon due to their high level of electoral support and their rupturing of the traditional Italian party system. The consolidation of this type of option in the Spanish party system has also been closely observed. In general, these cases, along with other more traditional ones (above all in the United Kingdom and Belgium, but also in France and other countries), have altered the image of the almost exclusively state-wide dimension of European parties. The traditional image portrayed these kinds of parties as being exceptional and strictly limited to only a few situations, when not as mere "vestiges."⁴

Renewed attention to this phenomenon is a consequence of what appears to be a moment of change in party systems and in the territorial organization of power in many of the old European democracies.⁵ It seems to suggest the growing role of the territorial—normally "regional"—level in defining, aggregating, and organizing the conflict of interests, which parallels the declining role of the functionally based ideological dimension in Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan's model⁶ seems to have in actual democracies.⁷ A related cause of the growing interest in regional questions is the important role of the "territorial" axis—in its traditional national conception—in the political process in the new Eastern European democracies.

³Daniel J. Elazar, "Why Federalism," *Federalism and Political Integration*, ed. Daniel J. Elazar (Ramat Gan, Israel: Turtledove Publishing, 1979), p. 1.

⁴Derek Urwin, "Harbinger, Fossil or Fleabite? Regionalism and the Western European Mosaic," *Western European Party Systems: Continuity and Change*, eds. Hans Daalder and Peter Mair (London: Sage, 1983).

⁵For a brief recent overview of the "autonomist" parties in the EC and some of their historical roots, see Daniel Seiler, "Sur les Parties Autonomistes dans la CEE," *Working Papers 196* (Barcelona: Institut de Ciències Polítiques I Socials, 1990).

⁶Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, eds., *Party Systems and Voter Alignments* (New York: The Free Press, 1967).

⁷Russell Dalton, *Citizen Politics in Western Democracies* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1988).

Our objective is to examine one of the most characteristic and important elements of the Spanish state of the autonomies: the Non State-Wide Parties (NSWPs). Given the diversity and range of factors that come together in the expression of regionalism through this type of party, the Spanish case is of great interest from a comparative perspective. We will begin with an overview of the level of the electoral strength and institutional presence of these parties in order to indicate their diversity. We will then present an initial study of the attitudinal bases of their electoral support, focusing on perceptions related to the territorial space around which these parties define themselves, that is to say, in relation to the central aspects of their very justification as parties. Although the analysis is a limited examination of NSWPs, taken as a whole, the study contributes significant empirical evidence for an analysis of the character of these parties, of their role and place in the Spanish party system, and, as a result, for a sharpened definition of the phenomenon in a comparative perspective.

GENERAL ASPECTS: DIVERSITY AND DENOMINATION

The democratic transition and consolidation in Spain has taken shape around a double process: democratization and decentralization.⁸ They were inseparably linked in their mutual legitimization and that of the overall political process. This double process has resulted in configuration of a party system, with its traditional state-centered logic, and, in parallel with this, the configuration of political arenas in the autonomies, which facilitate the emergence of distinctive dynamics.⁹

In addition to successive rounds of general elections,¹⁰ democratization and decentralization have been expressed in the celebration of elections in the autonomous communities. Besides legitimizing the decentralizing process, regional elections constitute new arenas in which parties and elites compete to win electoral support and to distribute the resources of representation and government, that are projected not only within the autonomous community but also toward the central government.¹¹ In addition, European parliament elections and local elections complete the Spanish electoral panorama.

A considerable number of NSWPs have stood in the different general, regional, local, and European elections held in Spain thus far. It is precisely the large number of NSWPs which is one of the most distinctive

⁸Juan J. Linz, "De la Crisis de un Estado Unitario al Estado de las Autonomías," *La España de las Autonomías*, ed. Fernández Rodríguez (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios de la Administración Local, 1985).

⁹Francesc Pallarés, "Estado Autonómico y Sistema de Partidos; Una Aproximación Electoral," *Revista de Estudios Políticos* 71 (Summer 1990): 56-71.

¹⁰José R. Montero, "Las Elecciones Legislativas," *Transición Política y Consolidación Democrática en España (1995-1986)*, ed. Ramón Cortarelo (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1992).

¹¹Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas en España 1980-1983," *Elecciones y Comportamiento Electoral en España*, ed. Pilar del Castillo (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1994).

features of the Spanish party system in a comparative framework.¹² The same is true of their central role in pursuing control of the governments of the most important autonomous communities, or in the significant role which some have played (and play) at the state level.

Overall, the principal point of reference of the identity of these parties is the territorial sphere in which they carry out their activities and in relation to which they elaborate and project their political proposals. On this basis, they project their independence from state-wide parties as the best guarantee of their defense of the interests of the autonomous community, articulating their electoral appeals around such ideas.

Diversity

At the time of the transition, it was thought that options of this type would be limited to Catalonia and the Basque Country, as expressions of nationalist ideas, with perhaps a weaker development in Galicia. Cultural, linguistic, and ethnic factors, all with profound historical roots, and whose political expression had been seen to conflict with the traditional centralist and authoritarian organization of the Spanish state, certainly constitute the basis for the consolidation and operation of nationalist parties in these autonomous communities.

However, NSWP's have also developed in communities without historic or present-day nationalist conflicts, and in some, these types of parties have become well-established. This phenomenon could be observed as early as in the first democratic elections in 1977 and 1979. However, it is from 1983 onward, with the generalization of regional elections and the disappearance of the center-right *Unión de Centro Democrático* (UCD), that we find an expansive NSWP tendency which only stabilized more recently.

While these parties form a group, they display great internal diversity. As is the case among other political organizations, the diversity comes in terms of the organizational model, and internal functioning of these parties, their ideological orientation within the left-right axis, their level of electoral support and parliamentary representation, and, in general, their importance in the political system of the relevant autonomous community. However, for the purposes of this study, we are most interested in the distinctiveness of these options in terms of those elements that distinguish them as a group from the statewide political forces.

Some parties therefore display differences in terms of their territorial scope: some operate in more than one autonomous community (e.g., the Basque Nationalist forces also stand in Navarre; *Tierra Comunera-Partido Nacionalista Castellano* stands in both Castilles and

¹²Thirty-two electoral lists of this type were presented in the 1989 general elections: 50 in the 1991 autonomic elections, 53 in the 1993 general elections, 58 in the autonomic elections of 1995, and 42 in the general elections of 1996. However, the same relatively small group of parties accounts for virtually all of the total electoral support of the NSWP's.

Madrid). There are others who surpass the limits of the state (e.g., HB in the French Basque Country, ERC in Rosellón, also in France). Others define themselves at the level of an island (e.g., Partido Socialista de Menorca, Agrupación Herreña Independiente), a province (e.g., Unidad Alavesa, Unión Democrática Alicantina), or a local area (e.g., Partido de El Bierzo, Unitat d'Aran). However, in the majority of cases, they define themselves at the level of an autonomous community (e.g., Partido Aragonés, Unió Valenciana, Partido Andalucista, etc.).

Equally, if not more important, are the differences they display in terms of their actual nature, that is, of their very conception and political project in relation to the territory and the people around which they define themselves. Hence, we find pro-independence nationalist parties that are defined in terms of a nation other than the Spanish one (e.g., Basque and Catalan). For this reason, they directly question membership in the Spanish state (e.g., HB and ERC). However, some have "moderate" nationalist proposals which, while also establishing the conflict around national differentiation and the concept of nation (e.g., CiU and PNV), do not raise the question of separation from the state, or at least their references to it are very indirect and their value is more "symbolic" than real. Other party stands are of a regionalist type, within the confines of the autonomous community; these do not question the Spanish state or nation but aspire to represent and defend certain particularities or interests of their communities (e.g., PAR, PA, and UV). Finally, other parties, which can be labeled localist, express very different ideas in terms of their territory of reference. These range from demanding greater acknowledgment and a more prominent role in the functioning of the autonomous community, to questioning the localization of their territory in the map of the autonomous communities or expressing cultural-linguistic particularities.

Denomination

This diversity in their very roots, both in terms of their territorial limits and their actual nature, explains why we have initially chosen the appellation non state-wide parties as an attempt to find a comprehensive term for such diverse realities.¹³ This does not imply that we have passed over established terms and concepts (e.g., nationalists and regionalists), but rather there is a need to find the required nomenclature that includes all of these parties, which redounds to a more precise use of those terms which refer to all the parts.

Our intention is not to coin a term for subsequent incorporation into political science dictionaries. However, in the light of the dispersion existing in the denomination of these parties, and given the growing importance

¹³Isidre Molas, "Los Partidos de ámbito no Estatal y los Sistemas de Partidos," *Teoría y práctica de los Partidos Políticos*, ed. Pedro de Vega (Madrid: Edicusa, 1977).

and attention bestowed on this phenomenon, a term should be found that defines its totality and differentiates its parts. The term should integrate cases as diverse as those we have referred to in the Spanish case, as well as in the comparative dimension. In any event, the term should be comprehensive in relation to the traditional expressions of center-periphery conflict, while also encapsulating the new expressions of the "territorial factor" in interparty conflict.

It is certainly true that "negative definitions," as in the case of NSWP, by their very nature have a limited conceptual power, although they can prove operative. While the term "regional parties" is not entirely satisfactory as a means of describing the diverse realities of the phenomenon under study, it might nevertheless be appropriate at the comparative level, because its descriptive limitations may be compensated for by its greater simplicity and the fact that it refers to the most important dimension of the phenomenon under discussion. This would imply conferring a new status on a term widely, if inconsistently, used at the comparative level.

In the Spanish context, however, with manifestly deficient national integration in some territories, the use of the terms "nation" and "region" to refer to these territories is highly politically "charged." Even the 1978 Constitution incorporates the concepts of "nationalities" and "regions" in generic reference to this diversity. All this, for the moment, suggests that using the term "regional" is not advisable.¹⁴ However, the current polysemic use of region, the increasing diffusion of regional as a result of the autonomous communities' participation in a number of supranational forums,¹⁵ and the consolidation and development of the state of the autonomies are all factors favoring the progressive acceptance of this concept at the comparative level.

