MAPLE

PORTUGAL WAVE 3
Pre-election Study
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Table of Contents

1. Technical Report

This study is part of the MAPLE Project, ERC – European Research Council Grant, 682125, which aims to study the Politicisation of the EU before and after the Eurozone Crisis in Belgium, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain. In each of these countries, an online panel is to be carried out just before and just after the legislative elections. This report pertains to the pre-election panel of Portugal legislative elections 2019 held on 6 October. Our questionnaire seeks to model the political context of political choices, and to understand the importance that European attitudes may have in voting behaviour. In Portugal, we have partnered with Netquest.

We present in this report a number of political attitudes according to stated partisanship in Portugal. We are interested in the way in which partisan preferences are related to political attitudes, including national issues as well as those pertaining to the EU.

The target population is the general voting population aged >18 years old using the Census 2011 data. The sample size is 1540. The fieldwork was done using the Netquest online panel and took place between 19/08/2019 and 19/09/2019.

The sample followed and fulfilled a socio demographic matrix which crossed three quotas: gender (male, female); age (18-34; 35-54; 55+); education (less than secondary; secondary; more than secondary).

The resulting dataset was weighted according to a weight combining gender (male, female), age (18-34; 35-54; 55+), and education (up to secondary; secondary; post-secondary). Our sample included weights above 2 for less than 10% of the sample.
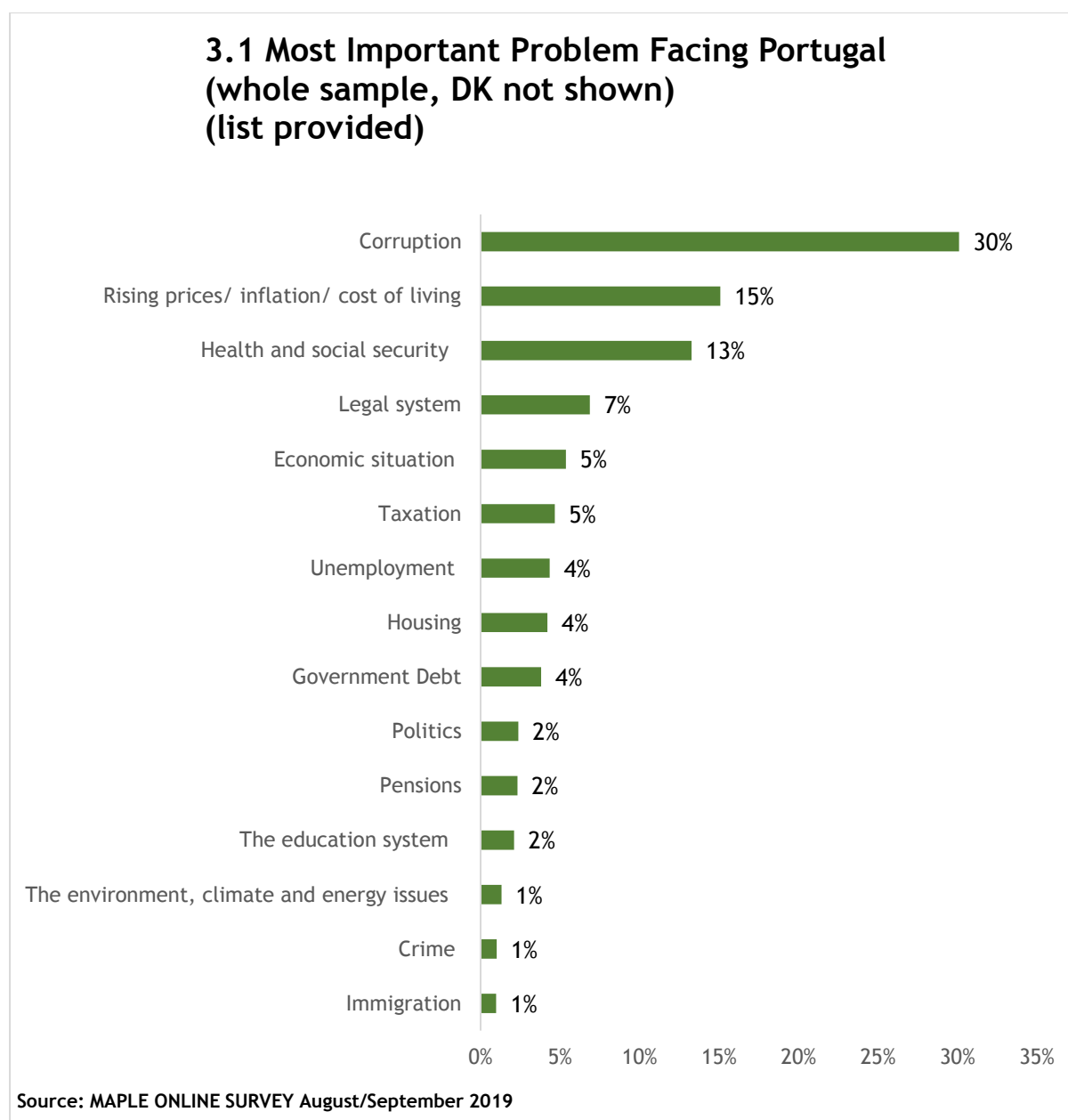
To measure partisanship we used the following questions: the respondent was asked if s/he felt close to a party. To those who replied no in the first question, they were asked again, namely if they felt closer to one party than others. Only those who repeated no in this question too were coded as "without party id". All others were coded with their stated party identification. In the results we show all parties that 1% or more of respondents identify with.

Throughout the report, we will only highlight differences that are substantive, meaning that the differences are statistically significant.

2. REPORT HIGHLIGHTS

- A relative majority of Portuguese citizens consider corruption the most important problem in the country with 30% mentioning this issue. In second place we find "Rising prices/ inflation / cost of living" (15%), and in third "Health and Social Security" (13%), as indicated by the survey respondents.

- On a scale of "0" to "10", respondents place the governing party PS on the left of the ideological spectrum at 4.2, as a centre-left party, whereas its *Geringonça* partners are placed on the (extreme) left: BE (1.6) and PCP (1.9). Still, the Socialists at present are closer to its left allies, the BE and the PCP, than to the PPD/PSD. Indeed, on the Right, PPD/PSD, the largest party and in opposition, is placed at 7.6, very close to the CDS-PP at 7.5.

