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THE LEFT PARTIES IN CATALONIA: THE CASE OF THE PSC AND THE PSUC

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1. Introduction: the Catalan party system

While studies on public opinion in the whole of Spain show that electoral competition is sufficiently explained by the location of voters and parties on a left-right axis (Maravall 1984; and Linz-Montero 1986), several studies on Catalonia have shown how the citizens' electoral preferences take into account a second electoral competition axis the definition of which is not easy (Shabad 1986; Botella 1984).

There is a certain agreement on the fact that this second axis is related with what was called "the Catalan question", but its conceptualization is not easy, particularly if we take into account the transformations experienced by Catalan social structures during the second half of the century.

The Catalan parties got around confrontation at this level and integrated both communities, native and immigrant. Shabad (1986) states that "it is from there that we can maybe talk of convergence over the issues of center-periphery in Catalonia, more than of party polarization; the aforementioned data indicate a tendency towards polarization at the electorate's level". This electorate's polarization must be understood by the relation between fractionalization and a multidimensional configuration, a segmented, polyethnic and/or multiconfessional society.

Thirdly, the Catalan party system is a moderate, limited but centripetal multiparty system and, unlike the Basque, with two dominant parties depending on the type of election: *Convergència i Unió* (CiU), a nationalist conservative electoral coalition formed by CDC and UDC (Christian Democrats) at regional elections, and the *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* (PSC) at general and local elections. We understand by dominant party one that leaves behind the rest of parties in a political community, being considerably stronger than the rest.

In Catalonia, the PSC (Colomé 1989; Gillespie 1992) and CiU (Marcet 1984) have become, after fifteen years of electoral confrontation, two important poles of

reference within the left-right axis, expanding their electorates towards the left and the right respectively, with the rest of the parties that make up the Catalan party system electorally and parliamentary small parties. The Catalan party system is a system of alternation between two parties, the PSC, the Socialist party federated to the PSOE, and the CiU nationalist coalition, conservative. From 1980, these two parties have been the electoral winners but in different elections: PSC at the general and CiU at the regional elections, establishing a pseudo-alternation mechanism according to the type of election (Table 1)

Jorge de Esteban and Luis López Guerra (1982) state that "the Catalanist victory in the elections at the regional parliament does arise a rather interesting question: whether the electorate's turn towards the regionalist parties was a selective one (that is, taking into account the type of election, its limited regional range and consequences) or, on the contrary, it was a change destined to affect also the results of elections to the Cortes Generales, particularly to the Congress of Deputies". By thoroughly analysing the electoral results of legislative and regional elections, we believe in the existence of a selective vote, particularly among the Socialist electorate. In this sense, Esteban and López Guerra (1982) state also that "if that is a consequence of a deep tendency of the electorate (in the sense of change of global party preferences) or, as has been said in other contexts, of a discrimination between different types of elections (supporting one party or the other according to the election's importance) is something that we shall only know by its future electoral behaviour". We can see in Table 2 the differences in both parties' electoral fluctuations in each election: on the one side, the CiU's steady rise until 1986 and, on the other, the Socialist electorate's fluctuations according to the type of election since 1980.

Table 1. *Evolution of the vote in Catalonia (1977-1995)**

Year	AP/PP	CC-UCD	CDS	CiU	ERC	PSA	PSC	PSUC/IC	UCD-CC
1977	108,677	521,419	--	522,060	141,959	--	880,539	564,574	174,074
1979	107,796	571,535	--	484,073	123,428	--	876,918	513,243	--
1980	64,119	287,610	--	754,448	241,711	72,101	608,689	509,014	--
1982	132,219	70,230	--	772,673	138,219	--	1,575,260	158,536	--
1984	221,645	--	--	1,347,937	160,638	--	866,288	160,638	--
1986	361,316	--	130,704	1,014,258	84,628	--	1,299,733	123,912	--
1988	143,062	--	103,351	1,232,514	111,647	--	802,828	209,211	--
1989	335,656	--	135,900	1,030,476	84,400	--	1,119,771	230,498	--
1992	157,231	--	23,981	1,218,109	209,797	--	725,682	171,681	--
1993	622,423	--	27,576	1,269,754	185,913	--	1,269,754	272,130	--
1995	419,932	--	--	1,314,108	304,832	--	796,859	312,328	--

(*) Legislative elections: 1977, 1979, 1982, 1986, 1989 and 1993. Regional elections: 1980, 1984, 1988, 1992 and 1995.

