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Journey to the Centre of the State: Catalans in Madrid and Scots in London

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, comparative studies between Scotland and Catalonia have grown substantially, especially those dealing with the territorial embeddedness of these territories in the United Kingdom and Spain. Despite this, comparative research on the integration of Catalans and Scots in the decision-making of central state institutions is underdeveloped. In this article, based on a set of comparative indicators applied to these two case studies, we will carry out an investigation that allows us to observe the level of inclusion of Catalonia and Scotland in the main political positions of the central government of the State, as well as in other state political institutions of singular importance. To this end, we will analyse quantitatively and qualitatively the participation of Catalans and Scots in the head of government, ministerial portfolios, parliamentary presiding officers and general secretaries of the main state-level parties.

1 | Introduction

When analysing political systems, one of the key matters is determining who runs the political power and what has allowed them to reach certain power positions within the system. Such questions are even more relevant in the democratic system studies. Throughout these questions, an important body of academic literature about descriptive political representation¹ has been developed (Pitkin 1967), in which variables as gender (Annesley, Beckwith and Franceschet 2019; García-Santamaría and Pérez-Castaños 2020; Siaroff 2000), social status (Gaxie 2018; Mishler and Mughan 1978; Norris and Lovenduski 1994), ethnic diversity (Dovi 2002; Ruedin 2009; O'Brochta 2020) professional background (Costa Pinto, Cotta and Tavares de Almeida 2018) and educational level (Besley and Reynal-Querol 2011; O'Malley 2006) have been considered with the aim of the comparison between the representative's and the represented's socio-demographic characteristics. That way, the representatives are expected to be a true reflection of the represented population, since it is stated

that this may help representatives' political activity defend citizens' interests in a better way (Williams 1988) and, besides, it is a sign of justice, equity and democracy in the access to the political power posts (Serrano and Bermúdez 2018: 21). Anyway, a lack of a specific social group representation could provoke problems with the defence of their concrete political interests.

Among these socio-demographic features, the representative's geographical origin, either because it is a matter of birth or constituency of reference, has not arisen as much academic interest as other features; despite this fact, several authors have, directly or indirectly, dealt with this topic (Fernández Rivera, Harguindéguy and Rodríguez Teruel 2022; Fischer, Dowding and Dumont 2012; Harguindéguy et al. 2023; Keating 1975; Rodríguez-Teruel 2011; Rodríguez-Teruel, Harguindéguy and Mota Consejero 2024; Peinado García et al. 2024; Tronconi and Verzichelli 2023). In fact, the territorial variable in the sociology of political elite is particularly important in those multinational States where citizens with different sentiments of national

belonging live together and in which the State tries to adjust such difference by promoting a better descriptive, substantive and/or symbolic territorial representation (Pitkin 1967).

Recently, the steep increase of the support to secessionist nationalism in some consolidated multinational democracies has caused a remarkable rise in the academic literature body which studies both the increasing support for secession and the accommodation of different territories into multinational democracies. Due to their particular importance, Scotland and Catalonia cases² have been especially studied and a considerable number of comparative research between both cases has been developed (Antón-Merino 2020; Cetrà and Harvey 2019; Liñeira and Cetrà 2015; Muro, Vidal and Vlaskamp 2020). To what extent have Catalan and Scottish politicians been integrated into the main state-level institutions? This article aims to study the inclusion level of Catalan and Scot politicians into the main political positions of several state institutions. In order to do this, once this section has been finished, we will proceed to define the time period in which the inclusion of Catalan and Scot politicians into the main political positions of Spanish and United Kingdom state institutions will be observed. Afterwards it will be quantified the presence of Catalan and Scot politicians in the Government, ministerial portfolios, parliamentary presiding officers and general secretaries of the most important parties of the Opposition in the state sphere. The paper will finish with a section in which the main conclusion will be expounded.

2 | Catalonia and Scotland, Decentralisation and Analysed Period

Although the United Kingdom democratic institutions have a much longer path than Spanish democratic institutions, this fact is inverted when referring to the self-government executive and legislative organs in the territories of the country. Thus, whereas Catalonia has had an own parliament since 1980, the Scottish legislative chamber was not established until 1999.

In the Spanish case, during the democratic transition period, overcoming the extreme centralization of Franco Government as well as giving autonomy to certain territories was one of the greatest demands at the moment in the political arena (Aja Fernández 1999: 46). About 3 months after the constituent election in July 1977, Catalonia autonomy was re-established provisionally, 1 year after the approbation of the Constitution of Spain in 1978, the *Estatut de Sau* was passed and, in March 1980, the first regional election in this territory were held (Aja Fernández 1999). Therefore, in this paper, the level of inclusion of Catalan politicians in the State institutions will be analysed since the constituent election in 1977 until the current time.³

As mentioned above, the democratic institutions in the United Kingdom have always been more stable than their Spanish counterparts, but the country decentralisation is much more recent. However, there are some records of unsuccessful attempts to change the territorial organisation of the country State. Among those records, it must be emphasised that, in 1969, Harold Wilson's Labour Government ordered to set up a royal commission in order to examine, among other things, a possible decentralisation of the State, known as Kilbrandon Commission⁴

(Moreno 1995: 169). This Kilbrandon Commission, whose final report was presented in 1973, recommended that the British Government should face a devolution process of the Scottish and Welsh legislative parliaments. These commission proposals were included into the 1979 devolution referenda. In the case of Scotland, despite the vote had ended up with the support of a majority who was in favour of recovering their self-government legislative organs –51.6%–, after the referendum, this territory was not given such institutions owing to the fact that it had been established as a *conditio sine qua non* that the support for devolution should be higher than the 40% of the electoral census and just the 32.9% of the affirmative votes of the census were reached (Antón-Merino 2022: 398-9). Due to the relevance of Kilbrandon Commission report and its impact on the debate about decentralisation in the United Kingdom, this article analysis period for the Scottish case will start at the beginning of Harold Wilson's second government, 1974, up until nowadays, although the devolution was not carried out until 1999.

Scotland and Catalonia show temporary differences regarding democracy and decentralisation establishment. Other significant distinctions, such as asymmetrical decentralisation, economic and population importance within their respective states, and the challenges of carrying out an independence referendum in their territories should be considered. However, both territories belong to consolidated Western democracies where secession and secessionist parties have gained increasing support since the early 21st century.

3 | Catalan and Scottish Presence in the Main Political Institutions in State Sphere

Before starting the analysis of Catalan and Scottish politicians' presence in the main institutions in the state area, a further clarification of the party's system of both territories would be useful. Both in Scotland and in Catalonia, there are political parties that come together to the group of the State election, State-wide parties -SWPs- and parties which just take part in the election of these territories, non-State-wide parties -NSWPs- (Pallarés, Montero, and Llera 1997).

