

# Małgorzata Myśliwiec

---

## Spain`s Party System at Times of the Economical Crisis after 2008

---

Preferencje Polityczne : postawy, identyfikacje, zachowania 11, 125-162

---

2015

Artykuł został opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej [bazhum.muzhp.pl](http://bazhum.muzhp.pl), gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

Tekst jest udostępniony do wykorzystania w ramach dozwolonego użytku.

**Małgorzata Myśliwiec**

University of Silesia in Katowice, Poland

## **SPAIN`S PARTY SYSTEM AT TIMES OF THE ECONOMICAL CRISIS AFTER 2008<sup>1</sup>**

### ***Abstract:***

In reality of representative democracy, the economic situation of the state is one of the most important factors determining the stability and durability of a political system. In 2008 an intense economic crisis affected whole Europe. One of consequences of this situation were serious changes in composition and functioning of political systems and its subsystems in almost all countries belonging to the region. This phenomenon has also occurred in contemporary Spain. The main aim of this paper will be to show how the Spanish party system has changed after the outbreak of the economic crisis of 2008.

### ***Key words:***

political parties, party system, economical crisis

### ***Introduction***

In reality of representative democracy, the economic situation of the state is one of the most important factors determining the stability and durability of a political system. The better is the economic situation of a state, the greater could be the stability of the operation and viability of a political system. However, in conditions of the economic crisis, the stability and durability of a political system is seriously compromised.

Party systems are those elements of contemporary political systems, in which - in the case of crisis - occur many dynamic changes. It is

---

1 This article was prepared as the part of the grant entitled: „The impact of the economic crisis on the political system. Analysis of the case of Greece, Spain and Italy.” The project was financed with resources awarded by the National Science Center, assigned by the decision number-DEC-2013/09/B/HS5/00021.

---

associated with the role that political parties play in representative democracies [Antoszewski 2009: 14-57]. In the case of a significant deterioration of living conditions of citizens, who are voters in elections, rapidly decline the trust in political parties which exercise the political power at the moment. This in turn is causing the alternation of power and sometimes – in the case of an intense crisis - the emergence of new political parties.

Looking from the European perspective the South of the continent was the region most affected by the economic crisis of 2008 [Kubin 2014: 287-310]. One of consequences of this situation were serious changes in composition and functioning of political systems of almost all countries belonging to the region. This phenomenon has also occurred in contemporary Spain.

For these reasons the main aim of this paper will be to show how the Spanish party system has changed after the outbreak of the economic crisis of 2008.

### *New political parties*

The intense economical crisis, which outbreak is symbolically indicated for the 15th of September, 2008, when the Lehman Brothers bank collapsed, has caused significant changes in functioning of the Spanish party system. New parties, that were created in this period of time, were able to make an effective political rivalry to the People's Party (Partido Popular - PP) and the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español - PSOE) in European and autonomous elections. Between *the state-wide-parties* the most important are Citizens – Party of the Citizenry [Ciudadanos-Partido de la Ciudadanía (C's)] and Podemos. As the most influent regional party can be recognise the coalition Together for Yes [Junts pel Sí (JxSí)].

#### *Citizens – Party of the Citizenry*

The 7th of June 2005 the group of Catalan intellectuals opposed to the Catalan nationalism and convinced that their positions were not represented politically in Catalonia, formed the civic platform in Barcelona, called Citizens of Catalonia.<sup>2</sup> This day the First Manifesto titled „For the creation of a new political

---

2 The group of founders of Citizens of Catalonia was composed by fifteen local intellectuals and professionals, mostly journalists, editors, writers and academics. These fifteen were the writer Felix de Azua, playwright and actor Albert Boadella, professor of constitutional law Francesc de Carreras, journalist Arcadi Espada, the writer Teresa Giménez Barbat, the poet and essayist Ana Nuño, professor of economics and ethics Felix Ovejero, the anthropologist Felix Perez Romera, the journalist and professor of journalism Xavier Pericay, writer and literary critic Ponç Puigdevall, Professor of Economics and Business José Vicente Rodríguez Mora, the philologist and university professor Ferran Toutain, the late writer Carlos Trias

party in Catalonia” was announced to the press. Its main aim was to give an impulse to build a new political party which programme should be based on the presented manifesto, i.e. to reject a Catalan identity problem, which they considered outdated and fictitious. On the 21st of June 2005, the manifesto was publicly presented at the Center of Contemporary Culture of Barcelona with great success.

The 4th of March 2006 the Second Manifesto titled „Citizens of Catalonia” was presented at the Tivoli Theatre in Barcelona. Its principles were citizenship, freedom and equality, secularism, bilingualism and constitution [www1]. After that event a process of creation of the new political party has began. On the 8th and 9th of July 2006 the Constitutional Party Congress was held, adopting the name (Citizens – Party of the Citizenry), defining organization and internal structure, electing internal party bodies and choosing a young lawyer from Barcelona, Albert Rivera, as the party president.

C's said to have its own ideological profile characterized by two principles: the progressive liberalism and democratic socialism [www1]. In its political programme they defend the order established by the Spanish Constitution of 1978, point out for the importance of interterritorial coexistence and equality of rights and duties among all Spanish regions and, especially, among all Spaniards. They stress that the state must promote equal opportunities, i.e. neither ethnicity nor language, nor sex, nor the economic position of the person should determine any kind of privileges. C's declare neutrality of the public service (both: in religious and identity aspects), defend democratic and illustrated values and support the bilingualism which means the opposition to any kind of language discrimination in peripheral regions. The party criticizes any kind of nationalism (including the Spanish nationalism) and patriotism [Rivera 2014; Rivera 2015].

The economic programme of C's postulates the single contract for an indefinite period, an individual account for each worker, which would include any public corporate contributions and grants for training or against long-term unemployment, bonus in social security, contributions for businesses that hire unemployed, training vouchers to unemployed and the necessity of the European plan against unemployment [www2, www3].

The barometer of the Center for Sociological Research (CIS) questioned citizens in July 2015 about the ideological position of the Spanish political parties. The respondent had to place the party on a scale of 1 to 10, where the one he or she referred to the political left and ten to the right. Respondents place it in the 6.18. In details: the 18.4% of respondents stood it at 6, 17.1% at 5 and 13.3% at 7, while 27.7% did not know to answer [CIS 2015].

---

Sagnier, journalist and poet Ivan Tubau and writer Horacio Vázquez-Rial, who died in 2012.

Scientists positions in this field are different. In 2014 Vicente Navarro, professor of Political and Social Sciences at the University Pompeu Fabra, associated C's with the political right, claiming that the party intends to present as a center because of the „great discredit of the historically acquired right” [www4]. The political scientist Juan Carlos Triviño put the party in the center-right [www5]. By Oriol Bartomeus, Professor of the Political Science at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) „(...) if we look at the proposals, Citizens is the party next to the right with its regard to the economy (liberalism, proximity to the business world), but close to the left in the field of values (abortion, same-sex marriages). On the question of the unity of Spain, it is clearly aligned with the PP. Looking for its voters C's clearly appears as a party of the center.” [www6] According to Jordi Molina, a political scientist and Professor of International Business Program at the University Abat Oliba CEU, C's „is in the center-left. It is a political option that combines an important social liberal axis vector with economic, without forgetting redistributive aspects. Its economic agenda is liberal but also provides an active paper for the public.” [www6]. Professor of Sociology at the University of Zaragoza Pau Mari-Klose believes that it is difficult to place a party that has never governed. In his Opinion „Citizens is a liberal party, historically located between the center-right and center-left. Individual freedom, equal opportunity, tolerance and secularism are their premises” [www6].

### *Podemos*

During the weekend, the 12th-13th of January 2014, the manifesto „Move a card: convert indignation for the political change” [www7] was presented by the „Público” digital publication [www8]. That document was signed by a thirty intellectuals, personalities of culture, journalism, social and political activism. Between them: Juan Carlos Monedero, Professor of Political Science at the Complutense University of Madrid (UCM), Jaime Pastor, Professor of Political Science at the Open University, Bibiana Medialdea, Professor of Applied Economics at the Complutense University of Madrid UCM, actor Alberto San Juan or the writer and philosopher Santiago Alba Rico. It expressed the need to create a movement that could be able to concur in the European elections with the purpose to oppose, from the position of the left, to the European Union policy relating to the economic crisis. On the 14th of January 2014 it was announced that the Professor of Political Science at the Complutense University of Madrid and a television political analyst Pablo Iglesias will head the movement [www9].

