

Analysis of the results and next steps

**Spanish General
Elections**

NOVEMBER 10



 **Political
Intelligence**

© 2019 Political Intelligence. All rights reserved.



SPANISH GENERAL ELECTIONS – 10N

Back to the ballot box, again

On November 10th 2019, Spaniards were called to the ballot box for a General Election, for the second time this year, after acting Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez failed to secure support from other parties for his investiture, following the General Elections held last April.

The mandate was to elect the 350 deputies of the Congress, as well as 208 Senators, and to draw a new political scenario which would hopefully favor governability. However, the results of this Electoral Sunday leave us with an even more complex situation, with no clear majorities and an intricate political negotiation ahead.

In this context, Political Intelligence is pleased to share with you our insights and analysis of the fourth General Election in four years.

SPANISH GENERAL ELECTIONS – 10N

How did we get here



Analysis of the results



The **Socialist Party has obtained a sweet and sour victory** with **28% of the votes and 120 Deputies**. However, it lost three MPs vs the April Elections and has obtained the lowest result in recent democracy for a winning party. In the Senate, despite winning the Election, the Socialist Party loses the absolute majority obtained in April.



The **Popular Party recovers** part of the support lost at the April General Elections, and with **88 Deputies and over 20% of the votes**, it consolidates its role of leader of the center-right and main opposition party. Despite these relatively good results, there are no viable possibilities of a government led by Pablo Casado.



The extreme right party **Vox** obtained the outstanding results forecasted, and **becomes the third group in Congress**, with **more than 15% of the votes and 52 seats**. They more than doubled their results from last April, managed to surpass the Popular Party in several provinces, and became the most voted party in Ceuta and the Region of Murcia.



Unidas Podemos fell to 35 Deputies and 12.8% of the votes, 7 seats less than in April. They propose a coalition Government with the Socialist Party, but both parties add up to 10 Deputies less than they did after the April elections. On the other hand, Unidas Podemos clearly managed to contain the rise of Más País as an alternative to the left of the Socialist Party.



Ciudadanos suffered a major defeat, falling to only **10 Deputies and less than 7% of the vote**, compared to the 57 Deputies that it obtained last April. It has gone from being the third largest group in Congress to becoming the sixth, behind Vox, Unidas Podemos or ERC. These results have led to the resignation of the leader of Cs Albert Rivera.



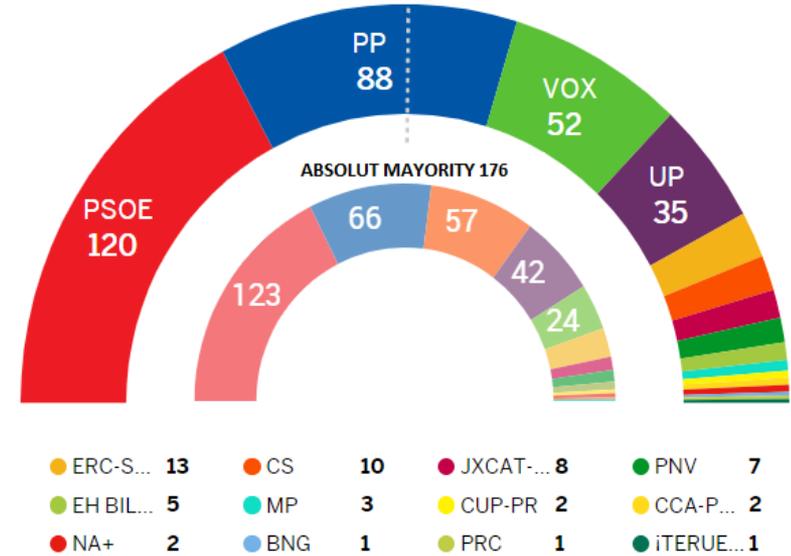
Más País did not manage to achieve its objectives and its **3 Deputies and less than 2.5% of the vote** fall short of the expectations that they had set when launching the party.



The rest of the parties, mostly nationalists and regionalists, had overall a good result, and together they **add up to 42 Deputies**. The Basque and Catalan Nationalists blocks saw their support increased and the entry of new parties, like CUP. The only exception is ERC, which lost 2 Deputies, but with 13 Deputies is still the largest group that only runs at regional level.