Table 2. *Fluctuations between elections of the CiU's and the PSC's electorates*

	PSC	CiU
1977-1979	-3,313	-37,906
1979-1980	-268,435	+270,634
1980-1982	+966,469	+17,885
1982-1984	-708,835	+574,244
1984-1986	+433,308	-332,659
1986-1988	-496,905	+218,256
1988-1989	+321,147	-200,271
1989-1992	-394,089	+187,633
1992-1993	+541,443	-58,989
1993-1995	-427,895	+151,864

We can establish this selective electoral behaviour when we analyse non-voting in each election. Firstly, the highest non-voting rates appear in regional elections (between 35% and 40%). Secondly, Socialist electoral defeats also occur in this type of election, as a segment of their electorate is not mobilized by regional elections. Non-mobilization of part of its electorate in regional elections is a negative factor for the PSC (Table 3).

Differential non-voting in Catalonia takes place among sectors which vote or not depending on the type of election and which only mobilize themselves at legislative elections. In this sense, Shabad (1986) states that "first generation Catalans and those born outside the Region tended to oscillate between voting Spain-wide parties (particularly the Socialists) at the state-wide elections and non-voting at the regional ones. Thirty-three per cent of the PSC's immigrant voters in 1979 did not vote in 1980, as well as 34% of the PSC's first generation voters in 1979; 43% of the PSC-PSOE's immigrant voters in 1982 are said to have not voted

in 1980. The non-voting rate was still higher (56%) between first generation Catalans who voted PSC-PSOE in 1982. These non-voters of 1980 constituted 28% of the Socialist vote of 1982 in Catalonia. And, given the results of the 1984 regional elections, we can well think that many of them stayed again at home".

Table 3. *Non-voting in Catalonia**

Year	% Non-voting
1977 (L)	20.7
1979 (L)	31.5
1980 (R)	37.9
1982 (L)	19.3
1984 (R)	35.7
1986 (L)	31.1
1988 (R)	40.6
1989 (L)	32.2
1992 (R)	45.1
1993 (L)	23.7
1995 (R)	36.0

* L, Legislative elections; R, regional elections.

If we add the results of the two most voted parties, we find that from 1977 to 1980, the added percentage of both parties represented half of the electorate, and from 1982, on the other hand, the added percentage surpasses 50% of the electorate -that is to say, that both parties (Socialists and conservative nationalists) add up to more than half of the Principality's electorate and, from 1982, up to three quarters of it. We must observe that since 1980 it is always the two same parties, PSC and CiU, which obtain most votes.

Secondly, if we add the two parties with more seats to form ruling coalitions without taking into account their respective ideological colour, we observe that from 1977 they have always gained a majority, but in 1982-1986 and 1984-1988 the PSC and CiU respectively enjoyed a majority by themselves (Table 4). Again,

from 1980, the PSC and CiU obtained, added up or by themselves, the majority of seats. Thus the Catalan party system since 1980 has been dominated, in both electoral and parliamentary terms, by two parties which have succeeded each other in an alternate form at different elections. Besides, according to the type of election, the PSC's results rise or fall in Catalonia, fluctuating from the high figures obtained at the general elections and the low ones at the regional elections, while the CiU coalition shows a progressive increase in all elections between 1979 and 1986, with a stabilization of its electoral results since then.

Table 4. *Addition of the results of the two most voted parties*

Year	Parties	Added % of votes
1977	SC-PSUC	46.6
1979	PSC-UCD	48.2
1980	CiU-PSC	50.0
1982	PSC-CiU	67.7
1984	CiU-PSC	75.5
1986	PSC-CiU	72.4
1988	CiU-PSC	44.6
1989	PSC-CiU	66.0
1992	CiU-PSC	40.2
1993	PSC-CiU	66.7
1995	CiU-PSC	65.8

The number of parties in the party system has fluctuated between seven and five from 1977 to 1995, but from 1977 to 1980 only four or five parties within the party system were relevant (Table 5). From 1982, of the five parties present, just two can be qualified as strong according to their number of votes and seats. While we could think in principle that the Catalan party system was one of polarized pluralism from 1977 to 1980, the number of relevant parties shows that it must be

viewed as one of moderate pluralism since the first elections. From 1982, we must observe that two of the parties have obtained the majority in different elections and this datum must allow us to determine the definition of the Catalan party system. Linz and others (1981) state that "if we thus take the parties with parliamentary representation we have a five-party system and, thus, in Sartori's terms it is on the edge between the moderate and the extreme and polarized multipartyist systems".