Podemos was officially presented on the 17th of January 2014 in the Theatre de Barrio, located in the Lavapiés district, in the neighborhood of Madrid. Hundreds of people attended the press conference given by the new leaders of the movement, with Pablo Iglesias and Juan Carlos Monedero among others. The new party formalized its registration in the Register of Political Parties of the Ministry of Interior of Spain on the 11th of March 2014.

The main proposals of Podemos is to introduce the citizen audit of a public debt, the establishment of a basic income, linking the maximum salary to the minimum wage, a labor reduction to 35 hours for a week and establishment of the retirement age at 60 years. They advocate the right to decide in referendums and to eliminate the constitutional article 135 on budgetary stability [BOE 2011]. They favor a more progressive tax reform and nationalization of the strategic companies. Among other measures they support abortion, suspension of evictions, remove of the church privileges, promotion of the renewable energy and the closure of nuclear power. Regarding to political parties Podemos proposes the reduction of subsidies [www10].

According to the barometer of the Center for Sociological Research (CIS) from April 2015, the Spanish placed Podemos on a scale between 1-10 (where 1 is the left and 10 the right) at 2.29, ie in the left. In details: the 35% of respondents stood it at 1, 17% at 2 and 12.7% at 7, while 23.2% did not know to answer [CIS 2015].

### *Together for Yes*

The dominant party on the regional political scene, after the formation of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia in 1980 until 2003, was the coalition *Convergència i Unió* (CiU), formed by two parties: the *Democratic Convergence of Catalonia* (*Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya – CDC*) and the *Democratic Union of Catalonia* (*Unió Democràtica de Catalunya – UDC*) [Myśliwiec 2006: 39-190]. In that time relations between Barcelona and Madrid were correct and all political action – both: of the political center and regional authorities – was respecting the constitutional order, established in 1978. In the period 2003 – 2010, when the the regional government called „*Tripartit*” was formed by the *Socialist Party of Catalonia*, the *Republican Left of Catalonia* and the *Initiative for Catalonia Greens – United and Alternative Left*, CiU stayed in opposition. In 2010 the coalition came back to govern in the region but in 2012 it changed completely attitude towards the political center and the constitutional order. After the failure of the fiscal pact for Catalonia the President Artur Mas has started the proces of preparation the way to the independence of Catalonia.

Due to differences between the position of leaders of UDC and CDC towards the independence process and possible sovereignty of Catalonia, on the 17th of June 2015 the decision of the end of the political cooperation was announced.

Disappearance of the most important political coalition in the history of Catalonia between 1980 and 2015 did not mean, however, that the strong centrifugal process in the region has stopped. On the 20th of July 2015 the creation of the new coalition - Together for Yes (Junts pel Sí - JxSí) - was announced. It was formed by four political parties, which support the independence process in Catalonia: the Democratic Convergence of Catalonia, the Republican Left of Catalonia, the Democrats of Catalonia and the Left Movement. JxSí was formed with the purpose to present one list of candidates in elections to the Parliament of Catalonia, carried out on the 27th of September 2015.

Although the new coalition of parties supporting the independence process in Catalonia won regional elections, its future is not certain. First problem is an inability to form the new regional government. And the second one are ideological differences between parties, which form the coalition.

Anyway the appearance of JxSí has changed significantly the Catalan and the Spanish party system.

### ***Elections to the European Parliament – 25th of May 2014***

Elections to the European Parliament in 2014 in Spain were held on Sunday, the 25th of May. They were convoked on the 1st of April by the Royal Decree signed on the 28th of March by the King Juan Carlos I and the Prime Minister Mariano Rajoy [BOE 2014]. The legal basis for the European Parliament elections in Spain are defined in the Constitution of Spain of 1978 [BOE 1978], in the Organic Law on the Basis of the Electoral System of 1985 [BOE 1985] and in the European law regulations, relating to such elections [Myśliwiec 2014: 255-257]. According to the mentioned regulations, Spanish voters had to elect in 2014 54 deputies.

Spanish electoral system, referring to the elections to the European Parliament, prefers the most important *state-wide-parties*, but also supports the most influential regional and ethnoregional parties. Art. 163 of the Organic Law on the Basis of the Electoral System [BOE 1985] says that the distribution of seats should be based on the principle of proportionality, using the d'Hondt method. At the same time the law does not apply any electoral threshold. On one hand it means that the votes counting system concerns the whole territory of the state as one constituency, which seemingly could minimize the chances of regional



and ethno-regional parties. However, the situation changes the lack of any electoral threshold. Therefore the distribution of seats concerns all associations, parties and coalitions that have presented their candidates and have won at least one valid vote. In this case, more important is how many votes will be cast for an association, party or coalition, than whether votes will be concentrated in specific districts or diffused in the state scale. In this context should also pay attention that the Spanish legislator equally treats all political parties participating in the electoral competition. In the same way are treated small associations, independently seeking the support of voters and federations of political parties and their coalitions [Myśliwiec 2014: 257-261].

Like it was mentioned above, the Spanish electoral system undoubtedly ensures benefits to the strongest *state-wide-parties*. Analysis of electoral results to the European Parliament between 1987 and 2014 shows that the largest number of seats won in the next seven elections two parties: the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) and the Popular Party (PP). Special attention pays the fact that in these elections a relatively large number of seats gained the United Left (IU). The electorate of this party is dispersed across the whole state territory and in elections of any type after 1979 it has obtained support from roughly 600,000 to 2,500,000 valid votes. The dispersion of its electorate causes, however, that in elections to the Congress of Deputies, where the votes are counted on a scale of province as the constituency, United Left usually loses not only with stronger *state-wide-parties*, but also with the strongest regional and ethno-regional parties. Rules of the Spanish electoral law, relating to elections to the Congress of Deputies, give those parties an advantage because they have the electorate concentrated in specific provinces. However, in the case of elections to the European Parliament it does not matter. United Left, which obtains a relatively large number of valid votes, obtains also proportional number of proper seats.

Results presented in the Schedule 1 shows that elections to the European Parliament in 2014 has caused a significant change in the Spanish party system. Until 2009 the majority of votes and seats in European Parliament, was gained by PP and PSOE. The only *state-wide-party*, that gets seats there after each election, starting in 1987 till 2014, is the United Left. However its results are not impressive. The best result that party obtained in 1994 – 9 seats in European Chamber. In last three elections of 2004, 2009 and 2014 had to compete in coalitions with other, small or regional political parties of the Spanish left.

In 1987 and 1989 the next *state-wide-party*, Democratic and Social Centre (CDS), joined the political rivalry between PP and PSOE, getting firstly 7 from 60 and two years later 5 from 60 seats in the European Parliament.



Its political position was more or less similar to the position of the United Left. In the 90`s of the twentieth century the party has lost its political importance and finally was resolved in 2006. The part of its members have joined PP.

Disappearance of CDS form the political representation of Spain in the European Parliament has meant that until 2009 PP, PSOE and IU were the only *state-wide-parties* represented in that representative body. They were getting the majority of seats in the European Parliament, assigned to Spain. The rest of seats was distributed between the most important regional and ethnoregional parties and their coalitions.

In 2009 one seat in the European Parliament got a new political *state-wide-party*, founded in 2007 – the Union to Progress and Democracy (UPyD). That succes was not very impressive, but has marked a new tendency in changes of the Spanish party system: the increase of importance of the new political *state-wide-parties*. That tendency was confirmed in 2014, when both PP and PSOE got less seats in the European Parliament than in previous elections. PP got „only” 16 seats and PSOE 14. In change UPyD got 4 seats, Citizens – 2, and Podemos, created only several weeks befor electons, got 5.

Schedule 1. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to the European Parliament held in Spain, in the period 1987-2014.

