

# Inside Spain Nº 94 (18 March-15 April)

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**Summary:** Spain registers steepest fall in official development assistance among OECD countries. Court hearing delayed for Princess Cristina in financial corruption scandal. Government revises 2012 budget deficit upward after Brussels intervenes, hopes for softer 2013 target.

# **Foreign Policy**

Spain registers steepest fall in Official Development Assistance among OECD countries Spain's official development assistance (ODA) fell by 50% last year to 0.15% of GDP, the biggest fall among OECD countries (see Figure 1). José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, the previous Socialist prime minister (2004-11), had set 0.7% as the target for 2012, the same objective as the United Nations for all developed nations.

### Figure 1. Net Official Development Assistance, 2012 and 2011 (% of GNI)

|               | 2012 | 2011 |
|---------------|------|------|
| France        | 0.53 | 0.53 |
| Germany       | 0.38 | 0.39 |
| Greece        | 0.13 | 0.15 |
| Ireland       | 0.48 | 0.51 |
| Italy         | 0.13 | 0.20 |
| Portugal      | 0.27 | 0.31 |
| Spain         | 0.15 | 0.29 |
| UK            | 0.56 | 0.56 |
| OECD average  | 0.43 | 0.47 |
| Source: OECD. |      |      |

The cut in ODA, as part of the government's austerity measures to lower Spain's still very high budget deficit (7% of GDP in 2012 excluding the state aid for banks), led to the cancellation of some programmes. According to an NGO co-ordinating organisation, the programmes that did receive ODA were those that Spain has to support because it is a member of the EU.

Spain's reduction in ODA was much larger in relative terms than that of Greece, Ireland and Portugal, all of which have been bailed out by the troika.

## **Domestic Scene**

# *Court hearing delayed for Princess Cristina in financial corruption scandal*

The court appearance scheduled for 27 April –in a fraud case– of Princess Cristina, the youngest daughter of King Juan Carlos, over how much she knew of the activities of her husband, who has faced preliminary criminal charges for more than a year, was postponed after a prosecutor lodged an appeal.

The issue is in the hands of a three-judge panel, which will decide whether the judge who issued the subpoena was right to do so. The prosecutor, Pedro Horrach, disputes whether there is sufficient evidence.



This was the first time since democracy was restored after the death of General Franco in 1975 that a member of the King's immediate family was subpoenaed.

The Royal Household said it was surprised by the move as the same judge said in 2012 that there was not enough evidence to name the Princess as a suspect. Since then, however, Diego Torres, the former business associate of the Princess's husband, Iñaki Urdangarín, has released a steady flow of e-mails to the Spanish press which purport to show that the Princess was aware of her husband's activities. Urdangarín is alleged to have used his Instituto Nóos, a not-for-profit sports marketing body, to embezzle millions of euros in public funds. He denies the accusations. The King asked the lawyer Miquel Roca, one of the fathers of Spain's 1978 Constitution, to represent Cristina.

Judge José Castro said in his court filing there were 'serious doubts' that Cristina, a member of the Nóos board, was totally unaware of her husband's activities. He also said there was a need to avoid any accusation that 'justice is not the same for everyone', a point made by the King himself in a televised speech in 2011 after Urdangarín came under investigation.

The move to bring Cristina to court was another blow for the monarchy. The 75-yearold King had to make a public apology a year ago after he injured himself during an elephant hunting trip in Botswana that was widely condemned as an insensitive and provocative at a time when more than 5.5 million people in Spain were unemployed, and after he said he lost sleep worrying about the unemployed youth.

The popularity of the King, a national hero in 1981 for facing down a military coup against Spain's brief democracy, has declined since then. A Metroscopia poll, conducted last month before Cristina was subpoenaed, showed, for the first time, that more people disapproved of the King than approved of him (see Figure 2). His son, Prince Felipe, continued to be ranked higher than his father in approval ratings. An opinion poll in *El Mundo* found that 45% of respondents wanted the King to abdicate in favour of his son and 41% said the monarchy should be abolished.