Table 5. *Number of parties in each election*

1977	1979	1980	1982	1984	
SC	PSC	PSC	PSC	PSC	
PDC	CiU	CiU	CiU	CiU	
PSUC	PSUC	PSUC	PSUC	PSUC	
UCD	UCD	CC-UCD	-	-	
AP	AP	-	CP	CP	
EC	ERC	ERC	ERC	ERC	
-	-	PSA	-	-	
UDC-CC	-	-	-	-	
7	6	6	5	5	
1986	1988	1989	1992	1993	1995
PSC	PSC	PSC	PSC	PSC	PSC
CiU	CiU	CiU	CiU	CiU	CiU
UEC	IC	IC	IC	IC	IC
CP	CP	PP	PP	PP	PP
-	ERC	-	ERC	ERC	ERC
CDS	CDS	CDS	-	-	-
5	6	5	5	5	5

The system's overturn since 1982 around two parties which alternate electoral victories could make us think that these parties are dominant depending

on the type of election. In other words, the PSC would be the dominant party at general elections and the CiU at regional ones. In the same way, it does not seem feasible to speak of two dominant parties, but we could think that the Catalan party system is not stabilized and that the electorate's high mobility generates a "majoritarian phenomenon" that benefits different parties in each type of election. Neither do the regional elections constitute a test for the general elections nor can the results of these be applied to the following regional elections, thus excluding the possibility of alternation: in spite of the apparent mobility, the Catalan political situation is one of the most immobile ones.

We can conclude that the Catalan party system is one of moderate and limited pluralism, although in the period 1977-1980 it was on the threshold of extreme and polarized pluralism (the addition of votes and seats of the two main parties -PSC and CiU- shows that it is not the case). It is a multidimensional system with an electoral segmentation marked by the existence of ideological and national dividing lines and with two outstanding parties, which could in the long run lead to a mechanism of an imperfect two-party system.

2. The left parties in Catalonia.

In the 1989-1990 period, a series of partial studies on the *Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya* (PSUC) and *Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya* (PSC) were carried out. In the first case, the aim was to analyze a party which had constituted, with three others, the federation *Iniciativa per Catalunya* as a previous step to the reformation of the party organization and the communist electoral space as a result of the parallel experiences of the PCI (future PDS) and of the PCE (*Izquierda Unida*) and the substantial changes taking place in the countries of Eastern Europe. The analysis of the PSC was the continuation of research which started in 1984 and which is still in progress.

We have to remember that the PSC was created in July 1978 to unify three existing parties which were dissolved for its constitution: the *PSC-Congrés*, the *PSC-Reagrupament* and the *Federació Catalana del PSOE*. It was born as a party differentiated from the PSOE, but related to it through the Unity Protocole as a federated party due to the desire of the founders to participate in a socialist project at the level of the whole State. Unlike the other socialist parties which simply integrated into the PSOE, losing their features of identity, the PSC was not integrated just as another federation, but was the only party federated with the Spanish socialists at a State level. However, the relationship of the PSC to the PSOE is complex. It has been so since the very foundation of the party in July 1978, and even before, when what was called the "April Agreements" ("*Pactes d'Abril*") of 1977 took place, which initiated the path towards unity, since no kind of relationship between them had been clearly defined. If juridically the PSC is independent from the PSOE, and in the Unity Protocole it is a party federated with the Spanish socialist party, it does not clarify matters further that the kind of relationship cannot be placed either at the level of an independent federated party, nor at the level of a simple PSOE Federation. The relationship of the PSC with the PSOE has to be placed at the level of a party with autonomy with respect to the other.

The PSUC, the historical party of the Catalan communists, was founded in July 1936 as a result of the merging of four socialist and communist Catalan parties, becoming, from 1939, the Catalan section of the III International, which caused the socialist elements which had participated in its foundation to leave the party.

The Catalan Left, consisting of these two parties, socialist and communist, and their electorates, is structured from data which try to analyze the circles which constitute the various areas of influence, going from the most active inner circle, then through the affiliated and, finally, through to the loyal voters. The internal analysis of the party is based on the two circles which structure the party environment: the nucleus of the inner circle defined by the activists, in which we

have to place the intermediate elite and the leadership, and the inner circle, a more flexible group formed by the affiliated members. The external party circle has some common elements of continuity, since a very loyal electorate has been chosen, an electorate we could qualify as sympathizing and connecting the party structure with its own electoral body, which is part of society. These three circles or environments have been analyzed in order to establish some general common elements of the Catalan Left, and, specifically, of these two parties.

The data of those affiliated to the communist party were provided by the headquarters of the PSUC with the aim of analyzing the sociological composition of the members belonging to the first circle. The possibility of obtaining the affiliation records while keeping their anonymity allowed us to carry out a study of what the communist affiliation is or was like from the census of December 1991. Out of a total of 6,144 affiliated members, 5,811 records were codified. The affiliation data of the socialist party are less complete than the previous ones since they have been obtained from the management reports carried out by the Organization Secretariat for the VI Congress in Girona, held in 1990. The percentages are based on 17,485 PSC affiliated members of the census compiled in May 1990 (Bartolini 1982).

