

# 28-M

# KEY POINTS

OF THE REGIONAL AND LOCAL  
ELECTIONS



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**28-M**

# KEY POINTS

OF THE REGIONAL  
AND LOCAL  
ELECTIONS

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# 01

## ELECTIONS KEY POINTS

## 01

## ELECTION KEY POINTS

## 28-M: FIRST STOP OF THE GREAT ELECTION YEAR

### Starting Point

Last Sunday, May 28, more than **8,000 local councils and 12 regions** held their elections to choose the representatives who will be in office for the next four years. Three regions considered "historic" (Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque Country), as well as Andalusia, did not go to the polls. Castile and Leon did not hold elections either, since regional elections took already place in February 2022, following the breakdown of the coalition government that led to an early electoral date.

The outcome of the 28M elections represents the "**first electoral stop**" of a year in which the national elections will also be held on **July 23** (previously expected in December 2023) after **Prime Minister Sánchez called for early elections** following the outcome of 28M elections. The reconfiguration of the political map, with the re-election or revalidation of leaderships, is only the direct consequence of this election Sunday. The implications go far beyond the potential changes of sign of the respective Regional Ministries and City Councils, given that the interpretation of these results will condition the debate in the coming months. This has been seen during a campaign that, despite being regional and local, has been focused on major debates of national importance. A year that will also be marked by the **Spanish Presidency of the Council of the European Union**, where Spain will hold the rotating leadership for the fifth time, reaffirming its commitment to the institution and attempting to reinforce its international reputation.

It is worth recalling that in the 2019 regional elections PSOE was the most voted force in 10 regions, forming a government in nine of them. However, the national legislature was marked by government changes, weakened by pacts with nationalist parties, and affected by a health crisis followed by the war in Ukraine. These factors have led to a decline of confidence in the left-wing bloc, which has faced a strengthened right-wing following the change of leadership at the national level and the recent victories in strategic places such as Andalusia, a traditional socialist region, and the majority in Madrid.

### The "New Politics": start and end of a cycle

The influence of parties such as **Ciudadanos** and **Podemos** has changed drastically, going from high parliamentary representation and influence on the political chessboard to conditioning governability due to their **low results at the polls**. Thus, a cycle that began in 2014 with the **success of Ciudadanos and Podemos is coming to an end**, giving way to another cycle in which the regionalist left-wing forces take over from the latter. Ciudadanos' vote was transferred to the Partido Popular and, to a lesser extent, to Vox.

# 01 ELECTION KEY POINTS

## THE 8 ELECTIONS KEY POINTS

### 01 THE PP BECOMES THE LEADING POLITICAL FORCE

The PP obtained more than 7 million votes (31.5%) in the national calculation of the municipal elections, almost 800,000 votes more than PSOE (28.1%). With respect to 2019, the PP does not exceed in votes the sum obtained then by the PP plus Cs, almost 90.000 fewer, in a scenario in which Vox doubles its results, from 3.6% to 7.2%. The PP will govern in 7 of the 10 most populated cities.

### 02 RIGHT WING PARTIES EXTEND THEIR TERRITORIAL POWER TO 12 REGIONS

Right-wing parties consolidate in the Region of Madrid, where the PP obtains an absolute majority, recovers La Rioja with an absolute majority and Murcia. It also has options to govern in Aragon, Cantabria, the Canary Islands, the Balearic Islands, Valencia and Extremadura, territories in which it depends mainly on pacts with Vox. Additionally, the governments of Andalusia, Castile and Leon and Galicia are also led by right-wing forces.

### 03 EH BILDU OVERTAKES PNV IN THE MUNICIPALITIES

EH Bildu has become the leading municipal force in the Basque Country, ahead of the PNV. The latter has obtained a lower result than expected, seeing its representation decrease in the main cities, especially in Vitoria, where it will lose the Mayor's Office. These results question for the first time the hegemony of the PNV within Basque nationalism.

### 04 THE OLD "CONVERGENCIA" WINS IN BARCELONA

The Catalan Socialist Party confirms its leadership in Catalonia, but the old *convergencia* is back in Barcelona. Former mayor Xavier Trias wins the local elections as the head of the Junts per Catalunya candidacy. To govern, Mr. Trias will offer an agreement with the Socialists. However, Jaume Collboni (Socialist Party) has already acknowledged that he will try to join forces with Barcelona En Comú and ERC to form a 'tripartit' of the left.

### 05 PSOE LOSES ALMOST ALL ITS REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS

PSOE obtained 6.3 million votes (28.1%) in the municipal elections, some 400,000 fewer than in 2019 (29.4%), 3.4 points behind the PP. It improves its results in Madrid, Catalonia (the PSC is the leading force and prevails in three of the four capitals) and the Valencian Community, but loses almost all its governments, only retaining Asturias, Castile-La Mancha and surely Navarre.

### 06 VOX CONSOLIDATES THIRD PLACE AND CS DISAPPEARS

In the dispute for third place, a decisive factor in the upcoming general elections, VOX clearly outstripped the other national forces, with 7.2% of the vote in the municipal elections, doubling the number of votes obtained in 2019. Moreover, it is decisive in forming governments in different regions, taking over from Cs, which disappears from the political landscape.

### 07 END TO "THE BOTANIC PACT"

The good result of the Socialist Party of Valencia, which is up almost 5 points, is not enough to remain in office. The PP is the leading force in the region (35.4%) and has the government within its reach with the support of VOX (12.4%), which, despite being the fourth force, is close to Compromís. In Valencia City Council, the PP wins with an absolute majority.

### 08 PODEMOS AND SUMAR, AT THE CROSSROADS

The atomisation of the left-wing parties, the lack of definition surrounding the Sumar project, and the poor results of Podemos have resulted in a generalised loss of support for the left-wing bloc, both in the municipal and regional elections. In the run-up to the general elections, the resolution of the open conflicts in this space is still up in the air.

# 01 ELECTIONS KEY POINTS

## STARS OF THE ELECTORAL NIGHT



### CARLOS MAZÓN (PP)

Mr. Mazón retakes the Valencian Community for the PP, although he will need the support of Vox to govern.

The PP candidate has managed to break the technical tie predicted by the polls in the region. The Valencian Community is considered a national electoral thermometer and the results obtained are seen in general terms.

### ALBERTO NÚÑEZ FEIJOO (PP) & ISABEL DÍAZ AYUSO (PP)



The President of the Region of Madrid obtains an absolute majority and will be able to govern alone. Ms. Ayuso reaffirms her position as one of the most influential people within the party, together with Moreno Bonilla.

The electoral turnaround of the PP gives great prominence to the party's leader, Mr. Núñez Feijoo, who strengthens his position at the national level.



### EMILIANO GARCÍA-PAGE (PSOE)

Mr. García-Page maintains his absolute majority by the slimmest of margins and manages to win the presidency of Castile-La Mancha. The socialist leader is one of the few regional socialist figures to resist the national advance of the PP.

His distancing from the national line of the party has helped him to show himself as an alternative PSOE within the region.

### XAVIER TRIAS (JUNTS), JAUME COLLBONI (PSC) and ADA COLAU (Barcelona En Comú)



Mr. Trias has the advantage, but the former Deputy Mayor of Barcelona, Jaume Collboni, has already announced that he will try to form a 'tripartit' to govern. The current Mayor, Ada Colau, is suffering the wear and tear of two terms in office and falls in third place.



### MARIA JOSÉ CATALÁ (PP)

With the victory of María José Catalá in the Valencian City Council, the PP consolidates its victory in the region. Valencia is the third capital of Spain and holds great political and demographic weight both in the regions and nationally. The Popular Party returns to the mayor's office after eight years of Joan Ribó's government.

### JORGE AZCÓN (PP)



The current Mayor of Zaragoza, Jorge Azcón, is the most voted candidate and will be able to form a government with Vox. The popular candidate manages to surpass the current President, Javier Lambán, who had been governing for two legislatures and is considered one of the most influential regional figures within PSOE.

## 01

## ELECTIONS KEY POINTS

## IMPACT OF THE ELECTIONS RESULTS ON POLITICAL PARTIES

## BEFORE

The PP hopes to confirm the good trend shown in recent elections and to **retake some regional governments**. In addition, Mr. Núñez Feijóo is playing to consolidate his internal leadership, in the face of Ms. Ayuso's strength.

PSOE **hopes to maintain the regions in which it governs**. The party faces great uncertainty at the national level. These elections are the first test of the government and the prelude to the national elections at the end of the year.

Vox has **doubled its municipal candidacies** compared to 2019. The crisis with Ms. Olona is behind it and its **objective is to be indispensable in the governability** of several regions.

Podemos is seeking to reaffirm the loyalty of its voters in these elections in the face of the rise of regionalist parties and the controversies at the national level. The elections will serve to **measure its strength** in view of the negotiations with Sumar.

Cs arrived at these elections after the **electoral debacle** in the regional elections in Madrid in 2021, and Castile and Leon and Andalusia in 2022. It seeks to obtain some representation in order to play a key role in the **formation of governments**.

Despite not contesting these elections, Sumar has shown its support for various progressive groups that form part of its platform. These elections will shape the **configuration of forces to the left of PSOE**.



## AFTER

The PP has won its first victory at the national level since 2011, recovering government options in up to 12 regions, and consolidating its position in regions such as Madrid. **Mr. Núñez Feijóo strengthens his leadership** ahead of the general elections.

**PSOE emerges weakened** from these elections. It loses some historic territories due to a lack of support and fails to overtake the PP in the most evenly matched regions. **The change in voting intentions at the national level is consolidated.**

VOX consolidates its entry and roots in the majority of territories, going from 500 councillors in 2019 to more than 1,500. The party is emerging **as the key to the PP in the formation of regional governments**, and as a possible future partner in national government.

Podemos has suffered a **heavy defeat**, being left out of important seats such as the Valencian Community and the Assembly and City Council of Madrid.