- In this pre-electoral period, a large minority of those surveyed (47%) state they have no party attachment. The party with which respondents identify the most is the Socialist Party, PS, with 19% stating an identification with it, followed by the PPD/PSD (11%).

- Partisanship is correlated with attitudes towards the majority of issues facing Portugal, both national and European.

- As expected, PS supporters have a better evaluation of the government political performance vis-à-vis other party supporters.

- Nonetheless, in some issues we see less variance than expected among different parties' supporters. Namely, when asked about the national economic situation respondents share a rather positive perspective. Also, when considering the "need to provide Public Services and Social Protection even if that means increasing taxes", we don't see considerable differences by partisanship. On this issue on average, respondents from left to right locate themselves around the middle value of the scale.

- Despite the lasting effects of the Eurozone crisis in Portugal, the majority of respondents reject the idea of leaving the EU (62%) and a majority of 68% agree that the country has benefited from EU membership. Also, the majority do not want to leave the Euro and return to the Escudo (54%).

- On the other hand, Portuguese are divided on the benefits from Euro membership: 51% find that Portugal did not benefit from the Euro whereas 46% believe the opposite.

-Eurosceptic attitudes in Portugal are more prevalent among PCP supporters, as well as among those without a party identification (47% of the sample).

3. Most Important Problem Facing Portugal[1]

3.1 Most Important Problem Facing Portugal
(whole sample, DK not shown)
(list provided)

Problem	Percentage
Corruption	30%
Rising prices/ inflation/ cost of living	15%
Health and social security	13%
Legal system	7%
Economic situation	5%
Taxation	5%
Unemployment	4%
Housing	4%
Government Debt	4%
Politics	2%
Pensions	2%
The education system	2%
The environment, climate and energy issues	1%
Crime	1%
Immigration	1%

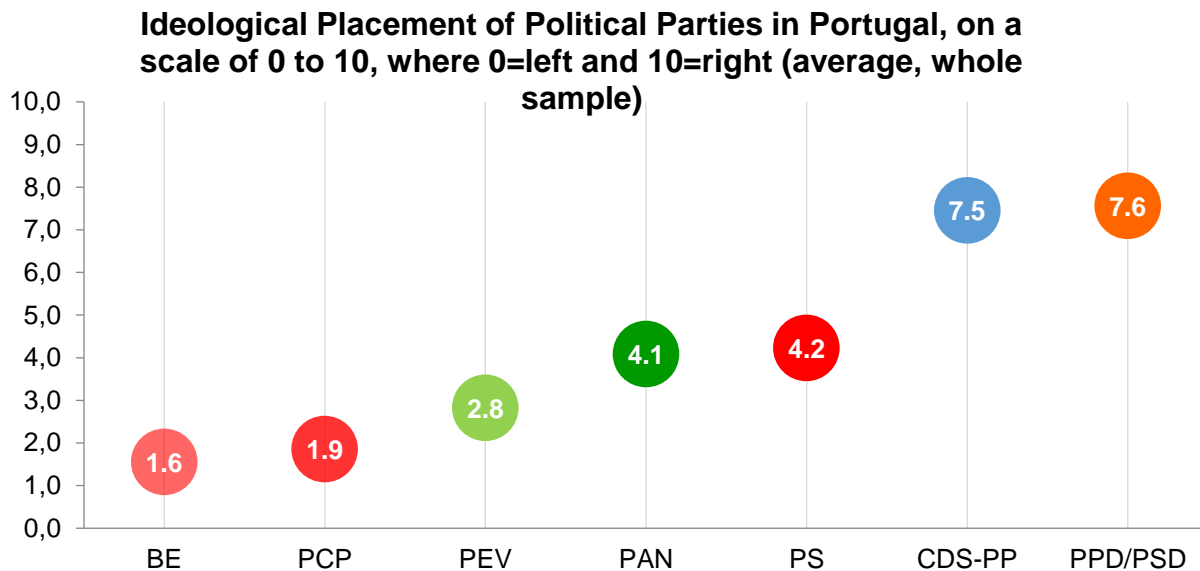Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

Corruption emerges by far as the main problem in Portugal, with 30% of respondents indicating this issue. This is followed by the issue of rising prices/inflation/cost of living (15%), health and social security (13%) and the legal system (7%). Jointly considered, economic issues, such as rising

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[1] In this question, respondents were presented with a list of issue options, built from similar questions fielded by Eurobarometer in the last few years.

prices/inflation/cost of living (15%), together with economic situation (5%) and unemployment (4%) are almost as important as corruption.

4. Ideological Placement of Main Parties

Ideological Placement of Political Parties in Portugal, on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0=left and 10=right (average, whole sample)


Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY 2019

Concerning respondents' ideological placements of parliamentary parties, we find that, on average, respondents perceive that the PS is closer to the PCP and BE than to the PPD/PSD, which was not always the case in Portugal.

In addition, the PAN, Party of People-Animals-Nature, running on a green/climate change/animalist platform with considerable electoral growth in 2019 is perceived as almost on the same ideological positioning as the Socialists.