In Catalonia, the Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya -PSC-⁵ has been the political force that has achieved the greatest number of representatives in the Spanish Parliament from 1977 to 2007 and in the last general election of July 2023; between 2007 and 2023, up to three different parties have been the most voted at general election in this territory: *Convergència i Unió* -CiU- (2011), *En Comú Podem* -ECP- (2015 and 2016) and *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* -ERC- (in both calls in 2019). However, at regional election, the parties which have gain more representation have been, most of the times, NSWPs -CiU since 1980 until 2012 and *Junts pel Si* in 2017-, except for the last three calls of regional election, where the most voted parties were *Ciudadanos* -in 2017- and PSC -in 2021 and 2024-. Traditionally, SWPs' dominance, particularly PSC,⁶ at general election and NSWPs', especially CiU, at regional election in Catalonia, has been explained because of the differential abstention⁷ and dual vote theory⁸ (Montero and Font 1989, 1991). These electoral results have caused the paradoxical situation that although Catalan institutions have been mostly controlled by NSWPs, the representatives

of Catalans in the principal political institutions in the State area have come from SWPs, fundamentally from PSC.

In Scotland, the Labour Party has been the predominant political force at general election from 1964 to 2010; nonetheless, from the electoral call in 2015, Scottish National Party -SNP- has become the party which has sent more members of the Parliament to Westminster until the 2024 electoral call, where the Labour Party was once again the most voted political force in Scotland (Henderson et al. 2020). In the Scottish Parliament, the SNP surpassed the Labour Party some years before, in the electoral call in 2007 and, since then, it has been the main party in Holyrood parliament (Henderson et al. 2020).

3.1 | Head of Government

Related to the political system structure in both countries, both Spain and the United Kingdom are parliamentary monarchies in which the head of State is held by a monarch and the head of executive power falls on the President of Government in Spain and the Prime Minister in the United Kingdom. With regard to head of Government, there has never been a Catalan President in the Spanish democratic history⁹; however, along the analysis period of Scotland, we do find Scottish Prime Ministers.¹⁰ Taking into account the place of birth, Labour Party leaders Tony Blair -Edinburgh- and Gordon Brown -Giffnock- were born in Scotland. Blair's government lasted 10 years -1997–2007- and finished with 18 years of uninterrupted Conservative governments, whereas Brown's government took over from Blair's after his resignation in 2007. Brown's period of office finished in 2010, when, after facing his first election as head of the party, he lost the Government to the benefit of the Conservative-Liberal coalition government led by David Cameron and Nick Clegg.

If we stick to a 'civic' criterion of geographic ascription (Harguindéguy et al. 2023: 90), in which Scottish representatives were considered to be those who have been elected by citizens of a Scottish constituency and who represent the latter in the Westminster Parliament, only Gordon Brown, Member of the Parliament for Kirkcaldy and Cowdenbeath, could be considered as a genuinely Scottish Prime Minister. A civic criterion has been predominant in previous research on this theme in the United Kingdom (Keating 1975, 1978; Mishler and Mughan 1978; Sheldon 2022). Due to that, in this paper, we will attach more importance to this view, taking as reference the geographic criterion of electoral ascription to consider representatives as Scots. Following that argumentative path, Tony Blair, as a Member of the Parliament of Sedgefield constituency, will be considered as an English representative in the head of Government of the United Kingdom.

3.2 | Cabinet Ministers

This section will deal with the participation of Catalan and Scottish politicians in ministerial portfolios in Spain and United Kingdom Governments. Several studies have analysed the cabinet selection in different countries (Kerby 2009; Mann and Smith 1981; O'Malley 2006), some of which, recently, revolve around Spain and United Kingdom cases (Fernández Rivera,

Harguindéguy, and Rodríguez Teruel 2022; Harguindéguy et al. 2023; Harguindéguy et al. 2023; Peinado García et al. 2024; Rodríguez-Teruel, Harguindéguy, and Mota Consejero 2024). Afterwards, the number of Catalan and Scottish ministers of each presidency will be quantified as well as their length in office and their ministerial rank importance.

One of the great differences among the ministers who compound Spain's cabinet and those who compound the United Kingdom one is that to be selected as minister in the United Kingdom, they must have been previously elected as member of the House of Commons or appointed as a member of the House of Lords. In the Spanish case, this is not an essential requirement and that is why a lot of ministers are not active deputies and some of them even resign as deputies to focus on their ministerial portfolio duties. Since all United Kingdom ministers must be members of House of Commons, except for those who come from House of Lords, we can take as a reference the electoral constituency where they have been elected to determine their origin. Instead, a mixed criterion will have to be used for Spain, in which the reference would be the birthplace for those ministers who are not deputies and the place where they have been elected for those ones who do have their seat.

Tables 1 and 2 show the total number of ministers, number of Catalan and Scottish ministers and the percentage of Catalan and Scottish ministers from the total in each of the analysed presidencies. If we gaze at the total numbers, it can be seen that, in Spain, Socialist Felipe González's Government has had the highest number of Catalan ministers in its cabinet, with a total of five -Narcis Serra, Juan Majó, Ernesto Lluch, Josep Borrell and Jordi Solé-, although it has also had the highest number of total ministers, 50. The data seem logical taking into account that Felipe González's office has been the longest one -13 years and 5 months-. According to the percentage, the two first Pedro Sánchez's governments stand out, above all the coalition government with *Podemos* in the XIV legislature, which has been the period with the highest percentage of Catalan ministers there has ever been in a Spain Government, 11.76% -Salvador Illa, Miquel Iceta, Raquel Sánchez and Joan Subirats-, but also the one-year government that Pedro Sánchez held alone, corresponding the end of XII legislature and the 4 months of XIII legislature, when a percentage of 10.53% of Catalan ministers -Josep Borrell and Meritxell Batet- was reached. On the contrary, the president with the lowest Catalan representation in his cabinet, both in absolute terms and percentage-wise, has been Calvo Sotelo, with Federico Mayor Zaragoza as the sole Catalan representative from a total of 25 ministers.

Regarding the United Kingdom, Tony Blair was the Prime Minister with the highest number of Scottish ministers in his cabinet in the studied period (1974–2024), with 10 ministers coming from Caledonian territory -Gordon Brown, Robin Cook, John Reid, Alistair Darling, George Robertson, Des Browne, Donald Dewar, Gavin Strang, Helen Liddell and Douglas Alexander- who represent 18.52% from the total of his cabinet. The second premier is the Labour Gordon Brown, with four Scottish ministers in his government Alistair Darling, Des Browne, Douglas Alexander and Jim Murphy, 9.3% from his cabinet. On the opposite side, we can find Boris Johnson's Conservative governments with just one Scottish minister

TABLE 1 | Distribution of Catalan ministers in Spain (1977–2024).