Name	1987	1989	1994	1999	2004	2009	2014
Andalusian Party (PA)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Citizens (C's)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Coalition for Europe (CEU) (CDC+UDC+PNV+ Bloc Nacionalista Valenciá+CC+PA)	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Coalition for Europe (CEU) (CDC+UDC+PNV+ +CC+CxG)	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Coalition for Europe of Peoples (EA-ERC-PNG)	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Convergència i Unió (CiU)	3	2	3	3	-	-	-
Democratic and Social Centre (CDS)	7	5	-	-	-	-	-
Europa Ludów (EDP) (ERC+EA+CHA+PSA+ICLR)	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Europe of People – Green (Edp – V) (ERC+BNG+EA+CHA)	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
European Coalition (CE)	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
European Spring	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Euskal Herritarok (EH)	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
GALEUSCA – Peoples of Europe (CiU+PNV+BNG+Bloc Nacionalista Valenciá+PSMa-PSOE)	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Galician National Bloc (BNG)	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Herri Batasuna (HB)	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Left to the Right to Decide (ERC+NECat+CAT Sí)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Nationalist Coalition – Europe of Peoples (CN+EP) (PNV+UM+EA+ERC)	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Nationalist Coalition (CN) (EAJ-PNV+CG+AIC+PANCAL)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Nationalist Coalition (EAJ-PNV, CC, UV, PAR, CG, UM)	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
People's Alliance (AP)	17	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peoples Decide (EH Bildu+BNG+ANC+UP)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
People's Party (PP)	-	15	28	27	24	23	16
Plural Left	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE)	28	27	22	24	25	21	14
Union to Progress and Democracy (UPyD)	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
United Left - Initiative for Catalonia Greens United and Alternative Left (IU – ICV - EUIA)	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
United Left - Initiative for Catalonia Greens United and Alternative Left - Asturian Block: Left (IU – ICV – EUIA – BA)	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
United Left (IU)	3	4	9	4	-	-	-
Voters Association of José María Ruíz Mateos	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Total	60	60	64	64	54	50	54

## *Elections to the regional parliaments after 2008*

Political competition of the Spanish political parties in the regional elections can proceed within one of three models: domination of the *state-wide-parties*, mixed competition or domination of the regional and ethnoregional parties.

### *Model of domination of the state-wide-parties*

The model of domination of the state-wide-parties is characterized by the fact that in elections to the regional parliaments the dominant role play the *state-wide-parties*, which have their structures and present candidates in all types of elections to representative bodies at the territory of the whole state. At the same time regional and ethnoregional parties can also participate in electoral and parliamentary competition, but their position related to the *state-wide-parties* is always marginal. In these systems, moreover, only the *state-wide-parties* actively participate in the process of creation of regional governments.

The political competition at the regional level, based on presented model, can be observed in seven from seventeen autonomous communities: Andalusia, Extremadura, Castile la Mancha, Castile and León, Madrid, Murcia and the Community of Valencia.

Schedules 2 till 15 present results of elections to regional parliaments, held between 1982 and 2015, as well as the regional governments formed at the same time. Those results clearly show that in 2015, in mentioned seven autonomous communities, has finished the period of absolut domination of PP and PSOE. In all presented cases two new *state-wide-parties* – Citizens and Podemos - have joined the political competition at the regional level. It is worth to stress on that those parties not only have joined with success the electoral competition, but also have started to play a very important paper in the proces of forming of new regional governments.

In Andalusia the creation of the new minority government was possible thanks to the political support to PSOE-A from the part of the Citizens regional deputies [www11].

Citizens also had a decisive role in the process of creation of the new, regional government in the Community of Madrid. On the 24th of June 2015 the government of Cristina Cifuentes Cuencas from PP got a vote of confidence thanks to 48 votes of deputies from PP and 17 from C`s [www12].

Citizens has helped to form a regional government in Murcia. 22 deputies from PP and 4 from C`s have voted for Pedro Antonio Sánchez López as a new, regional President, while 13 deputies from PSOE and 6 from Podemos have voted against [www13].

Citizens has also helped Juan Vincente Herrera Campo from PP to become a new regional President in Castile and León. It was possible because deputies from C's have decided to not participate in votation on the question of confidence to a new, regional government [www14].

In Extremadura, Valencia and Castile La Mancha the decisive role in processes of creating of new, regional governments has played Podemos.

In Extremadura Guillermo Fernández Vara from PSOE has become a regional President thanks to support of 30 deputies from PSOE and 6 from Podemos. 28 deputies from PP have voted against, as well as 1 deputy from C's [www15].

In Valencia Joaquín Francisco Puig Ferrer from PSPV-PSOE has become a President thanks to 23 votes from deputies of PSOE, 19 of Compromís and 9 from Podemos in favour, against 31 votes of deputies from PP and 13 from Citizens. It is worth to note that 5 deputies of Podemos haven't participated in votation [www16].

In Castile La Mancha Emiliano García-Page Sánchez has become a President thanks to 15 votes in favour of deputies from PSOE and 2 from Podemos, against 16 votes of deputies from PP [www17; www18]

Schedule 2. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to the Andalusian Parliament between 1982 and 2015.

Name	23.05.1982	22.06.1986	23.06.1990	12.06.1994	03.03.1996	12.03.2000	14.03.2004	09.03.2008	25.03.2012	22.03.2015
AP-PDP-PL	-	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP-PDP-UL	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CA-PA	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
C's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
IU-CA	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IULV-CA	-	-	11	20	13	6	6	6	12	5
PA	-	2	10	-	4	5	5	-	-	-
PCA-PCE	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
PP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	50	-
PPA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33
PP-A	-	-	26	41	40	46	37	-	-	-
PSA	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PSOE-A	66	60	62	45	52	52	61	56	47	47
UCD	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	109	109	109	109	109	109	109	109	109	109

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 293]

Schedule 3. Governments of the Autonomous Community of Andalusia  
between 1982 and 2015.

Period of time	President of Andalusia	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governig party in the Parliament of Andalusia
04.08.1982-08.03.1984	Rafael Escudero Rodríguez	PSOE-A	66/109 absolute majority
08.03.1984-25.07.1986	José Rodríguez de la Borbolla	PSOE-A	66/109 absolute majority
25.07.1986-27.07.1990	José Rodríguez de la Borbolla	PSOE	60/109 absolute majority
27.07.1990-02.08.1994	Manuel Chaves González	PSOE	62/109 absolute majority
02.08.1994-17.04.1996	Manuel Chaves González	PSOE	45/109 simple majority
17.04.1996-29.04.2000	Manuel Chaves González	PSOE	52/109 simple majority
29.04.2000-25.04.2004	Manuel Chaves González	PSOE	52/109 simple majority
25.04.2004-21.04.2008	Manuel Chaves González	PSOE	61/109 absolute majority
21.04.2008-07.04.2009	Manuel Chaves González	PSOE	56/109 absolute majority
07.04.2009-23.04.2009	Gaspar Carlos Zarrías Arévalo	PSOE	56/109 absolute majority
23.04.2009-23.03.2010	José Antonio Griñán Martínez	PSOE	56/109 absolute majority
23.03.2010-03.05.2012	José Antonio Griñán Martínez	PSOE	56/109 absolute majority
03.05.2012-27.08.2013	José Antonio Griñán Martínez	PSOE+IULV-CA	PSOE-47, IULV-CA-12/109 absolute majority
07.09.2013-17.06.2015	Susana Díaz Pacheco	PSOE	PSOE-47, IULV-CA-12/109 absolute majority
17.06.2015-still	Susana Díaz Pacheco	PSOE	PSOE-47/109 simple majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 295]

Schedule 4. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to the Parliament of Extremadura between 1982 and 2015.

Name	08.05.1983	10.06.1987	26.05.1991	26.05.1995	26.05.1999	26.05.2003	27.05.2007	22.05.2011	24.05.2015
AP	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP-PDP-UL	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
CDS	-	8	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
CEx	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
EU	6	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IU	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
IU-CE	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
IU-LV-CE	-	-	-	6					-
IU-SIEX	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-
PCE	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
PP	-	-	19	27	28	26	-	-	-
PP-EU	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	32	28
PSOE-E	35	34	39	31	34	36	38	30	-
PSOE-E-SIEX	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
TOTAL	65	65	65	65	65	65	65	65	65

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 297]

Schedule 5. Governments of the Autonomous Community of Extremadura between 1983 and 2015.

Period of time	President of Extremadura	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governing party in the Parliament of Extremadura
08.06.1983-02.07.1987	Juan Carlos Rodríguez Ibarra	PSOE-E	35/65 absolute majority
02.07.1987-02.07.1991	Juan Carlos Rodríguez Ibarra	PSOE-E	34/65 absolute majority
02.07.1991-14.07.1995	Juan Carlos Rodríguez Ibarra	PSOE-E	39/65 absolute majority
14.07.1995-15.07.1999	Juan Carlos Rodríguez Ibarra	PSOE-E	31/65 simple majority
15.07.1999-23.06.2003	Juan Carlos Rodríguez Ibarra	PSOE-E	34/65 absolute majority
23.06.2003-29.06.2007	Juan Carlos Rodríguez Ibarra	PSOE-E	36/65 absolute majority
29.06.2007-07.07.2011	Guillermo Fernández Vara	PSOE-E	38/65 absolute majority
07.07.2011-04.07.2015	José Antonio Monago Terraza	PP-EU	32/65 simple majority
04.07.2015-still	Guillermo Fernández Vara	PSOE-E	30/65 simple majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 299]

Schedule 6. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to Cortes of Castile La Mancha between 1983 and 2015.