Secondly, authorized by the headquarters of both parties, a questionnaire was handed out to the delegates of the Congress of both parties. The VIII Congress of the PSUC (n=525) was held in December 1988 in Barcelona. It was the last Congress that it celebrated as the PSUC; in 1989, the Unity Congress took place, the delegates of the PSUC remaining the same as those from the previous congress. Finally, as a result of the first plenary session of *Iniciativa per Catalunya* in 1990, the old party ceded its powers to this new formation. The PSC VI Congress (n=562) was held in Girona, in October 1990, almost a year after the legislative elections and as a preparatory congress for the municipal elections which were going to take place in the spring of the following year (Colomé 1992b and 1992c).

The analysis, based on the sample of the delegates, shows us the representative nucleus of what are called the party activists (Cayrol and Ysmal 1982), since the delegates attending the congresses are more representative of the inner circle of activists than all affiliated members, as is asserted by Maurice Duverger (1981). Therefore we cannot treat the data as applicable to all the affiliated, but as a marginal representation of the party activists, even though it cannot be completely confined in this way. However, the resulting data provide us with a black and white view of the real physiognomy of the party and of the sociological composition of this active nucleus. As has been observed, "we can then consider the congress delegates as significantly representative of the active sector of the party, the sector which appears as an organized structure before society: we are probably dealing with the intermediate and lower grades of the party, with the people of more inner and/or external projection, etc. In short, we would be speaking, at least, of a qualitative representativity" (Pitarch 1980). In this sense, Botella (1984) asserts that the representativity of the delegates with respect to the whole of the party affiliated members: They should only be elected delegates, or preferably the most prestigious activists, the most well considered by the other members, perhaps the oldest in the party. Given the fact that the party congress implies quite an intense devotion for some days, some specific individuals (older affiliated, housewives, etc.), having lesser personal availability, should have fewer possibilities than the other members to be elected as delegates. Culturally and socially predominant values play a certain influence in the selection of delegates. Perhaps reasons of this type could act against the presence of women, or in favour of some overrepresentation of people with a higher cultural level. Finally, it should not be concluded that, with the desire to create a certain "image" in public opinion, the parties stimulate and increase the possibilities of a higher presence of some specific sectors or groups. Since reality does not always reflect postulated ideological and social values, it is not impossible to think that the parties make an effort to appear "more Catalan", or "more young or..." (Pitarch 1980).

Thirdly, the data referring to the electorate have been obtained from an

opinion survey carried out in Catalonia in 1990 by the ICPS (published in 1994). A technique of aggregated data used by Isidre Molas (1992) has been applied to distinguish among:

- (a) the **hard core** voters that show identical records and voting intentions (legislative, autonomous and local);
- (b) the **soft core** voters that show identical voting records (legislative, autonomous and local), although having some non-defined voting intention; and
- (c) the **floating** or **intermittent** voters who mobilize according to the election or the party (Montero and Font 1991).

For our survey, we will use only the data concerning the PSC and PSUC (IC) **hard core** voters.

Based on the three circles of each party (affiliated-activists-voters) we would like to analyze the similarities and the differences existing inside and outside as regards the degrees of density of the political parties which occupy the space of the Left in Catalonia. What are the common or specific features among the various circles which constitute the space of the Catalan Left? What are the structuring elements of this competitive space among these two political parties? At the beginning of the political transition these parties were majority parties in Catalonia. After the crisis of the V PSUC Congress (1981) a redefinition and reordering of this space began.

The socialist and communist parties are predominantly made up of men (Table 6). Such an underrepresentation of women inside both parties -which does not reflect the actual situation of Catalan society- is gradually being overcome. At any rate, we have to mention that the representation of women at the socialist congresses is expressed by a minimum representation quota which at the VI Congress approaches rather closely the obtained data (23.5%), approaching the quota of 25% which appears in article 59 of the Statutes. The communist electorate maintains the homogeneity of the representation of the sexes in the

PSUC. On the contrary, the data that we have to take into account is the fact that the socialist electorate is closer to the population data; that is to say, in comparison with the PSC data, here 55% are women.

Table 6. *Gender (in %)*

	Conference Member PSUC	Member PSUC	Strong voter IC	Conference Member PSC	Member PSC	Strong voter PSC
Men	84	77	70	76	78	45
Women	16	23	30	24	22	55

The PSC is a party in which the most important age range is placed between 30-39 years (34%). However, if we add to this the group of people under 30 years old (12%), it would represent 46% of all delegates. On the other hand, if we set the age range between 30 and 49 years old, we find that there is a high level of representation (70%). One might think that one could look for the founding and leading sector of the PSC in this last group. Nevertheless, the age range of the majority of the affiliated is found between 40 and 60 years old (44%), while the socialist voter is placed between 35 and 50 years old. One sees a certain homogeneity in the three circles.