Results at the Congress of Deputies

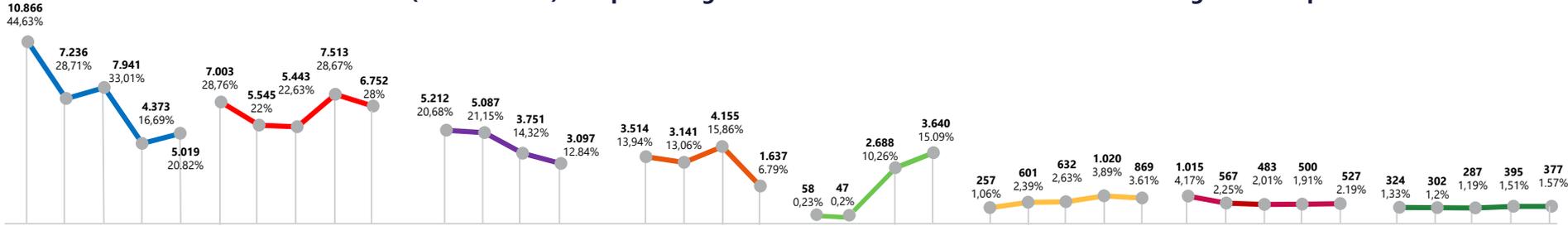
- The Socialist Party won the General Elections but loses support and will find it harder to negotiate the investiture of Pedro Sánchez, which would still be the only viable candidate.
- The Congress is highly fragmented, with 16 different political parties represented. However, the sum of the two traditional parties (PSOE and PP), while still lower than in the past, has increased by 20 Deputies since April, to 208 Deputies.
- The left-wing parties (PSOE, UP and MP) add up to 158 Deputies, far from the absolute majority of 176. The right-wing block (PP, VOX, Cs and Na+) is even further, with 152 Deputies and no realistic options of governing. The only alternative to an electoral repetition seems to be a Government led by the Socialist Party.
- Even if the Socialist Party reached an agreement with Unidas Podemos, they would still need the support or abstention of the Nationalist parties, which can be hard after the Supreme Court ruling over the October 1st Referendum in Catalonia.
- Alternatively, the PP could facilitate the investment of a Socialist Government with its support or abstention, although this possibility was rejected over the electoral campaign.



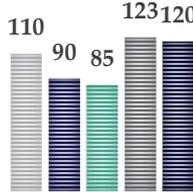
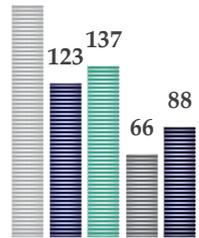
Source: *El País*

Evolution of vote and seats

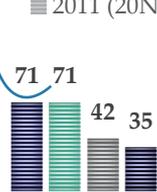
Total number of votes (in thousands) and percentage in the last five General Elections for the Congress of Deputies



186

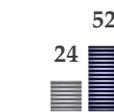
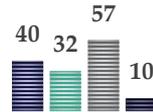


* 67 without the 4 MPs of Compromís that went to the Mixed Parliamentary Group



Total seats at the Congress of Deputies

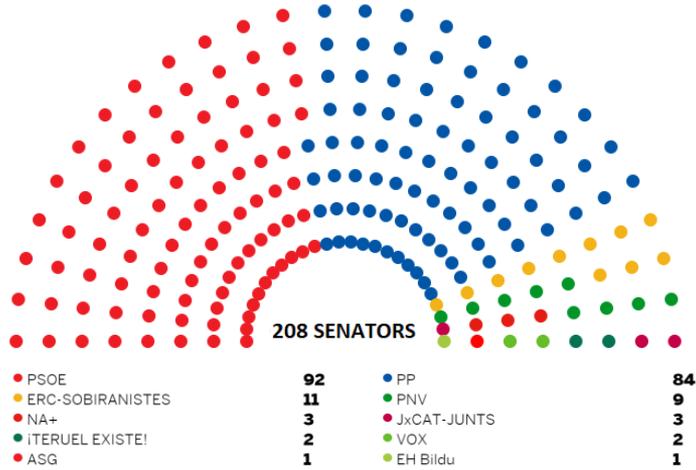
■ 2011 (20N) ■ 2015 (20D) ■ 2016 (26J) ■ 2019 (28A) ■ 2019 (10N)