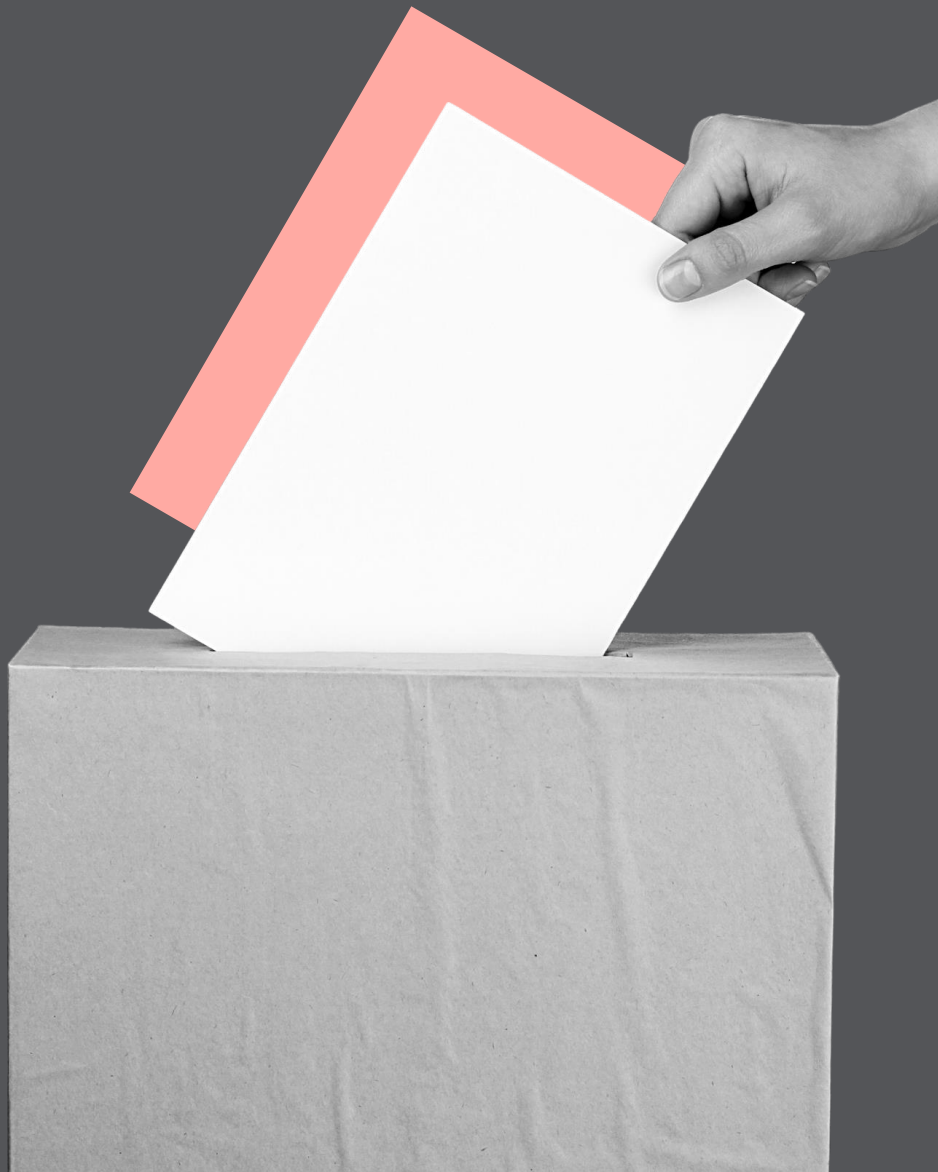
Ciudadanos has not managed to secure its position as a relevant actor in the configuration of government pacts. It **has lost all its representation** and in practice **signs its demise**.

Most of the parties that make up the Sumar platform have been weakened. The weakening of the bloc **leaves the resolution of conflicts in this political space up in the air** and conditions the possibility of future pacts.



# 02

## POST-ELECTORAL REACTIONS



# 02 POST-ELECTORAL REACTIONS

## PEDRO SÁNCHEZ CALLS EARLY GENERAL ELECTIONS ON JULY 23RD

### Towards 2023 national elections

If there was one thing that was clear on March 28, it was that the day after election night, the unofficial campaign towards the general elections was about to begin. This key is now reinforced after the President of the Government, Pedro Sánchez, held a meeting this morning with the King of Spain, Felipe VI, to inform him of his decision to convene a Council of Ministers this very afternoon to dissolve the Spanish Parliament in use of the prerogative attributed to him by the Constitution.

As confirmed by the leader of the Executive this morning in an institutional statement that lasted barely three minutes, the formal call will be published tomorrow in the Spanish Official Gazette, so that the **elections will be held on Sunday, July 23.**

During his brief speech, Mr. Sánchez devoted a few words of support to the "magnificent" socialist officials who will be displaced after yesterday's results and did not hesitate to describe their management as "impeccable". The socialist leader also pointed out that many of the regional presidents and mayors will find themselves in this situation, despite having seen their support increase.

The second reading that PM Sánchez has wielded during his speech is that numerous institutions will be administered by new majorities, those formed by the Popular Party and VOX. "Although yesterday's elections had a municipal and regional scope, the sense of the vote conveys a message that goes beyond," he stated.

Finally, Pedro Sánchez stressed that Spain is about to overcome a stage of crisis derived from the COVID 19 and the war in Ukraine. He also warned that Spain now faces "a clear path of growth, job creation and social cohesion".

The Spanish President considers that, at this stage of the legislature, the coalition government has managed to push forward the major reforms committed to in the investiture speech, in the Government agreement and also in the commitments assumed with Brussels, so that it faces the new electoral scenario in July with the feeling of having fulfilled most of the agreed reform program.

The following is an assessment of the main key points following the announcement by the Prime Minister, Pedro Sánchez.



# 02 POST-ELECTORAL REACTIONS

## PEDRO SÁNCHEZ'S REACTION

### 01 MR. SÁNCHEZ MAKES THE FUTURE OF THE GOVERNMENT SUBJECT TO A PERSONAL DECISION

In his first assessment of the results of the elections held yesterday, Mr. Sánchez has accepted the results in first person and decided to give a new blow to the political future of the country. The decision is interpreted as a personal bet of Mr. Sánchez himself. So much so that he has communicated the decision before the meeting of the party's Executive in which the results of yesterday's elections were to be analyzed, in a move that is very reminiscent of the motion of censure (first he registered the motion in Congress and, subsequently, he communicated the decision to the party).

### 02 RISK IT ALL ON THE SURPRISE EFFECT, ONE MORE TIME

With this move, the leader of the Executive sends a drastic message to clarify three crucial issues: what is the will of the Spanish people; what policies should the Spanish Government apply, and which political forces should assume this leadership at this point. Despite the fact that Mr. Sánchez has managed the "surprise effect" on previous occasions with great success, this time the gamble may be very risky, although it has a rational approach behind it (although the territorial power lies with the right-wing bloc, in the total vote count both blocs -right and left plus nationalists and regionalists, are still relatively equal).

### 03 MS. DÍAZ WILL BE LOOKING AGAINST THE CLOCK FOR THE SUMS TO BE ADDED UP

The electoral anticipation puts the parties to the left of the PSOE in an uncomfortable situation, after yesterday's poor results. The Sumar candidate has responded to the unexpected announcement by Mr. Sánchez by taking on the challenge of seeking support against the clock. Ms. Díaz would be running in this national election only three months after having presented her project on April 1st. For the Galician, the message of the 28M results has been "very clear", reason why she has urged the different forces to do things "in a different way" and to "work without distractions" to try that Sumar comes out next 23J.

### 04 RENEWED STRENGTH OR A SHOT IN THE FOOT FOR THE LEFT-WING FORMATIONS?

The unilateral decision of the Prime Minister has caught most of the political arc by surprise. The formation of Ione Belarra, Unidas Podemos, was in a meeting of its Executive to assess the electoral result of the left-wing political formation in the 28M, after its parliamentary representation in the Assembly of Madrid has disappeared and has lost 5 of the 6 regional governments of which it was part. The Secretary General of Podemos has announced her willingness to reach agreements.

### 05 EARLY ELECTIONS TO AVOID FURTHER DEPLETION

Despite the fact that the general elections were expected at the end of the year, for Mr. Sánchez the results obtained yesterday leave no alternative but to submit the democratic mandate to the will of the people. "There is only one infallible method to solve these doubts and that method is democracy. The best thing is for the Spaniards to take the floor and pronounce themselves without delay to define the political course of the country," he stressed. With this decision, the Prime Minister wants to avoid an image of wear and tear that would be in the socialist memory and not to repeat a scenario similar to the last months of Mr. Zapatero's Executive, with an image of a Government in decomposition and overcome by reality.

### 06 UNKNOWNNS WITH THE SPANISH PRESIDENCY, 32 DAYS AWAY FROM ITS START

With barely 32 days left before Spain prepares to take over the rotating Presidency of the Council of the European Union, Spaniards are called to vote in a new electoral event. For a convinced pro-European like Mr. Sánchez, missing this opportunity, which occurs approximately once every 13 years, wouldn't be a pleasant decision. The Prime Minister has already pledged that the future presidency will place among its main priorities the search for greater open strategic autonomy to achieve a socially just and environmentally sustainable Europe. Spain's is not an isolated case. In 2022, Emmanuel Macron held a presidential election in the middle of his European mandate. Whether Mr. Sánchez, or Mr. Feijóo, would continue after 23-J, the agenda of the Presidency and the calendar of informal meetings of ministers would, most likely, continue as planned.


# 02 POST-ELECTORAL REACTIONS

## THE CONVERSATION IN SOCIAL NETWORKS


In an institutional declaration from the Palace of La Moncloa, the President of the Government and leader of PSOE, Pedro Sánchez, has announced the electoral anticipation of the general elections, which will take place on July 23rd. The announcement has not left anyone indifferent and the reactions of the main leaders of the different parties have not been long in coming. Below, we highlight the main statements they have made in their social media:

**1| The socialists frame the future campaign message.** The regional leaders of the party have already begun to express their opinion before the call for the electoral advance. **Salvador Illa**, leader of the Catalan Socialist Party (PSC), has supported Mr. Sánchez' decision and does not hesitate to describe it as a "brave, correct and democratic" decision. **Raúl Díaz**, Parliamentary Spokesman of the Riojan PSOE and one of the main voices within the party, follows the same line and marks the message of the campaign: "either right or rights". Within the Executive, **Teresa Ribera**, Third Vice-President and Minister for Ecological Transition and the Demographic Challenge, has been the first to speak out.


 **Salvador Illa Roca** @salvadorilla · 1h  
La decisión del presidente @sanchezcastejon es valiente, acertada y democrática. El #23J se elegirá entre el camino del progreso, la política útil y el diálogo, o el del retroceso, la política estéril y la confrontación. @socialistes\_cat defendemos el primero y salimos a ganar.

 **Teresa Ribera** @Teresaribera · 1h  
Día 1 de la remontada. Lo que hemos hecho estos años, merece la pena. Nuestro futuro, también. #23J


**2| The electoral anticipation speeds up the union of the space of the left-wing parties.** The leader of Unidas Podemos, **Ione Belarra**, appeared this afternoon and wanted to convey a message of "tranquility" before the announcement of Mr. Sánchez. She also pointed out that the "internal machinery is activated" and said that they are working together with Yolanda Díaz to "guarantee a space of unity". Ms. Belarra has made clear her willingness to reach an agreement with Yolanda Díaz, a fact endorsed by the founder of the left-wing party, **Pablo Iglesias**.

 **Ione Belarra** @ionebelarra · 28min  
Salimos a por el mejor resultado en la segunda parte del partido.

The leader of Sumar and Second Vice-President of the Government, **Yolanda Díaz**, has assured, for her part, that she "assumes the challenge" of "doing things differently" and that, "from this very moment" they are working to go out "to win".

 **Yolanda Díaz** @Yolanda\_Diaz · 1h  
El mensaje recibido anoche fue muy claro: hay que hacer las cosas de otra manera. Sin distracciones.  
Desde este mismo momento estamos trabajando para ganar el próximo 23 de julio.  
Asumo el reto.

For his part, the leader of Izquierda Unida, **Alberto Garzón**, in view of the general elections, has claimed that his party is "getting down to work" to stop the "reactionary wave".

 **Alberto Garzón** @agarzon · 1h  
Ante la convocatoria electoral, desde Izquierda Unida vamos a defender las conquistas sociales logradas durante todos estos años y nos ponemos manos a la obra para presentar una propuesta de país que nos permita frenar la ola reaccionaria.  
985 490 1.970 118 mil

**3| The opposition is satisfied with the 23J.** The leader of the opposition, **Alberto Núñez Feijóo**, has admitted to be satisfied with the result of 28M and calls on the citizens to maintain and increase this positive trend in view of the general elections. The popular leader insists that in the general elections "the new path of the country will be decided" and asks for an absolute majority for his party. Mr. Feijóo ended his speech by criticizing the foreign policy maintained by the Government of Pedro Sánchez and the effect that the general elections will have on the Spanish Presidency of the Council of the EU.