Government	Ministers total number	Catalan ministers total number ^a	% of Catalan ministers from total
1977–1981 Suarez (UCD)	44	3	6.82
1981–1982 Sotelo (UCD)	25	1	4
1982–1996 González (PSOE)	50	5	10
1996–2004 Aznar (PP)	34	3	8.82
2004–2011 Zapatero (PSOE)	40	4	10
2011–2018 Rajoy (PP)	24	2	8.33
2018–2019 Sánchez (PSOE)	19	2	10.53
2020–2023 Sánchez (PSOE-Podemos)	34	4	11.76
2023–2024 Sánchez (PSOE-Sumar)	23	2	8.7

^aA mixed approach has been used, combining the place where the deputies have been elected and the birthplace in order to count ministers.
Source: Prepared by the author from La Moncloa (2023) website data.

TABLE 2 | Distribution of Scottish ministers in the UK (1974–2024).

Government	Ministers total number ^a	Scottish ministers total number ^b	% of Scottish ministers from total
1974–1976 Wilson (Lab.)	23	1	4.35
1976–1979 Callaghan (Lab.)	27	2	7.41
1979–1990 Thatcher (Con.)	57	2	3.51
1990–1997 Major (Con.)	40	3	7.5
1997–2007 Blair (Lab.)	54	10	18.52
2007–2010 Brown (Lab.)	43	4	9.3
2010–2015 Cameron-Clegg (Con-Lib. De.)	50	3	6
2015–2016 Cameron (Con.)	30	1	3.33
2016–2019 May (Con.)	40	1	2.5
2019–2020 Johnson (Con.)	53	1	1.89
2022 Liz Truss (Con.)	32	1	3.13
2022–2024 Rishi Sunak (Con.)	41	1	2.44
2024 Keir Starmer (Lab.)	25	1	4

Source: Prepared by the author from The House of Common Library (2024) data.

^aThe Prime Minister is not counted as minister.

^bOnly those ministers who come from house of commons and have been elected in Scottish constituencies have been counted.

-Alister Jack- from 53 appointed ministers during his office, Rishi Sunak's with one minister -again Alister Jack- from 41 named ministers and Theresa May's with one minister -David Mundell- from 40 appointed ministers.

These considerable differences can be explained by two good reasons: on the one hand, formal requirements and on the other hand, electoral context. In regard to the formal requirements, as mentioned before, to be a member of the United Kingdom Cabinet, it is compulsory to be a Member of the Parliament. In this respect, as it can be observed in Table 3, Tony Blair's splendid electoral results in Scotland, 56 seats out of the

possible 73 at general election in 1997 and 2001 and 41 seats of the possible 59 in 2005, considerably increased the options to choose from and the probability that the Prime Minister could opt for including some members of the Parliament coming from Scotland into his cabinet. Whereas the traditionally poor results of the Conservatives in this territory hinder Scots in the access to the government. Considering the total number of members of the governing party at the House of Commons who come from Scottish constituencies, the paradox is that some Conservative governments, with few Scottish ministers from the total number of ministers, own a high percentage of Scottish ministers from the total of the members

TABLE 3 | Percentage distribution of Scottish ministers out of the total of Scottish MPs got by the governing party in the house of commons election (1974–2024).

Government	Elections	Total of MPs of the governing party at the house of commons	Total of Scottish MPs of the governing party at the house of commons	Total number of Scottish ministers	% of Scottish ministers from MPs obtained by the party in Scotland
1974–1976 Wilson (Lab.)	1974F–1974O	301/319	40/41	1	2.5/2.44
1976–1979 Callaghan (Lab.)	1974O	319	41	2	4.88
1979–1990 Thatcher (Con.)	1979/1983/1987	339/397/376	22/21/10	2(1/2/2) ^a	4.54/9.52/20
1990–1997 Major (Con.)	1987/1992	376/336	10/11	3(2/3) ^b	20/27.27
1997–2007 Blair (Lab.)	1997/2001/2005	418/413/355	56/56/41	10(8/5/5) ^c	14.3/8.93
2007–2010 Brown (Lab.)	2005	355	41	4	9.76
2010–2015 Cameron-Clegg (Con-Lib.De.)	2010	306 + 57	12	3	25
2015–2016 Cameron (Con.)	2015	330	1	1	100
2016–2019 May (Con.)	2015/2017	330/317	1/13	1	100/7.69
2019–2020 Johnson (Con.)	2019	365	6	1	16.67
2022 Liz Truss (Con.)	2019	365	6	1	16.67
2022–2023 Sunak (Con.)	2019	365	6	1	16.67
2024 Keir Starmer (Lab.)	2024	411	37	1	2.7

Source: Prepared by the author from House of Common Library data.

^aYounger from 1979 and Rifkind hereafter 1986.

^bRifkind and Lang from 1990 and Forsyth hereafter 1995.

^cBlair's 1st government: Brown, Reid, Cook, Darling, Dewar, Liddell, Robertson and Strang; 2nd: Brown, Reid, Cook, Darling and Liddell; and 3rd: Brown, Reid, Darling, Browne and Alexander.

of the Parliament coming from Scotland. In this respect, as it can be observed in Table 3, Cameron's government stands out which, in spite of having a sole Scottish minister, because of his electoral result, only had one potential Scot minister, which means 100% of Scottish parliamentarians of the government party belong to the Prime Minister's cabinet. Major's second government is also particularly conspicuous with up to three Scottish ministers from 11 potential ministers -27.27%.

Regarding the electoral context, it must be remarked that during Margaret Thatcher's Government, the Conservatives plummeted in Scotland and left a legacy of a strong Labour Party in its territory. Additionally, at that time, English Labour was going through several identity crises in England. This situation is reflected in the composition of Neil Kinnock's last shadow cabinet and the subsequent shadow cabinets of John Smith and Tony Blair, which featured significant participation from Members of Parliament elected in Scottish constituencies.¹¹ With Blair in office, the most senior and experienced Labour politicians within the party apparatus were part of the Scottish section of the Labour Party. Consequently, Scottish Members of Parliament were more prominently represented in both the Blair's and Brown's cabinets.

This first look at the number and percentage of Catalan and Scottish ministers with Spain Presidents and United Kingdom Prime Ministers allow us to reflect on the first similarities and differences. Relating to similarities, it is observed in both cases, that the number and percentage of Catalan and Scottish ministers, in general, rise when the main social democratic party of the State is in power -PSOE and Labour Party- and decrease when the centre-right or the conservative UCD, PP and the Conservative and Unionist Party are in power. Both in Catalonia and in Scotland, these results are favoured by the bigger roots in the State-wide parties of social democratic nature and by the state right wing's weakness. On the other hand, a bigger percentage variation in Scotland than in Catalonia, whereas the difference between the highest and the lowest representation of Scots in the United Kingdom Government is 14.78% and, in the Catalan case the range is 7.76% in the Spain Government.