On the Right, as previously, voters perceive almost no difference between the CDS-PP and the PPD/PSD.
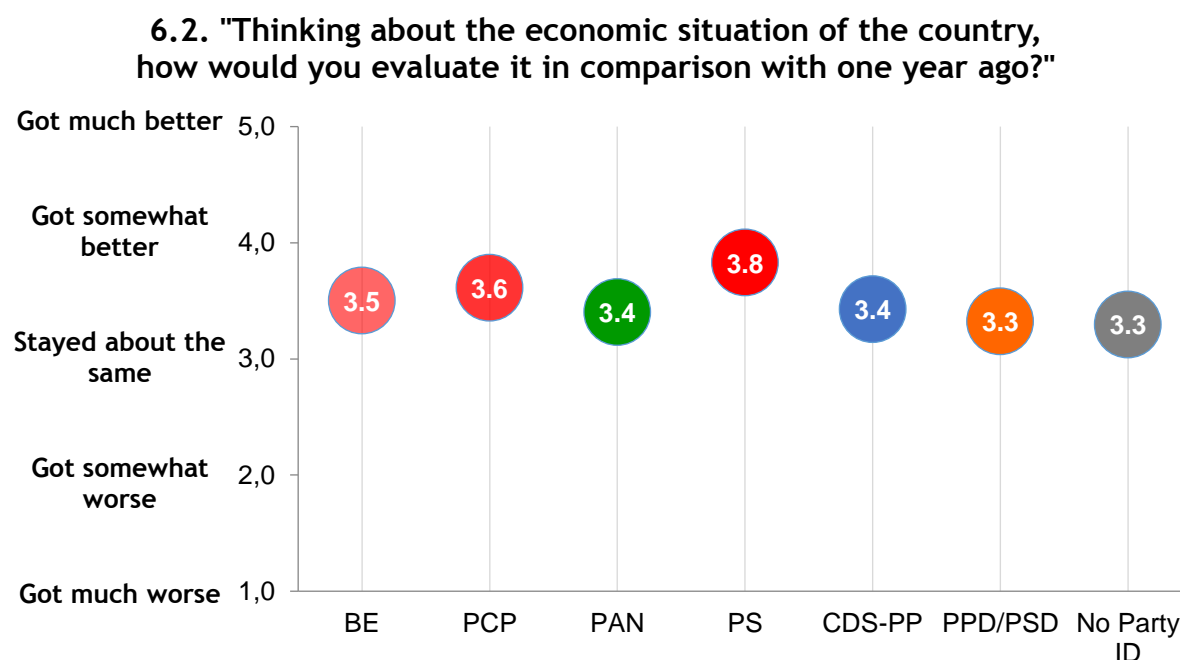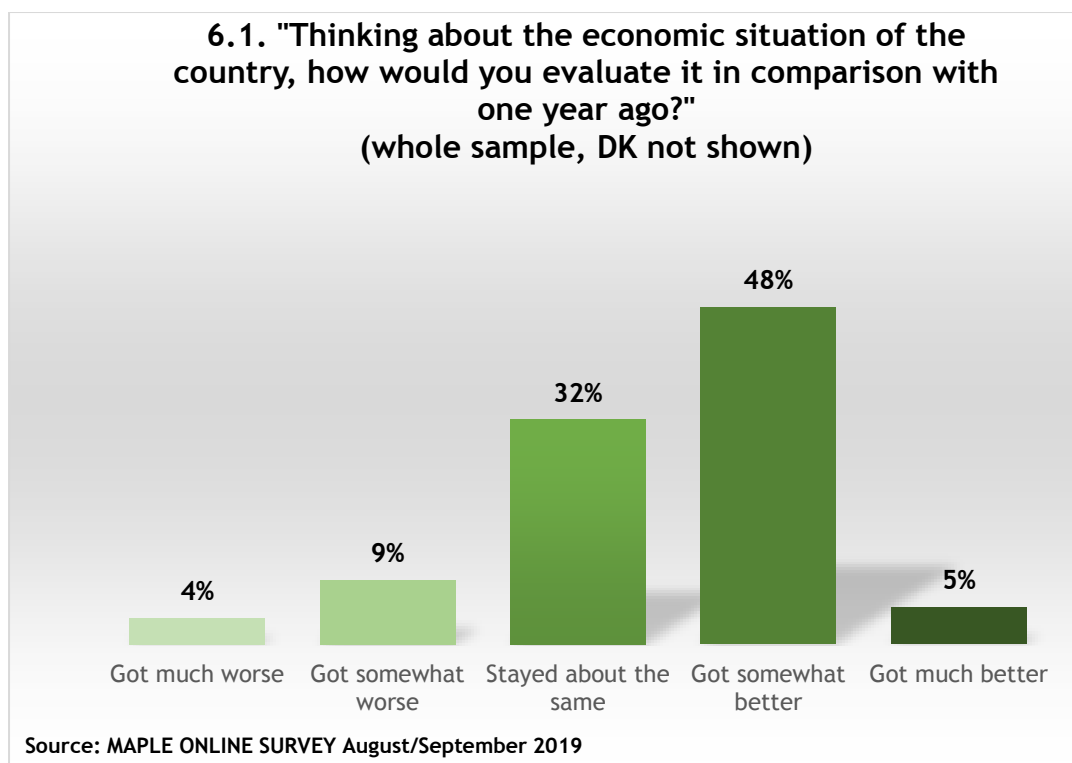
5. Party Identification