ELECTORAL SUPPORT AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The NSWPs are a characteristic feature of democratic and autonomous Spain. Given the importance of some of them in the politics of the state and the autonomous communities, as well as their diversity, aspects of the development and electoral strength of these options should be noted.¹⁶ In total, the NSWPs have obtained between 16 and 20 percent of the vote in Spain as a whole, with slightly increasing strength between 1983 and 1995 (Table 1). The results of the last general and autonomic elections appear to indicate, however, that this trend has now come to a standstill, although these global figures hide diverse patterns of evolution. The weight and development of these parties is uneven according to the autonomous community. Thus, in elections in the autonomous communities this type of

¹⁴In Catalonia and the Basque Country, the term "region" is still widely questioned as a definition of the autonomous community.

¹⁵For example, the Assembly of the Regions and the Committee of the Regions of the European Union, etc.

¹⁶Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas en España: 1980-1993," p. 43.

Table 1
Global Results of NSWP, 1983-1995
(Percent votes cast)

	1983 Aut.	1986 Gen.	1987 Aut.	1989 Gen.	1991 Aut.	1993 Gen.	1995 Aut.	Average		Total
								83-95 Aut.	86-93 Gen.	
Basque Country	64.0	53.7	67.0	59.1	66.5	49.7	57.8	63.8	54.2	59.7
Catalonia	52.2	34.4	49.9	35.2	54.1	36.8	50.3	51.6	35.5	44.7
Navarra	42.5	17.2	54.7	19.4	54.5	51.0	33.6	46.3	29.2	39.0
Aragón	20.2	10.8	28.8	11.3	27.1	19.8	19.8	24.0	14.0	19.7
Canary Islands	16.1	15.0	31.1	13.8	37.5	27.5	27.5	28.1	18.8	24.1
Galicia	12.7	11.7	23.0	10.8	16.8	8.3	19.0	17.9	10.3	14.6
Balearic Islands	20.3	9.2	15.0	3.1	13.5	4.9	21.3	17.5	5.7	12.5
Valencia	2.9	5.1	9.5	8.9	14.5	6.3	9.7	9.2	6.8	8.1
Andalusia	5.4	3.6	6.7	6.2	10.8	3.5	6.1	7.3	4.4	6.0
Cantabria	6.6	0	12.7	0.1	39.5	13.8	31.5	22.6	4.6	14.9
La Rioja	7.4	0	6.3	0	5.3	4.4	6.7	6.4	1.5	4.3
Extremadura	8.4	2.6	5.8	1.8	4.0	1.0	5.1	5.8	1.8	4.1
Castilla-León	2.0	0.1	3.0	0.3	3.1	0.1	3.2	2.8	0.2	1.7
Murcia	2.7	0.3	0.4	0	3.0	0	0	1.5	0.1	0.9
Asturias	0	0	1.3	0.6	2.7	1.6	3.3	1.8	0.7	.4
Castilla-Mancha	0	0	0.3	0	0.8	0	0	0.3	0.0	0.2
Madrid	0	0	0.1	0.1	0.7	0	0	0.2	0.0	0.1
Spain	16.6	11.4	18.5	12.5	20.1	12.8	17.3	18.1	12.2	15.6

Source: Francesc Pallarés. "Las elecciones autonómicas en España: 1980-1993." In *Elecciones y comportamiento electoral en España*, ed. Pilar del Castillo, Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1994; Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las elecciones Autonómicas 1995," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1995*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1996).

option was supported by two-thirds of voters in the Basque Country, about half the voters in Catalonia, and, before the integration of the Partido Popular (PP) of Navarre into the Union del Pueblo Navarro, the NSWPs received a similar proportion of the votes in that autonomous community.¹⁷

¹⁷The results for this type of party by autonomous community are reported in the following sources: Francesc Pallarés, "Las elecciones de 1989 en España," *Informe Pi I Sunyer sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1989*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Civitas, 1990); Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Generales de 1993 en España y las Comunidades Autónomas," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1993*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1994); Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las Elecciones Generales de 1996 en España y en las Comunidades Autónomas," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1996*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1997). For the European Elections, see Francesc Pallarés and Ramón Canals, "Spain (1987, 1989)," *Europe Votes*, ed. Tom Mackie (Dartmouth: Aldershot, 1990); Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las Elecciones Europeas de 1994 en España," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1994*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1995). For the elections in the thirteen ACs where same-day elections are held, see Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1991 en España: Una Visión General," *Informe Pi I Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1991* dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Fundación Pi I Sunyer, 1992); Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1995 en: Aragón, Asturias, Baleares, Canarias, Cantabria, Castilla-León, Castilla La Mancha, Comunidad Valenciana, Extremadura, Madrid, Murcia, La Rioja, Navarra," *Informe Comunidades*

It should be noted that the nationalist options in Catalonia and the Basque Country account for three-fourths of the voters and members of the autonomous parliaments of all the NSWPs in Spain. The electoral support and influence of the NSWPs are also significant in the Canaries and Aragon, where they gain some 25-35 percent of the vote. The NSWPs have received less support (15-25 percent) in Galicia, where the development of this option has been irregular, and in the Balearic Islands until 1991.¹⁸ Electoral support for NSWPs has also been very irregular in Cantabria, where in 1991 they won 40 percent of the vote mainly due to the success of the Unión para el Progreso de Cantabria (UPCA). However, the accentuated personalism of the UPCA and its somewhat outlandish history impose great caution in relation to the permanence of this option. In Valencia and Andalusia NSWPs gain some 10 percent of the vote, around 5 to 8 percent in La Rioja and Extremadura, and their presence is far weaker in the rest of the autonomous communities.

In addition to the differences in electoral support for NSWPs among autonomous communities, the space of the NSWP is also structured very differently in the autonomous communities. The results of the 1991 and 1995 autonomic elections for the principal state-wide parties and for those

Autonómicas 1995, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1996); Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de Mayo de 1995 en España: Una perspectiva general," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1995*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1996). For the autonomic elections in Catalonia in ESE in 1981 and 1990, see Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1992 en Cataluña," *Informe Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1992*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto Derecho Público, 1993); Francesc Pallarés and Joan Font, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas en Cataluña 1980-1992," *Elecciones y Comportamiento Electoral en España*, ed. Pilar del Castillo (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1994); Francesc Pallarés, Josep Soler, and Joan Font, "Las elecciones Autonómicas de 1995 en Cataluña," *Informe Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1995*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1996). For the Basque Country, see Francisco Llera, "Continuidad y Cambio en el Sistema de Partidos Vasco: 1997-1987," *Revista de Estudios Políticos* 59 (1988); Francisco Llera, "The Construction of the Basque Polarized Pluralism," *Working Papers* (Barcelona: Institut de Ciències Polítiques I Socials, 1993); Francisco Llera, "Los Vascos y la Política," (Bilbao: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad de País Vasco, 1990). For the autonomic elections in Galicia in 1981, see Roberto Blanco, "Las Elecciones en Galicia y el Subsistema de Partidos Regional (1977-1982)," *Los procesos de Formación de las Comunidades Autónomas*, ed. Parlamento Vasco (Granada: Gráficas de Sur, 1984); A. Vara and X.L. Viela, *Elecciones Autonómicas 1989: El Regreso de la Derecha* (La Coruña: Biblioteca Gallega, 1989); Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1989 en Galicia," *Informe Pi i Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1989*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Civitas, 1990); Francesc Pallarés, "The 1993 Elections to the Autonomous Community of Galicia," *Regional Politics and Policy* 4 (Summer 1994). For the autonomic elections in Andalusia, see José R. Montero and Antonio Porras, "Las Elecciones del 23 de Mayo de 1982 en Andalucía," *El Parlamento de Andalucía*, eds. Javier Pérez-Royo and Antonio Perras (Madrid: Technos, 1987); José R. Montero, "Voto Nacional y Voto Autonómico: La Decisión de Voto en las Elecciones de 1986 en Andalucía," *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas* 42 (1988); Juan Montabes, "Las elecciones Generales y Autonómicas de 21 de Junio de 1986 en Andalucía: Antecedentes, Significación Política y Análisis de los Resultados," *Revista de Derecho Político* 25 (1988); Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1990 en Andalucía," *Informe Pi i Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1990*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Civitas, 1991); Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "The Autonomous Election of 1994 in Andalusia," *Regional and Federal Studies* 5 (Autumn 1995); Francesc Pallarés, and Josep Soler, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1996 en Andalucía," *In Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1996*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto Derecho Público, 1997), forthcoming.

¹⁸Since 1991, this figure has been significantly lower, as Unió Mallorquina (UM) has stood in a pre-electoral coalition with the PP. However, the autonomic elections of 1995 showed increased global electoral support for these options.

NSWPs that obtained parliamentary representation in the assemblies of their respective autonomous communities provide, in general, a clear panorama of the structure of the space of the NSWPs in each autonomous community (Table 2 and Table 3).