Name	08.05.1983	10.06.1987	26.05.1991	28.05.1995	13.06.1999	25.05.2003	27.05.2007	22.05.2011	24.05.2015
AP	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP-PDP-UL	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CDS	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IU	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
PP	-	-	18	22	21	18	21	25	16
PSCM-PSOE	23	25	28	24	26	29	26	24	15
TOTAL	44	47	47	47	47	47	47	49	33

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 301]

Schedule 7. Governments of the Autonomous Community of Castile La Mancha between 1983 and 2015.

Period of time	President of Castile La Mancha	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governing party in Cortes of Castile La Mancha
06.1983-06.1987	José Bono Martínez	PSCM-PSOE	23/44 absolute majority
06.1987-06.1991	José Bono Martínez	PSCM-PSOE	25/47 absolute majority
06.1991-06.1995	José Bono Martínez	PSCM-PSOE	28/47 absolute majority
06.1995-06.1999	José Bono Martínez	PSCM-PSOE	24/47 absolute majority
06.1999-06.2003	José Bono Martínez	PSCM-PSOE	26/47 absolute majority
06.2003-04.2004	José Bono Martínez	PSCM-PSOE	29/47 absolute majority
04.2004-06.2007	José María Barreda Fontes	PSCM-PSOE	29/47 absolute majority
06.2007-06.2011	José María Barreda Fontes	PSCM-PSOE	26/47 absolute majority
06.2011-07.2015	María Dolores de Cospedal García	PP	25/49 absolute majority
07.2015-still	Emiliano García-Page Sánchez	PSOE	15/33 simple majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 302]



Schedule 8. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to Cortes of Castile and León between 1983 and 2015.

Name	08.05.1983	10.06.1987	26.05.1991	28.05.1995	13.06.1999	25.05.2003	27.05.2007	22.05.2011	24.05.2015
AP	-	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP-PDP-UL	39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
CDS	2	18	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
IU	-	-	1	5	1	-	-	1	-
IU-Equo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
PDL	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PDP	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
PP	-	-	43	50	48	48	48	53	42
PSCyL-PSOE	42	32	35	27	30	32	33	29	25
SI	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TC-PNC	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
UPL	-	-	-	2	3	2	2	1	1
TOTAL	84	84	84	84	83	82	83	83	84

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 305]

**Małgorzata Myśliwiec**

Schedule 9. Governments of the Autonomous Community of Castile and León  
between 1983 and 2015.

Period of time	President of Castile and León	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governing party in Cortes of Castile and León
05.1983-11.1986	Demetrio Madrid López	PSCyL-PSOE	42/84 simple majority
11.1986-07.1987	José Constantino Nalda García	PSCyL-PSOE	42/84 simple majority
07.1987-09.1989	José María Alfredo Aznar López	AP+CDS	AP-32, CDS-18/84 absolute majority
09.1989-07.1991	Juan José Lucas Giménez	PP+CDS	PP-32, CDS-18/84 absolute majority
07.1991-06.1995	Juan José Lucas Giménez	PP	43/84 absolute majority
06.1995-07.1999	Juan José Lucas Giménez	PP	50/84 absolute majority
07.1999-03.2001	Juan José Lucas Giménez	PP	48/83 absolute majority
03.2001-06.2003	Juan Vicente Herrera Campo	PP	48/83 absolute majority
06.2003-06.2007	Juan Vicente Herrera Campo	PP	48/82 absolute majority
06.2007-06.2011	Juan Vicente Herrera Campo	PP	48/83 absolute majority
06.2011-07.2015	Juan Vicente Herrera Campo	PP	53/83 absolute majority
07.2015-still	Juan Vicente Herrera Campo	PP	42/84 simple majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 307]

Schedule 10. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to the  
Assembly of the Community of Madrid between 1983 and 2015.

Name	08.05.1983	10.06.1987	26.05.1991	28.05.1995	13.06.1999	25.05.2003	26.10.2003	27.05.2007	22.05.2011	24.05.2015
AP-PDP-UL	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17
CDS	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FAP	-	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IU	-	7	13	17	8	-	-	-	-	-
IU-CM	-	-	-	-	-	9	9	11	-	-
IU-LV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	-
PCE	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27
PP	-	-	47	54	55	55	57	67	72	48
PSM-PSOE	51	40	41	32	39	47	45	42	36	37
UPyD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-
TOTAL	94	96	101	103	102	111	11	111	129	129

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 307]

**Schedule 11. Governments of the Autonomous Community of Madrid  
between 1983 and 2015.**

Period of time	President of Madrid	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governing party in the Assembly of the Community of Madrid
10.1983-06.1987	Joaquín Leguina Herrán	PSM-PSOE	51/94 absolute majority
06.1987-06.1991	Joaquín Leguina Herrán	PSM-PSOE	40/96 simple majority
06.1991-06.1995	Joaquín Leguina Herrán	PSM-PSOE	41/101 simple majority
06.1995-06.1999	Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón Jiménez	PP	54/103 absolute majority
06.1999-06.2003	Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón Jiménez	PP	55/102 absolute majority
06.2003-11.2003	Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón Jiménez	PP	55/111 simple majority
11.2003-06.2007	Esperanza Fuencisla Aguirre y Gil de Biedma	PP	57/111 absolute majority
06.2007-06.2011	Esperanza Fuencisla Aguirre y Gil de Biedma	PP	67/111 absolute majority
06.2011-09.2012	Esperanza Fuencisla Aguirre y Gil de Biedma	PP	72/129 absolute majority
09.2012-06.2015	Jaime Ignacio González González	PP	72/129 absolute majority
06.2015-still	Cristina Cifuentes Cuencas	PP	48/129 simple majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 311]

**Schedule 12. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to the  
Regional Assembly of Murcia between 1983 and 2015.**

Name	08.05.1983	10.06.1987	26.05.1991	28.05.1995	13.06.1999	25.05.2003	27.05.2007	22.05.2011	24.05.2015
AP-PDP-UL	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
CDS	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FAP	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IU	-	1	4	-	1	1	-	-	-
IU-LV	-	-	-	4	-	-	1	1	-
PCE	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
PP	-	-	17	26	26	28	29	33	22
PSRM-PSOE	26	25	24	15	18	16	15	11	13
RAZEM	43	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 314]

Schedule 13. Governments of the Autonomous Community of Murcia  
between 1983 and 2015.

Period of time	President of Murcia	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governing party in the Regional Assembly of Murcia
07.1983-03.1984	Andrés Hernández Ros	PSRM-PSOE	26/43 absolute majority
03.1984-06.1987	Carlos Collado Mena	PSRM-PSOE	26/43 absolute majority
06.1987-06.1991	Carlos Collado Mena	PSRM-PSOE	25/45 absolute majority
06.1991-04.1993	Carlos Collado Mena	PSRM-PSOE	24/45 absolute majority
04.1993-06.1995	María Antonia Martínez García	PSRM-PSOE	24/45 absolute majority
06.1995-06.1999	Ramón Luis Valcárcel Siso	PP	26/45 absolute majority
06.1999-06.2003	Ramón Luis Valcárcel Siso	PP	26/45 absolute majority
06.2003-06.2007	Ramón Luis Valcárcel Siso	PP	28/45 absolute majority
06-2007-06.2011	Ramón Luis Valcárcel Siso	PP	29/45 absolute majority
06.2011-04.2014	Ramón Luis Valcárcel Siso	PP	33/45 absolute majority
04.2014-07.2015	Alberto Garre López	PP	33/45 absolute majority
07.2015-still	Pedro Antonio Sánchez López	PP	22/45 simple majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 316]

Schedule 14. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to Cortes of Community of Valencia between 1983 and 2015.

Name	08.05.1983	10.06.1987	26.05.1991	28.05.1995	13.06.1999	25.05.2003	27.05.2007	22.05.2011	24.05.2015
AP-PDP-UL-UV	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
CDS	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Compromís	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	19
CPV	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-
ENTESA	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-
EU-EV	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-
EUPV	-	-	6	-	5	-	-	5	-
FAP	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IU-UPV	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PCE-PCPV	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
PP	-	-	31	42	49	48	54	55	31
PSPV-PSOE	51	42	45	32	35	35	38	33	23
UV	-	6	7	5	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	89	89	89	89	89	89	99	99	99

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 319]

Schedule 15. Governments of the Autonomous Community of Valencia  
between 1983 and 2015.

