Prepared by: André Freire, Marina Costa Lobo, Pedro Magalhães and José Pereira

Date: December 29, 2006

Comparative National Election Project
Memo on Macro Information

Country: Portugal

Date of Election: February 20, 2005

Election Type (Presidential, Legislative- two chambers or one): Legislative (single chamber)

Part I: Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Survey was Administered

1. Political Parties (Receiving at least 3% of the vote, OR electing one MP):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Ideological Family</th>
<th>European Parliament Political Group (where applicable)</th>
<th>International Organizational Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. PS-Partido Socialista (Socialist Party)</td>
<td>Social Democrats</td>
<td>PES Party of European Socialists</td>
<td>Socialist International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. PSD-Partido Social-Democrata (Social Democratic Party)</td>
<td>Liberal(^1)</td>
<td>EPP- European People´s Party</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. PCP- Partido Comunista Português (Portuguese Communist Party)</td>
<td>Communists</td>
<td>Confederal Group of the European United Left / Nordic Green Left in the European Parliament (Part of the CDU electoral alliance)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. CDS/PP – Partido Popular (Popular Party)</td>
<td>Conservative Parties</td>
<td>EPP- European People´s Party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) It is difficult to assign the PSD to an ideological family. It is clearly in the centre-right of the political spectrum, but has both liberal and conservative factions within it. It is assigned to the liberal family because it belonged to the Liberal Group in the European Parliament. Despite being a member of the PPE nowadays, it does not, unlike the CDS/PP have its roots in European Christian Democracy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Extreme-Left</th>
<th>Confederated Group of the European United Left / Nordic Green Left in the European Parliament</th>
<th>European Federation of Green Parties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>BE – Bloco de Esquerda (Left Block) Coalition of PSR, UDP and Politica XXI</td>
<td>Ecology Parties</td>
<td>Confederated Group of the European United Left / Nordic Green Left in the European Parliament (part of the CDU electoral alliance)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ideological Party Families:** (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation).

(A) Ecology Parties  
(B) Communist Parties  
(C) Socialist Parties  
(D) Social Democratic Parties  
(E) Conservative Parties  
(F) Left Liberal Parties  
(G) Liberal Parties  
(H) Right Liberal Parties  
(I) Christian Democratic Parties  
(J) National Parties  
(K) Independents  
(L) Single Issue Parties  
(M) Agrarian Parties  
(N) Ethnic Parties  
(O) Regional Parties  
(P) Other Parties

The following lists provide examples of political groups and organizations to which a particular party might belong. Please report any and all international affiliations for each party.

**European Parliament Political Groups:**

(1) European People’s Party  
(2) European Democrats  
(3) Party of European Socialists  
(4) European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party  
(5) Confederated Group of European United Left  
(6) Nordic Green Left  
(7) Greens  
(8) European Free Alliance  
(9) Europe for the Nations  
(10) Europe of Democracies and Diversities  
(00) Not Applicable  
(98) Don’t Know

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2 The CDU is not a party, it is an electoral alliance formed by two parties, the Communist Party (PCP - Partido Comunista Portugués) and the Greens (PEV - Partido Ecologista os Verdes). It is described here because formally, it is the CDU that ran in the election and not the PCP or the PEV. Both individual parties are described above.
**International Party Organizations:**

- (11) Asia Pacific Socialist Organization
- (12) Caribbean Democratic Union
- (13) Christian Democratic International
- (14) Christian Democratic Organization of America
- (15) Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
- (16) Democratic Union of Africa
- (17) Eastern European Social Democratic Forum
- (18) Green Movement
- (19) Humanist Party
- (20) International Communist Union
- (21) International Democrat Union
- (22) International League of Democratic Socialists
- (23) Liberal International
- (24) Natural Law Party
- (25) Pacific Democratic Union
- (26) Organization of African Liberal Parties
- (27) Socialist International
- (28) Socialist Inter-Africa
- (00) Not Applicable
- (98) Don't Know

