

# The Spanish 2023 general elections: unexpected snap elections to survive in power

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## Online Appendix

### Table of Contents

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|          |               |          |
|----------|---------------|----------|
| <b>A</b> | <b>Graphs</b> | <b>1</b> |
| <b>B</b> | <b>Tables</b> | <b>4</b> |

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## A Graphs

Figure A.1: Timing of vote choice

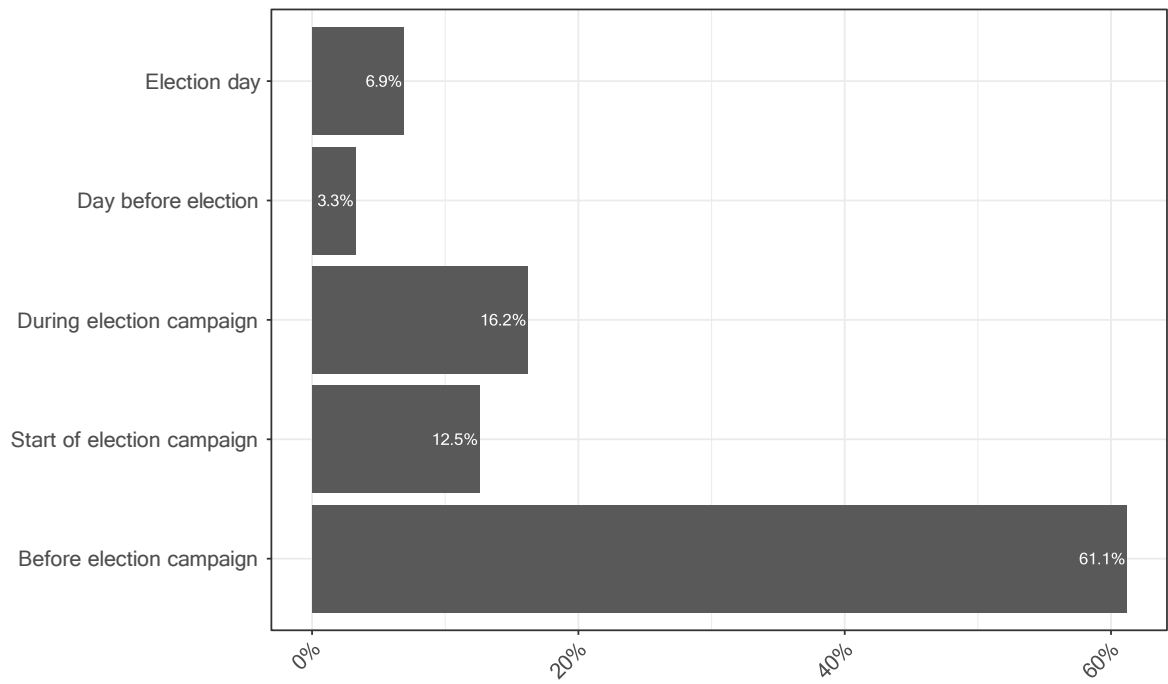


Figure A.2: Evolution of Mail Vote in General Elections in Spain since 2000

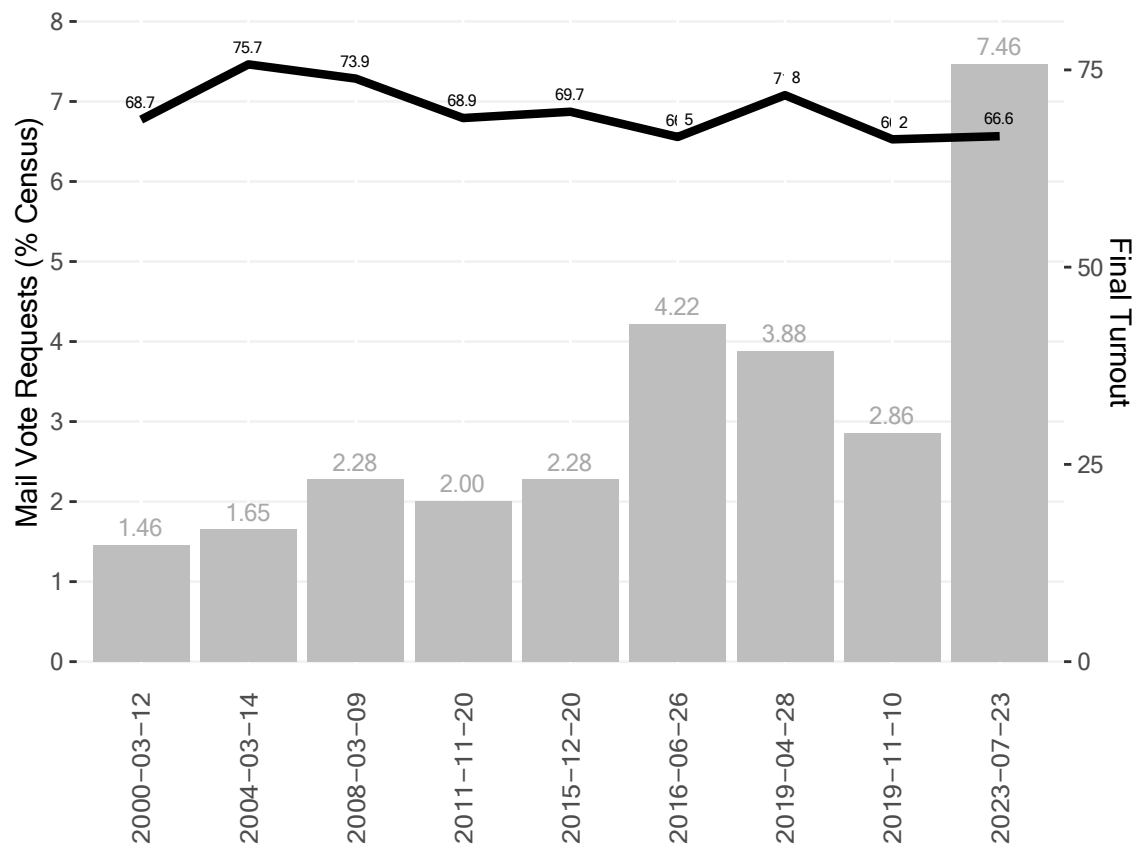
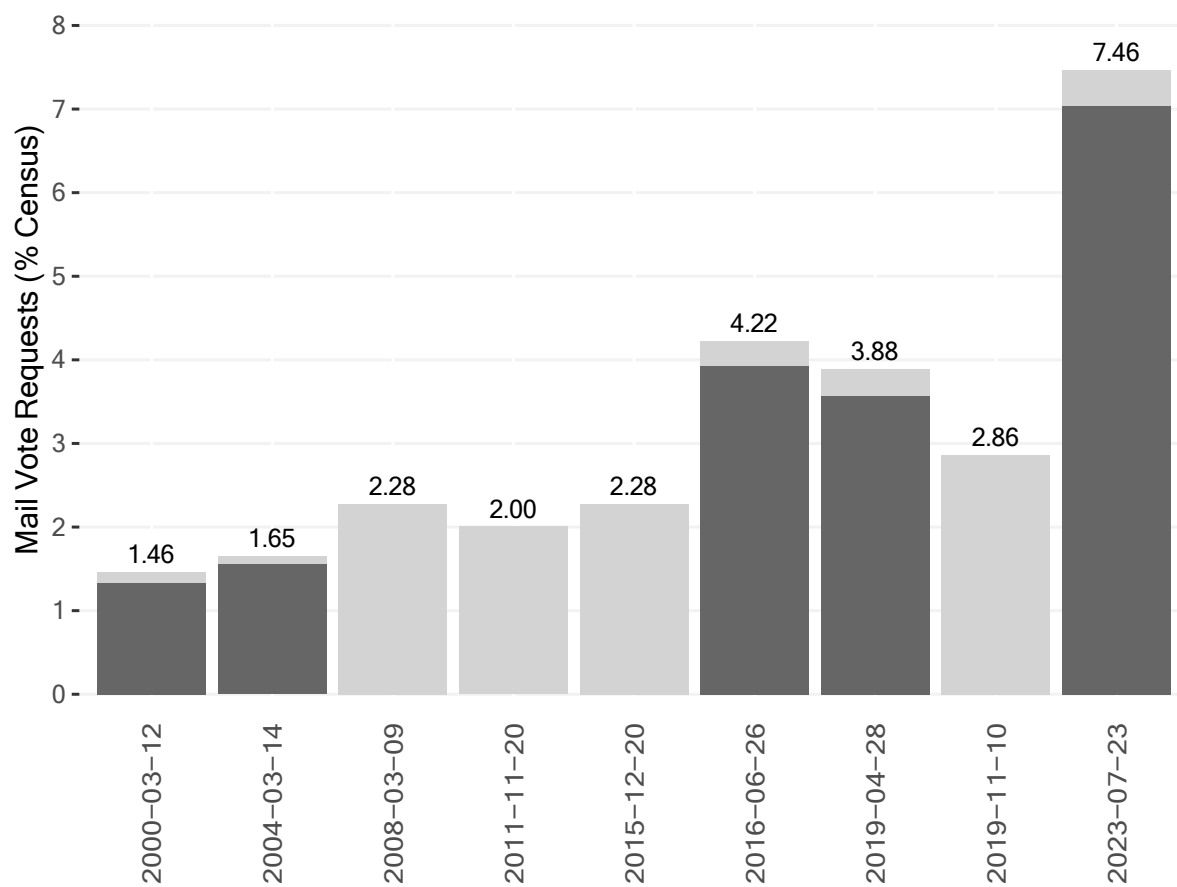