With respect to the age of the PSUC delegates, there is a predominance of a young age range; thus, we see that the delegates between 30 and 44 years old represent 54% of the total. If we add the group of people under 30 years old (13%) to the age range of the majority, it would represent 67% of all delegates. However, we have to take into account that 10% of the delegates belong to the age ranging from 45 to 49 years old. There are two predominant age ranges in the PSUC affiliation: those who are between 36 and 45 years old, and those older than 65.

An important fraction of the older than 65 years of age (20%) are those that one could call "historical activists", men and women who joined the party before the end of the Civil War. The distributions of the other age groups, with the exception of those ranging from 18 to 25 years old, are similar. We have to point out the low levels of activism among youth. Those under 25 years old only represent 2% of the whole of the affiliated. Generally speaking, the communist electorate follows the same trends as those of the party with a unique difference in both age poles; there are more young electors (14% between 18 and 24) and fewer old electors (8% of more than 65 years old) (Magre 1993).

Table 7. *Age (in %)*

Conference Member PSUC		Member PSUC		Strong voter IC	
-25	4	18-25	2	18-24	14
25-34	29	26-35	15	25-34	20
35-44	35	36-45	29	35-50	33
45-54	17	46-55	18	51-64	25
55-64	9	56-65	12	+ 65	8
+ 65	6	+ 65	23		
Conference Member PSC		Member PSC		Strong voter PSC	
- 30	12	18-25	6	18-24	3
30-39	34	25-40	33	25-34	17
40-49	36	40-60	44	35-50	36
50-59	12	+ 60	17	51-64	25
+ 60	6			+ 65	19

A first approach to the occupational status of the communist (85%) and the socialist (90%) activists, shows that these are predominantly active (Table 8). The unemployed, retired, students and housewives represent a very small group of the delegates of the VIII PSUC Congress and of the VI PSC Congress. The retired

constitute the largest group in this sector. Students are almost not represented in either party. It is possible to think of two reasons for this. The first one could be their membership of the Youth Party, and the second could be that, with time, they have gone on to join the university sector of the party. The low number of housewives must almost certainly be due to the change which has taken place in Catalan society and to the integration of women into the workplace.

The social and occupational status of the activists of both parties is related to educational level. The socialist party is made up of an important representation of employees and of professionals who represent the majority sector of this group. Within the PSUC, two predominant groups stand out with a large representation of salaried workers. In the first place, we find the employees/administrators (27%) and, in the second place, blue collar workers (14%). What is more, we find relevant differences in the following groups: professionals (law, medicine, etc., 7%), middle-level technicians (10%) and high posts (6%).

From these two groups one sees that the delegates at the congresses of both parties are placed at two different levels. On one side, their most "traditional" component, that is to say, the professional sector coming from blue collar workers and, on the other, the sector made up of salaried workers and teachers. If we relate these two levels and the educational level, we see that there is a relationship between the two majority poles: primary education and university degrees. If we analyze the occupational status of the communist and socialist affiliates, we find out that 70% are professionally active. The non-active group is fundamentally made up of retired people (15% PSUC/11% PSC) and, in a smaller proportion, of housewives (5%/6%). We have to underline the low number of unemployed and students. Concerning profession, we can observe that there is a predominance of two groups which represent almost 50% of the affiliated: blue collar and administrative workers. Thus we are facing two parties with a large component of salaried workers. With respect to the electorate, the same trend previously observed in the other two circles may be noted. The two predominant professions are employees (30% PSUC/14% PSC) and workers (30%/25%); it is also a circle

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made up of salaried workers. We can therefore see a certain homogeneity in the three circles.

The PSC is predominantly represented by people born in Catalonia (Table 9). Among the activists, the proportion between those born in Catalonia (67%) and those born in other places in Spain remains stable. Nevertheless, the socialist electorate reverses the relation as

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Table 8. *Occupation (in %)*

	Conference Member PSUC		Member PSUC		Strong voter PSUC
High official/ manager	1	High official/ manager	1	-	
Manager	-	Manager	-	Employer	-
Self dealer	8	Self dealer	5	Self-	5
High expert	4	High expert	3	employed	-
Medium expert	10	Medium expert	3	-	-
Official	4	Official	3	-	3
Tuition	17	Tuition	6	Official	-
Employee	27	Employee	21	-	30
Farmer	1	Farmer	1	Employee	-
Industrial worker	14	Industrial worker	26	-	30
Professional	7	Professional	1	Worker	-
Party post	6	Party post	1	Professional	-
		Unemployed	4	-	9
		Housewife	5	Unemployed	10
		Student	1	Housewife	-
		Pensioner	15	Student	13
		Other	6	Pensioner	
	Conference Member PSC		Member PSC		Strong voter PSC
High official/ manager	6	Employer/managin g	1 3	Employer	1 4
Self-employed	1	Self-employed	10	Self-	1
Employee	24	Employee	6	employed	14
Professional	15	Trade	14	Official	25
Expert/high official	5	Professional/expert	4	Employee	1
Expert/medium official	9	Official	29	Worker	3
Industrial worker	19	Worker	3	Professional	37
Farmer	3	Farmer	5	Unemployed	-
Tuition	16	Unemployed	11	Housewife	14
		Pensioner	6	Student	
		Housewife	5	Pensioner	
		Student	3		
		Other			