2. Please place the parties that you have characterized according to the Gunther and Diamond 2001 typology. Please see the documents attached which include the article by Gunther and Diamond, as well as the tables, references and figure. Please note that in the figure, the lines connecting party species to their respective genus are missing.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Party Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In English and Own Language and Party Label</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. PS-Partido Socialista (Socialist Party)</td>
<td>Catch-All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. PSD-Partido Social-Democrata (Social Democratic Party)</td>
<td>Catch-All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. PCP- Partido Comunista Português (Portuguese Communist Party)</td>
<td>Class-Mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. CDS/PP – Partido Popular (Popular Party)</td>
<td>Programmatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. BE – Bloco de Esquerda (Left Block) Coalition of PSR, UDP and Politica XXI</td>
<td>Left-libertarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. PEV – Partido Ecologista-Os Verdes (Ecologist Party - The Greens)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Please give the complete election results for the most recent election and the previous election of the type you are analyzing.

MOST RECENT ELECTION  Legislative elections February 20, 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Percentage of Votes</th>
<th>Parliamentary Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. PS</td>
<td>45.03%</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. PSD</td>
<td>28.77%</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. CDU (PCP &amp; PEV)</td>
<td>7.54%</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. CDS-PP</td>
<td>7.24%</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. BE</td>
<td>6.35%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CNE

PREVIOUS ELECTION OF THE SAME TYPE Legislative elections March 17, 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Percentage of Votes</th>
<th>Parliamentary Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. PS</td>
<td>37.79%</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. PSD</td>
<td>40.21%</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. CDU (PCP &amp; PEV)</td>
<td>6.94%</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. CDS-PP</td>
<td>8.72%</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. BE</td>
<td>2.74%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: CNE
4. Ideological Positions of Parties:

Please indicate Parties A-F's positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CNEP Principal Investigator.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name in English /Label</th>
<th>Left</th>
<th>Right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Socialist Party (PS)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Social Democratic Party (PSD)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Unitarian Democratic Coalition CDU – (PCP &amp; PEV)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Popular Party (CDS-PP)</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Left Block (BE)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1. Do you believe there would be general consensus on these placements among informed observers in your country?

Yes.

4.2. Would you agree that the "Left-Right" cleavage is a meaningful concept in your country?

Yes.

4.3. Are there any other relevant cleavages in your country? Where would you place each party regarding that/those cleavages? (For each cleavage fill out a table below, indicate the cleavage name, and what values 0 and 10 represent as well as each party’s position along the cleavage)

CLEAVAGE NAME:
0 =
10 =

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name in English /Label</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)?

1. Negative economic situation (rising unemployment, rising government deficit)

2. Negative Evaluation of Previous Right-Wing Government

3. Very Negative Evaluation of PSD’s Leader Pedro Santana Lopes, incumbent Prime Minister

4. Unpopular governmental measures

5. Popularity of PS leader, José Sócrates
6. Do you believe there would be general consensus about the importance of these factors among informed observers in your country?

Yes.

7. Electoral Alliances:

Documenting who is allied with whom, and how, in each constituency is a large task and we do not expect you to do more than make some general reference to the existence of constituency-level alliances. Sometimes, electoral alliances among parties are made at the national level - these are the alliances that we would like you to identify. Information is sought on who is allied with whom and on the nature of the electoral alliance.

a) Were electoral alliances permitted during the election campaign?

☐ No
☒ Yes

If yes, please complete the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alliance Name</th>
<th>Participant Parties (please indicate dominant members with an &quot;*&quot;)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alliance 1: CDU</td>
<td>PCP* and PEV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Alliance 2:

Alliance 3:

Alliance 4:

Alliance 5:
8. **Party Leaders, Prime Ministerial and Presidential Candidates:**

In legislative elections, please report the leader of each party, as well as the PM candidate.