Period of time	President of Valencia	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governing party in Cortes of Community of Valencia
05.1983-06.1987	Joan Lerma i Blasco	PSPV-PSOE	51/89 absolute majority
06.1987-06.1991	Joan Lerma i Blasco	PSPV-PSOE	42/89 simple majority
06.1991-07.1995	Joan Lerma i Blasco	PSPV-PSOE	45/89 absolute majority
07.1995-06.1999	Eduardo Andrés Julio Zaplana Hernández-Soro	PP	42/89 simple majority
06.1999-07.2002	Eduardo Andrés Julio Zaplana Hernández-Soro	PP	49/89 absolute majority
07.2002-06.2003	José Luis Olivas Martínez	PP	49/89 absolute majority
06.2003-06.2007	Francisco Enrique Camps Ortiz	PP	48/89 absolute majority
06.2007-05.2011	Francisco Enrique Camps Ortiz	PP	54/99 absolute majority
05.2011-07.2011	Francisco Enrique Camps Ortiz	PP	55/99 absolute majority
07.2011-06.2015	Alberto Fabra Part	PP	55/99 absolute majority
06.2015-still	Joaquín Francisco Puig Ferrer	PSPV-PSOE + Compromís	PSPV-PSOE 23, Compromís 19/99 simple majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 321]

*Model of the mixed competition*

Model of the mixed competition characterizes the electoral and parliamentary competition at the territory of the autonomous community between the *state-wide-parties* and regional or ethnoregional parties. Under this model chance to win the largest number of seats in the regional parliament and form a government or entry into the government coalition parties have both the *state-wide-parties* and regional or ethnoregional parties.

The political competition at the regional level, based on the model of mixed competition, can be also observed in seven from seventeen autonomous communities: Aragon, Asturias, Galicia, Cantabria, La Rioja, Balearic Islands and Canary Islands.

The only autonomous community that is not presented within this model in this paper is Galicia. The last regional elections there took place at 2012 and at that moment the presence of the new *state-wide-parties* was not noticed. Next elections to the regional parliament will be held in 2016.

In the rest of communities, presented within the model of the mixed competition, the appearance of C's and Podemos in regional parliaments, as well as their influence in processes of the regional governments forming was noticeable. In July 2015 Francisco Javier Lambán Montañés from PSOE-Aragón became a President of the minority regional government thanks to the political support of PSOE-Aragón (18 deputies), Podemos (14), Chunta Aragonesista (2) and the United Left (1). Against this election have voted deputies of PP (21), Aragonese Party (PAR) (6) and Citizens (5) [www19].

After regional elections in the Principality of Asturias, held in 2015, Javier Fernández Fernández from FSA-PSOE has formed the minority regional government with the support of 14 deputies of FSA-PSOE and 5 of the United Left. Against have voted 11 deputies from PP and 3 from Forum Asturias. 9 deputies of Podemos and 3 of Citizens have boycotted the votation on the confidence for the regional government [www20].

On the 7th of July 2015 Miguel Ángel Revilla Roiz has formed in Cantabria, in the second votation (by the simple majority of votes), the regional, minority government. His executive has got a support from 13 deputies of the Regionalist Party of Cantabria and 5 of PSOE. Votes against were emitted by 13 deputies of PP and 2 of C's. Deputies of Podemos have not appeared on voting [www21].

In La Rioja José Ignacio Ceniceros González from PP became a new regional President in July 2015. His government has got political support from the part of 15 deputies of PP. 10 deputies of PSOE and 4 of Podemos have voted against and 4 deputies of C's have missed the voting [www22].

On the 2nd of July 2015 Francesca Lluç Armengol Socías from PSIB-PSOE has formed a regional government with the party Més per Mallorca. It has got a political support from 15 deputies of PSIB-PSOE, 9 deputies of Més per Mallorca and 10 votes of Podemos, which deputies haven't decided to enter to the regional government. Against the coalition of the left have voted 20 deputies of PP, 2 of C's and 3 deputies of the center-right party: the Proposal for the Balearic Islands [www23].

The Canary Islands is the only one autonomous community in the presented group, in which Citizens haven't won any seat in the regional parliament. In that situation Podemos is the only new *state-wide-party*, which has got 7 deputies in the Canarian legislature. Anyway a very curious process of the regional government creation took place there. The governing coalition was formed by the Canarian Coalition (CC) and PSOE. 18 deputies of CC, 15 of PSOE and 3 of the Socialist Group of Gomera have supported the new regional government. Against that coalition have voted 12 deputies of PP, 7 of Podemos and 5 of the New Canary [www24].

---



Schedule 16. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to Cortes of Aragon of between 1983 and 2015.

Name	08.05.1983	10.06.1987	26.05.1991	28.05.1995	13.06.1999	25.05.2003	27.05.2007	22.05.2011	24.05.2015
AP	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP-PDP-UL	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
CAA-IUA	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
CDS	1	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CHA	-	-	-	2	5	9	4	4	2
IUA	-	-	-	5	1	1	1	4	1
PAR	13	19	17	14	10	8	9	7	6
PCE	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
PP	-	-	17	27	28	22	23	30	21
PSOE-Aragón	33	27	30	19	23	27	30	22	18
Total	66	67	67	67	67	67	67	67	67

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 323]

Schedule 17. Governments of the Autonomous Community of Aragon between 1983 and 2015.

Period of time	President of Aragon	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governing party in Cortes Aragon
06.1983-08.1987	Santiago Marraco Solana	PSOE-Aragón	33/66 simple majority
08.1987-07.1991	Hipólito Gómez de las Rocas	PAR+PP	PAR-19, PP-13/67 absolut majority
07.1991-09.1993	Emilio Eiroa García	PAR+PP	PAR-17, PP-17/67 absolut majority
09.1993-01.1995	José Marco Berges	PSOE-Aragón	30/67 simple majority
10.1995-07.1995	Ramón Tejedor Sanz	PSOE-Aragón	30/67 simple majority
07.1995-08.1999	Santiago Lanzuela Marina (PP)	PP+PAR	PP-27, PAR-14/67 absolut majority
02.08.1999-07.2003	Marcelino Iglesias Ricou	PSOE-Aragón+PAR	PSOE-Aragón- 23, PAR-10/67 absolut majority
07.2003-07.2007	Marcelino Iglesias Ricou	PSOE-Aragón+PAR	PSOE-Aragón- 27, PAR-8/67 absolut majority
07.2007-07.2011	Marcelino Iglesias Ricou	PSOE-Aragón+PAR	PSOE-Aragón- 30, PAR-9/67 absolut majority
07.2011-07.2015	Luisa Fernanda Rudi Ubeda	PP+PAR	PP-30, PAR-7/67 absolut majority
07.2015-still	Francisco Javier Lambán Montañés	PSOE-Aragón	18/67 simple majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 325]

Schedule 18. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to the General Assembly of the Principality of Asturias between 1983 and 2015.

Name	08.05.1983	10.06.1987	26.05.1991	28.05.1995	13.06.1999	25.05.2003	27.05.2007	22.05.2011	25.03.2012	24.05.2015
AP	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP-PDP-UL	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
CA	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CDS	-	8	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FAC	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	13	3
IU	-	4	6	6	3	-	-	-	-	-
IU-BA	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
IU-BA-Verdes	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
IU-Verdes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	5	5
PAS	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
PCA	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
PP	-	-	15	21	15	19	20	10	10	11
FSA-PSOE	26	20	21	17	24	22	21	15	16	14
UPyD	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
URAS	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45	45

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 327]

**Małgorzata Myśliwiec**

Schedule 19. Governments of the Principality of Asturias between 1983 and 2015.

Period of time	President of Asturias	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governing party in the General Assembly of the Principality of Asturias
17.06.1983-28.07.1987	Pedro de Silva Cienfuegos-Jovellanos	FSA-PSOE	26/45 absolut majority
28.07.1987-10.07.1991	Pedro de Silva Cienfuegos-Jovellanos	FSA-PSOE	20/45 simple majority
10.07.1991-18.06.1993	Juan Luis Rodríguez-Vigil Rubio	FSA-PSOE	21/45 simple majority
18.06.1993-14.07.1995	Antonio Ramón María Trevín Lombán	FSA-PSOE	21/45 simple majority
14.07.1995-20.07.1999	Sergio Rutilio Marqués Fernández	PP	21/45 simple majority
20.07.1999-07.07.2003	Vicente Alberto Álvarez Areces	FSA-PSOE	24/45 absolut majority
07.07.2003-12.07.2007	Vicente Alberto Álvarez Areces	FSA-PSOE+IU/ BA	FSA-PSOE-22, IU/ BA-4/45 absolut majority
12.07.2007-26.11.2008	Vicente Alberto Álvarez Areces	FSA-PSOE	21/45 simple majority
26.11.2008-16.07.2011	Vicente Alberto Álvarez Areces	FSA-PSOE+IU/ BA/LV	FSA-PSOE-21, IU/BA/ LV-4/45 absolut majority
16.07.2011-27.05.2012	Francisco Álvarez-Cascos Fernández	FAC	16/45 simple majority
27.05.2012-22.07.2015	Javier Fernández Fernández	FSA-PSOE	26/45 absolut majority
22.07.2015-still	Javier Fernández Fernández	FSA-PSOE	14/45 simple majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 329]

Schedule 20. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to the Parliament of Cantabria between 1983 and 2015.