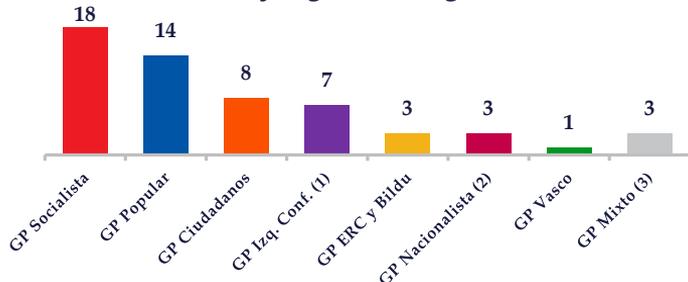
In 2015: Podemos + En Comú + Compromís + En Marea
 In 2016: Podemos-IU-Equo + En Comú + Compromís + En Marea
 In 2019: Podemos-IU-Equo + En Comú
 In 2019 (10N): Podemos-IU + EC-GUANYEM EL CANVI + PODEMOS-EU

* CIU in 2011; CDC in 2015 and 2016. Since 2019, JxCAT

Results at the Senate



Senators by regional designation (+ 57)



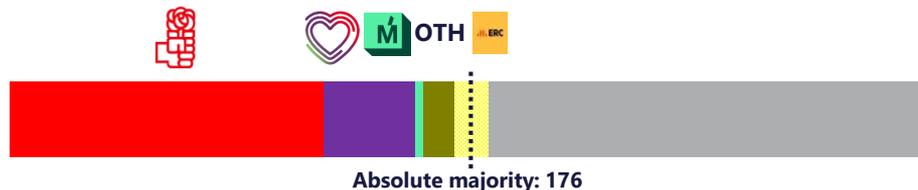
(1) Includes Adelante Andalucía, Más, Compromís, Más Madrid and En Comú // (2) Includes JxCAT, Partido Nacionalista Canario and Coalición Canaria // (3) Includes Vox, PRC, UPN and PAR

- The Socialist Party has won the Election at the Senate, obtaining 92 of the 208 seats at stake. While still the majority party, it loses the absolute majority that it had obtained after the April General Elections.
- The Popular Party improved its April result, with 84 Senators elected last night. In a few months they have reduced the 65-seat difference with the Socialist party to only 8 seats (92 vs 84 Senators).
- Unidas Podemos did not obtain any of the Senators at stake, while Ciudadanos obtained only its Senator included in the coalition Navarra Suma. Smaller parties that are strong in their territories, like Teruel Existe or Agrupación Socialista Gomera obtained representation.
- The nationalist parties repeat their good results: ERC, PNV and EH Bildu maintain their Senators (11, 9 and 1 respectively) and JxCAT-Junts increases from 2 to 3 Senators.
- 10 different parties obtained political representation at the Senate. While still a fragmented chamber, the electoral system makes its fragmentation smaller than that of the Congress.
- The 208 Senators elected last night will join the 57 Senators elected by regional designation, which do not change after this General Election.
- The Senate, where no party holds an absolute majority, will be key to eventually activate article 155 of the Constitution, as well as to pass the Budget Expenditure Ceiling Law, needed to approve the upcoming State Budget.

Scenarios to reach an investiture agreement

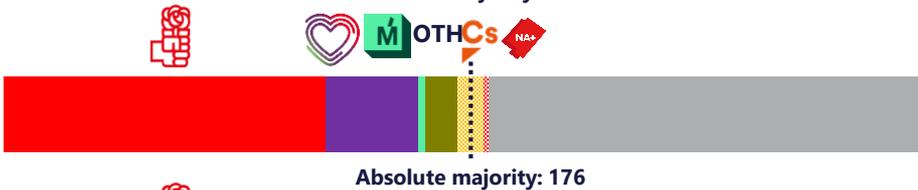
Scenario 1

Left-wing Government in second round voting, with the support of the center-left (PSOE, UP, MP), non independentist parties (BNG, PRC, TE, PNV, CC) (OTH) and the abstention of the Catalan left-wing independentists (ERC). *170 votes in favor, 167 against.*