5.1. Party Identification in Portugal (%)

Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019
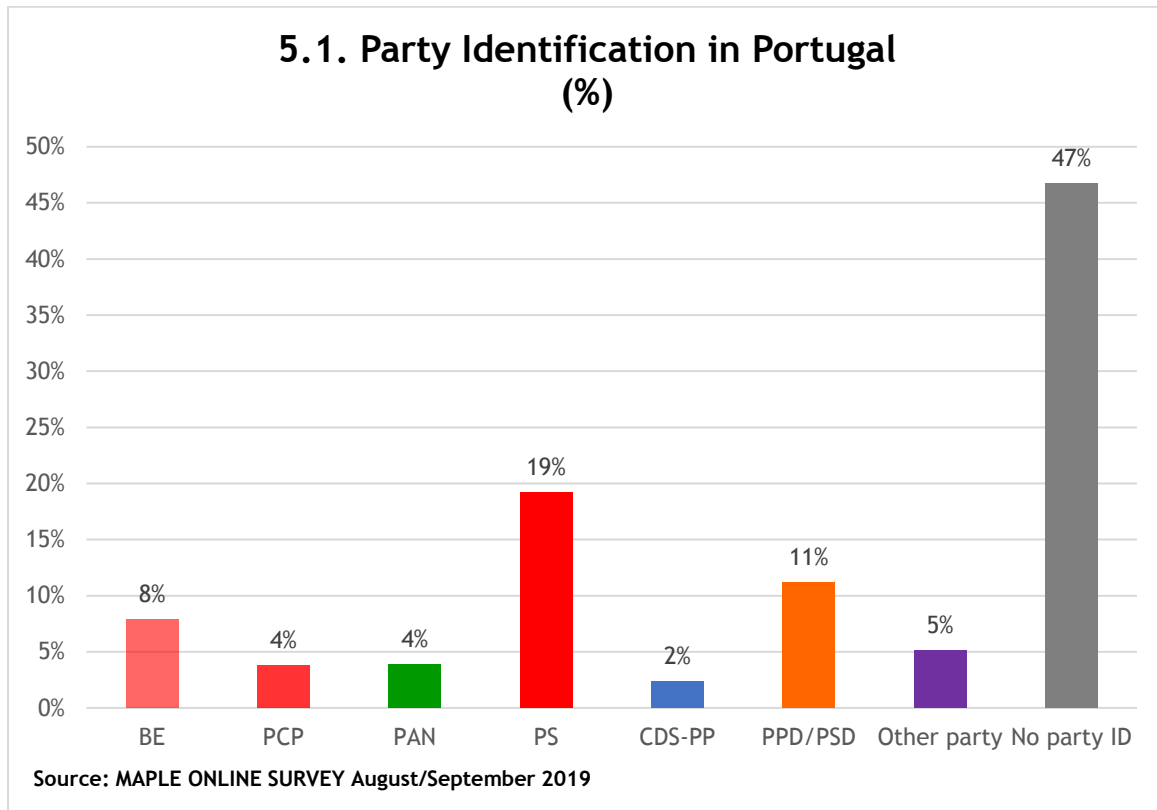
Almost half of respondents do not have a party identification in Portugal. Indeed, we find that 47% of the Portuguese do not feel close to any party, a much higher proportion than in other Southern European countries such as Greece or Spain. Among those who do state that they do identify with a party, on the left, the PS emerges as the main party, with the largest percentage of identifiers (19%), followed by BE (8%) and, with less prevalence, PAN(4%) and PCP(4%). On the Right, PPD/PSD appear as the main party (11%), and only 2% of respondents stating that they identify with the CDS-PP.

Parties with less than 1% of identifiers are aggregated under the "Other party" label. In the remainder of this report, we will sometimes present attitudes according to partisanship for the parties here presented.
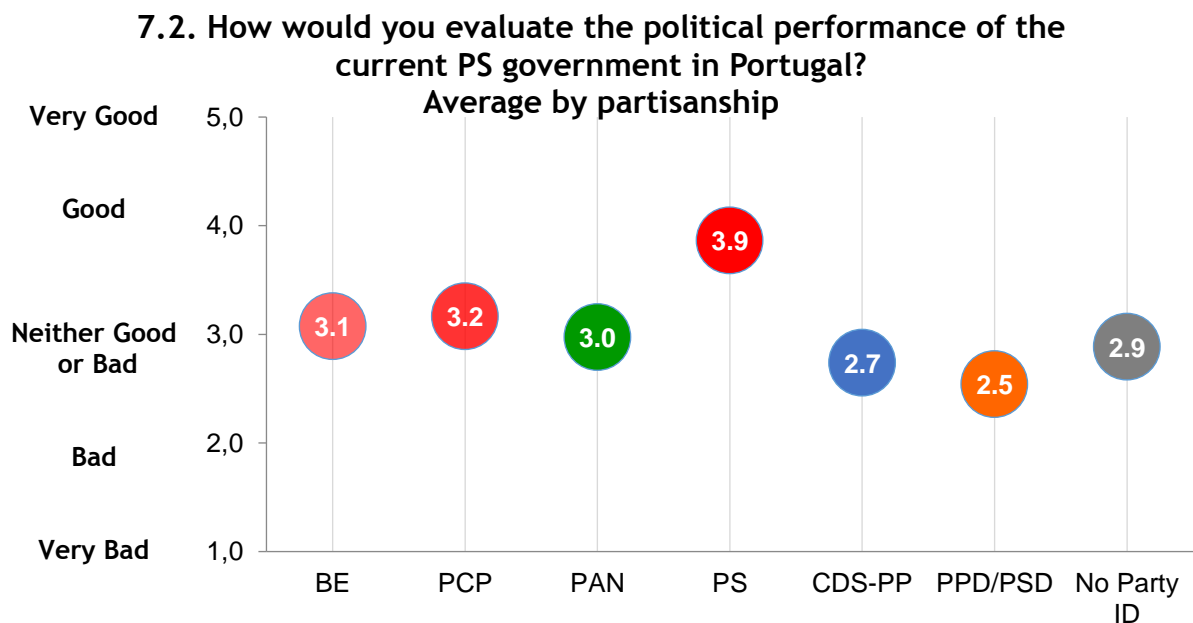
6. National Issues: Evaluation of the Economy

6.1. "Thinking about the economic situation of the country, how would you evaluate it in comparison with one year ago?" (whole sample, DK not shown)

	Got much worse	Got somewhat worse	Stayed about the same	Got somewhat better	Got much better
	4%	9%	32%	48%	5%

Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

6.2. "Thinking about the economic situation of the country, how would you evaluate it in comparison with one year ago?"