far as birthplace is concerned, with 59% of people born in other areas of Spain. The delegates of the PSUC congress were predominantly born in Catalonia; they represent 52% of the total. Nonetheless, we have to point out the high level of people born outside Catalonia who represent 54% of the affiliated. The relationship inside the communist electorate between the two segments is even (50%). The activists of both parties -in this aspect the active circle includes the leaderships- are for the most part born in Catalonia (in the socialist case with a very high proportion), while the external circle of the affiliation and of the electorate follows a common higher representation of the immigration trend. We have to present the question of whether there is a relationship between these three environments and their participation in electoral contests (Botella and Marcet 1981).

Table 9. *Place of birth (in %)*

Born in:	Conference member PSUC	Member PSUC	Strong voter IC	Conference member PSC	Strong voter PSC
Catalonia	52	39	50	67	38
The rest of Spain	47	52	50	32	59
Abroad	1	2	-	1	2
No Answer	-	7	-	-	-

The majority group of the communist and socialist parties, and of their electorates, is the group represented by the immigrants who arrived in Catalonia in the 1960-1969 period, which constitute the largest number of immigrant people (Table 10). It is a very settled immigration, since almost 80% have been living in Catalonia for over 20 years. The period of highest immigration was during the 1960s, at the same time as a very important migration movement in Spain. If we analyze the place of origin, we see that most of the immigrants come from the

autonomous community of Andalusia, and represent 55% of the total. This fact follows the general trend of Spanish immigration; we also have to take into account the fact that Andalusia is one of the largest autonomous communities.

The distribution of the affiliated born in Catalonia according to birthplace shows us a predominance of those born in the Barcelona area (*Comarca del Barcelonès*, 20%). Such a percentage is even more significant if we take into account that the other regions do not represent even 5%. The other regions where the greater part of the affiliated were born are the Baix Llobregat and the Vallès Occidental (Southern and Western areas surrounding Barcelona). We have to bear in mind that it is in these three areas where most of the affiliated also live. Such a fact reinforces the idea that we have a party which is concentrated in areas which are urban, industrialized and with a high rate of immigration.

Table 10. *Period of arrival in Catalonia (in %)*

	Conference member PSUC	Member PSUC	Strong voter IC	Conference member PSC	Strong voter PSC
Before 1940	6	4	7	3	8
1940-1960	29	34	31	24	34
1961-1970	43	42	54	46	43
After 1970	22	19	8	27	14

The distribution of the three circles according to the place of residence shows us that the communists live fundamentally in the Barcelonès, Baix Llobregat and Vallès Occidental areas. The distribution of the socialists is more homogeneous geographically speaking; however, it has, as we have seen with the communists, a high level of concentration of place of residence in areas predominantly urban, industrialized and with a high rate of immigration.

Through the use of the Catalan language, Table 11 reasserts the integration

of immigrants in Catalonia. Only 1% of the socialists' Conference members, and none of the communists' Conference members, are placed in the group "understands Catalan with difficulties". It is possible that such a fact could be explained by the positioning of this group in the sector consisting of those who understand it but do not speak it, since the addition of the last three groups amounts to 25% and 32% respectively. The number of activists that usually speak Catalan represent 75% of the socialists and 67% of the communists; nevertheless, we have to bear in mind that those born in Catalonia are a majority within the party. Comparing these data and relating them to the immigrants' arrival periods, we could assert that there is a progressive adoption of the Catalan language by immigrant delegates.

Table 11. *Knowledge of the Catalan language (in %)*

	Conference member PSUC	Conference member PSC		Strong voter IC	Strong voter PSC
Spoken	67	75	Written	47	21
Spoken knowledge	28	14	Spoken	17	28
Comprehension, not spoken	4	11	Comprehension	29	41
Difficult comprehension	-	1	No comprehension	7	9

However, if in the case of the communist electorate there are certain trends which follow those of the party, in the case of the socialist electorate there is an inversion in the terms related to the knowledge of the Catalan language. Forty-one per cent assert that they understand Catalan but do not speak it. We have to relate this data to the broader sector within the PSC electorate, which is for the most part made up of those born in other areas of Spain.