Figure A.3: Mail vote requests and mail vote cast over time



Darker gray represents the total number of mail vote cast per each election

## B Tables

Table B.1: Electoral Results to Spanish Local Elections in 2019 and 2023

|                      | Local Councillors |        | Change  |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------|---------|
|                      | 2023              | 2019   | (%)     |
| PP                   | 23,412            | 20,364 | +14.97  |
| PSOE                 | 20,784            | 22,341 | – 6.97  |
| ERC                  | 2,903             | 3,125  | – 7.10  |
| JxCat                | 2,683             | 2,804  | – 4.32  |
| VOX                  | 1,695             | 530    | +219.81 |
| EH-Bildu             | 1,399             | 1,262  | +10.86  |
| PNV                  | 986               | 1,055  | – 6.54  |
| Podemos <sup>a</sup> | 640               | 1,509  | – 57.59 |
| Cs                   | 392               | 2,787  | – 85.93 |

<sup>a</sup> It includes Podemos, IU, and ECP in Catalonia

Table B.2: Regional cabinets in 2023 and 2019

|                      | Change  | 2023               |                    | 2019               |                    |
|----------------------|---------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
|                      |         | Govt. <sup>a</sup> | Coal. <sup>b</sup> | Govt. <sup>a</sup> | Coal. <sup>b</sup> |
| Aragón               | Yes     | PP                 | VOX                | PSOE               | –                  |
| Asturias             | No      | PSOE               | –                  | PSOE               | –                  |
| Canarias             | Yes     | R <sup>c</sup>     | –                  | PSOE               | –                  |
| Cantabria            | Yes     | PP                 | –                  | R                  | PSOE               |
| Castilla - La Mancha | No      | PSOE               | –                  | PSOE               | –                  |
| Comunitat Valenciana | Yes     | PP                 | VOX                | PSOE               | P <sup>d</sup> & R |
| Extremadura          | Yes     | PP                 | VOX                | PSOE               | –                  |
| Balearic Islands     | Yes     | PP                 | VOX                | PSOE               | P & R              |
| Comunidad de Madrid  | No      | PP                 | –                  | PP                 | –                  |
| Murcia               | Partial | PP                 | VOX                | PP                 | –                  |
| Navarra              | No      | PSOE               | P & R              | PSOE               | P & R              |
| Rioja                | Yes     | PP                 | –                  | PSOE               | –                  |