Name	08.05.1983	10.06.1987	26.05.1991	28.05.1995	13.06.1999	25.05.2003	27.05.2007	22.05.2011	24.05.2015
AP	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP-PDP-UL	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
CDS	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IU	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
PP	-	-	6	13	19	18	17	20	13
PRC	2	5	2	6	6	8	12	12	12
PSC-PSOE	15	13	16	10	14	13	10	7	5
UPCA	-	-	15	7	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	35	39	39	39	39	39	39	39	35

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 336]

Schedule 21. Governments of the Autonomous Community of Cantabria  
between 1982 and 2015.

Period of time	President of Cantabria	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governing party in the Parliament of Cantabria
15.03.1982-02.03.1984	José Antonio Rodríguez Martínez	AP+PDP+UL	AP+PDP+UL – 18/35 absolut majority
02.03.1984-24.06.1987	Ángel Díaz de Entresotos y Mier	AP+PDP+UL	AP+PDP+UL – 18/35 simple majority
24.06.1987-05.12.1990	Juan Hormaechea Cazón	AP	AP – 19/39 simple majority
05.12.1990-02.07.1991	Jaime María Blanco García	PSC-PSOE-PP- PRC-CDS	PSC-PSOE-13, PP-19, PRC-5, CDS-2/39 absolut majority
02.07.1991-13.07.1995	Juan Hormaechea Cazón	UPCA-PP	UPCA-15, PP-6/39 absolut majority
13.07.1995-06.1999	José Joaquín Martínez Sieso	PP-PRC	PP-13, PRC-6/39 simple majority
06.1999-27.06.2003	José Joaquín Martínez Sieso	PP-PRC	PP-19, PRC-6/39 absolut majority
27.06.2003-06.2007	Miguel Ángel Revilla Roiz	PCS-PSOE+PRC	PSC-PSOE-13, PRC-8/39 absolut majority
06.2007-23.06.2011	Miguel Ángel Revilla Roiz	PRC+PCS-PSOE	PRC-12, PSC-PSOE-10/39 absolut majority
23.06.2011-07.07.2015	Juan Ignacio Diego Palacios	PP	20/39 absolut majority
07.07.2015-still	Miguel Ángel Revilla Roiz	PRC+PCS-PSOE	PRC-13/35 simple majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 338]

Schedule 22. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to the  
Parliament of La Rioja between 1983 and 2015.

Name	08.05.1983	10.06.1987	26.05.1991	28.05.1995	13.06.1999	25.05.2003	27.05.2007	22.05.2011	24.05.2015
AP	-	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP-PDP-UL	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
CDS	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IU	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
PP	-	-	15	17	18	17	17	20	15
PR	-	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	-
PRP	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PSOE	18	14	16	12	13	14	14	11	10
TOTAL	35	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 340]

Schedule 23. Governments of the Autonomous Community of La Rioja  
between 1983 and 2015.

Period of time	President of La Rioja	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governig party in the Parliament of La Rioja
05.1983-106.1987	José María De Miguel	PSOE	18/35 absolut majority
06.1987-01.1989	Joaquín Espert Pérez-Caballero	AP+PRP	AP-13, PRP-2/33 simple majority
01.1989-11.1990	Joaquín Espert Pérez-Caballero	AP	13/33 simple majority
11.1990-06.1991	José Ignacio Pérez Sáenz	PSOE+PRP	PSOE-14, PRP2/33 simple majority
06.1991-06.1995	José Ignacio Pérez Sáenz	PSOE+PR	PSOE-16, PR-2/33 absolut majority
06.1995-06.1999	Pedro María Sanz Alonso	PP	17/33 absolut majority
06.1999-06.2003	Pedro María Sanz Alonso	PP	18/33 absolut majority
06.2003-06.2007	Pedro María Sanz Alonso	PP	17/33 absolut majority
06.2007-06.2011	Pedro María Sanz Alonso	PP	17/33 absolut majority
06-2001-07.2015	Pedro María Sanz Alonso	PP	20/33 absolut majority
07.2015- still	José Ignacio Ceniceros González	PP	15/33 simple majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 342]

Schedule 24. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to the Parliament of the Balearic Islands between 1983 and 2015.

Name	08.05.1983	10.06.1987	26.05.1991	28.05.1995	13.06.1999	25.05.2003	27.05.2007	22.05.2011	24.05.2015
AIPF	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
APIF	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
AP-PDP-UL	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP-PL	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BpM	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
C's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
CDS	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CIM	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
COP	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
EM-EU	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
EU	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
EU-EV	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-
EV	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
FIEF	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
FSB-PSOE	21	21	21	16	-	-	-	-	-
GxF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
GxF-PSOE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
MÉS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
MpM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
PACTE	-	-	-	-	6	5	-	-	-
PDL	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
PP	-	-	-	30	28	29	28	35	20
PP-UM	-	-	31	-	-	-	-	-	-
PSIB-PSOE	-	-	-	-	13	15	16	14	14
PSMa	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PSMa – EN	-	2	-	-	4	3	-	-	-
PSMa-IV-E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
PSMa-NM	-	-	3	5	-	-	-	-	-
PSMe	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PSMe-EN	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-
PSMe-EU	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
PSMe-NI	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
PSMe-V	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
PSOE-ExC	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-
PSOE-PACTE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
UIM	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
UM	6	4	-	2	3	3	3	-	-
TOTAL	54	59	59	59	59	59	59	59	59

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 346]

Schedule 25. Governments of the Autonomous Community of the Balearic Islands between 1983 and 2015.

Period of time	President of the Balearic Islands	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governing party in the Parliament of the Balearic Islands
06.1983-06.1987	Gabriel Cañellas Fons	AP-PDP-UL+UM	21/59 simple majority
06.1987-06.1991	Gabriel Cañellas Fons	AP-PL+UM	25/59 simple majority
06.1991-06.1995	Gabriel Cañellas Fons	PP+UM	31/59 absolut majority
06.1995-06.1996	Cristòfol Soler Cladera	PP	30/59 absolut majority
06.1996-07.1999	Jaume Matas i Palou	PP	30/59 absolut majority
07.1999-06.2003	Francesc Antich Oliver	PSIB-PSOE+Bloc (PSM-EN-EU- EV-ERC)	13/59 simple majority
06.2003-07.2007	Jaume Matas i Palou	PP	28/59 simple majority
07.2007-01.2010	Francesc Antich Oliver	PSIB-PSOE+Bloc (PSM-EN-EU- EV-ERC)+UM	28/59 simple majority
01.2010-06.2011	Francesc Antich Oliver	PSIB-PSOE+Bloc (PSM-EN-EU- EV-ERC)	28/59 simple majority
06.2011-07.2015	José Ramón Bauzá Díaz	PP	35/59 absolut majority
07.2015-still	Francesca Lluç Armengol Sociás	PSIB-PSOE	24/59 simple majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 348]



Schedule 26. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to the Parliament of the Canary Islands between 1983 and 2015.

Name	08.05.1983	10.06.1987	26.05.1991	28.05.1995	13.06.1999	25.05.2003	27.05.2007	22.05.2011	24.05.2015
AC-INC	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AGI	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AHI	1	2	1	1	2	-	-	-	-
AHI-CC	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-
AIC	-	11	16	-	-	-	-	-	-
AM	3	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP-PDP-UL	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
CC	-	-	-	21	24	23	-	-	18
CCNC	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CC-PNC	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	-	-
CC-PNC-CCN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	-
CDS	6	13	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
FNC	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
ICAN	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
ICU	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NCa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
PCC-PCE	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PCN	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
PP	-	-	6	18	15	17	15	21	12
PSIC-PSOE	-	-	-	-	-	-	26	-	-
PSOE	27	21	23	16	19	17	-	15	15
UPC-AC	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 353]

Schedule 27. Governments of the Autonomous Community of the Canary Islands between 1983 and 2015.