One of the most used formulas to measure the correct or incorrect descriptive representation of a collective in a country's institutions is that which divides the proportion of that collective in a specific position by the total proportion of the collective in the whole territory. Norris and Lovenduski (1994: 96) named this formula as 'Electoral bias index'; Cuenca Toribio and Miranda García (1987: 108), applying it to the geographic origin of Franco's ministers, named the formula result as 'representativeness index'; and Collier (2008: 147) opted to call it 'social imbalance index'. The closer this index result is to 1, the closer the representation of the group to be studied is to the numerical reality of the group in society; if the index is lower than one, the studied object will be under-represented, whereas if it is over one, it will be overrepresented.

Figure 1 shows this index results for Catalan and Scottish ministers in their respective central Governments. As it can be observed both Catalans and Scots have been under-represented in the cabinets of their central Governments, except for Blair's and Brown's governments, which registered an over-representation of the Scottish ministers. Besides, owing to the higher Catalan population in Spain -between 15.5% and 16.5% from the total- than the Scottish population in the United Kingdom -between 8% and 9.5% from the total-, the territorial representativeness index in Catalonia has kept under the Scottish one until the second half of the second decade in XXI century. From this date, with the arrival of Conservatives in the power on their own in the United Kingdom and of socialist Pedro Sánchez's governments in Spain the tendency is changed. The fall of Scottish politicians' representativeness in the United Kingdom cabinet also coincides with SNP growth at general election from 2015 call, where the nationalist party got 56 out of the 59 members of Parliament they could opt for.

In spite of its usefulness, territorial representativeness index is subject to criticism. Firstly, it has to do with the symbolic importance that territories with different national identities from the majority identity in the State are particularly represented in the central government, although they do not suppose a high population in total numbers. That is to say, it can be argued that singularities and differential national facts

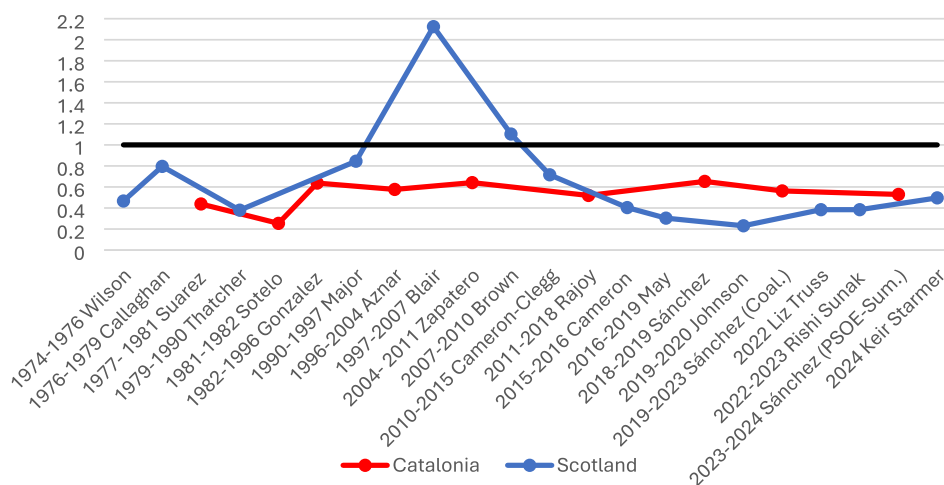


FIGURE 1 | Territorial representativeness index in Catalonia and Scotland (1974–2024). Source: Own preparation from Tables 1 and 2 data and population data of World Bank (Banco Mundial 2024), the National Records of Scotland (2024) and Spanish Statistical Office (INE) (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 2024). [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com)]

which are characteristic of these territories that constitute the State might be a motive for a superior territorial representativeness in the state organs, seeking to defend some interests which may not coincide with the rest of the State citizens'. Moreover, the index could result more useful in the case of Spain, where the territory is divided in 17 sub-states, than in the United Kingdom's, where a strong territorial asymmetry exists between England -which is around 84% of the population- and the rest of the territories -Scotland, 8%, Wales 5% and Northern Ireland, 3%-. This index accommodation with the reality of its population distribution in the United Kingdom involves developing governments ran, almost exclusively, by English politicians and where there is hardly room for the rest of the nationalities of the country. Lastly, this index measures the number of representatives but not the importance of the position in the cabinet. As it is known, for practical purposes, Culture and Sport portfolio is not as relevant as Foreign Affairs portfolio (Druckman and Warwick 2005).

Tables 4 and 5 aim to clarify the aforementioned findings with more information about each of the ministers. On one hand, these tables contain name, membership of a political party and number of complete months that each minister has had a portfolio. Regarding the last piece of information, it is seen that the minister who has taken part in a cabinet for the longest time is the Scottish Labour Alistair Darling, 156 complete months which amount to the 13-year Labour governments of Tony Blair's and Gordon Brown's-1997–2010-. Behind Darling, and in a prominent position in contrast to the rest of his Catalan counterparts, the Catalan socialist minister Narcis Serra who entered the government in December 1982 and quitted in June 1995. Other three Scottish ministers held their post for over 100 months, the Conservatives Malcom Rifkind -135 months- and George Younger -122 months-, and the Labour Gordon Brown -109 months- whose Prime Minister stage has not been counted. The second Catalan holding his post for the longest time is the socialist Josep Borrel, 79 complete months with ministerial position and taking part in the governments of Felipe González's-1991–1996- and Pedro Sánchez's-2018–2019-.

In relation to the ministers who have had a ministerial post with portfolio for the shortest time, it is worth mentioning two cases: Eduard Punset, minister in charge of relations with the European Communities for 5 months -between September 1980 and February 1981- and Secretary of State of Trade John Smith, who was a member of the Government of James Callaghan for the last 5 months. Alongside Punset and Smith, PP minister Julia García-Valdecasas, first female Minister of Public Administration in Spain, and Labour Gavin Strang, appear at the tail end of tables 4 and 5, respectively.

Overall, Scottish ministers have greater stability than Catalans, who are usually more ephemeral in their office. Their average tenure as ministers corroborates it since Scots' average amounts to approximately 54 months whereas their Catalans counterparts' is lower, around 34 months, an average difference of 20 months.

Regarding portfolios, Druckman and Warwick (2005), proposed a ranking of portfolio salience running a survey through

TABLE 4 | Catalan ministers, political party, portfolio and complete months in office.

Ministers ^a	Party	Portfolios	Months in office
Serra	PSC	Defence/ vice-presidency	151
Borrel	PSC	Public works and environment/ foreign office, EU and cooperation	79
Fernan. Díaz	PP	Home office	58
Chacón	PSC	Housing/defence	53
Lavilla	UCD	Justice	43
Lluch	PSC	Health	43
Piqué	PP	Foreign office/science and technology	39
Iceta	PSC	Territorial policy and civil service/ culture and sports	33
Corbacho	PSC	Labour and immigration	30
Montilla	PSC	Industry, tourism and trade	28
Sánchez	PSC	Transport, mobility and urban agenda	28
Solé	PSC	Culture	28
Birulés	PP	Science and technology	26
Subirats	En Comú	Universities	23
Clos	PSC	Industry, tourism and trade	19
Monserrat	PP	Health, social care and equality	19
Rovira	UCD	Health	17
Illa	PSC	Health	12
Majó	PSC	Industry and energy	12
Mayor Zar.	UCD	Education and science	12
Batet	PSC	Territorial policy and civil service	11
Valdecasas	PP	Public administration	7
Punset	UCD	European community relations	5

Source: Own preparation.