Table 2
Results of the 1991 Autonomic Elections*
(Percent votes cast)

1991	PP	CDS	PSOE	IU	NSWP
Andalusia (1990)	22.08	1.18	49.36	12.63	10.71 (PA)
Catalonia (1992)	5.96	0.91	27.53	6.51	46.20 (CiU) 7.96 (ERC)
Galicia (1989)	43.65	2.86	32.41	1.48	3.74 (PSG) 9.71 (BNPG)
Basque Country (1990)	8.13	0.65	19.68	1.40	28.12 (PNV) 11.23 (EA) 7.68 (EE) 18.10 (HB) 1.3 (UA)
Aragón	20.54	3.06	40.06	6.70	24.51 (PAR)
Asturias	29.80	6.68	40.07	14.57	2.69 (CA)
Balearic Islands	47.04	2.91	29.92	2.27	6.59 (PSM-NM) 2.47 (UIM) 1.36 (EEM) 0.70 (FIEF)
Canary Islands	12.75	14.33	32.77	12.13	22.52 (AIC) 0.70 (AM) 0.21 (AHI)
Cantabria	14.24	2.64	34.12	4.31	33.07 (UPCA) 6.30 (PRC)
Castilla-León	43.11	8.07	36.10	5.31	
Castilla-La Mancha	36.35	3.54	52.91	6.26	
Extremadura	26.42	5.68	53.44	7.03	
C.A. de Madrid	42.44	3.31	36.41	11.99	
C.A. de Murcia	33.19	4.96	44.84	10.11	
Navarra	0.00	2.04	33.11	4.03	34.69 (UPN) 5.48 (EA) 11.11 (HB)
La Rioja	41.37	4.33	42.04	4.49	5.34 (PR)
Valencian Community	27.66	3.78	42.61	7.49	10.31 (UV)

Source: Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones de 1989 en España," *Informe Pi I Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1989*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Civitas, 1990); Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones de 1990 en Andalucía," *Informe Pi I Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1990*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Civitas, 1991); Francesc Pallarés, "Las elecciones de 1990 en el País Vasco," *Informe Pi I Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1990*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Civitas, 1991); Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1991 España. Una Visión General," *Informe Pi I Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1990*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Fundación Pi I Sunyer, 1992); Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1992 en Cataluña," *Informe Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1992*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1993).

*Parties with representatives in the autonomic parliaments.

Table 3
Results of the 1995 Autonomic Elections*
(Percent votes cast)

1995)	PP	CDS	PSOE	IU	NSWP
Andalusía(1996)	33.75	-	43.78	13.88	6.62 (PA)
Catalonia(1995)	13.0	-	24.8	9.7	40.8 (CiU) 9.5 (ERC)
Galicia(1993)	51.9	-	23.6	3.1	18.3 (BNG)
Basque Country (1994)	14.4	-	17.1	9.1	29.8 (PNV) 16.3 (HB) 10.3 (EA) 2.7 (UA)
Aragón	37.30	0.00	25.58	9.16	20.32 (PAR) 5.01 (ChA)
Asturias	41.53	1.76	33.46	16.24	3.15 (PA)
Balearic Islands	44.52	0.00	23.83	6.57	12.55 (PSM) 5.29 (UM)
Canary Islands	30.91	0.67	22.97	5.07	32.61 (CC) 3.35 (PCN)
Cantabria	32.20	0.39	24.91	7.29	16.49 (UPCA) 14.44 (PRC)
Castilla-León	51.48	0.00	29.30	9.44	2.53 (UPL)
Castilla-La Mancha	43.64	0.00	45.02	7.49	
Extremadura	39.27	0.00	43.72	10.49	3.8 (CE)
C.A. de Madrid	50.79	0.00	29.61	15.97	
C.A. de Murcia	45.93	0.61	28.02	10.96	
Navarra	31.10	0.00	20.71	9.27	18.4 (CDN) 9.25 (HB) 4.53 (EA)
La Rioja	49.09	0.00	33.85	7.16	6.65 (PR)
Community Valencia	42.69	0.23	33.87	11.50	6.98 (UV)

Source: Francesc Palleres, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1993 en Galicia," *Informe Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1993*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1994); Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las Elecciones Generales de 1996 en España y en las Comunidades Autónomas," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1996*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1997); Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las elecciones Europeas de 1994 en España," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1994*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1995); Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1995 en: Aragón, Asturias, Baleares, Canarias, Cantabria, Castilla-León, Castilla La Mancha, Comunidad Valenciana, Extremadura, Madrid, Murcia, La Rioja, Navarra," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1995*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1996); Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de May de 1995 en España: Una Perspectiva General," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1995*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1996); Francesc Pallarés, Josep Soler, and Joan Font, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1995 en Cataluña," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1995*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1996).

*Parties with representatives in the autonomic parliaments.

The Basque Country and Navarre display a high overall level of support for NSWP options and show the most fragmented space, the result of virtually a single common denominator: the fragmentation of the Basque nationalist space. In the Basque Country, the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV) followed by Herri Batasuna (HB), Euzko Alkartasuna (EA), and until its recent disappearance, Euskadiko Ezkerra (EE), have shared the nationalist political space with a significant level of electoral support. The emergence of a "foralist-regionalist" option restricted to the province of Alava (Unidad Alavesa) adds a further element of complexity and fragmentation in the Basque party system.¹⁹ In Navarre, the space of the NSWPs is also complex and fragmented, divided between regionalist options (Unión del Pueblo Navarro [UPN]) and Basque nationalists (basically HB and EA).²⁰

In Catalonia, where the NSWPs as a whole are also strongly established, there is the clear hegemony of moderate nationalism represented by *Convergència i Unió* (CiU). The second nationalist option is the leftist *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*, which has adopted an openly pro-independence stance.²¹ With a lower total level of support, the space of the NSWPs in Aragon is almost entirely articulated around the *Partido Aragonés* (PAR). The situation in the Canaries²² is more complex and volatile. Alongside the dominant *Agrupaciones Independientes de Canarias* (AIC), the *Centro Canario*, the new name of the important Canary organization of the *Centro Democrático y Social* (CDS), was added recently. The latter,

¹⁹For the development of the nationalist options within the framework of the Basque party system, see Francisco J. Llera, *Post Franquismo y Fuerzas Políticas en Euskadi: Sociología Electoral del País Vasco* (Bilbao: Universidad de País Vasco, 1985); Llera, "The Construction of the Basque Polarized Pluralism"; Llera, *Los Vascos y la Política*.

²⁰For an overview of the evolution of the party system in Navarre, see Francisco J. Llera, "Continuidad y Cambio en el Sistema de Partidos Navarra: 1977-1987" *Revista Internacional de Sociología* 47 (1989). For more recent developments, see Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1991 en Navarra," *Informe Pi i Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1991*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Fundación Pi i Sunyer, 1992); Pallarés and Soler, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1995."

²¹In relation to Catalan electoral support and position in the party system, see Equip de Sociologia Electoral, *Estudis Electorals/3: Atlas Electoral de Catalunya; 1976-1980* (Barcelona: Fundació Jaume Bofill, 1981); Equip de Sociologia Electoral, *Estudis Electorals/9: Atlas electoral de Catalunya 1982-1988* (Barcelona: Fundació Jaume Bafill, 1990); Rosa Virós, "Comportament Electoral a Catalunya," *Visió de Catalunya. El Camí cap a la Reconstrucció Nacional des de la Perspectiva Sociològica* (Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona, 1987); Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1992 en Calaluña"; Pallarés and Font, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas en Calaluña 1980-1992"; Pallarés, Soler, and Font, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1995 en Calaluña." For a study of *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya*, the principal component of CiU, see Joan Marcet, *Convergència Democràtica de Calaluña: El Partido y el Movimiento Político* (Madrid: Siglo XXI Ediciones/Contra de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1987).

²²To understand the context of *islandism* and the electoral development of the Canary Islands, see Juan Hernández Bravo de Laguna, *Las Elecciones Políticas en Canarias 1976-1986* (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Consejería de la Presidencia del Gobierno de Canarias, 1987); Juan Hernández Bravo de Laguna, "El Insularismo Canario: Caracterización Política, Ofertas Electorales y Resultados," *Papers* 33 (1990); Gumersindo Trujillo, "La Actividad de las Comunidades Autónomas: Canarias," *Informe Pi i Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1991*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1992); Gumersindo Trujillo, "La Actividad de las Comunidades Autónomas: Canarias," *Informe Pi i Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1993*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1994); Gumersindo Trujillo, "La actividad de las Comunidades Autónomas: Canarias," *Informe Pi i Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1995*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1996); Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1991 en Canarias," *Informe Pi i Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1991*, Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Fundación Pi i Sunyer, 1992); Pallarés and Soler, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1995."

along with other NSWPs, makes up Coalición Canaria (CC), now governing in the Islands.

Galicia²³ and the Balearic Islands²⁴ both display an average level of support for NSWPs, but with distinct structures. In Galicia, this space has come to be consolidated around the Bloque Nacionalista Galego (BNG), which is establishing itself as the hegemonic option. In the Balearic Islands, the stable pre-electoral coalition of the main regionalist party Unió Mallorquina (UM) and the Partido Popular (PP) has led to a decline in the NSWPs' electoral support. Their space is now divided between small nationalist and regionalist groups with strong island-based connotations.

Another group of autonomous communities shows slightly weaker electoral support. NSWPs in Andalusia²⁵ had been almost exclusively represented by the Partido Andalucista (PA) until the recent split of the Partido Andaluz de Progreso (PAP). Until now, this division harmed both parties and reduced the space occupied by the NSWP in this autonomous community. In the Comunidad Valenciana,²⁶ the Unió Valenciana (UV) is clearly hegemonic within the NSWP space, although one other party has competed in recent elections. In Cantabria, "traditional" regionalism is represented by the Partido Regionalista de Cantabria (PRC), while the Unión para el Progreso de Cantabria (UPCA) was a mainly personalist option linked to the controversial figure of the president of the region until 1995.²⁷

²³Blanco, "Las Elecciones en Galicia"; José Pérez Vilarriña, *Comportamiento Electoral y Nacionalismo en Cataluña, Galicia y País Vasco* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1987); Vara and Vilela, *Elecciones autonómicas 1989*; Pallarés, "The 1993 Elections in the Autonomous Community of Galicia."

²⁴The electoral development of the regional and nationalist parties in the Balearics is traced in Jordi Sánchez, "El Comportament Electoral a les Balears: Factors, Tendències (1977-1989)," *Memòria de Llicenciatura* (Barcelona: Facultat de Ciències Polítiques i de Sociologia, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1990).