| Figure 2. Barometer of Confidence in In<br>Institution/Social group | Approval | Disapproval |
|---|----------|-------------|
| Scientists  | 90       | 6           |
| Doctors   | 90       | 8           |
| Social works of the church  | 79       | 15          |
| Police  | 79       | 19          |
| Universities  | 77       | 19          |
| Civil servants  | 70       | 25          |
| Public health   | 71       | 27          |
| Armed Forces  | 69       | 25          |
| Crown Prince Felipe   | 61       | 33          |
| Newspapers  | 56       | 40          |
| Supreme Court   | 51       | 38          |
| Tax inspectors  | 44       | 42          |
| King Juan Carlos  | 42       | 53          |
| Catholic Church   | 35       | 59          |
| Government of the state   | 19       | 78          |
| Parliament  | 18       | 73          |
| Banks   | 8        | 90          |
| Political parties   | 7        | 91          |
| Politicians   | 6        | 93          |

| Figu | re 2. | Bare | ometer | of Confidence in | Institutions | and S | Social | Groups | (% ap | proval | and disa | approval | I) |
|------|-------|------|--------|------------------|--------------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|----------|----------|----|
|      |       |      |        |                  |              |       |        |        |       |        |          |          |    |



For the first time since the transition to democracy, the Socialist party, traditionally republican, called for the 'private wealth' of the Royal Household to be made public and not just what it receives from the state budget. The Household is already negotiating with the government its inclusion in the transparency law, the scope of which is not yet known.

The crisis in the monarchy is part of a general deterioration of Spain's institutions and political life. The parliament, political parties and politicians occupy three of the last four places in Table 2 above. According to another Metroscopia poll, the two-party system that has dominated political life over the last 30 years has its days numbered. If elections were held tomorrow the Popular Party (PP) would win 24.5% of the vote, down from 44.6% in the November 2011 general election, and the Socialists 23% (28.7% in 2011).

The Socialists, discredited for the economic crisis, which happened on their watch, have failed to make any headway, despite the government's (logical) unpopularity for its austerity measures. Between them the PP and the Socialists would capture less than 50% of the vote compared with an average of more than 75% since 1982. United Left (IU) would gain 15.6%, up from 6.9% in 2011, and the centrist Union Progress and Democracy (UPyD) 13.7% (4.7% in 2011).

In separate developments, underscoring the deterioration of political life, Carlos Fabra, the former PP president of the Castellón provincial council, will go on trial for fraud, bribery and trafficking of influences, after nine years of investigations. In Navarre, Miguel Sanz, the region's former president, faced preliminary charges after it was revealed he received €2,600 every time he attended a board meeting of the Caja Navarra savings bank. The regional government is responsible for savings-bank inspections. Several meetings were sometimes held in a day and did little more than read reports on the management. In Galicia, José Luis Baltar, a prominent PP politician, is to go on trial for using his position as head of the Ourense provincial council to provide jobs for 104 people in the council in order to ensure his son would succeed him in the post.

Lastly, in Andalusia, the fiefdom of the Socialist party, 80 people are under investigation for an alleged fraud involving the use of millions of euros of public money to pay bogus early retirement payments for around 100 people, often for companies they never worked for. The region's former employment minister, Francisco Guerrero, is in jail.

## Artur Mas seeks a blueprint for a Catalan State amid financial crisis

Artur Mas, the premier of Catalonia who has vowed to hold an illegal referendum on independence for the region, asked a group of academics to draw up the design of a future Catalan state.

Mas requested this at the first meeting of the advisory council for the national transition.

Meanwhile, the Prime Minister, Mariano Rajoy, in a change of tactics, challenged Mas to explain his project in the national parliament. His predecessor, the Socialist José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, did something similar when Juan José Ibarretxe, the head of the



Basque government, proposed a free association of the region with the rest of Spain that included the right to self-determination (based on Puerto Rico's status within the US). His plan was narrowly approved by the Basque parliament and massively rejected by the national parliament in Madrid in 2005.

Rajoy's offer comes at a time of acute financial crisis for the government of Catalonia, the only one of Spain's 17 regions without a budget for this year in place. The proindependence Republican Left of Catalonia (ERC), which supports in parliament the minority nationalist government of Mas's Convergence and Union (CiU), refuses to accept more cuts in public spending. The CiU did not win an absolute majority in last November's snap election, which Mas held two years ahead of schedule in a bid to win support for the referendum. The ERC lost 12 seats and the ERC gained 11.

The Catalan economy generates around one-fifth of Spain's GDP and is roughly the size of Portugal's. The region's economy minister, Andreu Mas-Colell says it is impossible to meet the budget deficit target of 0.7% of GDP for 2013 imposed by the central government. He is hoping the EU will give Madrid more leeway in its budget deficit, which, in turn, would alleviate Catalonia. The region overshot its deficit target in 2012 of 1.5% by 0.5 percentage points. Catalan public debt stood at €50.9 billion at the end of 2012, a rise of €16 billion in two years.