**4| Vox reaches out to the PP to form a government.** The leader of right-wing party, **Santiago Abascal**, has pointed out during his appearance that now the PP has the responsibility of being able to form the governments at stake. Vox will try to maintain the political momentum left by this 28M until run-up to general elections.

 **Iván Espinosa de los Monteros** @ivanedlm  
Pues nada, no deshacemos las maletas... volvemos #DeCampañaPorEspaña!!!  
11:36 a. m. · 29 may. 2023 · 142,1 mil Reproducciones



# 03

## ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

# 03 PARTICIPATION

## PARTICIPATION IS AT AN ALL-TIME LOW

### PATICIPATION KEY POINTS

Election day ended with an overall decrease in municipal turnout, which has suffered a drop of 1.28 percentage points compared to 2019. The total turnout was 63.91%, compared to 65.19% in 2019.

Meanwhile, abstention has risen from 34.8% in 2019 to 36%.In historical terms, the final figure is one of the three lowest; above the 1991 turnout of 62.78%, and that of 1979, which was only 62.51%.

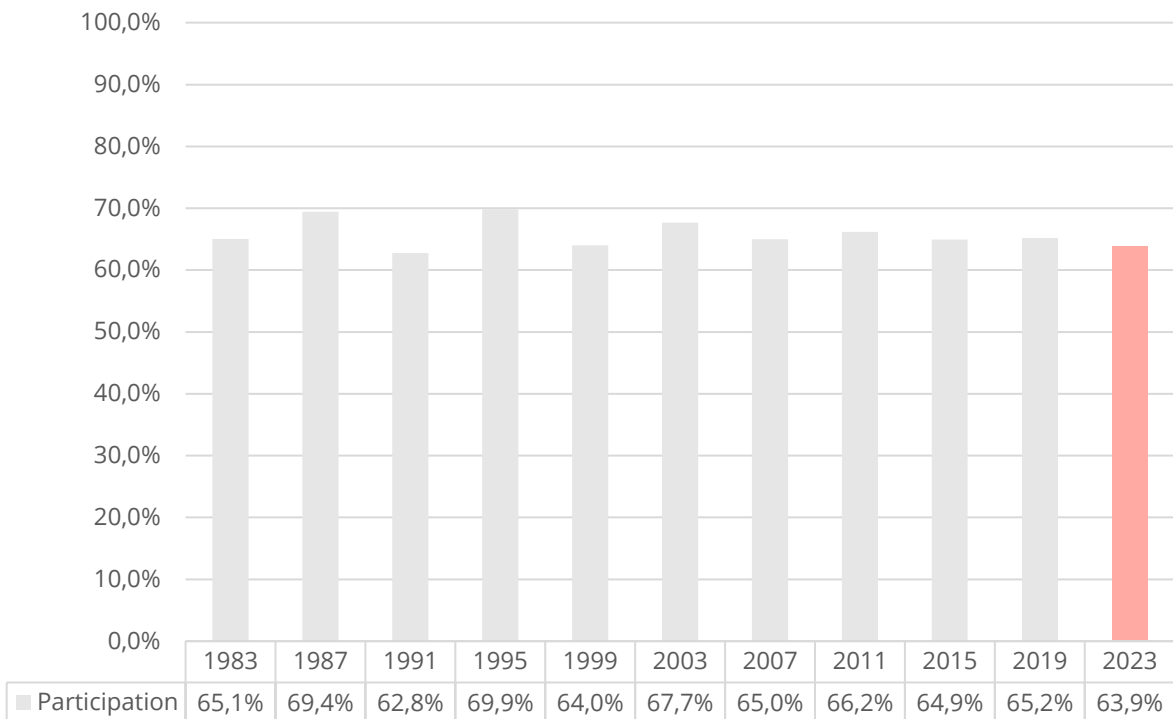
The day was marked by unfavorable weather conditions, which is why the candidates urged citizens to exercise their right to vote so that participation would not be conditioned by the rains that have affected practically all of Spain.

Despite the low participation, if we look at the picture of turnout in each region, it increased in 11 regions, with Catalonia standing out as experiencing the most significant decrease.

In the Valencian Community and the Autonomous Community of Navarre, turnout is up by almost 4 points compared to the last elections.

Meanwhile, in the Community of Madrid, which at the beginning of the day recorded the highest turnout, it finally increased by only 2%.

### NATIONAL PARTICIPATION | LOCAL ELECTIONS



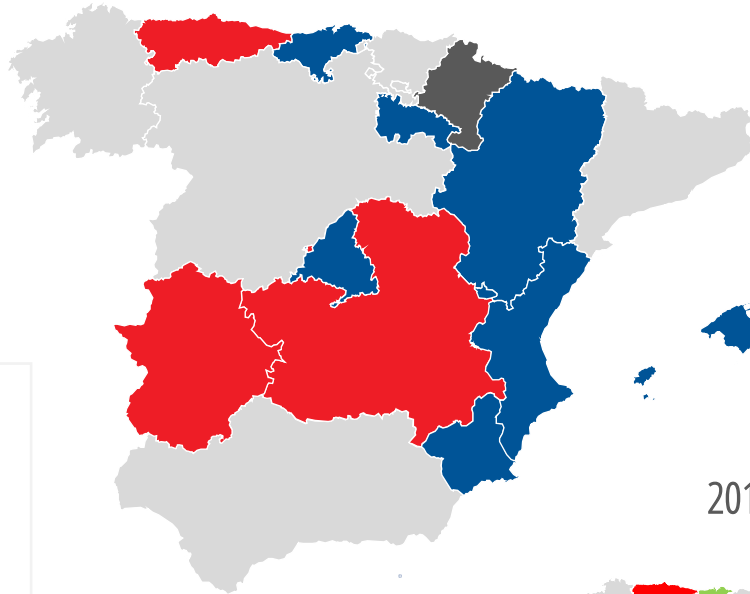
## 03

## SUMMARY OF REGIONAL RESULTS

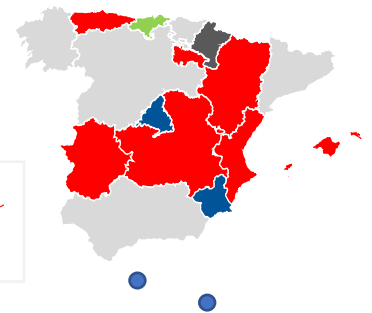
## THE POPULAR PARTY EXPANDS ITS TERRITORIAL POWER

## 2023 RESULTS

*\*Most voted party by regions*



## 2019 RESULTS



## TAKE AWAY POINTS FROM THE RESULTS

The PP obtains absolute majorities in Madrid and La Rioja and aspires to govern in all regions except Castilla-La Mancha, Asturias and Navarra.

The figure of Mr. Núñez Feijóo is reinforced after the positive results of the PP, as is that of Ms. Díaz Ayuso, who obtains an absolute majority.

PSOE contains the loss in votes with respect to 2019, but the rise of the right-wing bloc and the collapse of Podemos deprives it of almost all its regional power.

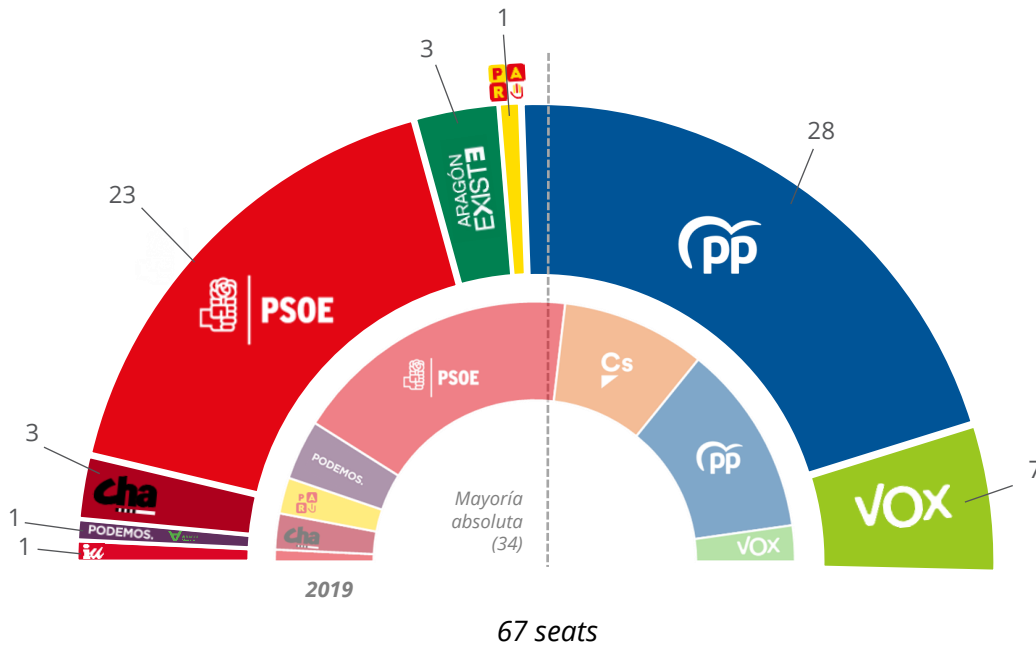
Vox is consolidating its position as the third force at the national level, will hold the key to the formation of several regional governments and is positioning itself for the general elections.

Podemos collapses and fails to gain representation in the Madrid and Valencia regions. The forces integrated in Sumar did not obtain the expected results either.

Municipal turnout was slightly lower than in 2019. It fell by 1.28%, almost half a million votes, with the fall being particularly marked in Catalonia.

# ARAGÓN

## THE PP TURNS ARAGON AROUND, BUT IT WILL NEED VOX SUPPORT



### ELECTORAL CLUES:

**1 |** The Popular Party has become this Sunday the most voted party in the three provinces of Aragón. It takes all the seats lost by Ciudadanos and receives votes from the block of the current coalition government, to achieve 12 more deputies than in the 2019 elections, but does not reach the absolute majority. Vox also rises and consolidates itself as the third political force and will be necessary for the former mayor of Zaragoza, Jorge Azcón, to govern in the Community.