^aThe table does not include those ministers who are currently in office: Ernest Urtasun and Jordi Hereu.

different countries experts. In this respect, these research findings give special importance to the Exchequer, Foreign Affairs and the Home Department portfolios (Druckman and Warwick 2005: 30). Five Scottish ministers -Rifkind, Brown, Cook, Reid and Darling- and three Catalans -Piqué, Fernández

TABLE 5 | Scottish ministers, political party, portfolio and complete months in office.

Ministers ^b	Party	Portfolios	Months in office
Darling	Labour	Treasury /work and pensions/ transport/ Scotland/trade and industry/exchequer	156
Rifkind	Cons.	Scotland/transport/defence/foreign and commonwealth affairs	135
Younger	Cons.	Scotland/defence	122
Brown ^a	Labour	Exchequer	109
Reid	Labour	Scotland /Northern Ireland/without portfolio/leader of the House of commons/ health/defence/home secretary	97
Lang	Cons.	Scotland/trade and industry	77
Jack	Cons.	Scotland	59
Mundell	Cons.	Scotland	59
Da. Alexander	Lib. Dem.	Scotland/treasury	59
Cook	Labour	Foreign and commonwealth affairs	49
Do. Alexander	Labour	Transport/Scotland/international development	48
Moore	Lib. Dem.	Scotland	40
Millan	Labour	Scotland	36
Liddell	Labour	Scotland	29
Robertson	Labour	Defence	29
Ross	Labour	Scotland	25
Dewar	Labour	Scotland	24
Forsyth	Cons.	Scotland	23
Carmichael	Lib. Dem.	Scotland	19
Murphy	Labour	Scotland	19
Browne	Labour	Defence/scotland	16
Strang	Labour	Transport	13
Smith	Labour	Trade	5

^aHis stage as prime minister is not counted.

^bThe table does not include Ian Murray, who is currently in the United Kingdom cabinet office.

Source: Own preparation.

Díaz and Borrel- have held those portfolios in the period under study.

Catalan ministers have tended to hold medium-importance ministries in the state Government (Fernández Rivera, Harguindéguy and Rodríguez Teruel 2022: 1062), most of which were Health -Rovira, Lluich, Montserrat and Illa- and Industry -Majó, Piqué, Montilla, Clos and the current minister Hereu-.

In the United Kingdom, conferring the Secretary of State for Scotland on a member of Parliament elected by the Scottish electorate works as a non-written rule, since this post, which serves as a representation of Scotland's interests in the United Kingdom Government, has been held by a Scottish minister since its origin. Taking this into account, up to seven governments in the studied period – Wilson's and Starmer's Labour government and Cameron's, May's Johnson's, Truss's and Sunak's Conservative governments- have only had, as a Scottish representative in their

cabinet, the Secretary of State for Scotland, minister in charge of the genuine Scottish affairs, with no other Scots being responsible for any others functions in their cabinets. In fact, out of the total of 23 Scottish ministers that there have been during this period, 11 have only held the position of Secretary for Scotland. Apart from this Secretary, it is worth mentioning the role of the Scots in the Department of Defence, where there have been up to four ministers coming from Scotland in the researched period -Rifkind, Roberston, Reid and Browne-. On the other hand, except for John Reid, Secretary of State for Health from June 2003 to May 2005, none of the Scottish Parliamentarians has performing ministerial positions in any Scottish devolved ministries and which only operate in England such as Education, Justice and Health Departments.

Last but not least, it should be recalled that apart from the Members of Parliament of the House of Commons, the members of the House of Lords, the Upper House of the Parliament, can

also participate in the United Kingdom cabinet. Although members of the House of Lords are not elected by universal suffrage by any electoral districts, there are chamber representatives who have acquired a portfolio and who are strongly bound to Scotland. This is the case of William Whitelaw, first Viscount of Whitelaw and minister of Home and vice-president/deputy president in Margaret Thatcher's government; James Mackay, Baron Mackay of Clashfern and Lord Chancellor with Margaret Thatcher and John Major; Derry Irvine, Baron Irvine of Lairg who performed as Lord Chancellor during Tony Blair's government; and Tomas Galbraith, second Baron of Strathclyde and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and leader of the House of Lords during David Cameron and Nick Clegg's coalition government.

3.3 | Chambers Boards

There is important research that compares Spain's and United Kingdom's parliamentarians' characteristics with their ordinary citizens'. In the United Kingdom, Norris and Lovenduski (1994) analysed how the recruitment of parliamentarian elites from different parties worked as well as who those selected citizens were and what characteristics, priorities and values they had. On the other hand, Michael Keating (1975) studied the specific case of the Members of the British Parliament who came from Scottish constituencies by observing, among other things, their backgrounds, participation in the committee and written questions. More up-to-date research is the one which Collier, Jaime-Castillo and Mota (2018) carried out about Spanish parliamentarians' attitudes, characteristics and roles, where, among many other topics, it analysed matters such as gender, careers and motivations of these Iberian parliamentarians. In this section, we will focus on comparing Catalans' and Scots' representation both in the State Parliament and in the Government organs of the chambers. The United Kingdom and Spain are two parliamentarian monarchies with a bicameral political system, so we will start this analysis by foregrounding the Lower House in both countries.

As it can be seen in tables 6 and 7, the size of the Lower Chambers and the electoral system varies between the two

countries greatly, since 350 deputies are elected by a proportional system in Spain, however, in the United Kingdom, 650 members of the Parliament are selected by citizens through a first-past-the-post system. These differences affect the number of constituencies in the studied territories. In Catalonia, there are four constituencies where, during the studied period, it has been elected a minimum of 46 deputies and a maximum of 48, which represents between 13.1% and 13.7% out of the total of the Congress representatives. Taking into account that Catalan population is placed between about 15% and 16% of the total of Spanish population, we can infer a small under-representation of citizens in this territory.

Regarding Scotland, there were 72 single member constituencies until 2005 election, second general election after devolution, when Scottish constituencies were reduced to 59. In 2023, a new periodic review of Westminster constituencies has taken place where, after the proposals of the four boundary commissions, 57 Scottish constituencies were established. That is why, from the 2024 general election, Scottish representation in the British Parliament has been reduced again. Seventy-two constituencies corresponded to 11.7% of representatives in the House of Commons, 59%–9.1%, while 57 constituencies correspond to roughly 8.8% from the total of Members of the Parliament of the House of Commons. It is remarkable that several researches have proved that Members of Parliament coming from Scottish constituencies tend to stress the importance of dealing with characteristically Scottish affairs (Keating 1978; Sheldon 2022). Anyhow, Scotland has been over-represented in the British Lower Chamber during the studied period, although, as it has been said, this over-representativeness has fallen drastically from the year 2005, decreasing once more in 2023 periodic review of Westminster constituencies. Despite this representativeness reduction, Scotland is currently the territory with most representatives per inhabitant and per voters all over the United Kingdom.