Mas said he would not sacrifice the referendum for promises of central government financing.

## Eviction protests gather pace in legal vacuum

Politicians' homes have become targets in growing protests over home evictions and calls for a radical change to the country's mortgage laws. Among the homes outside which several hundred protestors demonstrated was that of the Deputy Prime Minister, Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría.

Courts opened close to 92,000 foreclosure cases in 2012, 19% more than in 2011.

Spain's harsh mortgage law, under which a home owner is held liable for a loan even after returning the property and can only be freed from any liability when the loan has been fully repaid, is being reformed as a result of a petition among citizens that gathered 1.5 million signatures and a ruling by the European Court of Justice last month that said the law was incompatible with EU law.

Anti-foreclosure campaigners were angered this month when the ruling PP amended a bill and removed a measure calling for such debts to be cancelled once houses are repossessed. They are exploiting the legal vacuum until a new law is in place.

The left-wing government of Andalusia set a precedent by announcing it would expropriate some properties from which families were about to be evicted so they could continue to live there, and it would also penalise banks for holding on to empty homes.



# ETA warns the government of 'negative consequences' of not negotiating

The Basque terrorist group ETA, which announced a 'definitive' ceasefire in October 2011, said the government's refusal to negotiate would have 'negative consequences' and 'make it harder to find a solution to the conflict'.

ETA, blamed for more than 800 deaths since it took up arms in 1968 in a bid to achieve an independent Basque state carved out of northern Spain and south-western France, has yet to lay down its arms.

The government has refused to negotiate with ETA leaders in Norway; it continues to demand a disbanding of the group and a surrender of its weapons. Four leaders were expelled from Norway last month.

ETA says it is only willing to disarm if the government meets certain conditions such as the regrouping of hundreds of prisoners held in jails across Spain and France to the Basque region.

The group did not specify what it meant by 'negative consequences'. It is militarily weak and has lost a lot of support. ETA's non-violent allies, known collectively as the *izquierda abertzale* ('patriotic left'), are increasingly participating in mainstream politics.

Meanwhile, Xabier López Peña, alias Thierry, ETA's interlocutor with the previous Spanish government in talks that began in 2004 and led to a ceasefire in March 2006 (broken in December 2006 when two people were killed in a bomb blast at Madrid's airport), died in a Paris hospital of a brain haemorrhage. He was arrested in 2008.

Government plans language and 'integration' tests for those requesting Spanish nationality

The government is planning to tighten the rules for obtaining Spanish nationality by introducing language and 'integration' tests. Around 100,000 people, almost all of them non-EU citizens, request nationality a year (see Figure 3).

At the moment, immigrants seeking nationality have to prove their 'good civic conduct and a sufficient degree of integration into Spanish society', and this is done before judges in the offices of the Civil Registry in each territory. The criteria vary.

Under the new proposal, there would be the same exam throughout Spain.

#### Figure 3. Spanish nationality by the five main countries, 2006-11

|           | Total   |
|-----------|---------|
| Ecuador   | 167,271 |
| Colombia  | 102,307 |
| Morocco   | 53,975  |
| Peru      | 43,321  |
| Argentina | 30,041  |

Spain had 5.7 million foreigners (12% of the total population) at the last count.



The very high level of unemployment in Spain has led to a sharp fall in the arrival of immigrants and a notable rise in those leaving the country, including Spaniards. The number of Spaniards registered as living abroad rose from 1.47 million in 2009 to 1.93 million at the beginning of 2013. A large part of this increase, however, is due to those who benefited from the 2007 Law of Historical Memory, which enabled relatives of Spaniards exiled after the 1936-39 Civil War to obtain Spanish nationality.

The remittances to Spain of workers abroad, mainly Spaniards, rose from 5.31 billion in 2007, before the onset of the crisis, to 5.92 billion in 2012, according to the Bank of Spain, while the remittances abroad of workers in Spain dropped from 6.44 billion to 6.48 billion over the same period.

# Minimum marriage age to be raised from 14 to 16

The government is to raise the legal age for getting married from 14 to 16, similar to that in other European countries.

It also proposes to raise the minimum age of consent for sex, which currently stands at 13, one of the lowest in the world.

# The Economy

# Government revises 2012 Budget deficit upward after Brussels intervenes, hopes for softer 2013 target

The government raised the 2012 budget deficit figure to almost 7% of GDP after Eurostat, the EU's statistics agency, questioned the method used for the previous figure of 6.7%. The Prime Minister, Mariano Rajoy, trumpeted the earlier figure in February.