In presidential elections, list presidential candidates and their parties. If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party Name English and Label</th>
<th>Name of Party Leader</th>
<th>Presidential / PM Candidate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Socialist Party (PS)</td>
<td>José Sócrates</td>
<td>José Sócrates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Social Democratic Party (PSD)</td>
<td>Pedro Santana Lopes</td>
<td>Pedro Saatana Lopes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Portuguese Communist Party (PCP)</td>
<td>Jerónimo de Sousa</td>
<td>Jerónimo de Sousa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Popular Party (CDS-PP)</td>
<td>Paulo Portas</td>
<td>Paulo Portas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Left Block (BE)</td>
<td>Francisco Louçã</td>
<td>Francisco Louçã</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part II: The Media and Secondary Organisations

In order to contextualise the information which is provided by the surveys on media use, as well as organizational memberships, we would like to ask you to provide some details concerning these intermediary organizations.

TV

1. Please list the major TV networks in your country. Indicate whether these are private or publicly owned.

Radio Televisão Portuguesa (RTP) – Public

Sociedade Independente de Comunicação (SIC) – Private

Televisão Independente (TVI) – Private

2. Please indicate whether you consider them to be politically neutral or politically biased. If they are biased, please indicate whether you consider them biased towards a specific party or generically left- or right-leaning.

Radio Televisão Portuguesa (RTP) – Neutral

Sociedade Independente de Comunicação (SIC) – Neutral

Televisão Independente (TVI) – Neutral

3. Is the political information that the networks provide high or low quality information?

Radio Televisão Portuguesa (RTP) – High

Sociedade Independente de Comunicação (SIC) – High

Televisão Independente (TVI) – Lower than RTP and SIC
RADIO

4. Please list the major Radio channels in your country. Indicate whether these are private or publicly owned.

Radio Difusão Portuguesa (RDP)/Antena 1 – Public
Radio Renascença (RR) – Private
TSF – Private
Rádio Comercial – Private

5. Please indicate whether you consider them to be politically neutral or politically biased. If they are biased, please indicate whether you consider them biased towards a specific party or generically left- or right-leaning.

Radio Difusão Portuguesa (RDP)/Antena 1 – Neutral
Radio Renascença (RR) – Neutral
TSF – Neutral

6. Is the political information that the radio channels provide high or low quality information?

Radio Difusão Portuguesa (RDP)/Antena 1 – High
Radio Renascença (RR) – High
TSF – High

NEWSPAPERS

7. Please list the major Newspapers in your country. Indicate whether these are private or publicly owned.

Público – Private
Diário de Notícias – Private
Expresso – Private
Jornal de Notícias – Private
Correio da Manhã – Private
8. Please indicate whether you consider them to be politically neutral or politically biased. If they are biased, please indicate whether you consider them biased towards a specific party or generically left- or right-leaning.

Público – Neutral (or more appropriately, “balanced”; right and left-wing contents)

Diário de Notícias – Slightly left-wing

Expresso – Slightly right-wing

Jornal de Notícias – Neutral

Correio da Manhã – Slightly right-wing

9. Is the political information that the newspapers provide high or low quality information?

Público – High

Diário de Notícias – High

Expresso – High

Jornal de Notícias – Lower than first three, but short of tabloid

Correio da Manhã – Lower than first three, but short of tabloid

SECONDARY ORGANISATIONS

TRADE UNIONS

10. Please identify the major Trade Unions in your country. Describe their internal characteristics, including whether they function as closed/open shop; how the members are elected; their approximate size vis-à-vis the labour force, as well as other relevant information.

União Geral de Trabalhadores (UGT): about 400.000 workers.

Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores Portugueses (CGTP-Intersindical): about 765.000 workers

Independent unions: 140.000 workers

Overall union density in Portugal: about 30%
11. Please indicate for each Trade Union above whether it is linked to a specific party, and state its name.

UGT: PS and PSD
CGTP-Intersindical: PCP

RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS

12. Please identify the major Religious organizations /Churches in your country. Describe their approximate size vis-à-vis the population, as well as other relevant information.

Catholic Church: about 90% of the population declare themselves Catholic.

13. Please indicate for each Religious organization/Church above whether it is linked to a specific party, and state its name.