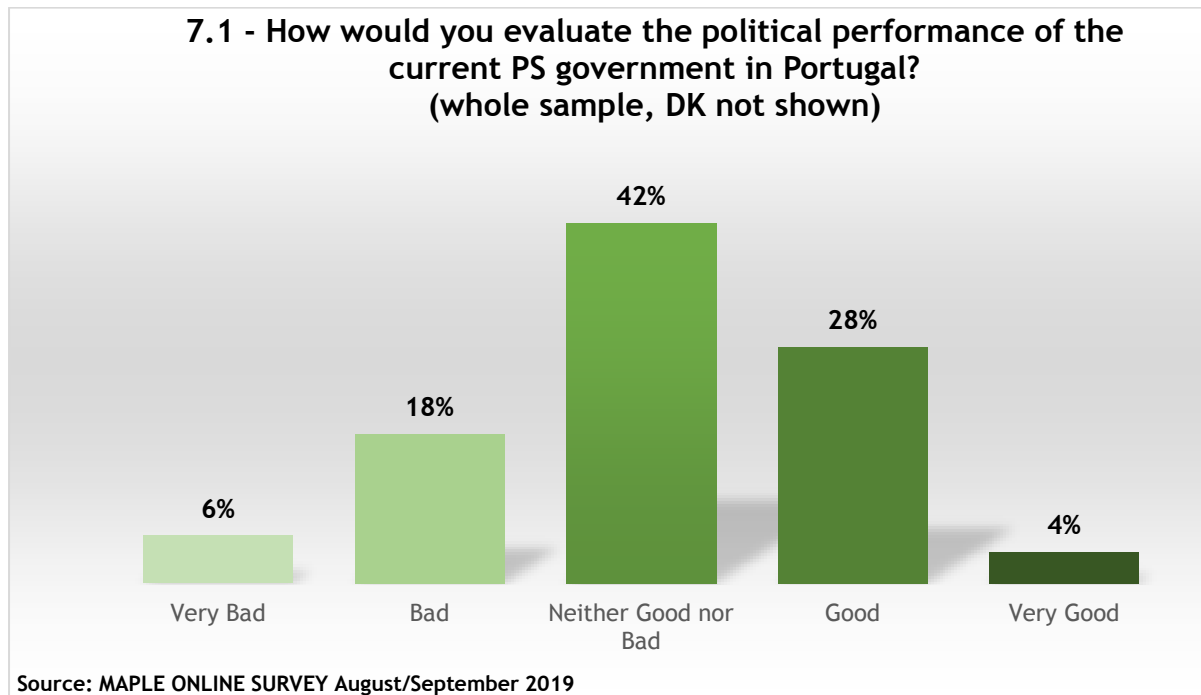|	BE	PCP	PAN	PS	CDS-PP	PPD/PSD	No Party ID
	3.5	3.6	3.4	3.8	3.4	3.3	3.3

Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

A majority of Portuguese people (53%) consider that the economy has improved over the last twelve months, while a large minority (32%) thinks it's stayed about

the same. Contrarily, a small minority (13%) thinks it's gotten worse. Looking at the evaluation of the economic situation according to party identification, there are no substantive differences among partisans.

7. National Issues: Evaluation of the Current PS Government

**7.1 - How would you evaluate the political performance of the current PS government in Portugal?
(whole sample, DK not shown)**

Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

**7.2. How would you evaluate the political performance of the current PS government in Portugal?
Average by partisanship**

Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

A large minority (42%) choose the intermediate value to assess the government's performance, considering it as neither good nor bad. The remaining respondents are rather evenly split between a positive and negative view of government performance, with a slightly bigger proportion expressing a positive evaluation (32% vs 24%).

Regarding government performance according to party identification, we can clearly distinguish three groups of parties, with substantive differences between them. PS supporters are the ones with a more positive assessment of government performance (3.9), followed by PCP (3.2), BE (3.1) and PAN (3.0) supporters, with a more neutral evaluation, and finally, with the most negative assessments, PPD/PSD (2.5) and CDS-PP (2.7) supporters. Nonetheless, even the right-wing partisans don't express clear negative assessments of government performance.

8. National Issues: Corruption

8.1. To what extent do you think corruption is widespread in political parties in Portugal? (0 = Not at all widespread; 10 = Extremely widespread)
**Total sample and average by partisanship**
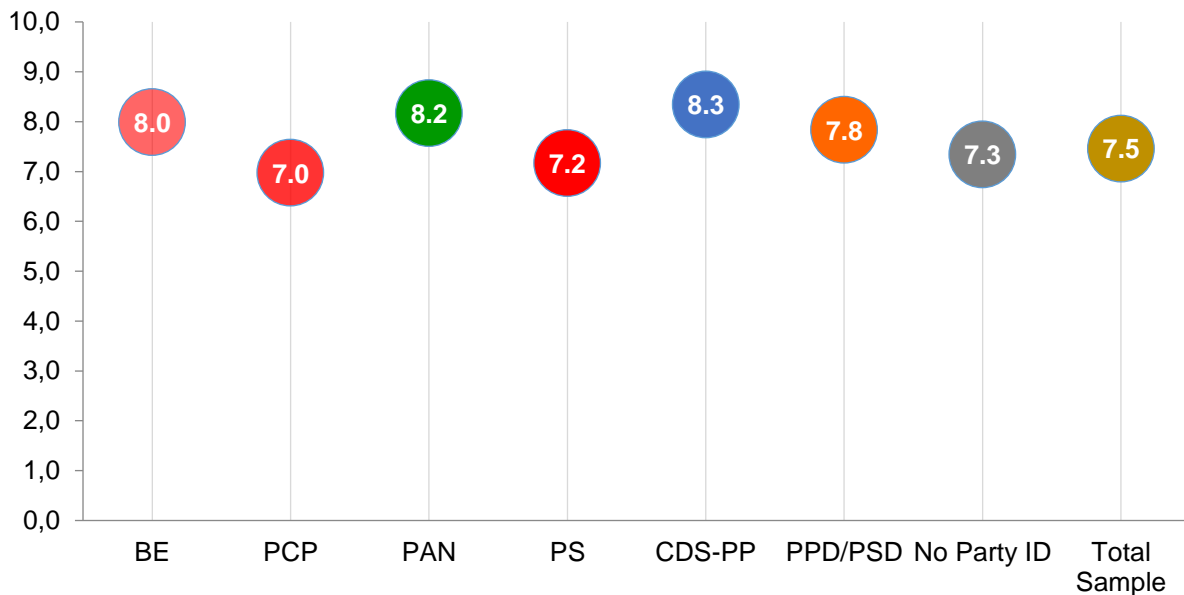
We have seen that "corruption" is perceived, by far, as the most important problem in Portugal. Graph 8.1 allow us to verify some things concerning corruption in Parties: 1) The average of the total sample is considerably high, helping to explain why "corruption" is indicated by respondents as the most important problem; 2) Perceptions vary between parties. There are substantive differences between on the one hand the Socialists and the Communists who are less inclined to perceive political parties as corrupt, and on the other the BE, PAN, CDS-PP and PPD/PSD's partisans who are most inclined to perceive parties as corrupt.