Regarding the governing body of the Deputies Chamber, as observed in Table 8, the Chamber board is compound of nine members: the president, four vice-presidents and four secretaries. The board is a collegiate representation organ in which its

TABLE 6 | Characteristics of the *Congreso de los Diputados* (Deputies chamber) and Catalan representation (1977–2024).

Congress size	System	Catalan constituencies	Catalan representation in the congress (%)	Catalan population in Spain (%)
350	Proportional (D'Hondt method)	4	46-48 (13.1%-13.7%)	15.5%-16.4%

Source: Own elaboration.

TABLE 7 | Characteristics of the House of Commons and Scottish representation (1974–2024).

House of commons size	System	Scottish constituencies	Scottish representation in the house of commons (%)	Scottish population in UK (%)
650	Single-member constituency (First-past-the post)	72-59-57	72-59-57 (11.7%-9.1%-8.8%)	9.3%-8.1%

Source: Own elaboration.

components are chosen by the deputies taking into account the distribution of the different parliamentary groups. The president is appointed by an overall majority in the first vote or by a simple majority in the second one, but the four vice-presidents, on one hand, and the four secretaries, on the other hand, are elected by the deputies through a system of unique and simultaneous vote where the four representatives who win the most votes. That is why representativeness of different parties is found in both vice-presidencies and secretaries -PSC, CiU, PP and ECP-.

Focusing on the presidency, it is found just one Catalan President, Socialist Meritxell Batet, president of the Congress during the XIII and XIV legislatures. Besides, the UCD politician Landelino Lavilla, born in Catalonia but elected at Jaen constituency, held the Presidency of the Congress during the I legislature. In respect of the vice-presidencies, it is highlighted that the Catalan politicians during the third legislature, in which up to six of the 16 vice-presidents who have existed in this position in democracy have been politicians elected in Catalonia -the Socialists Josep Verde i Aldea and Joan Marcet i Morera; the Popular Jorge Fernández Díaz and Dolors Monserrat; and Josep López de Lerma and Ramón Companys from CiU-. There have also been Catalan representatives in all Secretaries of the Congress, except for the second Secretary. Nevertheless, the electoral system for the Congress board has favoured the Catalan politicians' access to the governing body of the Lower Chamber since apart from the big state parties -PSOE/PSC, PP and, to small extent, ECP- there have also been a strong representation of the Catalan Nationalism -CiU- in different legislatures.

The Speaker is the chief officer of the House of Commons and is assisted by three deputy speakers: Chairman of Ways and Means, First Deputy Chairman of Ways and Means and Second

Deputy Chairman of Ways and Means. The four positions are chosen by Members of Parliament, and they are not usually renewed legislature by legislature. The Speaker can change if the Member of the Parliament on the post decides to resign, retire, lose his condition of Member of the Parliament or die, so the Speaker position is much more stable in the United Kingdom than the Congress Presidency in Spain (see tables 8 and 9). In spite of the fact that the Speaker renounces their party membership once elected, the Speaker and the other three posts are divided in parts between the majority parties of the Chamber. Two of the Members of Parliament from one of the two parties will hold the office of Speaker and First Deputy Chairman, while other two representatives from different party from the Speaker will hold the positions of Chairman of the Ways and Means and Second Chairman. Due to this system, in the period under study, these posts have only been occupied by Labour and Conservative politicians.

The Speaker is chosen among the Members of the Parliament previously nominated for the position by between 12 and 15 parliamentarians and must have at least three nominations from members of a different party from the candidate's one. All the nominees will be submitted to secret ballots in the Parliament until one of them reaches the overall majority. In each ballot in which no candidate achieves the support of more than 50% of parliamentarians, the candidate with the least votes will be withdrawn, as well as those candidates who do not reach 5% of the support of the Chamber and those who decide to withdraw *motu proprio*. To become elected for any of the other three presidential positions it is also required a previous nomination from between six and 10 members of Parliament; the election is carried out by a single transferable voting system applying the party limitations mentioned above and taking into account that at least one of the four elected members must be of the opposite sex to the other three members.

TABLE 8 | Catalans in the composition of the governing body of the *Congreso de los Diputados* (deputies chamber) (1977–2024).

	President	Vice-pres. 1st	Vice-pres. 2nd	Vice-pres. 3rd	Vice-pres. 4th	Sec. 1st	Sec. 2nd	Sec. 3rd	Sec. 4th
Total no.	13	16	14	16	15	12	14	17	14
Catalans	1	2	2	6	3	3	0	3	2
Party	PSC	PSC	PSC/CiU	PSC/CiU/PP	CiU	PSC/PP/ECP	—	PSC/ECP	CiU/ECP
%	7.7	12.5	14.3	37.5	20	25	0	17.6	14.3

Source: Elaborated by the author from Congreso de los Diputados (2024) website data.

TABLE 9 | Scots in presidency positions of the house of commons (1974–2024).

	Speakers	Chairman of ways and means	First deputy chairman	Second deputy chairman
Total no.	7	9	12	13
Scots	1	0	2	1
Party	Labour	—	Labour	Labour
%	14.3	0	16.6	7.7

Source: Elaborated by the author from House of Commons Library.

From 1974 to the present day, only two Scottish politicians have held office as presidents of the House of Commons, native of Glasgow and Members of Parliament from their natal city Myer Galpern and Michael Martin. As it can be seen on Table 9, both politicians ran two positions: Myer Galpern served as Second Deputy Chairman from 1974 to 1976 and as First Deputy Chairman from 1976 to 1979, whereas Michael Martin was First Deputy Chairman from 1997 to 2000 and Speaker from 2000 to 2009. They both were members of the Labour Party. In addition, Conservative Eleanor Laing, born in the Scottish town of Paisley but Member of Parliament for the English constituency of Epping Forest, served as First Deputy Chairman from 2013 to 2019 and she was Chairman of the Ways and Means of the Parliament from 2020 to 2024.

