

# Appendix A: List of Governments Included in the Conditional Logit Analysis (Only Real Governments Listed)

SPAIN		
AC name	Year of formation	Party composition
ANDALUSIA	1994	PSOE
ANDALUSIA	1996	PSOE-PA
ANDALUSIA	2000	PSOE-PA
ARAGON	1987	PAR
ARAGON	1990	PP-PAR
ARAGON	1991	PP-PAR
ARAGON	1993	PSOE
ARAGON	1995	PSOE
ARAGON	1995	PP-PAR
ARAGON	1999	PSOE-PAR
ARAGON	2003	PSOE-PAR
ARAGON	2007	PSOE-PAR
ASTURIAS	1987	PSOE
ASTURIAS	1994	PP
ASTURIAS	2003	PSOE-IU
ASTURIAS	2007	PSOE
BALEARIC ISLANDS	1987	UM-PP
CANARY ISLANDS	1995	CC
CANARY ISLANDS	1996	PP-CC
CANARY ISLANDS	1999	PP-CC
CANARY ISLANDS	1999	CC
CANARY ISLANDS	2003	PP-CC
CANARY ISLANDS	2005	CC
CANARY ISLANDS	2007	PP-CC
CANTABRIA	1987	PP
CANTABRIA	1991	PP-UPCA
CANTABRIA	1993	UPCA
CANTABRIA	1995	PP-PRC
CANTABRIA	1999	PP-PRC
CANTABRIA	2003	PSOE-PRC
CANTABRIA	2007	PSOE-PRC
CATALONIA	1984	CiU-ERC

CATALONIA	1995	CIU
CATALONIA	1999	CIU
CATALONIA	2003	PSC-ICV/IU-ERC
CATALONIA	2006	PSC-ICV/IU-ERC
BASQUE COUNTRY	1994	PNV-PSOE/EE-EA
BASQUE COUNTRY	1994	PNV-EA
BASQUE COUNTRY	1998	PNV-EA
BASQUE COUNTRY	2001	PNV-EA
BASQUE COUNTRY	2001	PNV-EA-IU
BASQUE COUNTRY	2005	PNV-IU-EA
GALICIA	2005	PSOE-BNG
MADRID	1987	PSOE
MADRID	1991	PSOE
MADRID	2003	PP
NAVARRRE	1995	PSOE-CDN-PNV/EA
NAVARRRE	1995	UPN
NAVARRRE	1999	UPN
NAVARRRE	2003	UPN-CDN
NAVARRRE	2007	UPN-CDN
LA RIOJA	1987	PP
LA RIOJA	1991	PSOE-PRP
VALENCIAN COMMUNITY	1987	PSOE
VALENCIAN COMMUNITY	1995	PP-UV

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**GERMANY**

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<b>Land</b>	<b>Year of formation</b>	<b>Party composition</b>
BRANDENBURG	1990	SPD-FDP-GRU
BRANDENBURG	1994	SPD-FDP
BRANDENBURG	1999	CDU-SPD
BRANDENBURG	2002	CDU-SPD
BRANDENBURG	2004	CDU-SPD
BERLIN	1991	CDU-SPD
BERLIN	1996	SPD-CDU
BERLIN	1999	SPD-CDU
BERLIN	2001	SPD-GRU
BERLIN	2002	SPD-PDS
BERLIN	2006	SPD-PDS
BREMEN	1991	SPD-FDP-GRU
BREMEN	1995	CDU-SPD
BREMEN	1999	CDU-SPD
BREMEN	2003	CDU-SPD
BREMEN	2005	CDU-SPD
BREMEN	2007	SPD-GRU
BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG	1992	CDU-SPD
BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG	1996	CDU-FDP
BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG	2001	CDU-FDP

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(Continued)