²⁵For an overview of the development of Andalusianism within the framework of Andalusian electoral development, see, Montero, "Voto Nacional y Voto Autonómico"; José R. Montero, "Las Dimensiones de la Competencia Electoral en la Comunidad Autónoma de Andalucía: Conciencia Regional y Posiciones Ideológicas," *Autonomías* 9 (1988); José R. Montero, "Elecciones Autonómicas en Andalucía 1982-1986," *Parlamento y Sociedad en Andalucía*, ed. Juan B. Canol (Sevilla: Parlamento de Andalucía, 1988); José Cazorla and Juan Montabes, "Resultados Electorales y Actitudes Políticas en Andalucía (1990-1991)," *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas* 56 (1991); Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1990 en Andalucía"; Pallarés and Soler, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1996 en Andalucía." For an account of the origins of the Partido Andalucista, see Miguel Jérez, "Una Experiencia de Partido Regional: El caso de Partido Socialista de Andalucía," *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas* 30 (1985).

²⁶For an overview of Valencian regionalist and nationalist parties and their location within the AC, see Manuel Martínez Sospedra "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1983," *Revista Valenciana d'Estudis Autònomic* 7 (1987); Lluís Aguiló, "Subsistema de Partidos Políticos: el caso Valenciano," *Revista Valenciana de Estudios Autonómicos* 8 (1987).

²⁷To follow this process from an institutional perspective, see Luis Martín Rebollo "La actividad de las Comunidades Autónomas: Cantabria," *Informe Pi i Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1991*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Fundación Pi i Sunyer, 1992); Luis Martín Rebollo, "La Actividad de las Comunidades Autónomas: Cantabria," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1992*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto Derecho Público, 1993); Luis Martín Rebollo, "La Actividad de las Comunidades Autónomas: Cantabria," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1993*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1994); Luis Martín Rebollo, "La Actividad de las Comunidades Autónomas: Cantabria," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1995*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1996); Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1991 en Cantabria," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1991*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Fundación Pi i Sunyer, 1992); Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Generales de 1993 en España y las Comunidades Autonómicas."

In Extremadura, where electoral support for NSWPs is much weaker, this space has also experienced an irregular process without a consolidated option, and now Coalición Extremeña (CE) is the expression of unity after the division between Extremadura Unida (EU) and the Partido Regionalista de Extremadura (PREX). In contrast, in La Rioja, the Partido Riojano (PR) remains the only NSWP option.

Table 4
Autonomic Parliaments: Number of Seats Won by Party in 1991 Elections

	PP	CDS	PSOE	PCE	NSWP	Total
Andalusia (1990)	27	0	61	11	10 (PA)	109
Catalonia (1992)	7	0	40	7	70 (CiU) 11 (ERC)	135
Galicia (1989)	38	0	28	0	2 (PSG) 5 (BNG)	75
Basque Country (1990)	6	0	16	0	22 (PNV) 9 (EA) 6 (EE) 13 (HB) 3 (UA)	75
Aragón	17	0	30	3	17 (PA)	67
Asturias	15	2	21	6	1 (CA)	45
Balearic Islands	31		21		1 (UIM-IM) 1 (FIEF) 3 (PSM-NM) 2 (EEM)	59
Canary Islands	6	7	23	5	16 (AIC) 1 (AHI) 2 (AM)	60
Cantabria	6		16		15 (UPCA) 2 (PRC)	39
Castilla-León	43	5	35	1		84
Castilla-La Mancha	19		27	1		47
Extremadura	19	3	39	4		65
C.A. de Madrid	47		41	13		101
C.A. de Murcia	17		24	4		45
Navarra			19	2	20 (UPN) 3 (EA) 6 (HB)	50
La Rioja	15		16		2 (PR)	33
Community Valenciana	31		45	6	7 (UV)	89

Source: Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones de 1989 en España," *Informe Pi i Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1989*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Civitas, 1990). Francesc Pallarés, "Las elecciones de 1990 en Andalucía," *Informe Pi i Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1990*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Civitas, 1991). Francesc Pallarés, "Las elecciones de 1990 en el País Vasco," *Informe Pi i Sunyer Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1990*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Civitas, 1991). Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autónomas de 1991 en España. Una Visión General." *In Informe Pi i Sunyer sobre las comunidades autónomas 1990*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Fundación Pi I Sunyer, 1992). Francesc Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autónomas de 1992 en Cataluña," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1992*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1993).

Table 5
Autonomic Parliaments:
Number of Seats Won by Party in 1995 Elections

1995	PP	CDS	PSOE	IU	NSWP	Total
Andalusía (1996)	40		52	13	4 (PA)	109
Catalonia (1996)	17		34	11	60 (CiU)	135
					13 (ERC)	
Galicia (1993)	43		19		13 (BNG)	75
Basque Country (1994)	11		12	6	22 (PNV)	75
					11 (HB)	
					8 (EA)	
					5 (UA)	
Aragón	27		19	5	14 (PAR)	67
					2 (Ch.A.)	
Asturias	21		17	6	1 (PA)	45
Balearic Islands	30		16	3	6 (PSM)	59
					2 (UM)	
					1 (AIPF)	
					1 (EVIB)	
Canary Islands	18		16		21 (CC)	60
					4 (PCN)	
					1 (AHI)	
Cantabria	13		10	3	7 (UPCA)	39
					6 (PRC)	
Castilla-León	50		27	5	2 (UPL)	84
Castilla-Man	22		24	1		47
Extremadura	27		31	6	1 (CE)	65
C.A. de Madrid	54		32	17		103
C.A. de Murcia	26		15	4		45
Navarra	17		11	5	10 (CDN)	50
					5 (HB)	
					2 (EA)	
La Rioja	17		12	2	2 (PR)	33
Community Valenciana	42		32	10	5 (UV)	89

Source: Franscec Pallares, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1993 en Galicia," *Informe Sobre las Comunidades Autónomas 1993*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1994); Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las Elecciones Generales de 1996 en España y en las Comunidades Autónomas," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1996*, dir. Eliseo Aja (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1997); Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las Elecciones Europeas de 1994 en España," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1994*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1995); Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1995 en: Aragón, Asturias, Baleares, Canarias, Cantabria, Castilla-León, Castilla La Mancha, Comunidad Valenciana, Extremadura, Madrid, Murcia, La Rioja, Navarra," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1995*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1996); Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de May de 1995 en España: Una Perspectiva General," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1995*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1996); Francesc Pallarés, Josep Soler, and Joan Font, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1995 en Cataluña," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1995*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1996).

The participation of NSWPs in the governments of the autonomous communities (as presented in Table 4, Table 5, and Table 6), is the final part of our overview of the NSWPs. In terms of access to and control of government resources in the respective autonomous communities, it should initially be noted that CiU has been in power in Catalonia since 1980, with an absolute

Table 6
Participation of NSWP in the Autonomic Governments*

	1980	1983	1987	1991	1995
Balearic Islands		AP (m)	AP/UM (m)	PP/UM	PP (M)
Cantabria		AP(M) AP (m)	AP (M) PSOE/PP/ PRC/CDS	PP (M) UPCA (m)	PP+PRC
Galicia		AP (m)	AP (m) PSOE/CG/PNG	PP (M)	PP (M)
Basque C.	PNV (m)	PNV (m)	PNV+PSOE	PNV+EA+EE PNV+PSOE+EE PNV+PSOE	PNV+PSOE+EA
Navarra		PSOE (m)	PSOE (m)	UPN (m)	CDN+PSOE+EA
Catalonia	CiU (m)	CiU (M)	CiU (M)	CiU (M)	CiU (m)
Canary Islands		PSOE (m)	CDS+AIC+AP CDS+AIC	AIC+PSOE CC	CC+PP
Community Valenciana		PSOE (ma)	PSOE (m)	PSOE (ma)	PP+UV
Aragón		PSOE (m)	PAR (m)	PAR+PP PSOE(m)	PP+PAR

*(M) = absolute majority.
(m) = minority.
(+) = coalition.

majority from 1984 to 1995 and with a comfortable minority after that election. The PNV has also been in the Basque government since 1980, but in this case never with an absolute majority. Since a split in 1986 that led to the formation of yet another moderate NSWP, the PNV has been forced to form coalition governments.

Forming either minority or coalition governments, other NSWPs have also been in power in their respective autonomous communities since 1987. This is the case of UM as a result of its pre-electoral coalition with the PP in the Balearic Islands until 1995, of the former AIC and currently of the CC in Canarias, and of the PAR in Aragón. Equally, the UPN in Navarre, in which the organization of the PP had already been integrated, governed between 1991 and 1995, when the election results forced UPN to give way

to a coalition government between EA, PSOE, and Convergencia de los Demócratas Navarros (CDN). The latter NSWPs is a spin-off from the UPN.

Participation rates in governments by the other NSWPs has been much lower and limited to a secondary position in coalition governments. This is the case of the PRC in Cantabria and of Coalición Galega (CG) and the Partido Nacionalista Galego (PNG) in Galicia, which have all participated in PSOE-led governments originating from censure motions. After the 1995 elections, in Cantabria the PRC joined a coalition government led by the PP.

Some NSWPs have not only played an important role in their respective autonomous communities but have also played a prominent role at the central government level. In this respect, the strident positions of the Basque and Catalan nationalists in the constitutional process were noteworthy. Also notable was the noncoalitional, but critical, support given by CiU to the UCD governments in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as well as the role played by the then Partido Socialista Andaluz, now PA, in voting for the investiture of Adolpho Suárez (UCD) as prime minister in 1979. As a consequence of the 1993 election results, however, the CiU, a nationalist force, has been most decisive for governance at the central level, with its support for those minority governments of the PSOE until 1995. Finally, after 1996 elections, the PP now governs with the support of three nationalist parties: CiU, PNV, and the Canarian CC.²⁸

This view of the importance of the electoral space covered by the NSWPs suggests that state-wide parties display shortcomings as instruments of political integration at the level of the state, particularly in some autonomous communities. Judging from the positions of the NSWPs that compete with state-wide parties in the communities in question, these problems would appear in many cases to be derived from the already historic deficits of national integration in the context of the Spanish state. This clearly is the case in Catalonia and the Basque Country. In other cases, or sometimes simultaneously, it seems that they appear in the intersection of the dual process mentioned earlier. That is, they are a consequence of the actual process of the configuration of a party system in the context of the parallel process of the creation and development of a state of autonomies.