Period of time	President of Canarias	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governing party in the Parliament of the Canary Islands
06.1983-07.1987	Jerónimo Saavedra Acevedo	PSOE	27/60 simple majority
07.1987-12.1988	Fernando Manuel Fernández Martín	CDS-AIC-AP	13/60 simple majority
12.1988-07.1991	Lorenzo Olarte Cullen	CDS-AIC-AP	13/60 simple majority
07.1991-04.1993	Jerónimo Saavedra Acevedo	PSOE-AIC	23/60 simple majority
04.1993-06.1995	Manuel Antonio Hermoso Rojas	AIC-CDS-PP	16/60 simple majority
06.1995-06.1996	Manuel Antonio Hermoso Rojas	CC	21/60 simple majority
06.1996-07.1999	Manuel Antonio Hermoso Rojas	CC-PP	21/60 simple majority
07.1999-11.2002	Román Rodríguez Rodríguez	CC-PP	24/60 simple majority
11.2002-07.2003	Román Rodríguez Rodríguez	CC	24/60 simple majority
07.2003-06.2005	Adán Martín Menis	CC-PP	23/60 simple majority
06.2005-07.2007	Adán Martín Menis	CC	23/60 simple majority
07.2007-10.2010	Paulino Rivero Baute	CC-PP	17/60 simple majority
10.2010-07.2011	Paulino Rivero Baute	CC	17/60 simple majority
07.2011-07.2015	Paulino Rivero Baute	CC-PSOE	20/60 simple majority
07.2015-still	Fernando Clavijo Batlle	CC-PSOE	CC-18, PSOE-15 – 33/60 absolut majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 355]

*Model of domination of the regional and ethno-regional parties*

The model of domination of the regional and ethno-regional parties characterizes the fact that in elections to the regional legislatures voters give their votes mainly for regional and ethno-regional parties. In result they win regional elections with the largest number of votes and seats, and usually take responsibility for the creation of regional governments. In Spain within that model we can find only three from seventeen autonomous communities: Catalonia, Basque Country and Navarra.

Like in the case of Galicia, in this paper the case of the Basque Country is not presented. The last regional election there was held in 2012 none of two new state-wide-parties (Podemos nor Citizens) didn't enter to the regional legislature. The next elections to the Parliament of the Basque Country will take place in 2016.

The most important changes, after the regional elections of 2015, can be observed in Catalonia. Shortly before those elections the most important coalition in last 40 years in Catalonia – CiU - was resolved. Less radical and opposite to the idea of independence of the region Democratic Union of Catalonia (UDC) haven't got any seat in the regional parliament on the 27th of September 2015. In change the Democratic Convergence of Catalonia (CDC) has formed a coalition with Republican Left of Catalonia (ERC) and has won those elections. Anyway the number of seats that occupy deputies of JxSí is not enough to form a stable government. For this reason, over one month after the last regional elections, Catalonia still does not have a regional government. If it will be not formed till the 9th of January 2016, the regional parliament will be dissolved and the new election will be held.

One more question pays attention in the case of Catalonia: the position of the most influential *state-wide-party* in that autonomous community after last election held on the 27th of September 2015, has not PP or PSOE, but Citizens – the party created in Catalonia.

The most interesting, however, is the political situation in the autonomous community of Navarra. The winner of the regional elections in 2015 was the Union of the Navarre People (UPN) with 15 deputies, but with the support of 2 deputies of PP it was not able to form the regional government. It was possible for Miren Uxue Barcos Berruezo, the leader of Geroa Bai (*Yes to the Future* in Basque), together with Bildu, Podemos and the United Left.

Schedule 28. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to the Parliament of Catalonia between 1980 and 2015.

Name	20.03.1980	29.04.1984	29.05.1988	15.03.1992	19.11.1995	17.10.1999	16.11.2003	01.11.2006	28.11.2010	25.11.2012	27.09.2015
AP	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP-PDP-UL	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
C's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25
CatSíqueesPot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11
CdC-UCD	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CDS	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CiU	43	72	69	70	60	56	46	48	62	50	-
C's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	9	-
CUP-AE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	10
ERC	14	5	6	11	13	12	23	21	10	-	-
ERC-SI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	-
IpC	-	-	9	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IpC-V	-	-	-	-	11	3	-	-	-	-	-
IpCV-EUiA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	10	13	-
IpV-EA	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-
JxSí	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62
PP	-	-	-	7	17	12	15	14	18	19	11
PSA-PA	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PSC-CpC	-	-	-	-	-	36	42	-	-	-	-
PSC-CpC- IpC-V	-	-	-	-	-	16	-	-	-	-	-
PSC-PSOE	33	41	42	40	34	-	-	37	28	20	16
PSUC	25	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-
TOTAL	135	135	135	135	135	135	135	135	135	135	135

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 360]

Schedule 29. Governments of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia  
between 1980 and 2015.

Period of time	President of Catalonia	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governing party in the Parliament of Catalonia
05.1980-05.1984	Jordi Pujol i Soley	CiU	43/135 simple majority
05.1984-06.1988	Jordi Pujol i Soley	CiU	72/135 absolut majority
06.1988-04.1992	Jordi Pujol i Soley	CiU	69/135 absolut majority
04.1992-12.1995	Jordi Pujol i Soley	CiU	70/135 absolut majority
12.1995-11.1999	Jordi Pujol i Soley	CiU	60/135 simple majority
11.1999-12.2003	Jordi Pujol i Soley	CiU	56/135 simple majority
12.2003-05.2006	Pasqual Maragall i Mira	PSC- CpC+ERC+ICV- EA	PSC-CpC- 42, ERC-23, ICV-EA-9/135 absolut majority
05.2006-11.2006	Pasqual Maragall i Mira	PSC-CpC+ICV-EA	PSC-CpC- 42, ICV-EA-9/135 simple majority
11.2006-12.2010	José Montilla Aguilera	PSC+ERC+ICV- EUiA	PSC- 37, ERC-21, ICV-EU <sup>i</sup> A-12/135 absolut majority
12.2010-12.2012	Artur Mas i Gavarró	CiU	62/135 simple majority
12.2012-still	Artur Mas i Gavarró	CiU	50/135 simple majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 362]

Schedule 30. The number of seats won by political parties in elections to the Parliament of Navarra between 1979 and 2015.

Name	03.04.1979	08.05.1983	10.06.1987	26.05.1991	28.05.1995	13.06.1999	25.05.2003	27.05.2007	22.05.2011	24.05.2015
Amaiur	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP-PDP-UL	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ARALAR	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-
Bildu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-
CDN	-	-	-	-	10	3	4	2	-	-
CDS	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
EA	-	-	4	3	2	-	-	-	-	-
EAJ-PNV-EA	-	-	-	-	-	3	4	-	-	-
EE	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
EH	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-
EH Bildu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
FAP	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GBai	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
HB	9	6	7	6	5	-	-	-	-	-
I-E	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2
IFN	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IU-EB	-	-	-	-	5	3	-	-	-	-
IUN	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
IUN-NEB	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-
Nafarroa Bai	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	-
Nafarroa Bai 2011	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	-
PCE-EKA	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Podemos	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
PNV	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PNV-EE-ESEI-PTEs	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PPN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	2
PSN-PSOE	-	-	15	19	11	11	11	12	9	7
PSOE	15	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UCD	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UDF	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UNAI	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UPN	13	13	14	20	17	22	23	22	19	15
TOTAL	70	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 376]

## Schedule 31. Governments of the Autonomous Community of Navarra between 1979 and 2015.

Period of time	President of Navarra	Political parties in government	Number of seats of the governing party in the Parliament of Navarra
04.1979-04.1980	Jaime Ignacio del Burgo Tajadura	UCD+PSOE+HB	UCD-20, PSOE-15, HB-9/70 absolut majority
04.1980-05.1983	Juan Manuel Arza Muñuzuri	UCD+PSOE+HB	UCD-20, PSOE-15, HB-9/70 absolut majority
05.1983-01.1984	Juan Manuel Arza Muñuzuri	UCD+PSOE+HB	PSOE-20, HB-6/50 absolut majority
01.1984-05.1984	Jaime Ignacio del Burgo Tajadura	UPN+PSOE	UPN-13, PSOE-20/50 absolut majority
05.1984-10.1987	Gabriel Urralburu Tainta	PSOE	20/50 simple majority
10.1987-09.1991	Gabriel Urralburu Tainta	PSN-PSOE+UPN	PSN-PSOE-15, UPN-14/50 absolut majority
09.1991-07.1995	Juan Cruz Alli Aranguren	UPN	20/50 simple majority
07.1995-07.1996	Javier Otano Cid	PSN-PSOE+ CDN+EA	PSN-PSOE-11 CDN-10, EA-2/50 simple majority
07.1996-09.1996	Juan Cruz Alli Aranguren	PSN-PSOE+ CDN+EA	PSN-PSOE-11 CDN-10, EA-2/50 simple majority
09.1996-07.1999	Miguel Sanz Sesma	UPN	17/50 simple majority
07.1999-06.2003	Miguel Sanz Sesma	UPN	22/50 simple majority
06.2003-06.2007	Miguel Sanz Sesma	UPN+CDN	UPN-23, CDN-4/50 absolut majority
06.2007-10.2009	Miguel Sanz Sesma	UPN+CDN	UPN-22, CDN-2/50 simple majority
10.2009-07.2011	Miguel Sanz Sesma	UPN	22/50 simple majority
07.2011-06.2012	Yolanda Barcina Angulo	UPN+PSN-PSOE	UPN-19, PSN-PSOE-9/50 absolut majority
06.2012-07.2015	Yolanda Barcina Angulo	UPN	19/50 simple majority
22.07.2015 - still	Miren Uxue Barcos Berruezo	Geroa Bai + Bildu + Izquierda + Poesmos	26/50 absolte majority