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BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG	2005	CDU-FDP
BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG	2006	CDU-FDP
HAMBURG	1993	SPD-STATT
HAMBURG	1997	SPD-GRU
HAMBURG	2001	CDU-SCH-FDP
HESSEN	1991	SPD-GRU
HESSEN	1995	SPD-GRU
HESSEN	1999	CDU-FDP
MECKLENBURG-WEST POMERANIA	1990	CDU-FDP
MECKLENBURG-WEST POMERANIA	1992	CDU-FDP
MECKLENBURG-WEST POMERANIA	1998	SPD-PDS
MECKLENBURG-WEST POMERANIA	2002	SPD-PDS
MECKLENBURG-WEST POMERANIA	2006	CDU-SPD
LOWER SAXONY	1990	SPD-GRU
LOWER SAXONY	2003	CDU-FDP
NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA	1995	SPD-GRU
NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA	1998	SPD-GRU
NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA	2000	SPD-GRU
NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA	2002	SPD-GRU
NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA	2005	CDU-FDP
RHINELAND PALATINATE	1991	SPD-FDP
RHINELAND PALATINATE	1994	SPD-FDP
RHINELAND PALATINATE	1996	SPD-FDP
RHINELAND PALATINATE	2001	SPD-FDP
SAXONY	2004	CDU-SPD
SAXONY-ANHALT	1990	CDU-FDP
SAXONY-ANHALT	1991	CDU-FDP
SAXONY-ANHALT	1993	CDU-FDP
SAXONY-ANHALT	1994	SPD-GRU
SAXONY-ANHALT	1998	SPD
SAXONY-ANHALT	2002	CDU-FDP
SAXONY-ANHALT	2006	CDU-SPD
SCHLESWIG HOLSTEIN	1996	SPD-GRU
SCHLESWIG HOLSTEIN	2000	SPD-GRU
SCHLESWIG HOLSTEIN	2005	CDU-SPD
THURINGIA	1990	CDU-FDP
THURINGIA	1992	CDU-FDP
THURINGIA	1994	CDU-SPD

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# Appendix B: Additional Tables

Table B1.1 Government composition in Germany (1990–2006)

Federal Government	Wuerttemberg	Baden-	Bavaria	Berlin	Brandenburg	Bremen	Hamburg	Hessen	Pommern Lower Saxony	Mecklenburg- West Pomerania	North Rhine- Westphalia	Rhineland- Palatinate	Saarland	Saxony	Saxony- Anhalt	Schleswig- Holstein	Thuringia
1990 CDU/CSU-FDP	CDU	CDU	CSU	SPD m	SPD-FDP-GRUE	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
1991	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
1992	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
1993	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
1994 CDU/CSU-FDP	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
1995	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
1996	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
1997	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
1998 SPD-GRUE	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
1999	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
2000	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
2001	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
2002	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
2003 SPD-GRUE	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
2004	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
2005 CDU/CSU-SPD	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
2006	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP
2007	CDU	CDU	CSU	CDU-SPD	SPD-GRUE-FDP	SPD-FDP	SPD	SPD-GRUE	SPD-GRUE	CDU-FDP	SPD	SPD-FDP	SPD	CDU	SPD	CDU-FDP	CDU-FDP

Notes: Fully congruent coalitions at the moment of their formation are shaded in gray. Coalitions that became congruent after a shift at the federal level are shaded in light grey. These categories include formal governing coalitions and legislative coalitions relying on a stable agreement (composition in parentheses where available).  
Source: Author's compilation.

Table B1.2 Government composition in Spain (1982-2007)