ATTITUDINAL CHARACTERIZATION: THE NATIONAL/REGIONAL DIMENSION

It is not at all common, at least at the academic level, to have access to Spanish survey samples that are disaggregated by region. For that reason, with the exception of a number of studies on the Basque Country and Catalonia, there are very few analyses of the attitudinal bases of the NSWPs'

²⁸Francesc Pallarés and Josep Soler, "Las Elecciones Generales de 1996 en España y en las Comunidades Autónomas," *Informe Comunidades Autónomas 1996*, dir. Eliseo Aja. (Barcelona: Instituto de Derecho Público, 1997).

support in the different autonomous communities.²⁹ Within the framework of a wider ranging study, however, we have gained access to recent polls with sufficiently large samples.³⁰ On the basis of these surveys, we can present a preliminary analysis of the electoral support of the NSWPs in terms of a series of attitudinal variables referring to the national-regional dimension, the important dimension along which these parties define themselves.

We intend to contribute to the characterization of NSWP options in two ways. First, we can supply a more solid empirical base for the distinction between nationalist and regionalist parties, not from the pronouncements of these parties but from the attitudes of their voters. Characterizations such as "nationalists," "regionalists," and "radical nationalists" have generally been applied in relation to the proposals of these parties. We know very little, however, about the attitudes of the electorates of these parties, save the Basque Country and Catalonia.³¹ Even less is known about the hypothetical similarities and differences between the voters of these parties and those of the other parties, particularly regarding their ideological and symbolic positions in relation to the territorial sphere which they identify as their reason for being and on which they project their activity. This correspondence is an essential element if we are to use these denominations correctly.

The discriminatory capacity of some of these attitudinal variables in the party system of each autonomous community should provide us with significant information about the role played by the "territorial factor" within that community. We should learn the extent to which the emergence of these options corresponds to the traditional idea of conflict in the center-periphery dimension or whether other types of problems and conflicts are being expressed under a similar guise.

The following attitudinal dimensions will be examined: (1) subjective national/regional identification; (2) the national/regional conception of the actual autonomous community; (3) intensity of nationalist/regionalist sentiments; (4) preferences in relation to the territorial organization of

²⁹For a comparative perspective, see José R. Montero and Mariano Torcal, "Autonomías y Comunidades Autónomas en España," *Revista de Estudios Políticos* 70 (1990). Also for an initial look at the profiles of the main NSWPs on a left/right plane and in subjective orientation, see Pallarés, "Estado Autonómico y Sistema de Partidos." For a more limited examination of the historic nationalistic communities, see Gunter, Sani, and Shabad, *Spain After Franco*; Goldie Shabad, "Las Elecciones de 1982 y las Autonomías," *Crisis y Cambio: Electores y Partidos en la España de los Ochenta*, eds. Juan J. Linz and José R. Montero (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1986); Goldie Shabad, "After Autonomy," *The Politics of Democratic Spain*, ed. Stanley G. Payne (Chicago: Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 1987). At the AC level, the only available studies are Juan J. Linz and José R. Montero, *Crisis y Cambio Electores y Partidos en la España de los Ochenta* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Constitucionales, 1986); Llera, "Continuidad y Cambio en la Política Vasca"; and Llera, *Los Vascos y la Política*.

³⁰Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS), surveys 2025 to 2041, November 1992.

³¹The exhaustive study by Juan J. Linz, "De la Crisis de un Estado Unitario al Estado de las Autonomías," (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Sociales, 1982) is an outstanding example. See also, Juan J. Linz, Manuel Gómez-Reino, Francisco Drizo, and Darío Vila, *Informe Sociológico Sobre el Cambio Político en España (1975-1981)* (Madrid: Euramérica, 1981); Gunther, Sani, and Shabad, *Spain After Franco*; Shabad, "Las Elecciones de 1982 y las Autonomías"; Pallarés, "Estado Autonómico y Sistema de Partidos."

the state; and (5) party images. For purposes of parsimony and in relation to their importance in the party system of each autonomous community, we have limited our analysis to: PNV, HB, CiU, ERC, BNG, PAR, AIC, UV, PA, and UPCA.

Subjective National/Regional Identity

Identity is the traditional indicator of national integration in most studies. It refers to perceptions of conflict or otherwise strong feelings between territorial identities: the "national" one, referring to the level of the state, and the "national" (or "regional") one referring to a territorial area within the state.³² The existence of groups of citizens who reject any connotation of accepting identification with the nation-state reflects a lack of consensus in relation to the existence of a single state-based and legitimated "political community." It is well known that these problems of national integration usually find their political expression in nationalist options.

In the country as a whole, Spanish and "regional" identities are compatible for three out of four Spaniards, either in a balanced form (51 percent), or emphasizing the "regional" (13 percent) or Spanish (10 percent) component (data table not displayed). Only a minority express an exclusive identification, either Spanish (16 percent) or "regional" (6 percent).³³ The distinct autonomous communities display notorious variations of this distribution. Thus, Extremadura, Aragon, Murcia, Andalusia, Asturias, Cantabria, and the Comunidad Valenciana are those in which the highest percentage of electors express a shared, but balanced, Spanish and "regional" identity, the type of identity which predominates in all the communities. On the other hand, Canaries, Galicia, the Balears, Catalonia, Navarre, and the Basque Country are those which display the largest number of shared but preferentially "regional" identities. The Basque Country (20 percent) and Catalonia (15 percent) display the highest proportion of exclusively "regional" identifications.

In Table 7, we have selected the communities in which the NSWPs are of most significance. For each of these, we present the corresponding distribution of identities and that of each of the NSWPs. As demonstrated, only the nationalist parties in the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia show a high proportion of exclusivist "regional level" identities. Equally, only among these electorates is the percentage of shared but preferentially "regional"

³²The question asked was: "Which of the following phrases best expresses your feelings: (a) I only feel Spanish, (b) I feel more Spanish than... (e.g., Basque); (c) I feel as much Spanish as...; (d) I feel more... than Spanish; (e) and I only feel..."

³³This indicator has been used in other countries, e.g., Richard Rose, *Governing Without Consensus: An Irish Perspective* (Boston: Beacon, 1971); Jack J. Brandt, J. Mitchell, and P. Surridge, "Identity and Vote: Class, Nationality and Religion in Scotland" (paper presented at the Political Studies Association Meeting, Colchester, University of Essex, 1992); Maurice Pinard, "Self-Determination in Quebec: Loyalties, Incentives and Constitution/Options Among French-Speaking Quebecers," *Resolving Nationality Conflicts*, eds. W. Phillips Davidson and Leon Gordenker (New York: Praeger, 1980); H. J. Kerr, Jr., *Switzerland: Social Cleavages and Partisan Conflict* (London: Sage, 1974).

Table 7
Subjective National (or Regional) Identity
Percent of Voters

	Basque	PNV	EA	HB	Cat	CiU	ERC	Gal	BNG
Spanish	9	5	2	-	20	7	-	7	1
Spanish >CA	8	4	-	-	8	6	-	6	2
CA = Spanish	35	34	24	6	35	33	19	54	25
CA >Spanish	20	37	25	9	20	31	29	25	47
Only Aut.	20	17	44	81	15	23	52	7	21
NA	8 (1615)	3 (309)	4 (69)	4 (143)	2 (2470)	1 (734)	- (112)	2 (2192)	3 (110)

	And	PA	Arag	PAR	Ctbr	UPCA	Val.	UV	Canr	AIC
Spanish	8	7	11	9	18	17	21	2	6	5
Spanish >CA	9	8	10	12	9	6	11	3	3	1
CA = Spanish	64	60	66	68	57	68	56	68	44	38
CA >Span.	13	19	9	9	6	6	8	23	31	41
Only Aut.	2	3	1	1	0	0	1	3	7	4
NA	4 (4446)	2 (272)	3 (1549)	1 (261)	10 (521)	4 (84)	3 (1780)	2 (92)	9 (1085)	12 (84)

Source: *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (Madrid, November 1992).

identities equal or superior to that of the shared-balanced identities. Overall, in one form or another, the exclusively or preferentially "regional" identification is much more present among the voters of these nationalist parties than it is among the voters of the community as a whole. This is true even though the presence of this type of identity is already much larger in these autonomous communities.

In contrast, this is not the case in regard to the NSWPs in the other communities, whose profile of identities is virtually identical to that of the autonomous community. In these cases, identity is concentrated in the shared-balanced identity. This observation requires further comment. For instance, the Canaries, with a notable presence of preferentially "regional" identities, is something of an exception, forming a distinct context, but one in which the AIC, despite the greater importance of preferentially Canarian identities among its electors, does not present an identity profile clearly differentiated from that in the autonomous community as a whole. In the identities of the electorate of UV, the presence of the Valencian component is much stronger than in the average of the autonomous community. Just the opposite is true of the "Spanish" component; the presence of this in the identities of UV's voters is clearly below average.

Overall, these results suggest four identity conclusions:

First, there is an element of differentiation between the electorates of NSWPs, which define themselves as "nationalist" or as "regionalists." In the case of the former, "exclusivist" regional identities make up more than 20 percent of their voters, and if we add in those who express a preferentially "regional identity," this percentage is over 50 percent. In contrast, among the "regionalist" parties, there are no exclusivist identities. Preferentially "regional" identities do not exceed 25 percent of the electors (except in the Canary Islands), and the shared-balanced identity clearly predominates.