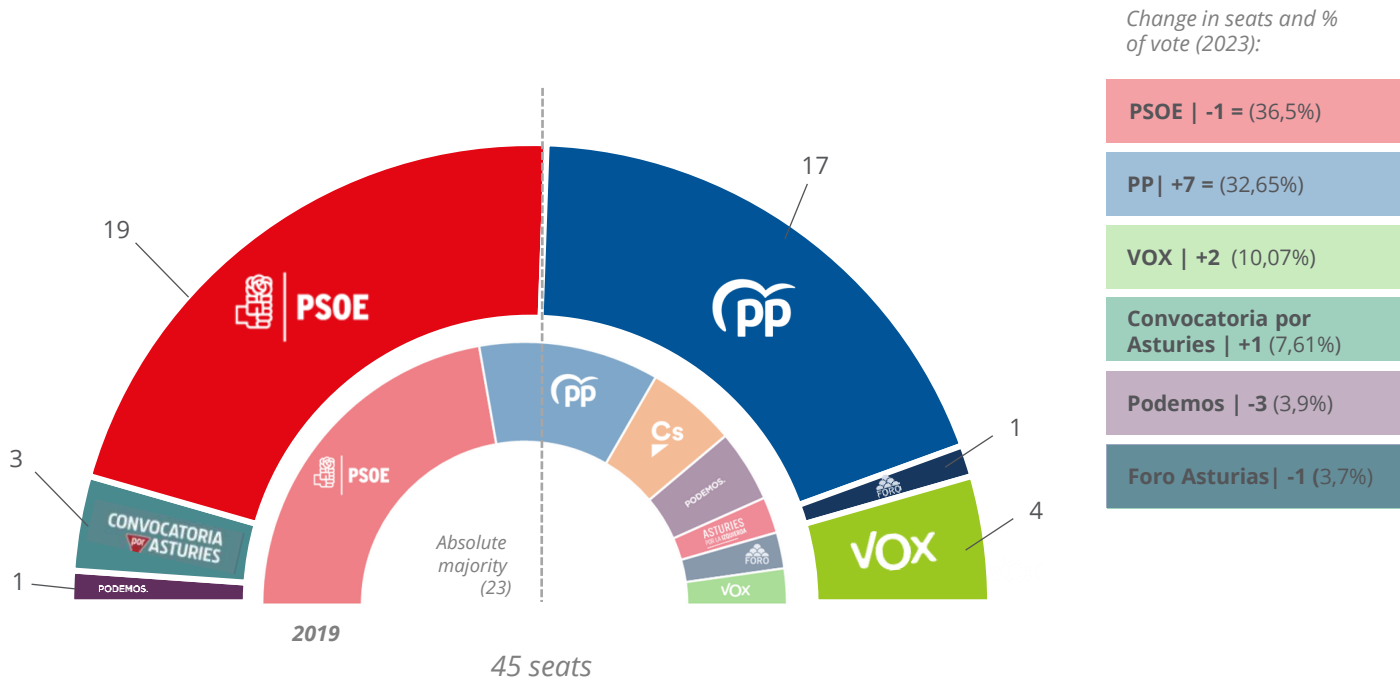
**2 |** The socialist President, Javier Lambán, will not be able to revalidate his government despite having lost only a single deputy in parliament and being left with 23 seats. In addition, he is very disadvantaged by the decline of Podemos, which goes from 5 deputies in 2019 to have only 1 this time. PAR drops from three to a single deputy, but remains in the Cortes despite the turbulent internal situation of the party.

**3 |** Aragón Existe debuts at the regional level and manages to enter the parliament with 3 deputies. However, it has not achieved its goal of being decisive for the formation of government. The same number of seats has the Chunta Aragonesista, which repeats results with respect to 2019, as does Izquierda Unida with its only deputy.



# ASTURIAS

## PSOE COULD REVALIDATE THE GOVERNMENT IN ASTURIAS



### ELECTORAL CLUES:

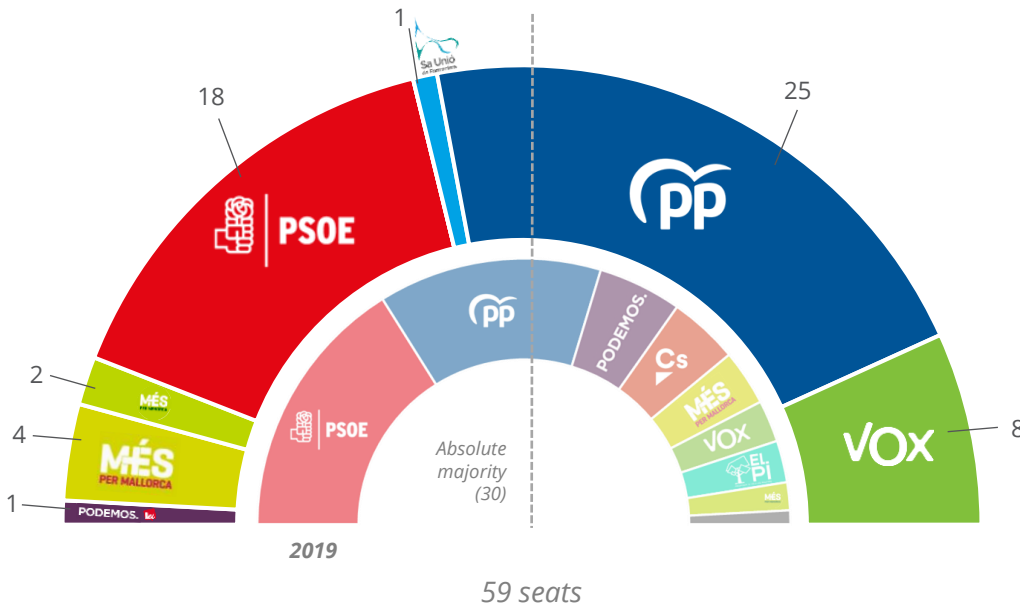
1 | Results in Asturias do not show significant changes for the current regional government. PSOE has once again become the first political force in the General Assembly of the Principality, although it has lost one seat compared to the 2019 elections. For its part, the Partido Popular repeats as the second most voted party, and adds 7 more deputies. Ciudadanos, after losing the seats obtained in 2019, which have been absorbed by the PP, leaves the Asturian Parliament.

2 | The current regional President, Adrián Barbón (PSOE), could re-edit his government with the support of Unidas Podemos. In spite of the increase in seats, the PP will not be able to impose itself on the left-wing coalition, not even by making a pact with Vox (4 seats) and Foro Asturias (1 seat). Thus, the right-wing bloc would remain at the gates of the absolute majority, with the lack of one deputy.

3 | At the municipal level, in the City Council of Gijón, PSOE has also been the most voted party (9 councilors), but closely followed by Foro Asturias (8 councilors). Thus, a coalition of the Foro Asturias party with the PP (5 councilors) and Vox (2 councilors) will allow Carmen Moriyón (Foro Asturias) to regain the mayoralty of the city.

# BALEARIC ISLANDS

## THE POPULAR PARTY DEFEATS THE "BELLVER PACT"



### ELECTORAL CLUES:

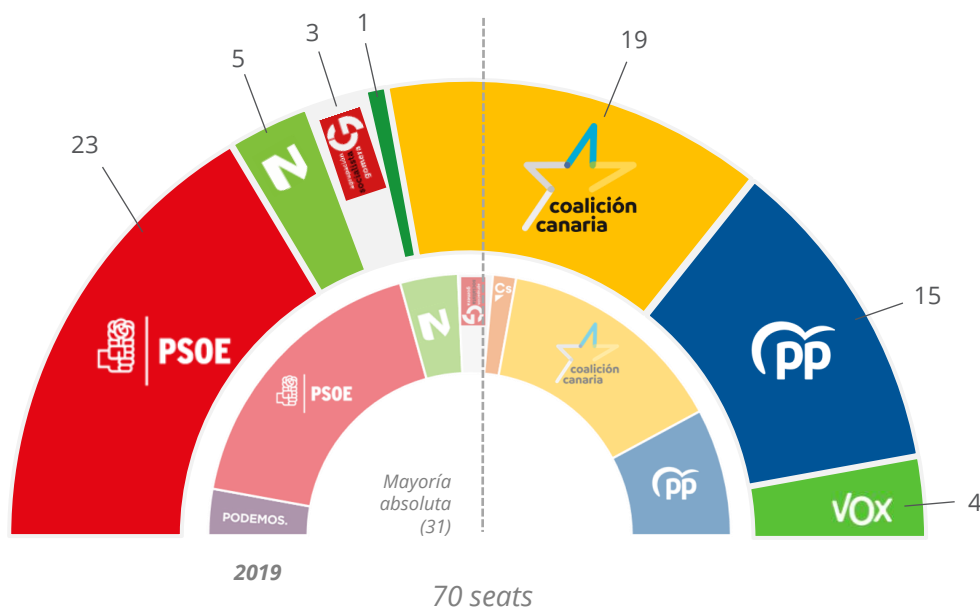
1 | Balearic Islands experience a shift to the right after two legislatures with a left-wing government. The Popular Party is positioned as the first force with 25 seats, 9 more than in 2019. These, added to the 8 of Vox, would allow the PP to reach the majority of 30 seats needed to form a government.

2 | Of the left-wing bloc, PSOE and Podemos lose 1 and 5 seats respectively, and only the regional party, Més i Més per Menorca, keeps the results of 2019. With 25 seats in total, the loss of representation in the bloc is enough so that the so called "Bellver Pact" cannot be repeated. Both Ciudadanos and the regionalist formation El PI are left without representation after failing to overcome the 5% barrier. The surprise of the night has come from the hand of local party, Sa Unió Formentera, which has won a seat in the Parliament.

3 | In the Palma City Council, the regional pattern is repeated. PP and Vox increase 5 and 2 points, respectively. With 11 and 6 seats each, together they would exceed the 15 seats needed for an absolute majority. PSOE and Podemos lose support and, although Més maintains the same results as in 2019, between the three forces they get about 12 seats. Ciudadanos is left without representation.

# CANARY ISLANDS

WHOEVER PACTS WINS, CANARY COALITION DECIDES



Change in seats and % of vote (2023):

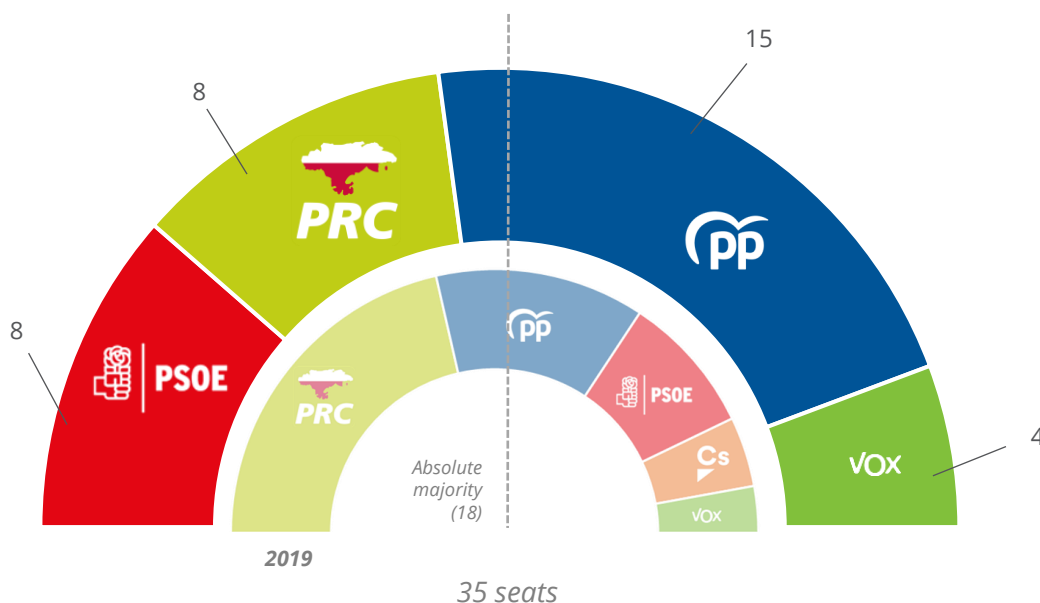
PSOE	-2 (27,2%)
CC	+2 (21,8%)
PP	+4 (19,4%)
N. Canarias	= (8,1%)
VOX	+4 (7,9%)
ASG	= (0,6%)
A.H.I.	+1 (0,2%)

## ELECTORAL CLUES:

- 1 | The polls predicted a technical tie that has ended up in favor of the conservative bloc. However, the refusal of regional party, Coalición Canarias, to make a pact with Vox leaves in the air who will end up holding the Presidency of the Government of the Canary Islands.
- 2 | The Socialist Party wins the elections, but it will be impossible for it to reedit the so called "Pact of Flowers". With the disappearance of Podemos and the lower representation of Nueva Canarias, the progressive forces will not be enough to form a left-wing government.
- 3 | Coalición Canaria seems to hold the key to the Canary Islands Parliament and will foreseeably form part of the regional government depending on the negotiations with the PP and PSOE. The irruption of Vox in the regional assembly strengthens the conservative bloc which would require its abstention to reach the government.