OTHER RELEVANT ORGANISATIONS

14. Please give details of any other relevant secondary organizations. Describe its internal characteristics, where relevant, as well as its size, and state its political links.
Part III: Data on Electoral Institutions

Definitions: Whenever a country’s electoral system includes only one electoral formula, it is said to have one segment. Increasingly, electoral systems around the world use more than one electoral formula. In these cases, the number of segments that exist depend on whether the formulas are related for the purposes of seat allocation or not. If they are, then there is still only one segment since the formulas are integrated to some extent. That is the case in Germany. If they are not related, then each electoral formula and the districts it is applied in counts as one segment. This is the case in Lithuania, for example: there are 71 single-member districts that operate under a majority runoff system, and also a single nationwide district that operates under proportional representation (the largest remainders method with the Hare quota).

An electoral district is defined as a geographic area within which votes are counted and seats allocated. If a district cannot be partitioned into smaller districts within which votes are counted and seats allocated, it is called primary. If it can be partitioned into primary districts, and during the counting process there is some transfer of votes and/or seats from the primary districts to the larger district, then the larger district is called secondary. If a district can be partitioned into secondary districts (again with some transfer of votes and/or seats), it is called tertiary.

1. How many segments are there, as defined above, in your electoral system?

One³.

Please answer the following questions (questions 2 through 7) for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature:

2. How many primary electoral districts are there?

Lower House, first (and unique) segment – 22

3. For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from each district?
If district variation exists please state the average district dimension as well as its range.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aveiro</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beja</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braga</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³ The Portuguese Constitution (1997 version, and after) allows for the existence of a two tiers (or more) electoral system, with single member constituencies in the lower tier (primary districts) and multi-member electoral districts in the higher tier (secondary districts) – article 149, number 1. However, this article was never implemented, due to lack of consensus among the major political parties, and so the electoral system remains one of a single tier/one segment.
4. Bragança 4
5. Castelo Branco 5
6. Coimbra 10
7. Évora 3
8. Faro 8
9. Guarda 4
10. Leiria 10
11. Lisboa 48
12. Portalegre 2
13. Porto 38
14. Santarém 10
15. Setúbal 17
16. Viana do Castelo 6
17. Vila Real 5
18. Viseu 9
19. Madeira 6
20. Açores 5
21. Europe and Outside Europe* 4
Total number of MPs 230

* Europe is the district for the Portuguese citizens living abroad in Europe. Outside Europe is the district for the Portuguese citizens living abroad, but not in Europe. Each one of these elects 2 MPs. In this study we have considered them together although they are 2 different electoral districts.

4. Please explain in detail how votes are cast by voters. First, indicate how many votes can be cast. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated? Are votes cast for candidates, lists, or both? Finally, state whether votes are transferable.

Electors have only one vote. They vote in the electoral district where they are inscribed in the electoral rolls. Candidates must be presented in party lists. Electors vote in one and only one of the lists presented by the political parties, with no possibility for preferential votes to be expressed: closed list PR (Proportional Representation). In the end, votes are translated into seats in each one of the 22 primary electoral districts. Candidates in each of the party lists are declared elected according to the votes received by the party list and enter Parliament according to the order in which their name appear in the party list. I.e., if the list gets X seats then necessarily the top X names on the list get the seats.

5. We would like you to explain exactly how votes are converted into seats. Please state the electoral formula(s) which are used. Indicate whether there is a legally mandated threshold that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats, and state what the threshold is. If there are lists, please explain their characteristics, namely whether they are open, closed or flexible.

Votes are translated into seats in each one of the 22 primary electoral districts. In each district votes are translated into seats using the highest average the Hondt method of proportional representation. So, in each district the parties' votes are divided by 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., in order to distribute the total seats in the district by each of the parties competing in that constituency. Seats are allocated to political parties which have the largest averages, until all seats in the district are distributed. If there are any ties between political parties' averages, in a
certain step of the seat allocation process, the corresponding seat is allocated to the party that have the lower number of seats until that step of seat allocation. Candidates in each of the closed party lists are declared elected according to the votes received by the party list and enter Parliament according to the order in which their name appear in the party list.

There are not legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats. It is forbidden by the Portuguese Constitution (article 152 – 1997 version).