Central government	Andalusia	Aragon	Asturias	Cantabria	Castilla-La Mancha	Castilla y León	Catalonia	Valencia	Basque Country	Extremadura	Galicia	Balearic Islands	Canary Islands	La Rioja	Madrid	Murcia	Navarra
1982 PSOE	PSOE						CIUm	PN/m	PN/m	AP m	AP-GPI	PSOE m	PSOE m	PSOE	PSOE	PSOE	PSOE m
1983	PSOE	PSOEm	PSOE	PP	PSOE	PSOEm	CIU-ERC	PN/m	PSOE	AP-GPI	PP m	PSOEm	PSOE	PSOE	PSOE	PSOE	PSOE m
1984	PSOE							PN/m		AP-GPI							
1985								PN/m (PSOE)									
1986 PSOE	PSOE								CP m								
1987		PARm	PSOEm	PP	PSOE	PPm	CIU	PSPVm	PNV-PSOE	PSOE	PSOE-PP/PLUM	CDS-AIC-PP	CDS-AIC-PP	PSOEm	PSOE	PSOE	PSOE m
1988							CU				CP-BNG m	CDS-AIC m	CDS-AIC m				
1989 PSOE						PP-CDS											
1990	PSOE	PAR-PPm	GMX m				CU	PNV-EA-EE	PNV-PSOE-EE	PSOE	PP-CdG			PSOE-PRP			
1991			PSOE-PP-PP	PSOE	PP									PSOE-PSOE-PP			UPN m
1992			PP											PSOE-PP			
1993 PSOEm (CIU, PNV)	PSOEm		PSOEm	UPCAm				PNV-PSOE-EE						PSOE-PP			
1994	PSOEm													AIC-CCN-ICAN m			PSOE
1995			PSOEm	PPm	PSOE	PP	CIUm (PSOE)	PNV-LV	PNV-PSOE-EE-EA	PSOE m				PP			PSOE-CDN/EA
1996 PPm (CIU, PNV, CC)	PSOE/FA		PP-PAR	PP-PRC	PSOE	PP		PNV-EA m	PNV-EA m					PP			UPN m
1997																	
1998																	
1999			PSOE-PPm	PP-PRC	PSOE	PP	CIUm (PP)	PNV-EA m	PNV-EA m	PSOE	PSOE-PSM-IU/VEV			PP			PP
2000 PP	PSOE/FA																
2001																	
2002																	
2003	PSOE (ERC, IU, ICV, CC, BNG, Cha)	PSOE-PAR	PSOE-IU	PSOE-FRC	PSOE	PP	PSC/PSO-E-ERC-ICV/IU	PNV-EA m	PNV-EA-IU m	PSOE	PP			PP			PP
2004																	
2005																	
2006							PSC/PSO-E-ERC-ICV/IU	PNV-EA-IU m									
2007		PSOE-PAR	PSOEm	PSOE-FRC	PSOE	PP				PSOE							PP
																	PP
																	PP
																	UPN-CDN m
																	UPN-CDN m

Notes: Fully congruent coalitions at the moment of their formation are shaded in gray. Coalitions that became congruent after a shift at the federal level are shaded in light grey. These categories include formal governing coalitions and legislative coalitions relying on a stable agreement (composition in parentheses where available).

Source: Author's compilation.

# Notes

## Introduction

1. The most prominent example is that of Belgium in recent years, where we are witnessing a gradual “emptying” of the federal pool of competencies and a corresponding transfer of political relevance to the sub-national level (Swenden and Jans, 2006; Deschouwer, 2008).
2. In a review of the concept and usages of the “multilevel governance” concept, Hooghe and Marks (2001: 4) find that the “multilevel” adjective is used in the literature to refer to the “dispersion of authority away from the central government”. This dispersion can be directed “upwards” – towards inter- and supra-national organizations, “downwards” – towards a sub-national tier of government, or “sideways” – towards other type of structures such as public/private networks. As my interest here lies in explaining parliamentary government formation, I will focus on the “downwards” element in this triad.

## 1 Towards a Theory of Coalition Formation in Multi-Level Settings

1. In the post-war period of 1945–1999, in a total of 13 European multi-party parliamentary systems, Müller and Strøm (2000) identify 343 government cabinets. Only less than a third of these (30.9%) were formed by single parties, the remainder being split between minority cabinets (37.3%) and coalition governments (31.8%).
2. The formula for calculating the number of possible coalition combination is  $2^n - 1$ , where  $n$  is the total number of parties present in the legislature.
3. For a comprehensive overview of the various approaches to coalition formation, see De Winter and Dumont (2006).
4. The “policy influence differential” can be grasped by an index that measures the strength and degree of specialization of parliamentary committees, their capacity for oversight of ministerial activity and the degree to which the distribution of committee seats to parliamentary parties favours the opposition and the governing parties proportionally to their parliamentary size (Strøm, 1990: 71).
5. For an empirical critique of this proposition see Druckman and Thies (2002).
6. A first overview of this revision is presented in Ștefuriuc (2009b).
7. Statewide and non-statewide parties are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.
8. See Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion.