# CANTABRIA

## END OF MR. REVILLA'S LEGACY



Change in seats and % of vote (2023):

PP | +6 (35,81%)

PRC | -7 (20,83%)

PSOE | +1 = (20,63%)

VOX | +2 = (11,06%)

### ELECTORAL CLUES:

1 | With 15 seats, the PP has positioned itself as the leading political force. Its increase of 6 deputies compared to the last elections is due, in part, to the absorption of the votes of Ciudadanos, which has disappeared from the Cantabrian Parliament. After losing 7 seats, the Regionalist Party of Cantabria (PRC) has been relegated to the second position, tying with PSOE with 8 deputies. Vox has managed to double its number of representatives, consolidating its position as the fourth most voted party.

2 | As a result of the transfer of votes to the right, PP and Vox add more than the 18 seats required to reach the absolute majority. Thus, a government pact between both parties would unseat the PRC-PSOE bloc.

3 | Mr. Revilla has confirmed the results predicted by the polls and loses the leadership of the Cantabrian Government. The secretary general of the Cantabrian regionalists suffers a major setback twenty years after his first electoral victory, a fact that may precipitate his political end after four decades in the front line.

# CASTILE - LA MANCHA

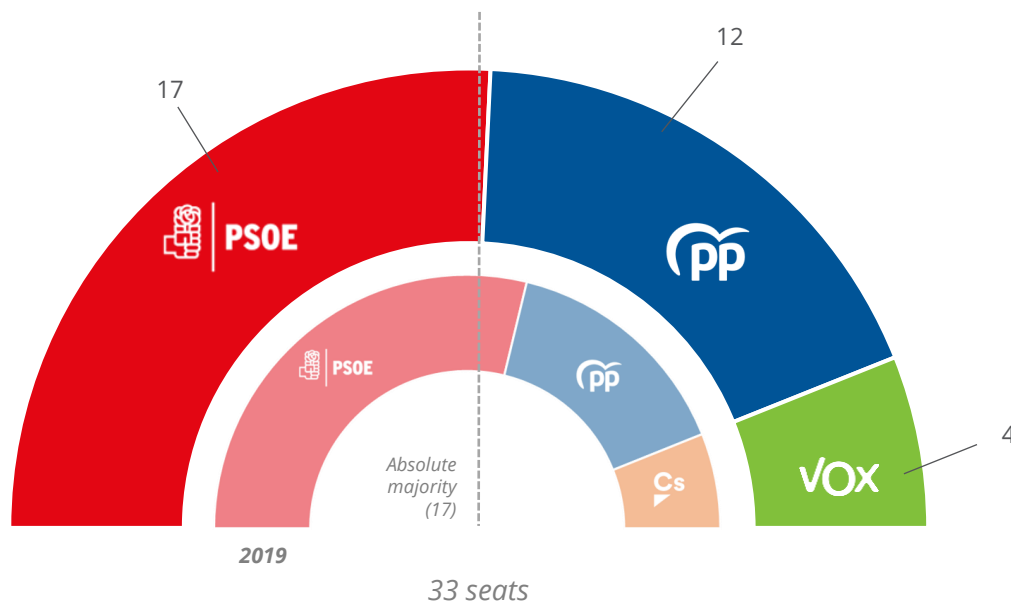
MR. GARCÍA-PAGE MAINTAINS HIS ABSOLUTE MAJORITY AND EMERGES AS THE MAIN SOCIALIST LEADER

Change in seats and % of vote (2023):

PSOE | -2 (45,05%)

PP | +2 (33,65%)

VOX | +4 (12,84%)



## ELECTORAL CLUES:

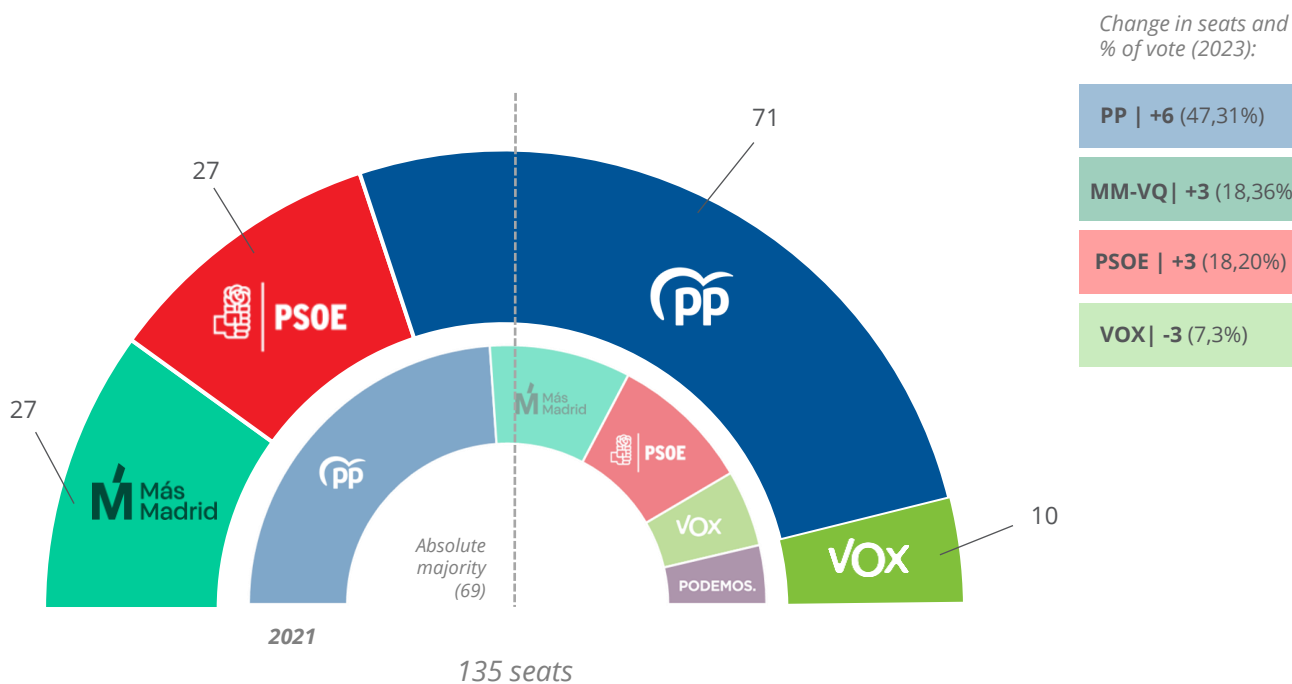
1 | Emiliano García - Page, socialist candidate, guarantees his re-election as Regional President of Castile La Mancha by reaching the absolute majority and will be able to govern alone. The socialists lose two seats but keep the region as their only governed territory without the need for pacts. The space to the left of PSOE, through the candidacy of Unidas Podemos, remains without representation in the Castile-La Mancha Parliament.

2 | The Popular Party increases 2 seats, up to 12, and Vox bursts into the Castile La Mancha Assembly with 4 seats. Cs does not obtain representation. The conservative bloc is only one seat away from bringing about a change.

3 | With this result, García-Page, who has positioned himself as the most critical Regional leader of Pedro Sánchez, has been one of the few territorial leaders of PSOE who has managed to revalidate his mandate. However, the socialists, who governed the five capitals and deputations of the region, will foreseeably lose much of this local power.

# COMMUNITY OF MADRID

## MS. AYUSO'S UNCONTESTED VICTORY



### ELECTORAL CLUES:

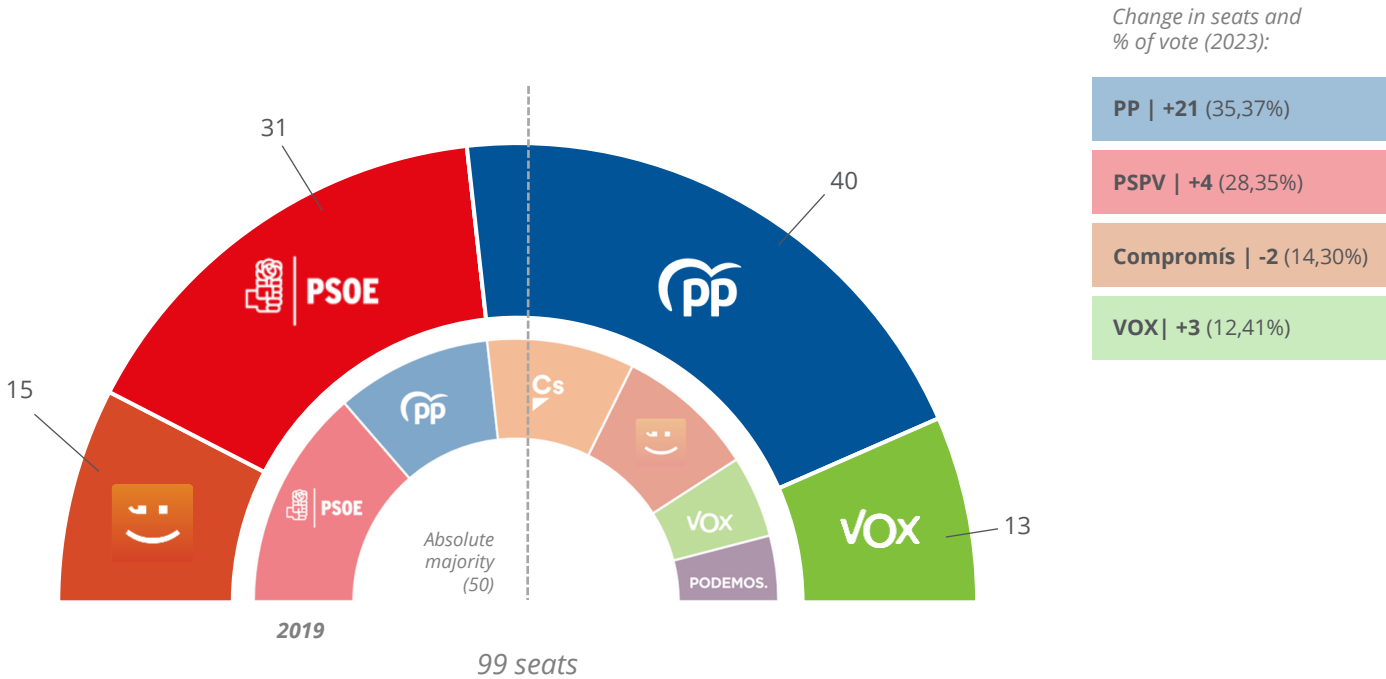
1 | Two years after the last elections, the candidate for re-election to the Presidency of the Community of Madrid, Isabel Díaz Ayuso, will maintain the leadership of the Madrid executive with a comfortable majority, becoming one of the big winners of the night. With a tight margin, Más Madrid (left-wing regional party) manage to remain as the main force of the opposition with a PSOE that equals it in seats and improves its result with respect to 2019.