The first thing we find is that the socialist party shows a high educational

level, represented by groups of university degrees and middle-level technicians which total 43% (Table 12); therefore, we can speak of an overrepresentation of university degrees. In this section we observe the polarization seen at the PSUC VIII Congress. The majority groups are concentrated in primary education (28%) and university studies (26%). Among the PSUC affiliated, we see a predominance of those who have followed first level studies. The highest percentages correspond to higher age groups: between 46 and 55 years old (64%), between 56 and 65 years old (67%), and more than 65 years old (52%). The next largest group corresponds to those who have a university degree (11%), and who are the youngest affiliated: between 18 and 25 years old (15%), between 26 and 35 years old (21%) and between 36 and 45 years old (16.5%).

Table 12. *Educational level (in %)*

	Conference member PSUC	Member PSUC	Strong voter IC	Conference member PSC	Strong voter PSC
No studies	-	-	7	-	10
Primary	28	47	44	14	63
Secondary school	6	4	22	13	15
Superior bach.	12	6	9	11	6
Tech. studies	7	8	-	8	-
Medium	20	5	9	25	3
university	26	11	9	29	3
High university	-	18	-	-	-
No answer					

We will have to relate these data to the occupational status of the delegates in order to be able to extract some kind of correlation. If we compare these data with the data of the population, we see that the level of primary education of the activists and affiliated approaches the educational level of the Catalan population; however, we see an overrepresentation of university degrees within the congresses. We could interpret that these two educational levels are representative, on the one

hand, of the working class representational basis of the parties, and on the other, of the leadership basis of both parties. The communist electorate is somewhat more homogeneous compared to the affiliated; 44% compared to 47% with first grade studies, while the socialist electorate follows a different trend compared to the educational level of activists; 63% of the PSC electors have first grade studies, and 10% represent those without any kind of studies.

In terms of religiosity, the non-believers are a majority (51%) in the socialist party, compared to the other groups (Table 13). At present, the socialist party is predominantly secular, but it is possible that such a tendency in subsequent congresses could be inverted. Nevertheless, its electorate places itself in the sector of non-practicing believers (61%). In relation to the religious beliefs of the delegates at the communist Congress, the large majority appear in the segment of non-believers (85%). Only 3% of the delegates assert that they are practicing believers. Therefore, we can say that the communist activists of this Congress constitute a group which is predominantly secular. Even though the communist electorate is also non-believing for the most part (53%), the difference with the activists reaches almost 30%. In this sense, the electorate is less radical in both circles, socialist and communist.

Table 13. *Religiosity (in %)*

	Conference member PSUC	Strong voter IC	Conference member PSC	Strong voter PSC
Practising believer	3	4	13	23
Non practising believer	10	36	34	61
Non believer	85	53	51	14
Other religions	1	-	1	1
No answer/Do not know	-	6	-	1

The delegates present at the congresses had to place themselves on the Left-Right scale of values from 1 to 10, that is to say, between the extreme Left (1) and the extreme Right (10) (Table 14). The positioning of the socialist delegates is, on average, about 3.11, between the Left and the Center-Left, but with a tendency to place themselves on the Center-Left. If we look carefully at the majority sector, we see that it is placed at 3 (45% of the answers), which would be closer to the Center-Left than to the Left of the scale. The communist activists place themselves, on average, at about 2.19, that is to say, more to the Left. If we look carefully at the majority sector, we see that it is placed at 2 (33%).

The electors had to place themselves on a seven-positions scale, 1 being extreme-Left and 7 being extreme-Right. Eighty-eight per cent of the communist electors placed themselves at 2 (Left) and the PSC electors also placed themselves at 2, but representing 56%. Taking into account that the scale has seven positions, we can assert that the communist electorate, like the socialist electorate, places itself at a more center position within the Left space.

In conclusion, some general aspects constituting both parties and both electorates can be inferred. We could say that the socialist party, among activists as well as the affiliated, is a party which consists predominantly of men aged between 40 and 50 years old, born mainly in Catalonia, who are secular and with a high level of education, with a prevalence of middle-level technicians and university degrees which are humanities-oriented (the majority being binomial Law-Economics- Political Science / Humanities-Journalism). It is a party with a majority of professionals and salaried workers, although the range widens when we approach the working class (peasants and skilled and unskilled workers). It is an urban party with a strong representation in the industrialized areas and with a high rate of immigration.