9. For each possible combination consisting of two or more parties, actors would need to evaluate the ideological proximity not just on one, but on several relevant policy dimensions. In a legislature composed of five parties, the number of possible coalition combinations is 31, meaning that if we exclude the single-party government formula, in 26 cases the parties involved must estimate the distance between one other.
10. The selection is based on De Winter and Dumont's (2006) review of the state of the art in coalition theory and on Martin and Stevenson (2001).
11. Take, for example, the situation of a five-party legislature in which the parties are placed as follows: in Dimension 1, A – B – C – D – E, with E quite far removed from the rest of the parties towards the right-hand end of the policy axis. In Dimension 2, the order of the parties is A – E – C – D – B, this time with B quite far removed from the rest of the parties towards the higher-end of the policy axis. In this situation, if both axes are relevant for coalition formation, parties B and E will be excluded because of their radical positions in the second and first dimensions respectively. If we further suppose that C and D command only a slim majority of seats, it follows that the only possible alternative left is a coalition between A, C and D, which is disconnected (i.e. it includes non-adjacent parties) in both dimensions.
12. When the national party is in opposition at the national level, however, they are more likely to be, if not encouraging of regional leaders who wish to engage in innovative coalitions, at least more permissive.

## 2 Research Design – Concepts, Methods and Country Selection

1. For some illustrative examples see Lieberman (2005).
2. For technical details about the dataset, the time frame of this analysis and the specification of the statistical models employed, see Chapters 4 and 5.
3. A justification for the case selection is given at the beginning of Chapter 6.

## 3 Multi-Level Polities – Institutions, Decision-Making, Parties and Party Systems

1. Although in Galicia no claims to recognition were voiced in the immediate post-Franco period, it was also included in the category of historical nationalities by virtue of the fact that, alongside Catalonia and the Basque Country, Galicia had also enjoyed a short-lived Status of Autonomy during the Second Republic (Aja, 2003: 67).
2. These are Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, MVP and Saxony-Anhalt.
3. These are the so-called *Überhangsmandate*, or surplus seats, which also exist for seat reallocation at the federal level.
4. There is only one exception to this rule, for the SSW (*Südschleswigscher Wählerverband*), the Danish minority party in Schleswig-Holstein, which is not bound by the 5% threshold for obtaining seats in the *Land* parliament.



5. Until 2003 Navarre used to have different investiture rules, which specified that, if no candidate had won a plurality of votes after four investiture voting rounds, the candidate proposed by the parliamentary party gaining the highest number of votes in regional elections was automatically invested. Since 2003, however, Navarre has had the same system as all the other ACs.
6. For a detailed overview of the distribution of competencies in Spain see Fabre (2008: 149).
7. These taxes are actually raised at the provincial level, but their administration is entirely the responsibility of the government of the AC.
8. For an overview of fiscal federalism in Germany see, for example, Gunlicks (2003) and Adelberg (2001).
9. For a definition of these categories of parties, see Chapter 1 and the discussion in the following sub-section.
10. The index of dissimilarity was computed for each regional election, comparing its results at the regional level of aggregation with those of the most recent national elections (at the same level of aggregation). The reference points are thus the national elections of 1982, 1986, 1989, 1993, 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008. For Andalusia, Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia the corresponding regional election years differ, owing to differences in the electoral calendar. The exact formula used for computing the index of dissimilarity is:

$$\text{Dissimilarity index} = \sum_{i=1}^n (|V_{i\text{reg}} - V_{i\text{nat}}| + \dots + |V_{n\text{reg}} - V_{n\text{nat}}|)$$

where  $V_{i\text{reg}}$  = Percentage of votes that Party  $i$  received in regional elections;  $V_{i\text{nat}}$  = Percentage of votes that Party  $i$  received in the most recent national elections.

11. Other smaller NSWPs, such as the BNG, have also systematically obtained parliamentary representation but never were in such a strong position vis-à-vis the party in national government. Some small NSWPs are present in the Spanish Congress in a more episodic manner (PAR, PAS, etc.), while other parties which account for a high index of regionalization in their own AC are simply not present on the national parliamentary scene – such as the PRC in Cantabria, which does not participate in general elections, or the UPN, which is the largest party in autonomous elections in Navarre but runs in general elections under the PP banner.
12. This preferential support agreement came to an end in 2006, when the PSOE turned to Catalonia's main opposition party (CiU) for a deal regarding the bill to reform the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia. Chapter 6 discusses this agreement and its dissolution at length.
13. Like, for example, Arbeit für Bremen in Bremen, or the Schill Partei or STATT Partei in Hamburg.
14. The first breakthrough occurred in the 2007 Bremen election, when Linke gained parliamentary representation for the first time in a Western region, winning 6 out of 151 seats (2 more than the FDP). This was followed by the 2008 elections in Hessen, Lower Saxony and Hamburg.