The upward revision will make it even more difficult for the government to lower this year's deficit to the 4.5% of GDP target agreed with the European Commission. The economy is widely forecast to shrink by 1.5% this year, three times higher than the government's projection, which has yet to be officially revised upward.

The government is hoping the EC will revise its deficit target for this year to as much as 6% of GDP. It is also highly unlikely the government will be able to lower the deficit to the EU threshold of 3% of GDP in 2014, as also agreed. The price of greater flexibility will be more reforms, reportedly including higher taxes and in pensions. It is estimated the government has yet to implement 41 of the 72 reforms it has promised.

Eurostat took issue with Spain's accounting method, which excluded from the 2012 deficit refunds of taxes paid in January and February 2013. The government says it delayed payments in order to ensure the claims were correct.

Since 1995, the Budget Ministry said, Spain had counted tax refunds at the time they were approved for payment, not when they were claimed on tax returns.

The third revision of the budget figure since the PP took office at the end of 2011 has dented the credibility of the public sector accounting system. The PP revised the 2011 figure (the Socialists lost the election in November that year) twice.



Meanwhile, the European Commission forecasts Spain's gross debt will reach 96% of GDP this year and that the current account will be in surplus for the first time in more than a decade, to the tune of 1% of GDP (see Figures 4 and 5).

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|----------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------|
| Figure 4. Gross debt of Public   | Administrations | , 2013 and 2012 ( | % of GDP) |

|          | 2013 (estimates) | 2012  |
|----------|------------------|-------|
| France   | 93.4             | 90.3  |
| Germany  | 80.7             | 81.6  |
| Greece   | 175.6            | 161.6 |
| Italy    | 128.1            | 127.1 |
| Portugal | 123.9            | 120.6 |
| Spain    | 95.8             | 88.4  |
| UK       | 95.4             | 89.8  |
| EU-27    | 89.9             | 87.2  |

Source: European Commission.

| Figure 5. Current account balances, 2 | 013 and 2012 ( | % of GDP) |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|-----------|
| rigure 5. Current account balances, 2 |                |           |

|         | 2013 (estimates) | 2012 |
|---------|------------------|------|
| France  | -1.6             | -1-9 |
| Germany | 6.0              | 6.3  |
| Italy   | 0.6              | -0.7 |
| Spain   | 1.0              | -0.8 |
| UK      | -3.1             | -3.7 |
| EU-27   | 1.4              | 0.7  |

Source: European Commission.

Whether Spain wins support for greater leeway in reducing its budget deficit, particularly from Germany, which sees itself as the paymaster for the heavily-indebted and profligate southern countries that have sought bailouts (in Spain's case for banks), remains to be seen. EU rescues are becoming an increasingly unpopular issue among Germans, a factor in the country's upcoming federal elections.

The European Central Bank published earlier this month, for the first time, household net wealth rankings, which show these countries to be richer than Germany on this basis (see Figure 6). According to the study, <sup>1</sup> conducted in 2010, Spain's net wealth per household was 183,000 (the 5<sup>th</sup> highest) compared with Germany's  $\oiint{51,000}$  (the lowest). One reason for the big disparity between the two countries is low home ownership in Germany –less than half of households own their main residence compared with more than 80% in Spain–. In income per capita GDP terms, Germans are much richer than Spaniards. Other factors include differences in household size, house prices, levels of indebtedness and the number of households that owned businesses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See <u>http://www.ecb.int/pub/scientific/stats/html/index.en.html</u>.



| Country               | €thousand |
|-----------------------|-----------|
| 1. Luxembourg (2010)  | 397.8     |
| 2. Cyprus (2010)      | 266.9     |
| 3. Malta (2010)       | 215.9     |
| 4. Belgium (2010)     | 206.2     |
| 5. Spain (2008)       | 182.7     |
| 6. Italy (2010)       | 173.5     |
| 7. Netherlands (2009) | 103.6     |
| 8. Greece (2009)      | 101.9     |
| 9. Slovenia (2010)    | 100.7     |
| 10. Finland (2009)    | 85.8      |

#### Figure 6 Median net wealth (1) per household of EU countries (€thousand)

(1) Net wealth is defined as the difference between total (gross) assets and liabilities. Source: European Central Bank.