Second, an element of differentiation emerges between the electorates of the nationalist-pro-independence and the moderate-nationalist parties. The former are predominantly based on exclusivist identities, although somewhat less so in the case of ERC than that of HB. In contrast, the composition of the latter is more equally distributed among the three types of identities with a "regional" component, namely between the shared-balanced, the preferentially "regional" and the exclusivist identity, with a slightly weaker presence of the latter.

Third, there is a different role of the subjective national/regional identity in the perception and articulation of the party system in the communities with nationalist NSWPs compared to those where they do not exist. In the latter, the similarity of the profiles of the regionalist parties with those of the community as a whole indicate that the subjective regional identity does not refer to a discriminatory dimension in the party system and, hence, is not an axis articulating political conflict. The opposite is true of those communities with "nationalist" NSWPs. In these, the connection with a polarizing dimension of the party system can be clearly seen.

Fourth, the high proportion of people with a shared-balanced identity among the voters of the moderate nationalist parties, exemplified by CiU and the PNV, the most important NSWPs in their respective communities and at the state level, is significant. This indicates that their capacity to attract electoral support transcends those voters who are attitudinally receptive to the symbolic-ideological aspects of nationalist ideas. The significant degree of penetration of these parties among a broader electorate with a shared-balanced identity not only corresponds with the political practice of moderate nationalism, but no doubt also electorally conditions potential radical nationalist temptations, because doing so would run the serious risk of losing at least one-third of their voters. On this basis, when inserting their political activity into the state-level politics, we conclude that they are carrying out an aspect of political integration. In the context of problems of national integration that they express, they are revealed in the attitudes of a large part of their electors.

Nation or Region

The actual symbolic representation—as nation or as region³⁴—which the voters hold in relation to their referential substate territory is a key element for the study of problems of national integration. The existence of “national” representations referring to a substate level often reflects weaknesses of national integration—usually expressed through nationalist movements—and impedes consideration of the state in question as a unified or integral nation-state.

Table 8
Self-Definition of Autonomous Community
Percent of Voters

	Cat.	CiU	ERC	Gal	BNG	Basque C.	PNV	EA	HB
Region	58	44	16	77	34	46	33	20	2
Nation	34	50	80	16	60	36	50	62	91
Neither	4	5	2	3	3	9	10	9	5
NA	3	2	2	4	3	9	7	9	2
	(2470)	(734)	(112)	(2192)	(110)	(1615)	(309)	(69)	(143)

	Val.	UV	Arag	PAR	And	PA	Cant	UPCA	Canr	AIC
Region	84	81	90	91	86	86	94	98	78	85
Nation	5	6	6	4	5	9	0	-	7	9
Neither	4	6	2	3	2	1	2	1	5	1
Ns/Nc	7	6	2	1	7	3	4	1	10	5
	(1780)	(92)	(1549)	(261)	(4446)	(272)	(521)	(84)	(1085)	(84)

Source: *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (Madrid, November 1992).

The application of the nation or indicator enables us to distinguish those autonomous communities where important sectors of the population consider the community itself to be a nation (the Basque Country, Catalonia, and to a lesser extent, Galicia) and in which a nationalist movement exists, from those other autonomous communities where the region is almost exclusively a representative phenomenon. As Table 8 clarifies, just over one-third of Catalans and Basques and some 15 percent of Galicians define their community as a nation. In the other five communities surveyed, the majority of respondents in these autonomous communities have an overwhelmingly “regional” perception of their autonomy. In every case, less than 10 percent identified with their autonomous communities as a nation. The same type of distinctions can be seen in relation to this indicator as those found in regard to subjective identity.

³⁴The question was: “Which term do you prefer to refer to... (your autonomous community?): (a) It is a region; (b) It is a nation; (c) Neither of the above.”

First, a distinction should be made between "nationalists" and "regionalists." The majority of voters of parties that call themselves nationalist in the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia express a "national" representation of their community. In contrast, virtually all the voters of the other NSWPs declare a "regional" representation. In this way, the indicator constitutes a specific empirical foundation for distinguishing, from the perspective of the attitudes of the voters, between nationalist and regionalist NSWPs.

Second, there is differentiation between pro-independence nationalists and moderate nationalists. The electorates of the pro-independence nationalist parties are almost entirely composed of voters who define their community as a nation. In contrast, the electorates of the "moderate nationalist" parties are more evenly balanced between voters with national and regional representations of their own community, even if the former are in the majority.

Third, there are different roles of national representation and regional representation in the perception of political conflict and in the articulation of the party system. The profiles of the nationalist parties in the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia are different than the average of their communities. This is not true of the NSWPs in communities with an almost exclusively "regional" definition. Thus, the national/regional representation intervenes in the structuring of political conflict in the communities where the electorate is divided in terms of this symbolic representation.

Nationalist/Regionalist Sentiments

Sentiment has been conceived by constructing a scale of intensity from lesser to greater feelings of nationalist or regionalist sentiments.³⁵ In general, for the autonomous communities examined, some 30 percent of voters situate themselves between 7 and 10, that is, in positions which indicate the greatest degree of nationalism/regionalism, another 25 to 30 percent situate themselves in intermediate positions, while 20 to 25 percent situate themselves in these lowest positions indicating less intense nationalist/regionalist sentiments. Again, voters of the nationalist/regionalist NSWPs present a very distinct profile to that of the autonomous community as a whole: 50 percent or more of these voters situate themselves in the highest positions on the scale, and only 10 to 15 percent in the lowest. This is an axis, therefore, with a discriminatory capacity in the party system, distinguishing the NSWPs and the state-wide parties.

³⁵The question was: "In relation to nationalist (or regionalist) sentiments, please could you tell me where you would situate yourself on a scale of 1 to 10, when 1 means minimal nationalism [or regionalism] and 10 means maximum nationalism [or regionalism]." It should be remembered that in the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia, the scale was referred to nationalist sentiments, while in the other autonomous communities was referred to a regionalist sentiment.

Table 9
Scale of Intensity of Nationalist (or Regionalist) Sentiment
Percent of Voters

	Gal.	BNG	Basque C. PNV		EA	HB	Catal	CiU	ERC
Minimum 1-2	13	2	9	3	-	4	20	7	1
3-4	6	4	12	11	9	4	8	4	5
5-6	26	14	22	27	21	6	30	34	17
7-8	17	34	19	36	37	19	20	31	24
Maximum 9-10	10	44	13	14	24	56	13	19	53
NA	28 (2192)	1 (110)	25 (1615)	9 (309)	9 (69)	10 (143)	9 (2470)	6 (734)	- (112)

	Val	UV	Arag	PAR	Canar	AIC
Minimum 1-2	12	5	8	5	12	19
3-4	12	6	7	5	8	9
5-6	29	20	27	32	19	14
7-8	27	39	20	28	14	16
Maximum 9-10	9	26	15	20	11	4
NA	11 (1780)	3 (92)	22 (1549)	9 (261)	37 (1085)	38 (84)

Source: *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (Madrid, November 1992).

Unlike the previous indicators, we do not find differences between the profiles of the regionalist parties (except AIC) and the moderate nationalist parties, given that their perception is now contextualized within each autonomous community (Table 9). Some differences can still be seen in the attitudinal profiles of the voters of moderate and radical nationalist parties. Some 50 percent of the latter locate themselves in extreme positions on the scale (9-10), while if we include those who locate themselves in positions 7 to 8, this figure rises to 70 to 75 percent. In accordance with the findings related to the subjective national identification, 25 to 33 percent of the voters of the PNV and CiU respectively situate themselves in central positions on the scale, and 14 to 11 percent in low positions. For these voters, therefore, the electoral appeal of the PNV and CiU is not, or only slightly, situated in the nationalist dimension. This suggests the existence of other, more instrumental or contextual-type motives.

The increased politicization of this intensity indicator in comparison with previous indicators is reflected in the notably high percentage of interviewees who did not situate themselves at all on the scale (NA). This was not

Table 10
 Preferences for Territorial Organization of the State
 Percent of Voters

	Cat	CiU	ERC	Gal	BNG	Basque C.	PNV	EA	HB
Centralized	11	5	1	14	4	6	5	1	-
Autonomy as current	34	27	4	39	12	34	33	21	2
More Autonomy	28	42	25	20	51	22	35	42	9
Self-determination	17	20	67	4	27	19	18	21	83
NA	10 (2470)	7 (734)	2 (112)	24 (2192)	5 (110)	19 (1615)	8 (309)	15 (69)	5 (143)

	Val	UV	Arag	PAR	And	PA	Ctbr	UPCA	Canr	AIC
Centralized	19	16	14	13	11	11	9	6	11	15
Autonomy as current	47	35	16	17	44	45	43	50	25	15
More Autonomy	18	27	43	52	19	34	18	10	34	41
Self-determination	2	7	2	3	2	3	1	-	4	1
NA	13 (1780)	14 (92)	25 (1549)	16 (261)	23 (4446)	9 (272)	29 (521)	34 (84)	27 (1085)	28 (84)

Source: *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (Madrid, November 1992).

prevalent among those who voted for NSWPs. There are precisely those options defined on the dimension expressed by this indicator and those which usually also have as references the terms "nationalist" or "regionalist" around which the indicator is devised. In this respect, it is of interest to highlight the differences displayed by the AIC and UPCA. In the case of the AIC, the results reflect the heretofore insufficient development of nationalist ideas in a community where political references, have above all, been island-centered. As for the UPCA (data not displayed), the "perplexity" this question causes among its voters, half of whom are "no Answer," is a further indicator of the mainly nonregionalist character of this option.

Territorial Organization of the State

Another traditional indicator of the national/regional dimension is articulated in relation to distinct "models" of territorial organization of the state.³⁶ In Spain as a whole, 40 percent of voters favor maintaining the state of autonomies in its present form, and nearly 25 percent prefer an autonomous state but with greater autonomy for the autonomous communities.