2 | The result of the 28M enables the current Regional President of Madrid to implement her political project without the burden that sometimes has meant needing the votes of her preferred partner. The candidate of Más Madrid, Mónica García, manages to win the battle against the socialist candidate, Juan Lobato. Unidas Podemos does not manage to overcome the 5% barrier and remains, together with Ciudadanos, without representation in the Assembly of Madrid.

3 | The victory in the Community of Madrid is special and symbolic given the impact that this triumph will have at national level, especially on the eve of the general elections. Ms. Ayuso achieves her goal, improving the result and revalidating a bastion that the PP has managed to keep for almost 30 years. The internal leadership of the popular party is shared between three emblematic places: Galicia, Madrid and Andalusia.

# VALENCIAN COMMUNITY

## BOTÀNIC LOSES THE GOVERNMENT



### ELECTORAL CLUES:

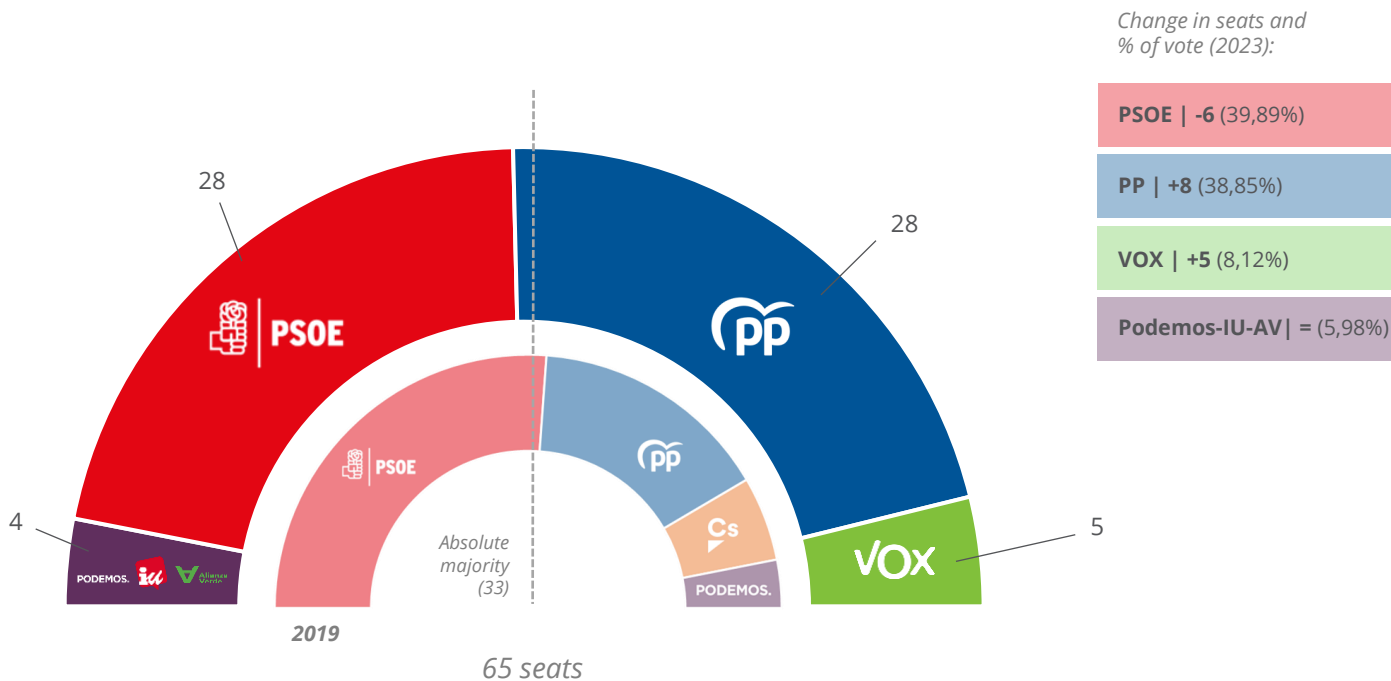
1 | The Valencian Community has been the protagonist and centre of attention on election night. Elections that have served as a thermometer and that will help to catapult the PP's electoral campaign for the national election, as they control three of the most populated regions. PSOE, despite improving its last results by 4 deputies, will not be able to reedit the Botànic Pact. The change has had as variables the fall of left-wing party, Compromís, the growth of Vox and the disappearance of Unidas Podemos and Ciudadanos, which have not reached 5% of votes.

2 | The Popular Party, which obtained double the number of deputies than in the last elections, recovers the fiefdom it lost two legislatures ago. An election marked in a national key, the water conflict represented by the cutback of the Tajo-Segura water transfer and the politicisation of the linguistic model have been the elements that have predictably worn down the Botànic government and consolidated the victory of the PP in the Valencian Community.

3 | Compromís completes the podium in the Valencian Community, leaving out the third place to Vox, who is two deputies ahead. Likewise, it will be Vox who will determine the governability of the Cortes, since, as it has made clear during its campaign, it will condition its support to its entry into the Government.

# EXTREMADURA

PP AND VOX SNATCH THE REGION FROM PSOE BY THE SLIMMEST OF MARGINS



## ELECTORAL CLUES:

1 | Extremadura could have the first coalition government in its history after a narrow victory of the conservative forces. PSOE is the most voted party but loses the absolute majority after falling to 28 seats and not joining either with Unidas por Extremadura, which remains with 4. The PP rises to 28 deputies after absorbing the votes of Cs, which leaves the Assembly. In its place, Vox enters with 5 and becomes decisive.

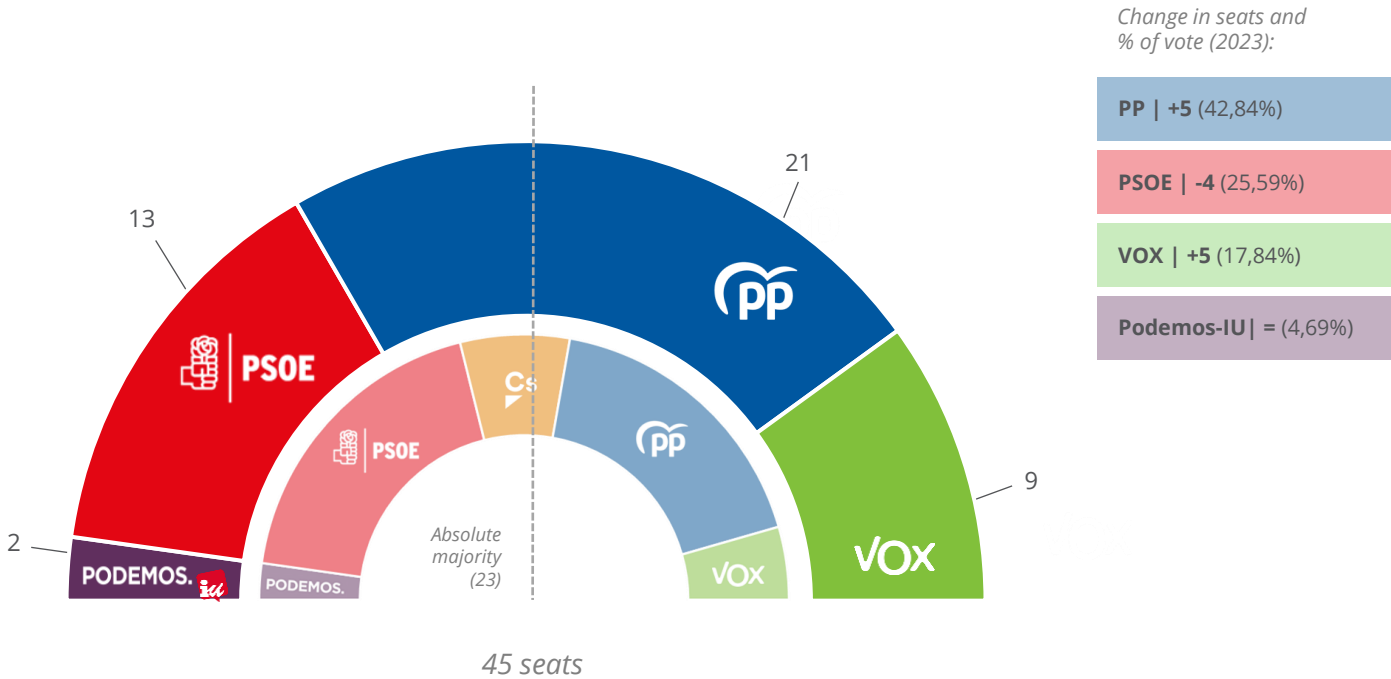
2 | The results place María Guardiola, who has made her debut as a popular candidate, with all the probabilities to become the first woman president of Extremadura. If she agrees with Vox, the PP would add her second term at the head of the Junta, after the 2011-2015 legislature of José Antonio Monago.

3 | The possible coalition of PP and Vox in Extremadura will continue to test the relations between both formations, after the beginning of this duo in Castile and Leon. Both experiences could be examples on which the PP of Mr. Núñez Feijóo could look at the national level with a view to possible pacts after the next general elections.



# MURCIA

THE POPULAR PARTY WINS, BUT NEEDS VOX



## ELECTORAL CLUES:

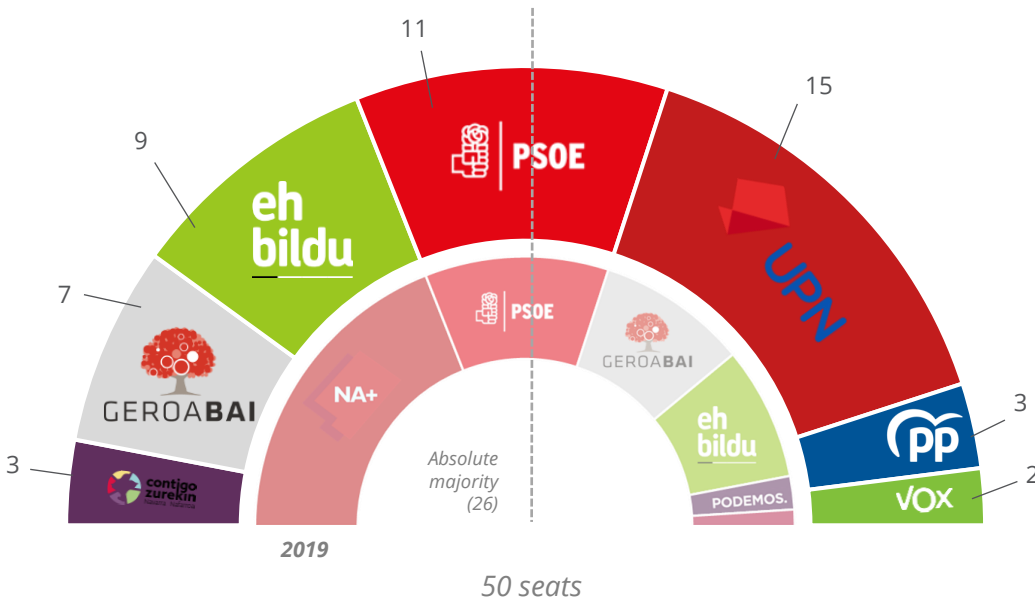
1 | The Popular Party will repeat in the government of the Region of Murcia, where it has been governing for 28 years. The popular party comes out of the elections reinforced and is two seats away from the absolute majority. Vox is the second winner of the night. After obtaining 5 points more than in 2019, it consolidates as the third force with 9 seats.