There are major differences in both the size and the composition and system of election of members in respect of the Upper chambers in Spain and the United Kingdom. Spain has an Upper Chamber of 265 members, from which 208 are chosen by a direct election with a plurinominal majority system with open lists and 57 are appointed by means of an automatic appointment, at the rate of one initial senator per autonomous community plus one for each million inhabitants. For Catalonia, this system means that, currently, there are 24 Catalan senators, 16 elected by universal suffrage -four per province- and eight by automatic appointment. Nevertheless, the Upper British chamber, known as the House of Lords, is the second biggest chamber in the world -after the National People's Congress of China- and with a total of 795 Lords gives rise to have, anomalously, more members than the State Lower Chamber. There are three kinds of members in the House of Lords and none of them are elected by direct universal suffrage. On one hand, there are 25 Lords Spiritual, the Archbishops of York and Canterbury and 23 senior bishops of the Church of England with no political affiliation. On the other hand, there are 682 Life peers and peeresses, lifetime representatives in the House of Lords who are appointed by the Prime Minister, the Opposition and an Appointments Commission, with non-hereditary titles. Finally, there are 88 lords with hereditary titles – Hereditary peers and peeresses.

The differences between both Upper chambers are also clear in their government bodies. The governing body of the Spanish Senate is a board compound of a president, two vice-presidents and four secretaries elected by secret ballot by the components of the chamber. The president is chosen by overall majority at first vote or by simple majority at second vote, while vice-presidents, on one hand, and secretaries, on the other, are elected through a system of unique and simultaneous vote. As it can be observed in Table 10, along the years, several Catalan senators have occupied positions

in the Senate, highlighting the presidency of Socialist Manuel Cruz in 2019. The party which has had more representatives in the Senate has been CiU, with two first vice-presidents -Jordi Casas and Eva Parera- and four fourth secretaries -Narcís Oliveras, Jaume Cardona. Carles Enric Florensa and Manel Plana-.

In regards with the governing bodies of the House of Lords, the presidency of the House of Lords has been carried out by Lord Speaker since July 2006. Previously, Lord Chancellor held the post of president in the House of Lords. Lord Chancellor is a post appointed by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, however, Lord Speaker is chosen by the members of the House of Lords. The choice of Lord Speaker is carried out via an electoral system of the Alternative Vote in which the candidate must reach at least 50% of the valid vote to become Lord Speaker. If no candidate wins 50% of support at first vote, this vote will be repeated and the candidate with the fewest votes in the previous vote will be eliminated, until a candidate get enough votes. The office is of a five-year duration and renewable on one occasion. The vice-presidency of the chamber is run by Senior Deputy Speaker, post that until September 2016 was called Chairman of Committees. The representatives who hold either of these two posts, once they accept the post, lose their party affiliation in order to have the maximum neutrality during their office as Lord Speaker and Senior Deputy of the House of Lords.

Taking into account all of the above in the period under study in this paper, Scottish representation in presidency posts of the House of Lords has been as Lord Chancellor twice -the Conservative Baron Mackay of Clashfern and the Labour Baron Irvine of Lairg- as Lord Speaker once -the Labour and current Lord Speaker Baron McFall of Alcluith-, as Chairman of Committees twice -Baron Mackay of Clashfern and Labour Baron Sewel- and as Senior Deputy Speaker once -Baron McFall of Alcluith-. This representation amounts to 30% of the presidencies of the House of Lords and more than 27% of the vice-presidencies in the analysed temporal period.

3.4 | Leaders of the Opposition.

Over the period under study, neither Catalan nor Scottish politicians have participated as leader of the main party of the Opposition at a general election. In Scotland, Gordon Brown took part in 2010 election as Government candidate and the aforementioned Tony Blair, despite being native of Edinburgh, was always Member of Parliament for the English constituency of Sedgefield. Furthermore, Scottish John Smith, Member of Parliament for Monklands East and Leader of the Labour Party

TABLE 10 | Catalans in the composition of the governing body of the *Senado* (Senate chamber) (1977–2024).

	President	Vice-pres. 1st	Vice-pres. 2nd	Sec. 1st	Sec. 2nd	Sec. 3rd	Sec. 4th
Total no.	13	15	12	15	17	14	16
Catalans	1	3	0	1	3	0	4
Party	PSC	CiU/PSC	—	UCD	UCD/CiU	—	CiU
%	7.7	20	0	6.7	17.7	0	25

Source: Elaborated by the author from the Senado de España (2024) website data.

between 1992 and 1994, could not participate as leader of the Opposition at any general election because of his sudden death caused by a heart attack in 1994.

In Spain, there have not been any Catalan leaders of the main party of the Opposition and neither has any Catalan presidential candidate by means of a no-confidence vote. However, there have been some Catalans and Scots leading the third party with better result at national level at a general election, both cases Liberal parties, *Ciudadanos* in Spain and the Liberal Democrats in the United Kingdom. In Spain, Albert Rivera, deputy for Barcelona and leader of *Ciudadanos*, won 15.86% of valid vote and 57 deputies at April 2019 general election. In Scotland, David Steel, at 1979, 1983 and 1987 elections, Charles Kennedy, in 2001 and 2005, and Jo Swinson, in 2019, stood for a general election in the United Kingdom as leaders of the most-voted third party. Moreover, except for Jo Swinson, who was surpassed by the SNP, the candidates David Steel and Charles Kennedy succeeded in making their party the third party with the most Members of Parliament in the House of Commons. There have also been other Liberal Democrats leaders who have failed to run for election, as it is the case of Menzies Campbell, Member of Parliament for North East Fife and Leader of the Liberal Democrats between 2006 and 2007.

4 | Conclusions

This paper is part of the body of research that investigates those who hold positions of power in society and the characteristics that enable citizens to reach those posts. A comparative study has been carried out on the territorial variable in some government institutions in Spain and the United Kingdom and, accurately, on the participation of Catalan and Scottish politicians in those institutions. Participation and good integration of Catalan and Scottish politicians in the decision-making positions in the State Government is a matter of some fundamental and symbolic importance, since territorial preference for these territories to become independent States has recently been gaining support among Catalans and Scots. A lack of political weight of the politicians in these territories or the perception of under-representation in state political decisions could make the central institutions distance from the citizens of these territories and decisively influence the preferences of Catalan and Scottish public opinion on the territorial organisation of the State.

As it has been exposed throughout this text, both Catalan and Scottish self-government institutions have been controlled along several legislatures by nationalist secessionist NSWPs, SNP in Scotland and CiU, *Junt pel Si* and ERC in Catalonia whereas Catalan and Scottish representatives who gain powerful positions in the central executive have a party membership with SWPs, generally PSC and PP for Catalonia and the Conservatives and Labour for Scotland. Traditionally, electoral result of State Social-Democrats parties in Catalonia and Scotland have been considerably better than Centre-right and conservative SWPs. This has been translated into the fact that Social-Democrats SWPs in both territories have tended to adjust a bigger number of Catalan and Scottish in powerful positions than their Centre-right and conservative counterparts, having

a descriptive political territorial representation more suitable to the population weight of these territories in the whole State.