9. National Issues: Health and Social Security

9.1 Where would you position yourself , from 0 to 10, where 0 = *We should improve the public services and social protection even if it means an increase in taxes*, and 10 = *We should reduce taxes even if it means reducing public services and social benefit*

Party	Value
BE	4.7
PCP	4.2
PAN	4.5
PS	4.7
CDS-PP	4.8
PPD/PSD	4.9
No Party ID	5.1
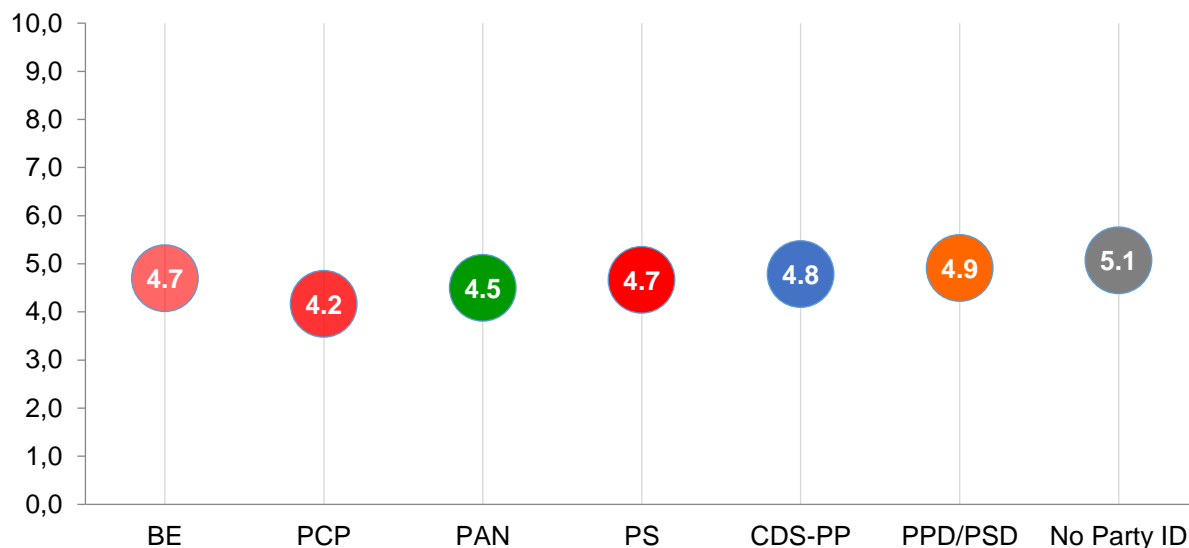
Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

9.2 - Where would you position yourself , from 0 to 10, where 0 = *The National Health System should be controlled by the private sector*, and 10 = *The National Health System should be controlled by the State*
Average by partisanship

Party	Value
BE	7.8
PCP	8.0
PAN	7.4
PS	7.6
CDS-PP	5.5
PPD/PSD	6.5
No Party ID	6.4
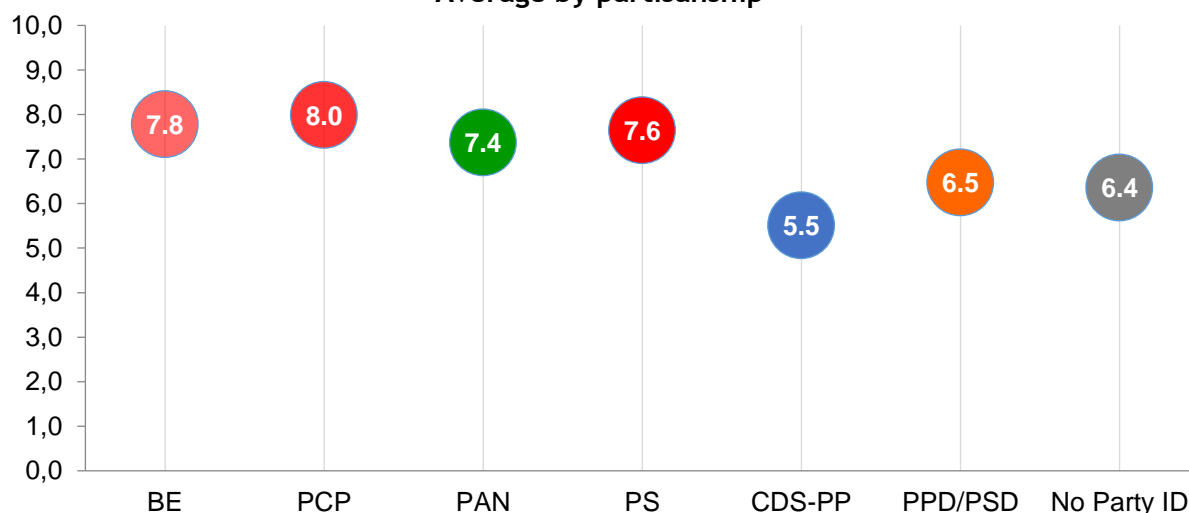
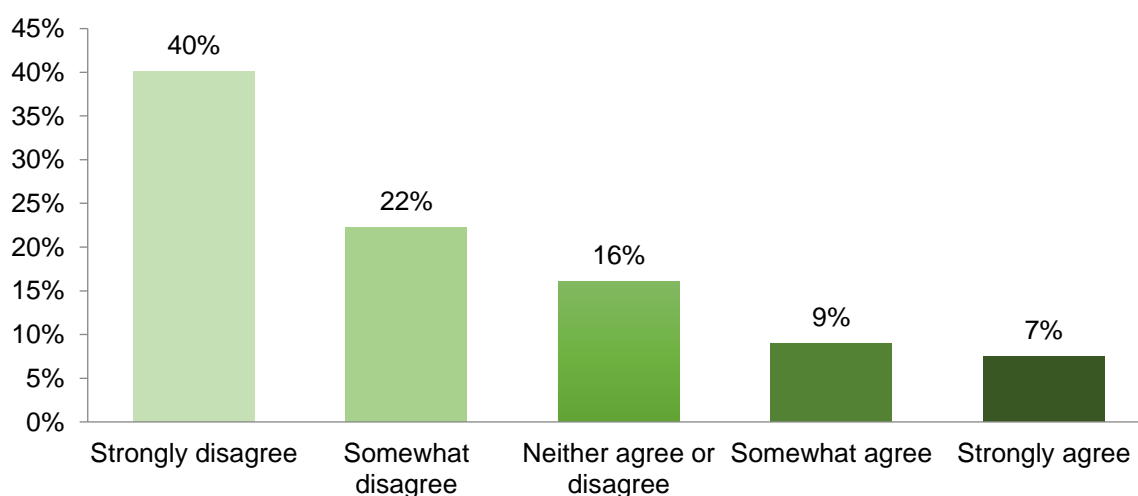Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

Concerning Public Services and Social Protection we do not see a clear difference between parties' supporters, in particular between left and right-wing parties' supporters, with all presenting average scores near the middle value of the scale, meaning general ambivalence in relation to increasing taxes to improve public services and social protection.