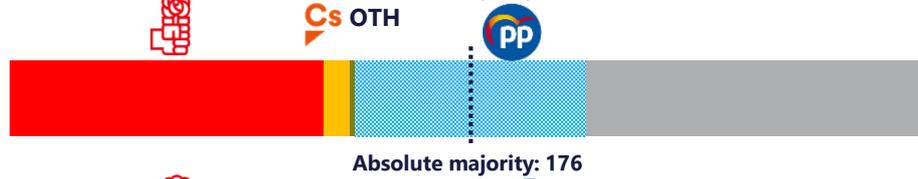
Scenario 2

Left-wing Government in second round voting, with the support of the center left (PSOE, UP, MP), non independentist parties (PNV, BNG, CC, PRC, ET) (OTH) and the abstention of Ciudadanos and Navarra Suma. *170 votes in favor, 168 against.*



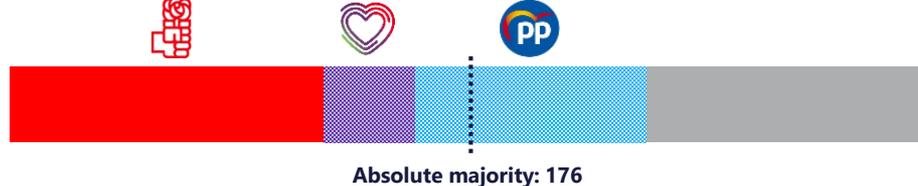
Scenario 3

Government of the Socialist Party, in second round voting, with the support of Ciudadanos and 2 Deputies from smaller parties (PRC, CC, TE) (OTH) and the abstention of the Popular Party. *132 votes in favor, 130 against.*



Scenario 4

Government of the Socialist Party with the abstention of PP and UP. *120 votes in favor, 107 against.*



Next steps

PROCEDURE TO APPOINT THE NEW SPANISH PRESIDENT

November 10
General Elections



December 3 (10 am)
Constituent sessions at the Congress and Senate

During these sessions, the members of the Board of the Congress and the Senate will be appointed. Also, the new MPs and senators will take the oath.

After the Constituent Session of the Congress and the Senate, the Spanish King will call for consultations the representatives appointed by the political groups with parliamentary representation to reach an investiture agreement. After this consultation round, the Spanish King will propose a candidate for the Presidency to the Speaker of the Congress who will convene the Plenary for the Investiture Session.


Investiture / Plenary Session

The candidate for the Presidency will present his political programme and the rest of the parliamentary groups will set their positions.



1st Voting

There will be new President if the proposed candidate gets de vote of an absolute majority of the members of the Congress.



2nd Voting

If the candidate does not achieve this majority, there will be another voting **48 hours later** after the first one. In it, the candidate will be appointed if he obtains a simple majority of the votes (disregarding abstentions).



Other Proposals

If in the previous votes the Congress does not give its confidence to the proposed candidate, successive proposals will be voted by the same procedure.



Dissolution of the Chambers and call for new elections

If **two months** after the first investiture vote any of the candidates obtain the confidence of the Congress, the President of the Congress will submit to the Spanish King the **Decree of Dissolution of the Spanish Chambers** and, therefore, new General Elections will be held.

TWO MONTHS

ANALYSIS

Political Intelligence's Advisory Board

Jordi Jané

Former Vice President of the Congress

“The repetition of elections has led to a much more complicated political situation and parliamentary arithmetic than the one that existed in April. A PSOE government with the abstention of the PP seems difficult in view of the rise of VOX, which in this scenario would remain stronger in its opposition role.

However, after an electoral repetition that should not have been triggered, now the need to reach pacts and agreements will be essential, both to form a government that avoids a third election and to try to find solutions to the Catalan conflict.”

Juan Moscoso del Prado

Former Spokesperson for Economy of the Socialist Party at the Congress

“The weariness of citizens after months of political deadlock, the abuse of tactics by party leaders and the reaction to the entrenchment of the conflict in Catalonia at a time of growing economic uncertainty would explain the changes.

The conformation of government will be more difficult than in April with a more fragmented parliament, very polarized, and without a "political center" after the disappearance of Citizens who pay high price for their strategy of the last year.”

For more information, please contact:

Javier Valiente
Managing Partner of Political Intelligence
javier@political-intelligence.com

Javier Fernández
Associate Director
jfernandez@political-intelligence.com

María Rosa Rotondo
Managing Partner of Political Intelligence
mariarosa@political-intelligence.com

Cristina Sayol
Senior Consultant
cristina@political-intelligence.com

**Spanish General
Elections**

NOVEMBER 10



 **Political
Intelligence**

© 2019 Political Intelligence. All rights reserved.