15. See Table 3.4.
16. Botella and Rodríguez (2005) study national ministerial careers and conclude that only slightly over one-third of all ministers with a party-political background in Spain have some previous experience at the sub-national level – although they do not indicate whether a distinction exists between the local and the regional levels, or between the legislative and the executive branches. Existing research on multi-level political careers in Spain focuses mainly on legislative positions (e.g. Stolz, 2003; Montero, 2007). As findings from Germany show, however, multi-level career paths are very different as we move from the legislative to the executive arena. Detterbeck and Jeffery (2008) show that, despite the observed trend that federal ministers and chancellors have previously held a ministerial position at the *Land* level, there is far less mobility between the two levels in the parliamentary arenas.

#### 4 Regional Coalition Governments in Spain and Germany – A Statistical Exploration

1. The following sources were used: Renu (2004), Alcántara and Martínez (1998) and official websites and documents of regional parliaments and governments in Spain; www.election.de, Gunlicks (2003), Reutter (2006), Bräuninger and Debus (2008) and the *Political Data Yearbook* published annually by the *European Journal of Political Research*.
2. Between 1980 and 2007 in Spain, if we exclude the situations where one party enjoyed parliamentary majority status on its own, a total of 94 coalition or minority cabinets were formed at the regional level. For lack of data on party policy positions at the regional level, which are crucial for the set of hypotheses about coalition formation tested here, only 55 of these cabinets are analysed (see Appendix A). It is argued that valid conclusions can be drawn even if not all Spanish regional governments are included – data is generally missing only for some of the governments that formed during the 1980s, in other words, at the beginning of the period under analysis, when the party system was still in flux. In Germany we count 58 single-party minority or coalition regional governments. All of them are included in the analysis.
3. Several combinations containing anti-system or far-right parties are excluded from the calculations. In Spain this means potential coalitions that contain the parties Unity of the People/*Herri Batasuna* (HB) and We, the Basque Citizens/*Euskal Herritarrok* (EH) in the Basque Country and in Navarre. The Communist Party of the Basque Territories/*Partido Comunista de las Tierras Vascas* (PCTV) is also excluded as a viable potential coalition partner. In Germany, the potential coalitions that contain the Republicans/*Republikaner* (REP), the German Popular Union/*Deutsche Volksunion* (DVU) or the National Democratic Party/*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (NPD), which occasionally gained parliamentary representation in various German regions, are excluded from the set of potential combinations.

4. The perception bias refers to the fact that voters have a tendency to place parties they support closer to their own policy position and those they dislike further away from their own policy position.
5. This method raised criticism for its blindness to the significance of the words whose frequency it counts and codes. Basically the method relies on comparing the frequency with which words related to specific policy categories appear in the reference text – that is, the party manifesto we can assign scores to via the expert survey – and in the virgin text – that is, the new party manifesto which we would like to assign scores to. Authors like Hug and Schulz (2007) or Klemmensen *et al.* (2007) performed successful cross-validation of the results obtained via this technique. For a discussion on the comparative value of three major existing approaches see Volkens, 2007.
6. The positions were rescaled to fit on a 1–10 scale so as to make them comparable with the data available for the Spanish cases.
7. Data about party policy positioning on the territorial dimension is collected only in Galicia, the Basque Country and Catalonia. Respondents are asked to place parties on a scale ranging from a minimum or no nationalist position (1) to an extreme nationalist position (10). The autonomous community of Navarre is also a case in which this second dimension plays an important structuring role in party competition and government formation. Scores for parties in Navarre were generated on this second dimension based on data from the Basque Country, as, with the exception of the Convergence of Navarre Democrats (*Convergencia de Demòcratas de Navarra* – CDN), all the other parties that compete in Navarre also compete in the Basque Country. As previous research shows that the positions of the CDN and the UPN are separated only by a matter of degree, these two parties were allocated the average scores of the PP from the Basque surveys.
8. Horizons 3D software, available from <http://www.sfu.ca/~warwick/program/>
9. In this model, the predicted probability of observing alternative  $m$  on the dependent variable  $y$  is:

$$\Pr(y_i = m|z_i) = \frac{\exp(z_{im}\beta)}{\sum_{j=1}^J \exp(z_{ij}\beta)}$$

for  $m = 1$  to  $j$ , where  $z_{im}$  contains the values of the independent variable for alternative  $m$  for observation  $i$  (Long and Freese, 2006: 297).