Source: [Myśliwiec 2014: 378]

## *Conclusions*

The economical crisis of 2008 has caused significant changes in the Spanish party system. After almost forty years of domination of two *state-wide-parties* – PP and PSOE – the appearance of two new political parties of that type can be observed: Podemos and Citizens. Those parties have succeeded already in elections to the European Parliament in 2014 and in regional elections held in 2015. Almost in all autonomous communities they have caused the necessity of forming the minority regional governments. It will mean that new regional Presidents will have to negotiate their political proposals not only with well known political rivals, but also with leaders of Podemos and Citizens.

In the context of centrifugal trends in Catalonia an interesting phenomena to follow will be the future of JxSí coalition. Disappearance of CiU – the most important political coalition in history of Catalonia between 1974-2015 – shows clearly how deep are changes in functioning of the Spanish party system after the crisis of 2008. The potential new election in Catalonia in the very beginning of 2016 can bring new, surprising changes.

What is important to stress on is that all presented changes in functioning of the Spanish party system after 2008 haven't caused changes in models and arenas of political competition on the regional level. Although new *state-wide-parties* have appeared, none of 17th autonomous communities has crossed to the different model of the political competition. The political competition at the regional level, based on the model of domination of the *state-wide-parties*, still can be observed in seven from seventeen autonomous communities: Andalusia, Extremadura, Castile la Mancha, Castile and León, Madrid, Murcia and the Community of Valencia. The model of mixed competition still can be observed in Aragon, Asturias, Galicia, Cantabria, La Rioja, Balearic Islands and Canary Islands. And finally the model of domination of the regional and ethnoregional parties can be observed in Catalonia, Basque Country and Navarra.

## *References:*

- Antoszewski A. (2009), *Partie i systemy partyjne państw Unii Europejskiej na przełomie wieków*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek.
- Boletín Oficial del Estado [BOE 1978], Constitución Española de 27 de diciembre de 1978, Boletín Oficial del Estado núm. 311, de 29 de diciembre de 1978.
- Boletín Oficial del Estado [BOE 1985], Ley Orgánica 5/1985, de 19 de junio, del Régimen Electoral General, Boletín Oficial del Estado núm. 147, de 20 de junio de 1985.
- Boletín Oficial del Estado [BOE 2011], Reforma del artículo 135 de la Constitución Española, de 27 de septiembre de 2011, Boletín Oficial del Estado núm. 233, de 27 de septiembre de 2011.



- Boletín Oficial del Estado [BOE 2014], Real Decreto 213/2014, de 31 de marzo, por el que se convocan elecciones de diputados al Parlamento Europeo, Boletín Oficial del Estado núm. 79, de 1 de abril de 2014.
- Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas [CIS 2015], Barómetro de Julio 2015, Estudio nº 3104, Julio 2015.
- Kubin T. (2014), La isla verde en el mar de la recesión? La economía de Polonia durante la crisis en comparación con los otros países de la Unión Europea, „Investigaciones Históricas. Época moderna y contemporánea”, núm. 34.
- Myśliwiec M. (2006), Katalonia na drodze do niepodległości?, Bytom: Wyższa Szkoła Ekonomii i Administracji.
- Myśliwiec M. (2014), Pozycja partii regionalnych w systemie politycznym współczesnej Hiszpanii, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.
- Rivera A. (2014), Juntos podemos. El futuro está en nuestras manos, Barcelona: Espasa.
- Rivera A. (2015), El cambio sensato. 100 preguntas, 100 respuestas, Barcelona: Espasa.
- www1: <https://www.ciudadanos-cs.org/nuestras-ideas/ideario> (15.11.2015) .
- www2: <http://www.elmundo.es/economia/2015/02/22/54e771a8e2704e6a0a8b4577.html> (15.11.2015) .
- www3: [http://www.huffingtonpost.es/2015/02/17/propuestas-programa-ciudadanos\\_n\\_6699844.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.es/2015/02/17/propuestas-programa-ciudadanos_n_6699844.html) (15.11.2015).
- www4: <http://blogs.publico.es/vicenc-navarro/2015/04/14/las-mentiras-y-falsedades-de-albert-rivera-presidente-de-ciudadanos-en-la-sexta-columna/> (14.11.2015).
- www5: [http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/31979/AS03\\_2014\\_SS\\_Trivino.pdf?sequence=1](http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/31979/AS03_2014_SS_Trivino.pdf?sequence=1) (15.11.2015).
- www6: <http://www.abc.es/espana/20150313/abci-ambiguedad-albert-rivera-ciudadanos-201503120923.html> (16.11.2015).
- www7: <http://pl.scribd.com/doc/199547061/Manifiesto-Mover-Ficha> (15.11.2015).
- www8: <http://www.publico.es/politica/intelectuales-y-activistas-llaman-recuperar.html> (15.11.2015).
- www9: [http://www.eldiario.es/politica/Pablo-Iglesias-Juan-Carlos-Monedero-candidato-europeas-podemos\\_0\\_216278861.html](http://www.eldiario.es/politica/Pablo-Iglesias-Juan-Carlos-Monedero-candidato-europeas-podemos_0_216278861.html) (15.11.2015).
- www10: <http://podemos.info/propuestas/> (16.11.2015).
- www11: [http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/06/09/actualidad/1433838231\\_753792.html](http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/06/09/actualidad/1433838231_753792.html) (25.09.2015).
- www12: [http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2015/06/24/madrid/1435141055\\_605878.html](http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2015/06/24/madrid/1435141055_605878.html) (25.09.2015).
- www13: <http://www.elmundo.es/espana/2015/06/30/5592e40d268e3ebd508b459e.html> (27.09.2015).
- www14: [http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/06/24/actualidad/1435149331\\_171499.html](http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/06/24/actualidad/1435149331_171499.html) (27.09.2015).
- www15: <http://www.hoy.es/extremadura/201507/01/vara-sera-elegido-presidente-20150701071245.html> (25.09.2015).
- www16: [http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2015/06/29/valencia/1435568253\\_158764.html](http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2015/06/29/valencia/1435568253_158764.html) (26.09.2015).
- www17: <http://www.abc.es/toledo/ciudad/20150615/abci-psoe-podemos-alcanzan-acuerdo-201506151415.html> (26.09.2015).
- www18: [http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/06/24/actualidad/1435170442\\_107247.html](http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/06/24/actualidad/1435170442_107247.html) (26.09.2015).
-

- www19: [http://www.heraldo.es/noticias/aragon/2015/07/03/javier\\_lamban\\_investido\\_presidente\\_con\\_apoyo\\_podemos\\_cha\\_iu\\_376740\\_300.html](http://www.heraldo.es/noticias/aragon/2015/07/03/javier_lamban_investido_presidente_con_apoyo_podemos_cha_iu_376740_300.html) (26.09.2015).
- www20: [http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/07/20/actualidad/1437420198\\_847928.html](http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/07/20/actualidad/1437420198_847928.html) (26.09.2015).
- www21: [http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/07/17/actualidad/1437146183\\_894751.html](http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/07/17/actualidad/1437146183_894751.html) (27.09.2015).
- www22: <http://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20150701/54433652092/el-candidato-del-pp-en-la-rioja-no-logra-la-mayoria-en-la-primera-votacion.html> (27.09.2015).
- www23: [http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/06/30/actualidad/1435690985\\_778151.html](http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/06/30/actualidad/1435690985_778151.html) (28.09.2015).
- www24: <http://www.gomeranoticias.com/article/fernando-clavijo-octavo-presidente-del-gobierno-de-canarias-con-el-apoyo-de-cc-psoc-y-asg> (27.09.2015).