## Inward and outward productive investment plummets in 2012

Foreign direct investment (FDI) in Spain and Spanish investment abroad fell sharply last year. Inward gross investment, excluding Special Purpose Entities (SPEs) and thus the most productive part of FDI, was 3.4 billion, down from 23.6 billion in 2011, and outward investment, also excluding SPEs, amounted to 10.9 billion compared with 29.3 billion in 2011.

SPEs are mainly financial holding companies, foreign-owned, and principally engaged in cross-border financial transactions, with no or negligible local activity.

The amount spent in 2012 on setting up companies in Spain was C883 million (C160 million in 2011), capital increases took up C10.5 billion (C1.4 billion) and acquisitions C.0 billion (C1.9 billion).<sup>2</sup> The main investor in Spain was the US, whose gross investment of C.2 billion excluding SPEs was 53% higher.

Net outward productive investment was 1.8 billion negative because of the much lower gross investment and divestments of 12.8 billion in listed and non-listed companies. In 2011 net investment was 12.6 billion positive.

The main recipient of outward investment in 2012 was Chile (see Figure 7). The principal sectors receiving investment were IT consultancy (16.7% of the total), the wholesale tobacco trade (8.4%) and oil extraction (7.1%).

|             | 2012 | 2011 |
|-------------|------|------|
| Chile       | 20.6 | 2.2  |
| France      | 15.4 | 1.1  |
| Brazil      | 10.2 | 16.1 |
| Netherlands | 6.8  | 1.9  |
| Germany     | 4.1  | 4.2  |
| US          | 3.5  | 10.0 |

(1) Immediate and not final destiny country and excluding SPEs. Source: Investment Registry.

<sup>2</sup> See the author's detailed analysis of FDI in Spain at

http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano\_eng/Content?WCM\_GLOBAL\_CONTEXT=/elca no/elcano\_in/zonas\_in/international+economy/ari10-2013-chislett-fdi-spain-crisis



Spain: only large euro zone country with declining unit labour costs in 2007-12 Spain's unit labour costs (ULCs) dropped by 4% between 2007 and 2012 compared with an average rise of close to 10% for the euro zone as a whole, according to the OECD (see Figure 8).

ULCs, which measure the average cost of labour per unit of output and are calculated as the ratio of total labour costs to real output, are a major component of competitiveness.

Real wages have been declining as a result of Spain's recession and very high unemployment rate. Last year's labour reforms give companies more leeway to negotiate individual wage agreements.

| Figure 8. Change in unit labour costs 4Q07-4Q12 | (%), total economy                     |
|---|--|
|   | (,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,, |

|               | % change |
|---------------|----------|
| France        | 11.5     |
| Germany       | 12.9     |
| Italy         | 10.1     |
| Portugal      | 0.1      |
| Spain         | -4.1     |
| Euro area     | 9.6      |
| Source: OECD. |          |

Spain's hourly labour costs in manufacturing were the  $13^{\text{th}}$  highest in the EU in 2012 at  $\notin 22.50$ , still below the EU average but close to those of the UK (see Figure 9).

| Figure 9. Hourly labour costs in manufacturing, 2012 |
|--|
|--|

|            | 2012 (1) |
|------------|----------|
| 1. Sweden  | 43.8     |
| 2. Belgium | 41.9     |
| 4. France  | 36.3     |
| 5. Germany | 35.2     |
| 11. Italy  | 26.9     |
| EU-27      | 24.0     |
| 12. UK     | 22.7     |
| 13. Spain  | 22.5     |

(1) First nine months.

Source: Federal Statistical Office Germany.

## Household savings drop to lowest level since 2000

Wage restraint and the very high unemployment rate pushed household savings as a percentage of disposable income down to 8.2% in 2012 from 11% in 2011, according to the National Statistics Office (INE).

This was the lowest level since INE began to publish its series in 2000.

Many families, with one or all their members unemployed, are drawing on their savings in order to survive.