10. I use the procedure developed by Martin and Stevenson (2001: 39), which drops a random 10% of the alternatives (with the exception of the government that eventually formed) and produces the average Hausman test statistic over 20 iterations. Obtaining an average test statistic higher than 0.05 indicates that the IIA assumption is not problematic. Average test statistics for the IIA hypothesis are reported in each table. All models also correct for heteroskedasticity by using robust standard errors.
11. All coefficients reported in the logit and conditional logit models in this analysis are odds ratios. Odds ratios compare two probabilities: that of scoring 1 and that of scoring 0 on the dependent variable. Their interpretation is

highly intuitive: if the value of the odds ratio is higher than 1, then the variable has a positive effect, otherwise it has a negative effect. While standard logit coefficients can only give information about the direction of an effect, odds ratios also give an estimate of the size of the effect (Long and Freese, 2006).

12. This variable is an interaction term between the city-block distance between the two outermost parties in the combination and the minimal winning characteristic.
13. The resulting drop in sample size is due to the fact that there is a large number of data points in the Spanish sub-sample for which the second dimension of party competition (and hence the MCW2 variable which is derived from it) does not exist.
14. This is computed with the post-estimation command *adjust* in STATA. For the interpretation of interaction effects in logit and probit models, see Norton *et al.* (2004).
15. A note of caution needs to be sounded about the model-fit statistics. Long and Freese (2006) warn that pseudo R-squares tend to be unreliable estimates of model fit. The McFadden pseudo R-square reported here is, however, useful for estimating the relative improvements in predicting power of the various models.
16. As mentioned, this is created by an interaction between the minimal winning status with the city-block distance between the two most remote parties in the combination.
17. The interaction term MCW2 (connectedness on the two policy dimensions interacted) is not included in Model ES3 as its inclusion caused convergence problems. This is undoubtedly related to the fact that the second policy dimension is active in a reduced number of cases in the Spanish sub-sample – the governments from Catalonia, the Basque Country, Galicia and Navarre. Even for these, because of the gaps in the data that were discussed at some length in this chapter, data about party policy positioning is not available at all the time points included in the dataset.
18. The interaction term core (inclusion of the median legislator party (or parties) on both dimensions) is excluded in Model DE4 and subsequently as its inclusion caused convergence problem for these models. The results only show separate effects for the median legislator variables.
19. Even in Berlin, where the absence of a no confidence vote is sufficient to allow a new government to take office, investiture votes have become an established practice (Reutter, 2006).
20. The measure used for parliamentary fragmentation is the widely used *effective number of parties* (ENP). This is calculated according to the following formula:

$$ENP = \frac{1}{\sum_{i=1}^n (s_i)^2}$$

where  $S_i$  is the proportion of seats of party  $i$  (Laakso and Taagepera, 1979).

21. The formula used for calculating ideological polarization is:

$$\text{Left-right polarization} = \sum_{i=1}^n f_i (X_i - \bar{X})^2$$

where  $n$  is the number of parties,  $f_i$  is the share of votes of party  $i$ ,  $X_i$  is the left-right score of party  $i$  and  $\bar{X}$  is the mean of the left-right scores of parties  $i$  to  $n$  (Sigelman and Yough, 1978; Lane and Ersson, 1987). Only left-right polarization is included, as data about the second dimension is available for only a very limited number of cases in the Spanish sub-sample.

22. The formula used for calculating the regional volatility index is:

$$\text{Volatility index} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n (|V_{i,t+1} - V_{i,t}| + \dots + |V_{n,t+1} - V_{n,t}|)}{2}$$

where  $V_{i,t}$  = Percentage of votes that party  $i$  received in regional elections at time  $t$  and  $V_{i,t+1}$  = Percentage of votes that party  $i$  received in regional elections at time  $t+1$ .