**Definitions:** A list is closed if the seats that are awarded to that list are always occupied by the candidates in order of their appearance on the list (i.e., if the list gets x seats then necessarily the top x names on the list get the seats). A list is open if the question of which candidates on the list get the seats that are awarded to the list is determined solely by the votes that each candidate receives. A list is flexible if parties place their candidates in the order they would like to see them elected, but voters can, with varying degrees of ease, change this order through votes they cast for individual candidates.

**Please repeat questions 2 through 5 of this section for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature.**
Part III: Data on Regime Type

Below are various questions about the type of regime—presidential, parliamentary, semi-presidential—in your country. There are two potential problems with these questions that should be noted at the outset. First, in some countries there may be a discrepancy between the \textit{de jure} (or legal) situation and the \textit{de facto} (or practical) situation. For example, in Great Britain the Queen still possesses a legal right to veto legislation, but this right has not been exercised since 1707. In the case of such obviously obsolete powers, please answer according to the \textit{de facto} situation. Otherwise, describe the \textit{de jure} situation. A second potential problem is that the questions may not be phrased optimally for the situation in your particular country. In such cases, please answer as best you can, providing some indication of the difficulties as you see them.

\textbf{Definitions:} The \textbf{Head of State} is typically the highest ranking official in the executive branch of government. Often, this position is held by a president or a monarch, and may be more ceremonial than effective. The Head of Government is usually the highest ranking official in the legislative branch of government. In some systems, this may be someone other than the Head of State (i.e. the prime minister in the Westminster systems), while in other cases, the roles of the Head of State and Head of Government are combined (i.e. in the United States, the president serves as both the Head of State and the Head of Government).

1. Please indicate who the Head of State is and how s/he is selected. If the Head of State is elected, please indicate in detail the election system. Is it a direct or indirect election? If the election is direct, how many rounds of voting are there? If there is a second round of voting how are candidates chosen for this second round? If the Head of State is elected indirectly please state the procedure involved. How is the electoral college formed? Does it deliberate? What voting procedure is used by the electoral college?

The Head of State is the President, who is selected through direct election. This election is carried out as a run-off process, with two rounds. The candidates that run in the second round are the two candidates with the highest vote totals in the first round.

In some countries, the \textbf{Head of Government} is directly elected, in elections that may or may not occur concurrently with legislative elections. In these cases, the Head of Government is said to be elected independently of the legislature. In others, the Head of Government is the leader of the governing party or governing coalition in the legislature, and so, the selection of the Head of Government depends upon the distribution of seats in the legislature. In these cases, the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature.

2. Please indicate who the Head of Government is and how s/he is selected. If the Head of Government is elected independently of the legislature, please indicate in detail the election system. If the Head of Government is selected after legislative elections, please indicate how it happens.
The Head of Government is the Prime-Minister, who is appointed by the Head of State after the legislative elections.

3. Indicate the way(s) in which the government can be dismissed, and the Legislature can be dissolved, if at all.

The Government can be dismissed by the Head of State acting alone. Also, the Head of Government can dismiss the cabinet as a whole. The cabinet can also be dismissed by the majority vote of the legislature, and when a motion of confidence fails to obtain a favorable plurality of the legislator’s vote.

The Legislature can as well be dissolved by the Head of State acting alone. But the Parliament cannot be dissolved within 6 months after legislative elections, nor during the last 6 months of the President’s term of office. Moreover, the Legislature cannot be dissolved during state of siege or emergency.

In some countries, the Legislature has two Chambers. We would like to obtain the following information regarding the organization of the Legislature in your country:

4. Please indicate whether there is a second chamber in your country, and explain briefly the way it is formed, i.e. whether through direct or indirect election.

There is not a second chamber in Portugal.

5. How would you describe the actual legislative powers of the Second Chamber:

   a. Equal to those of the first Chamber
   b. Less than those of the first Chamber but still substantial
   c. Unable to make substantial alterations in legislation, but some minor improvements in bills are often proposed
   d. Effectively powerless.

8. Please indicate if there is a constitutionally guaranteed division of power between the central government and regional and/or local governments? Does the central government have the power to remove elected officials of regional and/or local governments?

That division does not exist. The central government does have the power to remove elected officials of local governments.
Part VI: References.

Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CNEP community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described here.