2 | The attempted motion of censure presented by Ciudadanos and PSOE against the PP government in March 2021 not only failed, but has helped to strengthen the leadership of the popular candidate, Fernando López Miras.

3 | PSOE loses support. With 12 seats, the socialists retain second place at the regional level, although the advantage over Vox is only 4 seats. Podemos maintains the 2 seats it obtained in 2019. Regional MC enters parliament with 1 representative. Ciudadanos remains outside the regional Chamber.

# NAVARRA

## NAVARRA WOULD CONTINUE TO BE A TESTING GROUND FOR THE LEFT



Change in seats and % of vote (2023):

UPN | +15 (27,92%)\*

PSOE | = (20,70%)

EH Bildu | +1 (17,28%)

Geroa Bai | -2 (13,29%)

PP | +3 (7,19%)\*

Contigo | +3 (6,08%)\*\*

Vox | +2 (4,28%)

\*Under the brand of Navarra Suma in 2019.\*\*Podemos and Izquierda-Ezkerria ran separately in 2019.

### ELECTORAL CLUES:

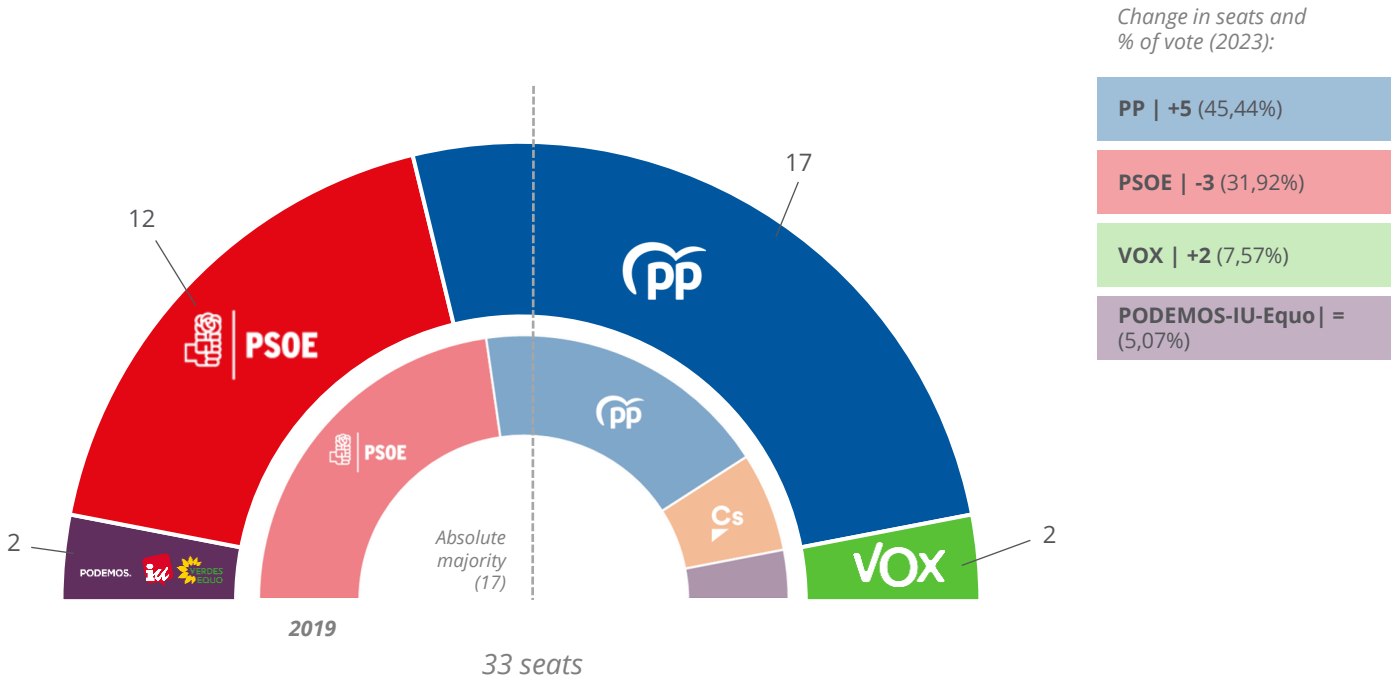
1 | Navarre's politics is characterized by fragmentation. Since 2019, PSOE has governed the Foral Community in coalition with Geroa Bai, Podemos and Izquierda-Ezkerria and the indirect support of Basque nationalist party, EH Bildu. The support of the latter has generated controversy throughout the legislature, intensified in the campaign by the controversy of the lists of EH Bildu. The space on the right, represented in 2019 by Navarra Suma, has been divided into UPN, PP and Cs. The PP has signed numerous senior UPN officials, highlighting the deputies Sergio Sayas and Carlos Adanero.

2 | UPN maintains its hegemony with 15 seats. PSOE (11 seats) has the option of repeating the progressive coalition and EH Bildu (9 seats) beats Geroa (7 seats), who maintains its weight, for third place. The Popular Party manages to enter with 3 deputies and Vox debuts with 2. The coalition between Podemos and Izquierda-Ezkerria helps both parties to maintain their representation.

3 | Post-electoral alliances will have effects at the national level. A new agreement between the socialists and EH Bildu may affect the national expectations of PSOE a few months before the general elections and the reluctance it could generate in territories such as Castilla-La Mancha or Andalusia. Once again, the debate on the future of Pamplona will mark the negotiations. PSOE will have to decide whether to hand over the Mayor's Office to EH Bildu or allow UPN, winner again, to continue.

# LA RIOJA

THE POPULAR PARTY RECOVERS ITS STRENGTH WITH AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY



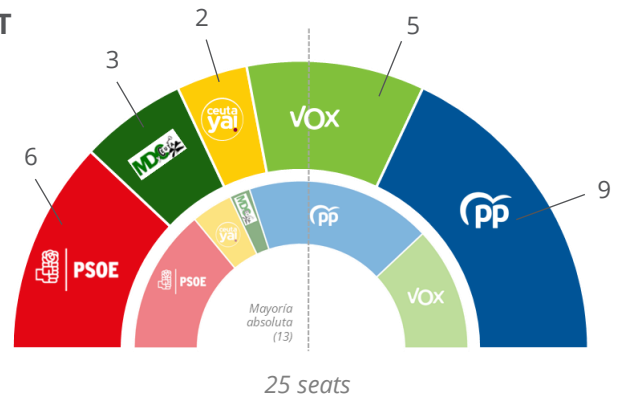
## ELECTORAL CLUES:

- 1 | The Popular Party recovers the electoral leadership with 17 deputies and the absolute majority. Vox enters the Parliament with 2 seats. Unidas Podemos maintains its two seats after the coalition between Podemos and Izquierda Unida.
- 2 | PSOE conquered the Government in 2019 for the first time in 24 years, but this has only lasted one legislature, which has been marked by internal party differences. The socialist Concha Andreu has dismissed 6 of the 9 councilors she appointed in 2019, including the secretary general of the regional PSOE. For its part, the PP has had an internal split led by its former councilor for Local Policy.
- 3 | This result allows the return of the PP to the Presidency of La Rioja, with Gonzalo Capellán as president, without the need for an agreement with Vox. The PP also achieved the turnaround in the capital, Logroño, with an absolute majority and will not need coalition agreements to govern.

# CEUTA

## MR. VIVAS WILL CONTINUE TO GOVERN WITHOUT VOX

1 | The electoral results in the autonomous city do not show significant changes compared to those of the last elections of 2019. The PP has again been the most voted party (9 seats), followed by PSOE (6 seats) and Vox (5 seats). The localist parties, Movimiento por la Dignidad y la Ciudadanía and Ceuta Ya! have obtained 3 and 2 deputies, respectively.

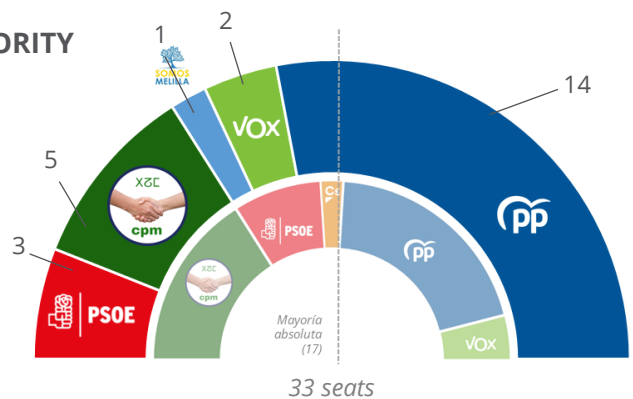


2 | The President of Ceuta, Juan Jesús Vivas, who has been in power since 2001, could extend his mandate for another legislature. However, not having reached the absolute majority, the popular candidate would need again a pact to govern. With the refusal of the popular candidate, Juan Jesús Vivas, to renew his pact with Vox after the rupture of the agreement between both parties, which caused the Popular Party to end up governing in minority with the support of PSOE, it is foreseeable that the PP will continue to govern with occasional support from the Socialists.

# MELILLA

## THE PP WILL GOVERN WITH AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY

1 | The scandal of the alleged purchase of more than 11,000 postal votes has put the Autonomous City in the spotlight these elections. Melilla has registered today a new abstention record due to the annulment of more than half of the votes cast by mail.

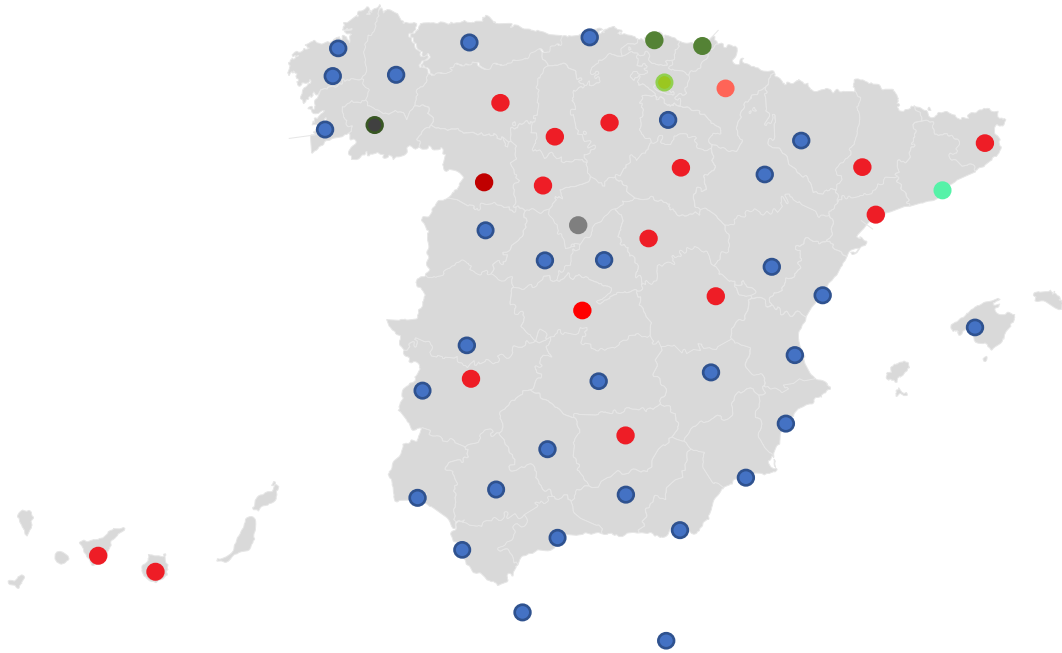


2 | The Popular Party has been the first political force, with four seats more than in the last elections of 2019 (14 seats). The second most voted party has been Coalición Por Melilla (5 seats), followed by PSOE (3 seats). Vox has maintained its 2 deputies, while Somos Melilla has obtained 1 seat.