In the United Kingdom, when delimiting the possibility to practise as minister only to those citizens elected members of Parliament, a poor electoral result in Scotland significantly limits the ability of representatives from this territory to participate in the Cabinet. On one hand, this does explain the distinct under-representation of Scottish politicians in the Cabinet during conservative governments. On the other hand, the cutting of the number of the Members of Parliament coming from Scotland from 2005 general election and the subsequent cutting from 2024 election, added to the excellent results of SNP at general election from 2015 caLL to 2019, hugely hinder SWPs in their possibility to offer government positions to the representatives of Scottish constituencies' interests, endangering the Scottish representation in the Governments composition and limiting their voice in the British executive.

The analysis of the geographic representation indexes, which link the percentage of the population from a territory with the percentage of the representatives from that territory in several institutions, has allowed to observe that both Catalonia and Scotland are under-represented. It is shown both in the number of Government Heads and the cabinet and, even, in the presidential candidates from the Opposition that run for office. When comparing both studied cases, it can be perceived that under-representation is rather higher in Catalonia than in Scotland. In this regard, it should be noted that whereas the United Kingdom, throughout the period under study, has had a Scottish Prime Minister -Brown-, in Spain there has not been any Catalan presidents. In addition, in the United Kingdom there have been two presidents with an over-representation their Cabinets -Blair and Brown- and this situation has never happened in Spain. Despite the fact that in neither of the two countries has the main opposition party competed with a Catalan or Scottish candidate, in the United Kingdom, the third most voted party at general election was led by a Scottish candidate on six different occasions, while that fact has only occurred at April 2019 general election in Spain.

With regard to representation of Catalans in the legislative chambers of the State, Catalonia is under-represented in both chambers as well. However, Scotland has been heavily over-represented in the House of Commons until 2005 and slightly over-represented after the reduction of Members of Parliament from Scottish constituencies, implemented at that year general election. In 2024 election, a new decrease of Scottish representatives in the House of Commons lessened, even more, the mentioned over-representation in that chamber. On the other hand, both territories are slightly over-represented in the governing bodies of the Lower Chamber of their Parliament and Scotland is over-represented in the governing bodies of the Upper Chamber. Spanish Chambers, with bigger governing bodies and an electoral system of unique and simultaneous vote for vice-presidencies and secretariats, help to have more parties represented in these bodies, encouraging the entry of NSWPs such as CiU.

However, as we have pointed out throughout the text, the data of geographical representation indexes must be taken cautiously

for several reasons. One of the main reasons is that these data show the presence of Catalan and Scottish politicians in different institutions, but not all positions are placed the same importance and presence does not have to imply real influence when it comes to making decisions. In that way, the over-representation of Catalan politicians in governing body of the *Congreso de los Diputados* is due to the large number of Catalan politicians who have occupied the third vice-presidency, considerably decreasing the number of Catalans who have held the first presidency or vice-presidency. It happens the same with ministerial posts, where a small number of Catalan and Scottish ministers have held the most important portfolios -the Exchequer, the Foreign Office and the Home Office-, emphasising, once more, the appointment and length of office of Scottish politicians during Labour Governments -Darling, Reid, Brown and Cook-. Moreover, it is possible to be important in the decision-making process without being present in these positions. Thus, although nationalist parties have never been part of a government in either the United Kingdom or Spain, in the Iberian country they have played a key role in ensuring the governability of several minority governments, both left and right, through external support. In such cases, Catalan representatives of nationalist parties have exerted significant influence on the government's agenda, despite the relatively small territorial representation of Catalonia in the cabinet. Consequently, more qualitative research which measures the influence and importance of Catalans and Scots in central government decision-making seems necessary.

Other limitations of the geographic representation index have to do with the impossibility to measure the symbolic importance of the representation of territories with alternative national identities to the State's and with the difficulty to adjust representation to indexes in those territories with a strong territorial asymmetry as it is the case of the United Kingdom. Regarding the latter case, it would be interesting to make a comparative study of geographical disaggregating England, the territory which represents around 85% of the State population. To do so, the nine English constituencies which were used in the past at European election might be utilised -East Midlands, East of England, London, North East England, South East England, South West England, West Midlands and Yorkshire and the Humber-. In the case of Spain, the existence of 17 Autonomous Communities and the importance of Catalonia at population level -the second most populated region in the country- might facilitate comparative studies among the different sub-state territorial entities that make up the State.

Finally, it is deemed necessary to continue making progress in comparative, substantive and symbolic representation in the central government institutions of multinational democracies with territories with alternative identity sentiments to the State and strong nationalist and secessionist movements, giving special importance to those studies which analyse the effects on the increase in public opinion support for secessionist territorial preferences of the State.

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Endnotes

- ¹ Descriptive political representation establishes the correspondence between population's socio-demographic characteristics and their representative's by looking for those characteristics and qualities which are shared (Pitkin 1967).
- ² These same cases were subjected to extensive study in the late 80s and early 90s, as evidenced by the work of Moreno (1986), Schech (1990) and Keating (1996).
- ³ August 2024.
- ⁴ Known this way because it refers to the Commission President when the final report was presented -Lord Kilbrandon-.
- ⁵ The PSC is distinguished by its status as an autonomous party federated with the Partido Socialista Obrero Español -PSOE, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party-, rather than a regional branch of the PSOE. The PSC is the party that brings together the socialist vote in Catalonia.
- ⁶ Despite the idiosyncrasies of the PSC's organisational structure, this article considers the PSC to be an SWP, a determination based on its collaborative actions with the PSOE in both central state institutions and governing bodies.
- ⁷ Differential abstention refers to those voters who participate in general elections but not in regional ones (Riba 2000:60).
- ⁸ The dual vote theory explains that a significant percentage of voters change their vote between general elections and regional elections (Montero and Font 1989:3).
- ⁹ In the 19th century, prior to the period under study, two Catalans held the office of President of the Spanish Council of Ministers: Serafin María de Sotto and Juan Prim. Furthermore, during the brief period of the I Spanish Republic, two Catalans also served as President of the Executive Power: Estanislao Figueras and Francisco Pi y Margall.
- ¹⁰ It should be noted that, outside the period under review, there have been other Scottish representatives who have become Prime Ministers in the United Kingdom. These include five Members of Parliament from Scottish constituencies: William E. Gladstone (Midlothian), Henry Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs), Herbert H. Asquith (East Fife), Andrew Bonar Law (Glasgow Central), and Alec Douglas-Home (Kinross and Western Perthshire). Additionally, three Scottish peers -Bute, Aberdeen and Rosebery- also occupied said position. The Scotsman Ramsay MacDonald served as Prime Minister as well, although, he was elected as a Member of Parliament for the Welsh constituency of Aberavon and later for the English constituency of Seaham. He was only elected through a Scottish constituency when he was not holding the Prime Minister position.
- ¹¹ These Members of Parliament include prominent figures such as Gordon Brown, Robin Cook, and Donald Dewar, who participated in all three shadow cabinets as well as in Blair's cabinet. Other notable names, such as George Robertson and Gavin Strang, were members of John Smith's and Tony Blair's shadow cabinets before joining Blair's cabinet.

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