<sup>a</sup> Head of Regional government party and largest party in government

<sup>b</sup> Other parties in coalition

<sup>c</sup> R stands for Regional or Non-State Wide Party

<sup>d</sup> P stands for Podemos

Table B.3: Summary statistics

|                              | <b>N = 8,073</b> |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| <b>Dependent variables</b>   |                  |
| 2023 vote choice             |                  |
| PP                           | 1,974 (34%)      |
| PSOE                         | 2,102 (36%)      |
| SUMAR                        | 1,141 (20%)      |
| VOX                          | 610 (10%)        |
| Unknown                      | 2,246            |
| Vote transfer (left)         |                  |
| From Abstention-PSOE         | 181 (9.7%)       |
| From PSOE-PSOE               | 1,466 (78%)      |
| From UP-PSOE                 | 223 (12%)        |
| Unknown                      | 6,203            |
| Vote transfer (right)        |                  |
| From Abstention-PP           | 175 (11%)        |
| From Cs-PP                   | 300 (18%)        |
| From PP-PP                   | 1,104 (66%)      |
| From VOX-PP                  | 82 (4.9%)        |
| Unknown                      | 6,412            |
| <b>Independent variables</b> |                  |
| Ideology                     | 4.79 (2.42)      |
| Unknown                      | 393              |
| Sex                          |                  |
| Female                       | 4,021 (50%)      |
| Male                         | 4,052 (50%)      |
| Age                          | 51 (17)          |
| Occupation                   |                  |
| Student                      | 339 (4.2%)       |
| Working                      | 4,639 (57%)      |
| Unemployed                   | 695 (8.6%)       |
| Other                        | 449 (5.6%)       |
| Pensioner                    | 1,951 (24%)      |
| Municipality size            |                  |
| Less 10k                     | 1,600 (20%)      |
| Between 10k-100k             | 3,071 (38%)      |
| Between 100k-1M              | 2,690 (33%)      |
| More 1M                      | 712 (8.8%)       |
| Income                       |                  |
| Less 1800                    | 2,348 (29%)      |
| Between 1800-3900            | 3,493 (43%)      |
| More 3900                    | 1,872 (23%)      |
| DK/NA                        | 360 (4.5%)       |

<sup>1</sup> n (%); Mean (SD)

Table B.4: Multinomial estimates for vote transfers (left)

|                       | <i>Dependent variable:</i> |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
|                       | From PSOE-PSOE<br>(1)      | From UP-PSOE<br>(2)  |
| Ideology (L-R scale)  | -0.081<br>(0.050)          | -0.347***<br>(0.068) |
| Male                  | 0.114<br>(0.181)           | 0.264<br>(0.219)     |
| Age                   | 0.053***<br>(0.009)        | 0.001<br>(0.010)     |
| Working               | 1.937***<br>(0.343)        | 2.275***<br>(0.441)  |
| Unemployed            | 1.945***<br>(0.436)        | 1.885***<br>(0.557)  |
| Other occupation      | 3.071***<br>(0.802)        | 3.690***<br>(0.875)  |
| Pensioner             | 1.492***<br>(0.519)        | 1.903***<br>(0.647)  |
| Municipality 10k-100k | 0.107<br>(0.233)           | 0.361<br>(0.289)     |
| Municipality 100k-1M  | 0.093<br>(0.244)           | 0.498*<br>(0.300)    |
| Municipality>1M       | 0.017<br>(0.367)           | -0.001<br>(0.473)    |
| Income 1.8k-3.9k      | 0.125<br>(0.222)           | 0.236<br>(0.270)     |
| Income>3.9k           | 0.232<br>(0.270)           | 0.120<br>(0.329)     |
| Income DK/DA          | -1.024**<br>(0.452)        | -0.639<br>(0.589)    |
| Constant              | -2.024***<br>(0.424)       | -1.191**<br>(0.543)  |
| Akaike Inf. Crit.     | 2,171.288                  | 2,171.288            |

Note:

\*p&lt;0.1; \*\*p&lt;0.05; \*\*\*p&lt;0.01

Reference category: From Abstention-PSOE



Table B.5: Multinomial estimates for vote transfers (right)