3 | In the next few days, it is foreseeable that some forces will challenge the electoral result.

# 02 LOCAL ELECTIONS: ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

## THE POPULAR PARTY DYES BLUE THE MUNICIPAL MAP



### VOTING IN THE MAIN SPANISH CITIES

The following are the keys to the local results in the most important municipalities in Spain in demographic terms. For this purpose, the municipalities of **Barcelona, Madrid, Málaga, Seville, Valencia** and **Zaragoza** have been selected. All cities are strongholds whose political sign carries a strategic importance in their respective regions. Malaga and Seville, specifically, are also included because they are the most populated cities in Andalusia.

Despite the municipal nature of the elections, at a global level, the great national and autonomic slogans have not ceased to have an impact on the electoral debate. At the same time, certain unforeseen issues, such as racism in soccer stadiums, the controversies in the electoral lists of EH Bildu or the vote-buying scandals have also played a leading role. From the beginning of the campaign, it was expected that the battle in some large Spanish cities would be a tight one, with the 5% threshold for local representation also being decisive for the parties.



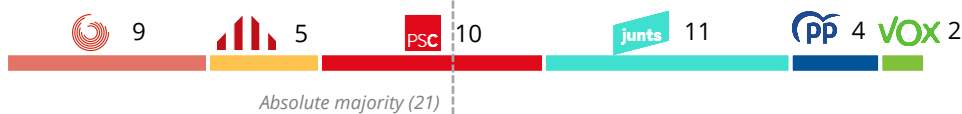
# BARCELONA

## TRIAS WINS, BUT THE CATALAN SOCIALISTS ASPIRE TO GOVERN IN COALITION

1 | The former mayor of Barcelona between 2011 and 2015, Xavier Trias, wins the elections at the head of the Junts per Catalunya candidacy (Catalan pro-independence party). With 11 councilors, he is one ahead of the Catalan Socialists (PSC) and two ahead of the current mayor, Ada Colau (Barcelona En Comú), who drops one by just one hundred votes. Esquerra Republicana (Catalan pro-Independence left party), winner in 2019, sinks and loses half of its councilors.

2 | To govern, Trias could reach an agreement with the Socialists, with whom he would have an absolute majority. However, Jaume Collboni (PSC) has already acknowledged that he will try to become Mayor by joining forces with ERC and Barcelona En Comú to form a left-wing coalition ("tripartite").

3 | Vox manages to enter for the first time in the Barcelona City Council, with 2 councilors, and consolidates its position in the Catalan territory. The Popular Party doubles its representation, reaching up to 4 councilors and reversing a trend of decline in Catalonia.



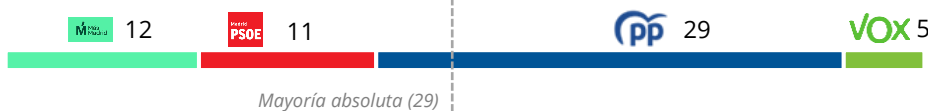
# MADRID

## ALMEIDA REVALIDATES AND ACHIEVES ABSOLUTE MAJORITY

1 | After having governed with Ciudadanos, which disappears, and with Vox, popular candidate, José Luis Martínez-Almeida, has managed to win the absolute majority by obtaining 29 councilors and 44.5% of the votes. Vox does not achieve its goal of entering the Municipal Corporation and exercising internal control of Mr. Almeida's policies despite having added one more councilor with respect to 2019. In the left bloc, Más Madrid loses 7 councilors with respect to 2019 and remains with 12 councilors. Reyes Maroto, socialist candidate, with 11 councilors, reduces the gap with Rita Maestre, but fails to regain the leadership of the opposition. On the other hand, Unidas Podemos is left without representation.

2 | Mr. Almeida achieves his goal and will govern alone in the capital. This result is especially relevant, since in the next legislature projects of special importance for the city will be decided, such as the new General Urban Development Plan or Madrid Nuevo Norte.

3 | In this way, the Popular Party manages to tie absolute majorities in the City Council and the Assembly. On the other hand, Vox takes a back seat and ceases to be essential to legislate.



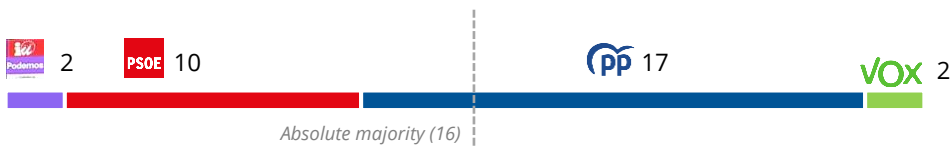
# MÁLAGA

## MR. DE LA TORRE AND THE PP RETURN TO ABSOLUTE MAJORITY

1 | The popular candidate, Francisco de la Torre, extends his power and recovers the absolute majority in Málaga. The PP wins 17 councilors and almost half (49%) of the votes cast. PSOE of Daniel Pérez is left with 10 and the confluence Con Andalucía obtains 2 seats. Vox manages to enter the City Council with 2 councilors and Cs disappears.

2 | Málaga will continue under the reins of the conservative De la Torre, who has managed to stay in the leadership for more than 23 years. The popular leader could keep the Mayor's Office until he is 85 years old. PSOE loses 2 councilors.

3 | The wide victory of the PP in Malaga, together with the one obtained in most of the Andalusian capitals, underpin the change of cycle in what used to be a historical socialist bastion. Mr. Moreno Bonilla consolidates his power in the region, support that could serve as a boost for Mr. Núñez Feijóo in the general elections.



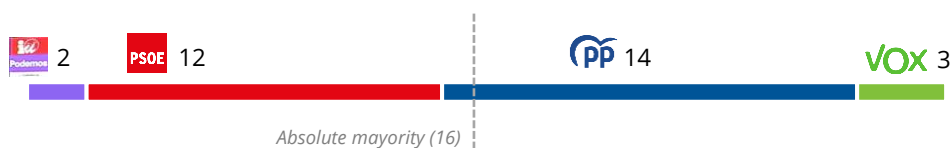
# SEVILLA

## THE PP, TOGETHER WITH VOX, TAKES FROM PSOE ITS GREAT BASTION

1 | The result was even in the Andalusian capital, but with a final advantage for the conservative bloc. The PP becomes the most voted party, going from 8 to 14 councilors and 41% of the votes. The sum with Vox, with 3 seats, anticipates a change in the Mayor's Office. PSOE drops to 12, losing one, and Con Andalucía obtains 2 councilors. Cs disappears.

2 | PSOE loses its main government at the municipal level. Seville was the counterweight to the Andalusian Regional Government with an absolute majority of the PP. The popular candidate, José Luis Sanz, will thus succeed the socialist Antonio Muñoz, who came to office a year ago, replacing Juan Espadas, current leader of the Andalusian socialists.

3 | The mayoralty of Seville has become one of the most prominent disputes on electoral night. The PP takes advantage of the absolute majority in the autonomic level and manages to extrapolate it to a victory with a special symbolism in the Andalusian capital. The Regional President of Andalusia, Mr. Moreno Bonilla, strengthens his power at local level and his position at national level.



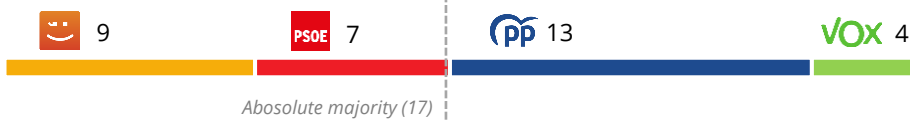
# VALENCIA

## THE PP RECONQUERS THE CITY OF VALENCIA

1 | The Valencian PP reaches the majority of the votes and registers a number of seats large enough to, together with Vox, manage to unseat left-wing regionalist party, Compromís, from the Mayor's Office. The results registered enable the popular candidate, María José Catalá, to reconquer the valencian capital after eight years in the hands of the left (Botanic pact).

2 | The candidacy led by the conservative, María José Catalá, has achieved 13 councilors who, together with the 4 of Vox, manages to reach the absolute majority which stands at 17 councilors. Compromís loses one seat, and PSOE remains at 7 councilors. Podemos is left without representation as it did not reach the minimum of 5%. Ciudadanos loses its 6 seats.

3 | The Compromís candidate, Joan Ribó, bids farewell to the Mayor's Office after two terms in power. The tough electoral contest and the strategy of the popular candidate, who has opted to nationalise the debate with appeals to Mr. Sánchez's performance have influenced the electoral scenario and Ms. Catalá manages to recover an emblematic square for the PP.



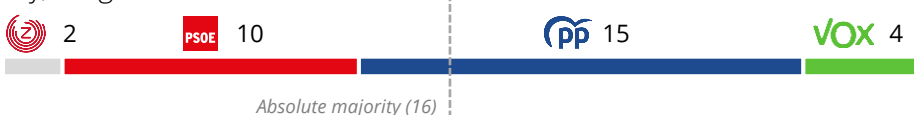
# ZARAGOZA

## PP TRIUMPHS AND WILL GOVERN ZARAGOZA CITY COUNCIL

1 | The Popular Party consolidates its position at the head of the Mayor's Office of Zaragoza, almost reaching the absolute majority. After the decision of the current Mayor of the PP, Jorge Azcón, to run as popular candidate for the Regional Government of Aragón, the conservative Natalia Chueca, wins 15 councilors, almost doubling those of her predecessor. The PP together with the 4 councilors of Vox guarantees the absolute majority in the Town Hall.

2 | PSOE repeats the performance achieved four years ago, when it was the most voted party with 10 councilors, but it is surpassed by the PP and falls to the second position. The sum with left-wing coalition, Zaragoza En Común, which drops to 2 councilors, falls far short of allowing the left access to the local government.

3 | Both Podemos, which had 2 seats in 2019, and Chunta Aragonesista, fall a few votes short of obtaining representation. Finally, Ciudadanos loses its 6 councilors and falls even from 2%, being surpassed also by regionalist party, Aragón Existe.





# KREAB RESEARCH

## Assistance in anticipating the key political and regulatory context

Our analysis of the issues that are shaping the political agenda allows organizations to navigate with certainty in changing or unstable scenarios. We ensure that our clients have the most reliable forecasts about the evolution of the socioeconomic and political environments in which they operate, and identify potential risks and opportunities.



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