23. There are a total of 181 majority governments in the dataset, and data on the left-right policy positions of parties are available in 179 of them.

## 5 Sub-National Coalition Formation as a Multi-Level Game

1. One further expectation set out in Chapter 1 states that the more autonomous regional party organizations are, the less likely it is that national leaders can impose their choice, which would naturally be to maintain a congruent coalition strategy. Arguing that autonomous party leaders would seek to form incongruent, or even cross-cutting coalitions, would be obviously somewhat far-fetched. Chapter 1 argued instead that if regional party leaders have a large degree of autonomy in deciding about coalition formation, congruence will become simply one factor to consider among others, such as policy proximity, previous governing-together experience and office spoils. Developing a comparative quantitative measure of the degree of regional autonomy is beyond the scope of this research. Unfortunately, to the best of my knowledge no such measure has been developed so far and it is therefore not possible to test the power of this intervening variable in a quantitative analysis.
2. For an overview of all German governments in the period under analysis, see Table B1.1 in Appendix B.
3. Coalitions are coded as cross-cutting if they include at least one member which is governing another one which is in opposition at the national level. The number is very low for Spain because most of the regional coalitions include NSWPs which are not represented in the national parliament.
4. For testing this hypothesis, the variable indicating the cross-cutting status of a combination was interacted with the measure of the degree of shared rule developed by Hooghe *et al.* (2010). These authors developed an index

for measuring the degree of regional autonomy which is based on two components: one is the degree to which a region can impact on national decision-making (shared rule), the second is the extent to which a region can govern itself independently of intervention by the national level, as well as the extent of its policy competencies (self-rule).

5. This hypothesis is tested by including two interaction terms as independent variables: one between the incongruence status and the percentage of seats held by NSWPs in the regional parliament, and the second between this status and the index of dissimilarity of electoral results which has already been discussed in the previous chapter.

## 6 Coalition Formation – The Process

1. Such positions include, for example, the regional party leader, the regional organization secretary, the regional general secretary, the party executive member responsible for regional affairs or for electoral strategy, the leader of the parliamentary group or a regional minister. The interviews were carried out in April–June 2006 in Spain and in June–November 2007 in Germany.
2. In order to determine whether a coalition is predicted by the theory, I follow the procedure suggested by Martin and Stevenson (2001) and applied by Bäck (2003) and Bäck and Dumont (2007). After the best-performing model (Model 5 in Table 5.2 from Chapter 5) is estimated, predicted probabilities are generated for each potential coalition in the dataset. The combination with the highest predicted probability in each formation opportunity is the alternative predicted by the theory.
3. Interviews with two PNV politicians, 8 June 2006.
4. Interviews with EA and EB politicians, 7 June 2006.
5. The “Ibarretxe Plan”, a policy proposal aimed at changing the Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country to guarantee “sovereignty” and the right of the Basque people to self-determination, was rejected by the Spanish Parliament in February 2005 after having been approved by the Basque Parliament.
6. In the subsequent elections, in March 2009, a net gain of seven seats allowed the PSE candidate to be voted in as head of government with the legislative support of the PPE.
7. Two out of the nine MPs elected under the PCTV banner voted for the appointment of Ibarretxe in the first round, which allowed his government to be voted in by a plurality of votes in the second investiture round.
8. There is only one exception to this: the PP cabinet that governed between 1995 and 1999.
9. For the 2003 elections the Asturian IU federation reached an electoral agreement with a small conglomerate of Asturian regionalist associations, the BA. The IU-BA is thus the only party group adopting a regionalist stance, calling for the recognition of the Asturian language as the second official language of the AC and, in general, greater self-government at the regional level.
10. Interview with IU politician, 25 April 2006.
11. This was the portfolio of Justice, Public Safety and External Relations.