|                       | <i>Dependent variable:</i> |                      |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|                       | From Cs-PP<br>(1)          | From PP-PP<br>(2)    | From VOX-PP<br>(3)   |
| Ideology (L-R scale)  | -0.243***<br>(0.081)       | 0.387***<br>(0.068)  | 0.580***<br>(0.100)  |
| Male                  | -0.030<br>(0.219)          | -0.198<br>(0.195)    | 0.867***<br>(0.325)  |
| Age                   | 0.018*<br>(0.009)          | 0.043***<br>(0.008)  | 0.0003<br>(0.013)    |
| Working               | 2.152***<br>(0.467)        | 2.220***<br>(0.414)  | 3.283***<br>(1.073)  |
| Unemployed            | 1.720***<br>(0.587)        | 1.551***<br>(0.512)  | 1.913<br>(1.319)     |
| Other occupation      | 1.457**<br>(0.623)         | 1.192**<br>(0.543)   | 2.804**<br>(1.228)   |
| Pensioner             | 1.107*<br>(0.662)          | 1.850***<br>(0.574)  | 2.252*<br>(1.271)    |
| Municipality 10k-100k | 0.283<br>(0.292)           | 0.078<br>(0.255)     | 0.437<br>(0.409)     |
| Municipality 100k-1M  | -0.056<br>(0.298)          | 0.025<br>(0.256)     | 0.213<br>(0.421)     |
| Municipality>1M       | 0.763*<br>(0.428)          | 0.443<br>(0.391)     | -0.136<br>(0.688)    |
| Income 1.8k-3.9k      | 0.974***<br>(0.297)        | 0.431*<br>(0.243)    | 0.452<br>(0.400)     |
| Income>3.9k           | 0.806**<br>(0.320)         | 0.362<br>(0.266)     | 0.296<br>(0.433)     |
| Income DK/DA          | -0.115<br>(0.644)          | 0.077<br>(0.481)     | -0.562<br>(0.892)    |
| Constant              | -1.403*<br>(0.759)         | -4.971***<br>(0.674) | -8.493***<br>(1.381) |
| Akaike Inf. Crit.     | 2,716.718                  | 2,716.718            | 2,716.718            |

Note:

\*p&lt;0.1; \*\*p&lt;0.05; \*\*\*p&lt;0.01

Reference category: From Abstention-PP

Table B.6: Multinomial estimates for vote choice

|                               | <i>Dependent variable:</i> |                      |                      |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
|                               | PSOE                       | SUMAR                | VOX                  |
|                               | (1)                        | (2)                  | (3)                  |
| Ideology (L-R scale)          | -1.082***<br>(0.033)       | -1.381***<br>(0.039) | 0.348***<br>(0.029)  |
| Male                          | -0.396***<br>(0.087)       | -0.159<br>(0.104)    | 0.884***<br>(0.111)  |
| Age                           | -0.002<br>(0.004)          | -0.023***<br>(0.005) | -0.030***<br>(0.004) |
| Occupation, ref.: Student     |                            |                      |                      |
| Working                       | -0.191<br>(0.247)          | 0.291<br>(0.279)     | 0.577**<br>(0.288)   |
| Unemployed                    | 0.029<br>(0.294)           | 0.457<br>(0.332)     | 0.820**<br>(0.340)   |
| Other occupation              | -0.203<br>(0.315)          | -0.162<br>(0.379)    | 0.676*<br>(0.366)    |
| Pensioner                     | 0.469<br>(0.306)           | 0.572<br>(0.355)     | 0.511<br>(0.362)     |
| Municipality size, ref.: <10k |                            |                      |                      |
| Municipality 10k-100k         | -0.100<br>(0.120)          | 0.108<br>(0.145)     | 0.184<br>(0.141)     |
| Municipality 100k-1M          | -0.162<br>(0.122)          | 0.154<br>(0.148)     | 0.083<br>(0.147)     |
| Municipality>1M               | -0.015<br>(0.172)          | 0.688***<br>(0.200)  | 0.238<br>(0.200)     |
| Income, ref.: <1.8k           |                            |                      |                      |
| Income 1.8k-3.9k              | -0.329***<br>(0.113)       | -0.265**<br>(0.134)  | -0.313**<br>(0.131)  |
| Income>3.9k                   | -0.573***<br>(0.128)       | -0.631***<br>(0.153) | -0.387***<br>(0.149) |
| Income DK/DA                  | -0.109<br>(0.274)          | -0.815**<br>(0.378)  | -0.408<br>(0.286)    |
| Constant                      | 6.129***<br>(0.315)        | 6.759***<br>(0.354)  | -3.131***<br>(0.386) |
| Akaike Inf. Crit.             | 10,151.570                 | 10,151.570           | 10,151.570           |

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01  
Reference category: PP vote