³⁶The question was: "I am now going to mention some alternative ways of organizing the state in Spain. Please tell me with which you most agree: (a) A state with a single central government and no autonomous communities; (b) A state with autonomous communities as at present; (c) A state in which the autonomous communities have more autonomy than at present; or (d) A state in which the right of the nationalities to become independent states is recognized."

Only 14 percent of voters declare support for a centralized state, while 6 percent would favor self-determination for the autonomous communities with the possibility that these could become independent states. At the regional level, support for self-determination is well above average in the Basque Country, Catalonia, and, to a lesser degree, Navarre. In the other communities, with some limited exceptions, the structure of preferences is broadly similar to that in Spain as a whole.

The majority of the nationalist parties' voters express an attitude in favor of a type of state in which the autonomous communities are granted greater freedom and even self-determination (Table 10). In contrast, a type of state organization based on autonomous communities in their present form receives much more support from voters of regionalist parties, despite the fact that in some cases (PAR, AIC) a significant number of these voters prefer a state in which the communities have more autonomy. Equally, in comparison with nationalist parties, support for a centralized state increases among voters of regionalist parties and the preference for a type of state which recognizes the autonomous communities' right to self-determination, that is, the possibility of declaring themselves independent, virtually disappears.

The different attitudinal profile of voters of moderate and radical nationalist parties is also revealed by this indicator, the former supporting the current state organization more and self-determination less than that of the radicals. Once more, the specific profile of CiU and the PNV is made apparent. A significant portion of those who support the right of self-determination alongside a slightly larger group in favor of the current situation coexist in the electorates of both parties. This should be interpreted in the same way as other aspects already mentioned, namely their capacity to penetrate diverse electoral spaces.

It should also be noted that those who prefer a state in which the autonomous communities have greater freedom predominate among the voters of both parties. This sector appears to be the "central" sector, a synthesis of two clearly differentiated wings: that primarily influenced by ideological criteria (represented in this indicator by the 20 percent who favor the possibility of self-determination) and that influenced by instrumental questions (the 27-33 percent who favor a state of the kind that now exists). As in the case of the other indicators, the weaker implication in relation to these questions of the voters of regional parties compared to those of nationalist parties should be noted. This can be deduced from the markedly higher percentage of "no answers" among the voters of regional parties. In this respect, the particularly high percentage of those "no answers" among the electorates of the AIC and UPCA should be noted as well.

One can infer from these findings that the importance of the electoral space covered by the NSWPs in some communities reflects the important deficits of the state-wide parties as instruments of political integration at the state level. This panorama of the attitudinal profiles of the NSWPs shows us that in the case of the nationalist parties, their level of electoral support reflects the historic deficit of national integration within the framework of the Spanish state. It also underlines the fact that those parties are founded on their capacity to mobilize voters who perceive their own national identity and that of "their" autonomous community as conflicting with, and often excluding, that of the state to which they belong.

The deficits of national integration, however, do not serve as explanations of the electoral support for regionalist parties. Nor do the deficits of national integration explain why important sectors of the electorate with some kind of Spanish national identity choose moderate nationalist parties as instruments to represent and channel their political demands, especially in autonomic elections. In both cases, we must consider other types of factors which, while related to the territorial level, are of an instrumental type and derive from the actual process of democratic consolidation of a party system in the context of a simultaneous process of the creation and development of the state of the autonomies.

Party Images

Party image is structured around a series of "phrases-images," with the interviewee being asked which is the party that in his/her judgement best represents the image described in the phrase. The images are "positive" and represent different aspects of the well-known relationship with electoral alignments and voting decisions. The territorial dimension is explicitly present in three of the images, each of which also refers to a specific reason for voting choice: defense of the interests of the autonomous community, capacity to govern at the autonomous community level, and leadership at the autonomous community level. The other three images, which refer to the general level, also reflect different reasons for voting choice: ideological identification (representing your ideas); instrumental factors ("to be united," an important element in the Spanish context); and trust, which expresses a generic attitude toward the party in question.

Table 11 shows the distribution between the main parties of their identification with the different images in the whole of Spain. The distribution at the national level is not representative of the one found in each community. In so far as it is an indicator closely related to voting orientation, the characteristics of its profile closely match the correlation of forces in each autonomous community. Thus, Andalusia, Castilla-La Mancha, Extremadura, and the Comunidad Valenciana are those communities where the PSOE has the greatest advantage over the PP. The bipolarized

Table 11
Spain: Party Images (Percent of Voters)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
PP	13	15	15	13	15	14
CDS	1	2	2	1	1	1
PSOE	22	24	24	24	24	23
IU	6	7	6	5	5	5
NSWP	12	9	9	9	10	11

Source: *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (Madrid, November 1992).

1: That which best defends the interests of the autonomous community.

2: That which best represents the ideas of people like you.

3: That which inspires you more trust.

4: That which is the most united.

5: That which has the best leaders in the autonomous community.

6: That best able to govern the autonomous community.

(The column totals are less than 100 percent because minor parties are not included, and there are blanks, abstentions, and "no answers".)

distribution of responses in La Rioja and Navarre, with a slight Socialist advantage in the former and that of the PP in the latter, defines an intermediate structure between the Socialist and PP dominated blocks. The Balearic Islands, Castilla-León, and Galicia form the block of communities where the PP surpasses the PSOE in percentage of identification with the images. Aragon, and above all Catalonia and the Basque Country, are those autonomous communities where the NSWPs receive the highest proportion of identification. They have a clear majority in Catalonia and the Basque Country whilst in Aragon, the PSOE and the PAR share first place in identifications with the different images.

A general pattern can be detected in this diversity. As is the case in Spain as a whole, both the PP and the PSOE are less capable of reflecting "territorial" images, those directly related to the autonomous level, than other general images. The opposite is true of the NSWPs. However, the state-wide parties' weaker potential as references for "territorial" images, if general, is not the same in all the communities, nor does it correspond in all of these to a greater level of electoral support for NSWPs. This last relationship only occurs in certain communities, virtually the same ones for both large parties.

In order to understand the implications of this for the mobilizing capacity of the parties, the stability of their electoral support, and their capacity for political integration, it is vital to analyze, community by community, the structure of the partisan references expressed by the electors in relation to the different types of images. The two images displaying the greatest divergence of partisan references among the voters of both NSWPs and state-wide parties are those which refer to "territorial interests" ("the party which

best defends the interests of the autonomous community”) and “ideological definition” (“the party which best represents the ideas of people like you”). The structure of the partisan references on both images, for the main parties, in the communities where the phenomenon is more relevant, is presented in Table 12.

Table 12
Party Electorates (in Autonomous Elections):
Party of Reference on Territorial (1) and Ideological (2) Images

Percentage Columns:

The percentage column displays how voters of the party in column headings distribute their party references on each image. Totals are less than 100 percent because (of exclusion) of minor parties, blanks, abstentions, and “no answers”.

Images:

1: Party that best defends the interests of the autonomous commun.

2: Party that best represents the ideas of people like you.

Spain	PP		PSOE	
	1	2	1	2
PP	63	71	2	2
PSOE	3	3	59	63
PANE	6	2	4	2

Catalonia	CiU		PP		PSC		ERC	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
PP	0	3	18	57	0	0	0	0
PSC	3	7	4	4	55	67	0	3
CiU	87	72	59	21	22	9	11	14
ERC	3	5	0	0	0	5	83	74

Basque Country	EA		HB		PNV		PSOE	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
EA	74	73	0	0	1	2	0	0
HB	1	0	85	85	3	2	0	0
PNV	7	8	2	1	79	77	19	6
PSOE	0	0	0	0	1	3	61	75

Valencian Community	UV		PP		PSOE	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
UV	68	61	10	2	8	3
PP	9	13	57	68	2	3
PSOE	1	2	4	3	63	67

Table 12 (continued)
Party Electorates (in Autonomous Elections):
Party of Reference on Territorial (1) and Ideological (2) Images

Aragon	PAR		PP		PSOE	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
PAR	79	43	20	6	16	4
PP	0	18	53	63	0	0
PSOE	1	8	0	1	45	57

Analusia	PA		PP		PSOE	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
PA	61	43	13	2	8	2
PP	2	7	50	67	1	1
PSOE	7	12	4	3	60	64

Canary Islands	AIC		PP		PSOE	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
AIC	54	48	1	1	8	6
PP	2	1	60	71	2	1
PSOE	8	13	3	0	49	50

Cantabria	UPCA		PP		PSOE	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
UPCA	57	44	5	2	1	0
PP	6	13	37	61	0	1
PSOE	1	4	0	5	51	67

Galicia	BNG		PP		PSOE	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
BNG	78	71				
PP	2	4				
PSOE	3	3				

Source: Elaborated from surveys 2025 to 2041 (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas).

Table 13
Party of Reference on Territorial (1) and Ideological (2) Images:
Party Electorates in Autonomous (Aut) and General Elections (Gen)

Percentage Columns:

The percentage column displays how voters of the party in column headings in Autonomic (Aut) or in General (Gen) elections, distribute their party references on each image. Totals are less than 100 percent because (of exclusion) of minor parties, blanks, abstentions, and "no answers."

Images:

1: Party that best defends the interests of the Autonomous Community.

2: Party that best represents the ideas of people like you.