12. Interview with IU politician, 25 April 2006.
13. Interview with IU politician, 25 April 2006.
14. Interview with PSOE politician, 15 June 2006.
15. A version of this case study first appeared in Ștefuriuc (2009c).
16. Interview with CDU political advisor, 22 May 2007.
17. Interviews with CDU political advisor, 22 May 2007 and CDU politician, 24 May 2007.
18. Interview with CDU politician, 24 May 2007, also cited in Ștefuriuc (2009c).
19. Interview with FDP politician, 24 May 2007, also cited in Ștefuriuc (2009c).
20. Interview with SPD political advisor, 18 October 2007.
21. Interview with SPD politician, 19 October 2007. Also note that, before German unification, the SPD had an uneasy collaboration in a coalition government with the Green Party (called at the time the Berlin Alternative List/*Berlin Alternative Liste*) (see Lees, 2005).
22. Interview with SPD political advisor, 18 October 2007.
23. Note however that this was only valid for the federal level, as the Berlin WASG did not adopt the same strategy as the party had at the federal level in 2005 (i.e. running elections on a combined ticket with the PDS). In the 2006 state elections the Berlin WASG ran on its own.
24. Interview with Linke politician, 19 October 2007.
25. Interview with Linke politician, 19 October 2007.
26. Interview with Linke politician, 19 October 2007.
27. There was a fourth alternative, a grand coalition of “national unity” comprising the CiU, PSOE and ERC and whose objective would have been to give Catalonia a new statute of autonomy. However, this was never seriously considered, by either by the socialists or the ERC, and no negotiations were tabled with such a coalition in view. For an earlier version of the 2003 coalition formation in Catalonia see Ștefuriuc 2009b.
28. Interview with PSC politician, 28 June 2006.
29. This party is an electoral coalition between EUiA (the Catalan federation of the United Left (IU), Spain’s third-largest SWP) and the ICV, which used to be associated with the IU in Catalonia between 1986 and 1997 (see Ștefuriuc and Verge, 2008).
30. Interview with ICV/EUiA politician, 30 May 2006.
31. Interview with ERC politician, 26 May 2006.
32. Interview with ERC politician, 26 May 2006.
33. Interview with ERC politician, 26 May 2006.
34. The other parties that supported the PP minority government were the PNV and the CC (Reniu, 2001).
35. The statute was adopted successfully by the Spanish Parliament and later ratified in a referendum held in Catalonia, but a decision of the Constitutional Court in 2010 declared several of its articles unconstitutional (*La Vanguardia*, 28 June 2010).
36. This principle of territorial solidarity translates into the practice of transfers from the well-off to the poorer regions (Moreno, 2001). The Spanish constitution states that “the state should guarantee the effective application of the solidarity principle . . . so that differences between their statutes of autonomy may in no case imply economic or social privileges” (Moreno, 2001: 99).

37. The reference to Catalonia as a “nation” was eliminated from the text of the Statute but and remained symbolically only in the Preamble of the document.
38. A shorter version of this case study first appeared in Ștefuriuc (2009a).
39. In recent years, the arrival of illegal immigrants at harbours in the Canary Islands has intensified. Cooperation with the central government and the urgency of drawing up a joint immigration plan have intensified accordingly.
40. Interview with CC politician, 9 May 2006, cited also in Ștefuriuc (2009a).
41. Interview with PSOE politician, 11 May 2006.
42. A version of this case study first appeared in Ștefuriuc (2009c).
43. Interviews with SPD politicians, 26 September 2007 and 28 September 2007.
44. One of the cornerstone pieces of legislation of the 2002–2006 governments was the Local Administration Reform bill, on which several PDS MPs dissented (interview with SPD politician, 28 September 2007).
45. Interview with PDS politician, 27 September 2007.
46. Interview with CDU politician, 25 September 2007.
47. Interview with SPD politician, 26 September 2007.
48. Interview with CDU politician, 24 May 2007.

## **7 Conclusions – Sub-National Coalition Formation in Multi-Level Settings**

1. A good example illustrating this kind of problem comes from the very first coalition government formed after the devolution, the Labour–Liberal Democrat coalition in Scotland. Mandatory tuition fees for university education had been introduced throughout the UK in September 1998 by a bill of the governing Labour party. One year later, following the first Scottish election results, the Scottish leadership of the Labour party had to depart from its central party line and make some serious concessions to its coalition partner’s demands to abolish up-front fees in Scotland and create, instead, a different formula for collecting such fees after graduation, and using a progressive method (Keating, 2005a). A further departure from higher education policy at the national level occurred in 2008 when, under the government leadership of the SNP, the Scottish parliament ratified the abolition of such fees altogether.



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