Regarding the National Health System, we have seen above that this is one of the main problems identified by respondents, ranking in 3rd place. This was also a much debated issue in the run-up to the October election. We observe substantive differences among blocks. Namely, left-wing parties' supporters favour to a larger extent a National Health system controlled by the State when compared with right-wing partisans, and these differences are substantive. Yet, even right-wing supporters score levels above the middle value of the scale.

10. Portugal and the EU: Membership

We turn now to attitudes towards the EU, by considering three aspects/dimensions: 1) membership itself, 2) attitudes towards the process of European integration, and 3) attitudes towards the Euro, as the main EU policy.

10.1. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Portugal should leave the EU (DK not shown)

Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

13

10.2. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements: Portugal should leave the European Union
### Average by partisanship
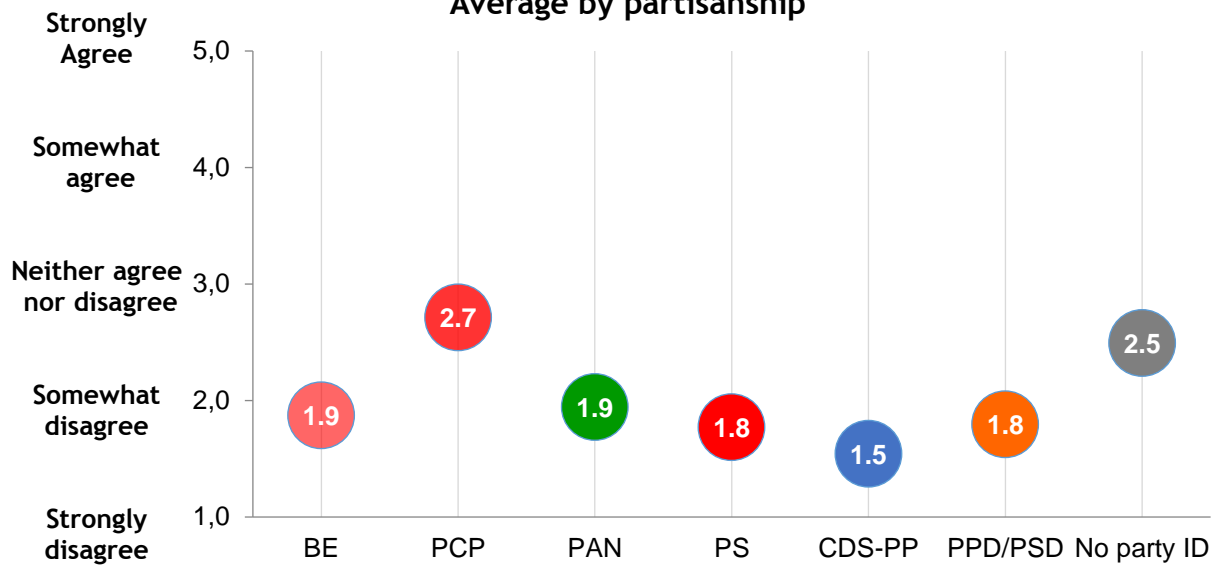
Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

Despite the effects of the Eurozone crisis in Portugal, a majority of respondents (62%) oppose a Portugalexit. In fact, only 16% of the respondents agree with that position. Considering the results by party identification, there are no party supporters who are on average in favour of leaving the EU. Nonetheless, PCP supporters are the ones who are more inclined to agree with Portugal's exit from the EU, followed closely by those who have no party identification.

11. Portugal and the EU: Benefits of Membership

11.1. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that Portugal has benefitted or not from being a member of the European Union?(DK not shown)
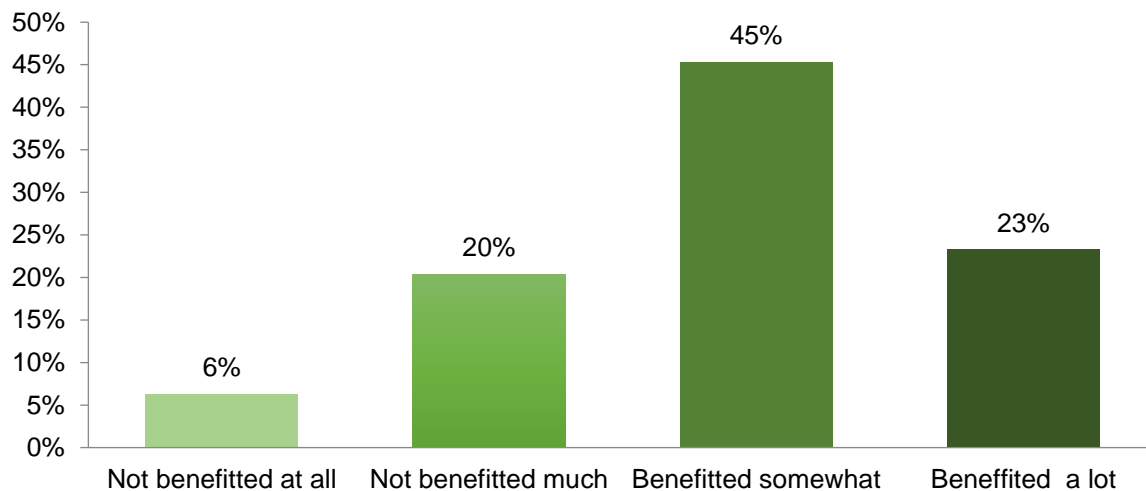
Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