Catalonia	PP		PSC				CiU					
	1		2		1		2		1		2	
	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen
PP	18	8	57	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
PSC	-	-	-	-	55	40	67	54	3	-	7	-
CiU	59	76	21	41	22	37	9	19	87	91	72	86
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(92)	(166)			(866)	(1366)			(1278)	(753)		

Canary Islands	PP		PSOE				AIC					
	1		2		1		2		1		2	
	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen
PP	60	50	71	58	2	3	1	2	2	2	1	2
PSOE	3	2	-	1	49	44	50	46	8	5	13	5
AIC	1	7	-	6	8	9	6	7	54	60	48	60
	100											
	(79)	(93)			(337)	(378)			(83)	(39)		

Basque Country	PP		PSE				PNV					
	1		2		1		2		1		2	
	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen
PP	45	38	80	76	61	51	75	66	-	-	-	-
PSE									1	-	3	2
PNV	37	45	2	5	19	24	6	13	79	78	77	78
	100											
	(26)	(32)			(147)	(185)			(285)	(242)		

Table 13 (continued)
 Party of Reference on Territorial (1) and Ideological (2) Images:
 Party Electorates in Autonomous and General Elections

Aragon	PP				PSOE				PAR			
	1		2		1		2		1		2	
	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen
PP	53	35	63	58							18	6
PSOE					45	37	57	50	1		8	4
PAR	20	40	6	15	16	25	4	6	79	80	43	61
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(93)	(140)			(233)	(287)			(142)	(46)		

Valencian Community	PP				PSOE				UV			
	1		2		1		2		1		2	
	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen	Aut	Gen
PP	57	53	68	64	2	2	34	9		13	5	
PSOE	4	5	3	4	63	58	67	62	2	5	2	5
UV	10	13	2	6	8	9	3	4	68	91	61	85
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	(385)	(413)			(1056)	(1179)			(140)	(47)		

Source: Elaborated from surveys 2025 to 2041 (Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas).

In relation to the “ideological” image (column 2, Table 12), the nationalist parties reveal, among their voters, a similar referential capacity to that which the main state-wide parties have among their respective electorates (around 70 to 80 percent). This is not true of the regionalist parties, whose capacity to act as a reference for their voters in this respect is much weaker than in the previous case (around 45 percent, except in the case of UV in which it rises to 60 percent). There are also sectors of NSWPs voters for whom one of the large state-wide parties is also an “ideological” reference. In accordance with the previous case, these sectors are more numerous among the voters of regionalist parties (15 to 25 percent) than among the nationalist parties (around 5 percent, except for CiU’s 10 percent).

The ideological base on which the nationalist parties attempt to legitimize themselves and to win electoral support forms a resource for electoral mobilization, which has no equivalent among the regionalist parties. This deficiency undoubtedly helps explain why important sectors of the voters of regionalist parties look to state-wide parties as their ideological reference. This also indicates that motives other than ideological ones have most heavily influenced their voting decision. Nevertheless, the NSWPs’ capacity to act as references for their electors in relation to “territorial”

image (column 1, Table 12) increases in relation to the ideological image. This change is particularly important among the electorates of the regionalist parties, with the most deficient ideological image, although it can be detected in all NSWPs.

In contrast to the previous case, among the electors of the principal state-wide parties there are important sectors whose partisan reference in relation to "territorial" image is not the party they voted for, but a NSW. Even among voters who remain loyal to the large state-wide parties in the autonomic elections,³⁷ there is a sector which believes that a particular NSW, principally CiU or one of the "big" regional parties, would better defend the interests of their community than the state-wide party for which they actually voted. The image of the large state-wide parties as instruments for the defense of "territorial interests" is, therefore, weaker and that of the NSWs stronger, than their respective level of electoral support in the community might suggest.

While it is obvious that "territorial" criteria have not been fundamental in the voting decision of those who, while identifying the defense of "territorial interests" with a NSW, declare to have voted for one of the large state-wide parties, the duality of the partisan reference for the images reflects a potential volatility (conjunctural "dual" or realigning). This is confirmed if we compare the structure of identifications of each party's electorate in general and regional elections. In Table 13, we can see how, in comparison to general elections, the large state-wide parties lose votes in regional elections. The sector of their vote which declines is that which has an NSW as a reference, especially in terms of "territorial image," while the relative importance of those whose territorial reference is the state-wide party itself increases. In contrast, between general and regional elections, in the electorate of the NSWs, principally of CiU or another of the "big" regionalist parties, besides an increase in their vote, the importance of those whose ideological image is reflected by a state-wide party increases significantly, while there is virtually no rise in the percentage of voters whose "territorial" image reference is an NSW. That is, the "duality" of the vote basically derives from the duality of the partisan references for images, and the most volatile voters are those who express this duality in their party images.³⁸

It should also be noted that this duality of partisan referential images is more frequent among PP than that of PSOE voters, a function of the

³⁷Although the question is not discussed in this study, in some communities, many voters exercise a "dual vote," voting for state-wide parties in general elections and NSWs in regional elections. This implies that those who vote for the state-wide parties in regional elections are their most "loyal" voters. See Pallarés, "Las elecciones autonómicas en España: 1980-1993."

³⁸In the light of these reflections, the low volatility in the Basque Country might appear surprising. However, it should not be forgotten that in contrast to the moderate pluralist party systems in existence, albeit in distinct forms, in nearly all the autonomous communities, the fragmentation and polarization of the Basque party system establishes very crystallized political spaces, see Llera, "The Construction of the Basque Polarized Pluralism."

predominantly center-right position of the voters of many NSWPs,³⁹ particularly of those parties which have already been mentioned as most involved in this duality. This suggests that the potential for volatility is, to a large extent, rooted in the problematic process of articulation of the center-right in Spain.⁴⁰

CONCLUSION

Within the double and simultaneous process of configuration of the party system and the *Estado de las Autonomías*, the NSWPs appear and develop as territorially based instruments for channeling demands and expressing expectations because the state-wide parties are not perceived by some sectors of the electorate as the most adequate for fulfilling these functions. In this context, the diversity and function of the NSWPs are a characteristic of the Spanish political process and party system, through which they contribute to different degrees, and, with the exception of HB, to political integration in a decentralized state.

Even if it is true that the articulation of the party system and political integration is carried out through the large state-wide parties, the specific role played by nearly all the NSWPs in articulating the party system, above all in the center and center-right space, is also evident. In this way, they contribute to the function of political integration to be fulfilled by the party system as a whole.

On the other hand, given the weakness of their image as defenders of the interests of the autonomous community, the role of the large parties as instruments of political integration in a complex state with autonomic elections and institutions is also affected. The dual party reference in many voters indicates that the parties do not satisfactorily represent the interests of their community and their general ideas at the ideological level.

This contributes to the explanation of why a segment of the electorate resolves its referential duality by dual voting, casting their vote in favor of a state-wide option in general elections and an NSWP in autonomic ones. In this sense, as a vote cast by the same person for different parties, depending on whether it is a general or autonomic election, the dual vote furthers political integration both between territorial levels and between options within the same political space.⁴¹

³⁹Montero and Toreal, "Autonomías y Comunidades en España"; Pallarés, "Estado Autonómico y Sistema de Partidos."

⁴⁰Different aspects of this process are discussed in José Ramon Montero, "Los Fracazos Políticos y Electorales de la Derecha Española: Alianza Popular 1976-1989," *La Transición Democrática Española*, eds. José F. Tezanos, Ramón Cotarelo, and Andrés de Blas (Madrid: Sistema, 1989); Montero, "Las Elecciones Legislativas"; Pallarés, "Las Elecciones de 1989 en España"; Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de 1991 en España"; Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Generales de 1993 en España y las Comunidades Autónomas"; Pallarés and Soler, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas de Mayo de 1995 en España"; Pallarés and Soler, "Las Elecciones Generales de 1996 en España y en las Comunidades Autónomas."

⁴¹Pallarés, "Las Elecciones Autonómicas en España: 1980-1993."

While some aspects, therefore, require further analysis, in the course of this study the existence of four major parameters has been highlighted as determinants of the context in which the NSWPs have emerged and developed in Spain.⁴²

The first parameter is articulated on the basis of territorial cleavage in its traditional expression arising from cultural, historical, and political factors that have generated a conflictive perception of national identity, above all Basque or Catalan versus Spanish, among many citizens in the Basque Country and in Catalonia. This has also led to conflict over the form of political-institutional articulation between the territory of identification and the Spanish state. The existence and electoral importance of nationalist NSWPs can primarily, although not exclusively, be understood in this explanatory framework.

A second parameter is located at the level of the new political opportunity structure and the new political resources for parties, elites, and voters implied by the development of the state of the autonomies and the consequent emergence of political arenas in the communities. This furnishes a more favorable context for the usefulness and activity of the NSWPs. In this sense, the "open" design and the incomplete process of construction of the state of the autonomies implies the existence of additional opportunities and permits more generic objectives for the autonomies' demands on the "center."

A third parameter is located in the peculiarities of the party system. The development of the NSWPs in Spain has taken place within the framework of a party system that is essentially new, still in formation, and hence particularly sensitive to the influence of contextual and conjunctural factors in the political process. In a context of centripetal competition, the difficulties in articulating the center and center-right space⁴³ constitute the most significant aspect. In addition to the problems of articulation, the crisis and disappearance of the UCD⁴⁴ left a large electoral space without an instrument or a clear party reference. This situation was one which potentially favored the electoral success, especially in regional elections, of NSWPs that situated their proposals in this space.

Finally, a fourth parameter is located in the socio-structural and political changes now common to developed Western societies. In this respect, the simultaneous process of the configuration of a party system and a decentralized state is especially sensitive to two more general trends: (1) the declining intensity of ideological and traditional party identifications; and (2) the general growing demand for redistribution of political resources between territories, sectors, and citizens. Both factors favor a greater fragmentation (territorially and sectorially) of the political process, giving more

⁴²Pallarés, "Estado Autonómico y Sistema de Partidos."

⁴³Montero, "Los Fracayos Políticos y Electorales de la Derecha Española."

⁴⁴The centrist party led the Spanish government during the 1977-1982 period.

place for single interest organizations and particularist movements. In the previously mentioned characteristics of the Spanish context, this trend favors parties that define themselves and the interests they aspire to represent in territorial terms, in our case, in those of the autonomous community.