## Regional income differences accentuated by recession

The per capita income of Spain's poorest regions declined in relative terms in 2012 while that of the richer regions increased, according to the National Statistics Office (See Figure 10).



| Region             | 2008  | 2012  |
|--------------------|-------|-------|
|                    |       |       |
| Andalusia          | 77.0  | 74.5  |
| Aragón             | 111.2 | 111.2 |
| Asturias           | 93.7  | 92.4  |
| Balearic Islands   | 107.4 | 107.1 |
| Basque Country     | 129.7 | 135.4 |
| Canary Islands     | 85.8  | 85.9  |
| Cantabria          | 96.9  | 98.1  |
| Castilla and León  | 94.5  | 97.9  |
| Castilla-La Mancha | 81.7  | 77.7  |
| Catalonia          | 115.8 | 119.7 |
| Extremadura        | 68.4  | 67.6  |
| Galicia            | 88.5  | 91.0  |
| La Rioja           | 110.5 | 112.0 |
| Madrid             | 129.7 | 129.0 |
| Murcia             | 85.3  | 81.3  |
| Navarre            | 125.4 | 127.7 |
| Valencia           | 91.0  | 87.7  |
| Spain              | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Source: INE.       |       |       |

Figure 10. Per capita income of Spain's regions, 2008 and 2012 (Spain = 100)

Andalusia's and Extremadura's per capita incomes dropped from 77% and 68.4% of the national average in 2008, before the onset of the crisis, to 74.5% and 67.6%, respectively, in 2012.

Spain's recession, now in its sixth year (growth in 2011 was anaemic), has hit the regions differently. Those that have best weathered it and whose unemployment levels tended to be lower than the national average were those, such as Catalonia, the Basque Country and Navarre, whose economies are more export-based and internationalised (see Figure 11). The Canary and Balearic Islands, on the other hand, benefited from bumper tourism.

Figure 11. GDP growth and unemployment rates of Spain's regions, 2012 (%)

| Region             | GDP growth | Unemployment rate |
|--------------------|------------|-------------------|
| Andalusia          | -1.7       | 35.9              |
| Aragón             | -1.5       | 18.5              |
| Asturias           | -2.5       | 23.8              |
| Balearic Islands   | -0.3       | 24.3              |
| Basque Country     | -1.4       | 15.9              |
| Canary Islands     | -1.0       | 32.3              |
| Cantabria          | -1.3       | 19.2              |
| Castilla and León  | -1.8       | 20.8              |
| Castilla-La Mancha | -3.0       | 30.0              |
| Catalonia          | -1.0       | 23.9              |
| Extremadura        | -2.2       | 34.0              |
| Galicia            | -0.9       | 21.3              |
| La Rioja           | -2.1       | 18.7              |
| Madrid             | -1.3       | 19.9              |
| Murcia             | -1.7       | 25.6              |
| Navarre            | -1.8       | 17.3              |
| Valencia           | -1.5       | 28.1              |
| Spain              | -1.4       | 26.0              |
| Source: INE.       |            |                   |

Exports of goods were a record 223 billion in 2012, 25% more than pre-crisis level (2006-07).



No region registered positive GDP growth in 2012, but the differences were still marked. The economy of Extremadura, for example, shrank 2.2% while that of Catalonia declined 1%.

## Youth unemployment rate trebles in five years, but this is not the real picture

Spain's youth unemployment rate of 53.2% in 2012, up from 18.2% in 2007 (see Figure 12), is probably the country's blackest macroeconomic figure and one which baffles foreigners as they are surprised that such a high level does not produce an even greater social crisis than the one Spain already has.

But it is not the real picture as the figure includes those who are studying or not looking for a job and so are not strictly speaking part of the labour force (ie, those employed or looking for a job), the denominator for calculating the jobless rate.

|          | 2007 | 2012 |  |
|----------|------|------|--|
| Greece   | 22.9 | 55.4 |  |
| Spain    | 18.2 | 53.2 |  |
| Portugal | 20.4 | 37.7 |  |
| Italy    | 20.3 | 35.3 |  |
| France   | 19.8 | 24.3 |  |
| EU-27    | 15.7 | 22.8 |  |
| Germany  | 11.9 | 8.1  |  |

Figure 12. Youth unemployment rates in the EU (%)

Source: Eurostat..

Eurostat, the EU's statistical agency, also uses another yardstick for youth unemployment, known as the youth unemployment ratio. This calculates the share of those unemployed between the ages of 16 and 24 as a percentage of this age group. This figure in 2012 was 22% for Spain, according to the National Statistics Office (INE). It is still high but a figure closer to reality.

The unemployment rate makes more sense for those over the age of 24 as by then most people have completed their education and expect to work or look for work until they retire, but not for those in the 16-24 age group.

Of the 4.11 million people in Spain between the ages of 16 and 24 in 2012, only 1.68 million were part of the labour force (ie, they were working or looking for work). The great majority of those not working or looking for work were studying.

Eurostat regularly releases the youth unemployment rates, but not the ratios, and the Spanish government and the media (including the international press) do nothing to clarify the situation.