Table 14. *Left-right scale (in %)*

	Conference member PSUC	Conference member PSC		Strong voter IC	Strong voter PSC
1 Extreme left	31	11	1 Extreme left	-	3
2	33	14	2	88	56
3	29	45	3	12	26
4	4	17	4	-	5
5	2	7	5	-	-
6	-	2	6	-	-
7	1	1	7 Extreme	-	-
8	1	2	right		
9	-	-	No answer/	-	9
10 Extreme right	-	1	Do not know		

The **hard core** socialist electorate has some components of internal divergence within the party, the latter being understood as activism and affiliation. The divergences with the party are found in that it is a female electorate, with a high presence of housewives, with a majority of people born in other areas of Spain and with a predominance of people with primary education and with no studies at all. One might infer that we are faced with a PSOE electorate loyal to the PSC. One might think that each circle represents a very specific fraction of a unified party, but we cannot make a straightforward and mechanical analysis of these data; instead, we have to take into account that there may be some correctional factors.

Having analysed the PSUC data, two general aspects can be observed regarding the communist population in the above mentioned segments. With respect to the socio-demographic aspect, we could assert that the circle of communist activists analyzed is made up fundamentally of men aged between 35 and 44 years old, predominantly born in Catalonia, among activists and a majority of people born in other areas of Spain in the affiliation, deeply secular, with a relatively high educational level, polarized between primary and university studies. It is a group predominantly made up of salaried workers and factory

workers.

The general sociological features of those affiliated to the PSUC can be outlined as follows: The PSUC is strongly represented in areas which are urban, industrialized and with a high rate of immigration (Barcelonès, Vallès Occidental and Baix Llobregat); with a scarce or zero representation in areas which are rural, agrarian and with a low rate of immigration. We can confirm that the PSUC is an urban party. It is a party predominantly made up of men, despite the fact that women are strongly represented, although it does not reflect the actual situation of Catalan society. It is not a young party: the two most important segments are among ages ranging from 36 to 45 years (29%) and in the range of over 65 years (23%). This last group could represent what we call "the historical activists". Youth represent only 2%. It is a party with a predominance of people born outside Catalonia (54%), with a strong presence of people from Andalusia. Concerning the educational level, there is a predominance of primary studies (47%), followed by university degrees (11%). In relation to occupational status, the PSUC affiliated are found mostly among blue collar workers and office workers, that is to say, a party of salaried employees. Unlike the socialist electorate, the features of the communist electorate are more homogeneous and similar to the basic trends of the party. The three circles constitute a more lineal structure of relationships between the elements represented by the activists, the affiliated and the electorate circle.

The Catalan Left, made up of the PSC and the PSUC, constituted the majority electoral space at the beginning of the transition; in the first legislative elections (1977), the socialists and the communists obtained 37% of the votes on the electoral census, being the two most supported parties in Catalonia (Molas 1980). The inner crisis of the PSUC in 1981 had dramatic consequences for this party, since it underwent a schism (the creation of the *Partit dels Comunistes de Catalunya*) and the loss of 350,000 votes compared to the 500,000 it had obtained election after election. The electoral space of the Left has undergone an inner reordering since 1982.

The similarities and differences of the three circles, socialist and communist, which constitute the Catalan Left have been analyzed. Each party, their activists, affiliated, and electorate, place themselves, within their general trends, in the space reserved to each ideology, each circle evolving from the more radical (activism) to more center ("hard core" electorate), with the filter that the affiliation represents. The basic features of the "hard core" electorate are those of the sympathizers defined as those individuals who have some political competence and a good command of the language, who identify themselves with a party and do not hesitate to assert openly their political preference (Seiler 1993). This electorate represents the minimum result that each party obtains in the most negative elections; in other words, it is the most loyal electorate, it is the "*vieille garde de l'Empereur*" who dies but does not surrender.

The electoral rise of the PSC and the maintenance of the PSUC within more confined parameters do not correspond with the affiliation data which are very poor if we compare them with the European parties of the same ideological sphere (Maravall 1994; Colomé 1992). The PSC, like the CiU, has been structured and organized since coming into power. The consolidation of the socialist party is fully related to this institutional fact. Apart from the serious inner crisis, this would also explain the lesser implantation of the PSUC. Assuming that we are before two identical mass parties, with all the nuances that we should add to this statement, the inner circle of activists has a basic duty in electoral campaigns to connect with their own electorate, the "hard core" electorate playing the role of an electoral antenna, of an opinion leader, of a transmitter of the party message, through the activists and, overall, the media. Each circle structures the other.

If, in the case of the PSUC and of the communist electorate, homogeneity is generally maintained, in the case of the socialists the party and the electorate show differences. The party features, already analyzed, make it a group more defined as PSC, while the electorate, generally speaking, would represent a more PSOE nucleus. This fact would partly explain the dual vote in Catalonia (Montero and Font 1991); the doubt would be whether it is a socialist vote for the coalition

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Convergència i Unió or, on the contrary, it is a sector of the nationalist vote for the PSC. The features of the "hard core" PSC electorate could make us think that the socialists receive a vote from the supporters of the nationalist coalition in general elections; however, this can only be asserted with the data at our disposal.

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