11.2. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that Portugal has benefitted or not from being a member of the European Union?
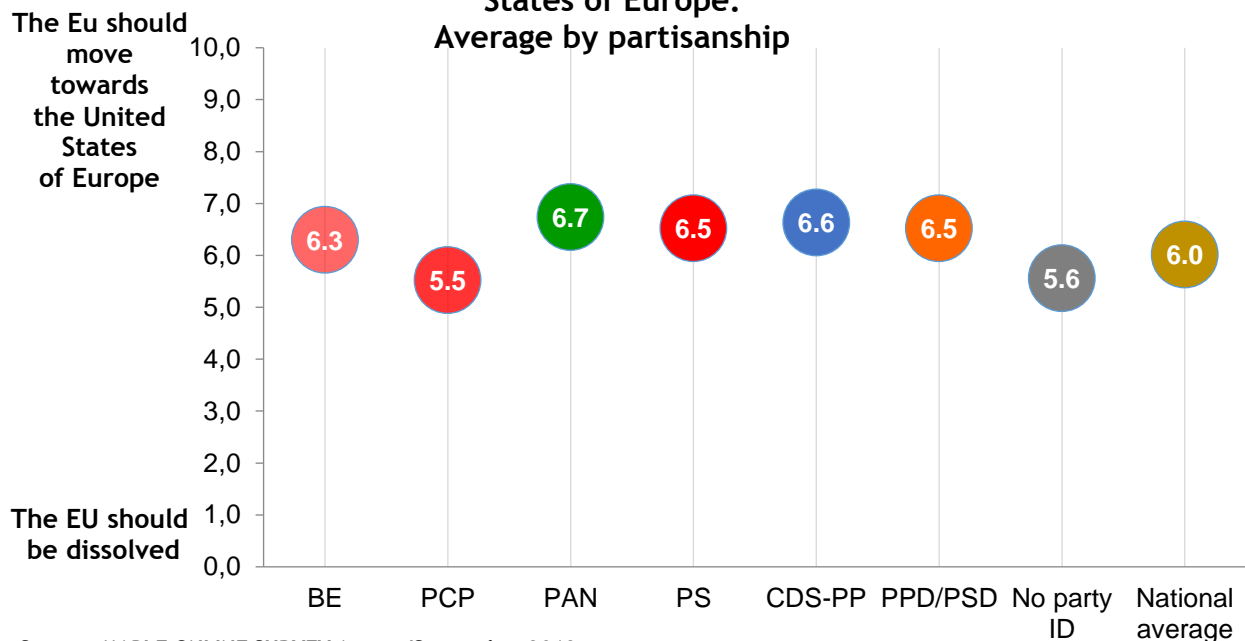### Average by partisanship
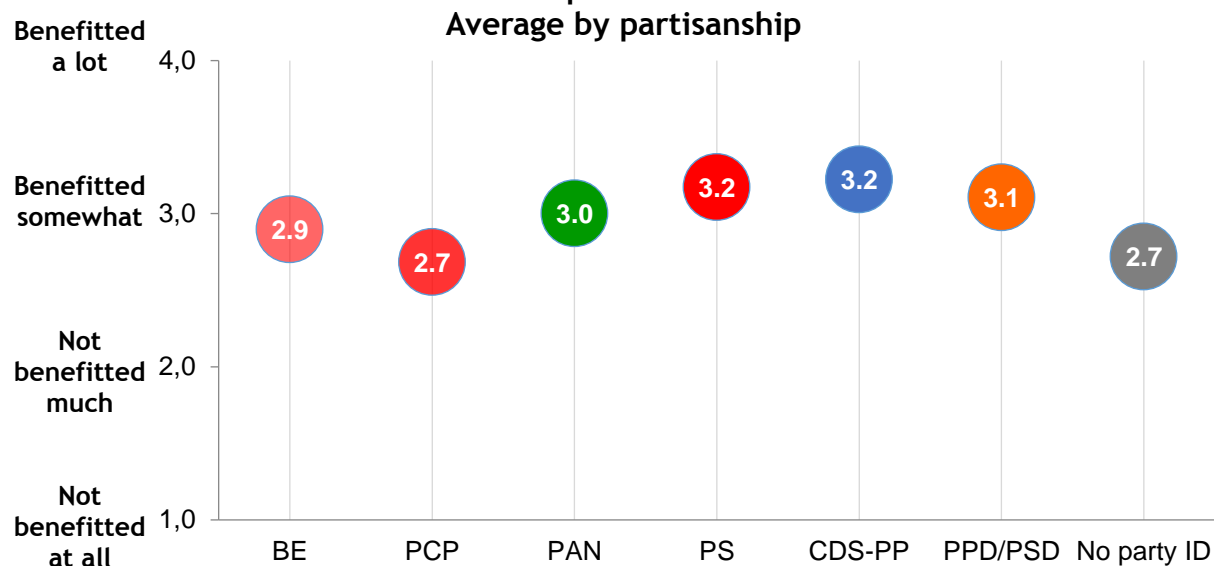
Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

A large majority of 68% of respondents perceive that the country has benefited from being a member of the European Union, with 26% considering the opposite. Among party supporters, we have on average all parties' supporters above the

middle value of the scale indicating that positive assessments exist from left to right. Similarly to the question of leaving the EU, PCP supporters emerge as the group of partisans who evaluate the Portuguese EU membership more negatively. Those who have no party id tend to share the PCP's scepticism in terms of the benefits of EU membership.

12. Portugal and the EU: Political Integration?

12.1. Some people believe that the process of European integration should move forward to the creation of the United States of Europe.
Average by partisanship

The EU should move towards the United States of Europe

|	BE	PCP	PAN	PS	CDS-PP	PPD/PSD	No party ID	National average
	6.3	5.5	6.7	6.5	6.6	6.5	5.6	6.0

The EU should be dissolved

Moving on to the issue of whether the process of European integration should continue to a United States of Europe, or whether the EU should be dissolved for states to regain sovereignty, the graph above shows the average perceptions of Portuguese, as well as per partisanship.

As seen above, the respondents share a positive attitude in favour of more EU integration, with a national average score of 6. Nonetheless, as mentioned previously, Communist supporters are those least inclined to favor more EU integration, together with those who have no party identification.

16

13. Portugal and the EU: Benefits of the Euro

13.1. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that Portugal has benefitted or not from adopting the Euro as currency? (DK not shown)
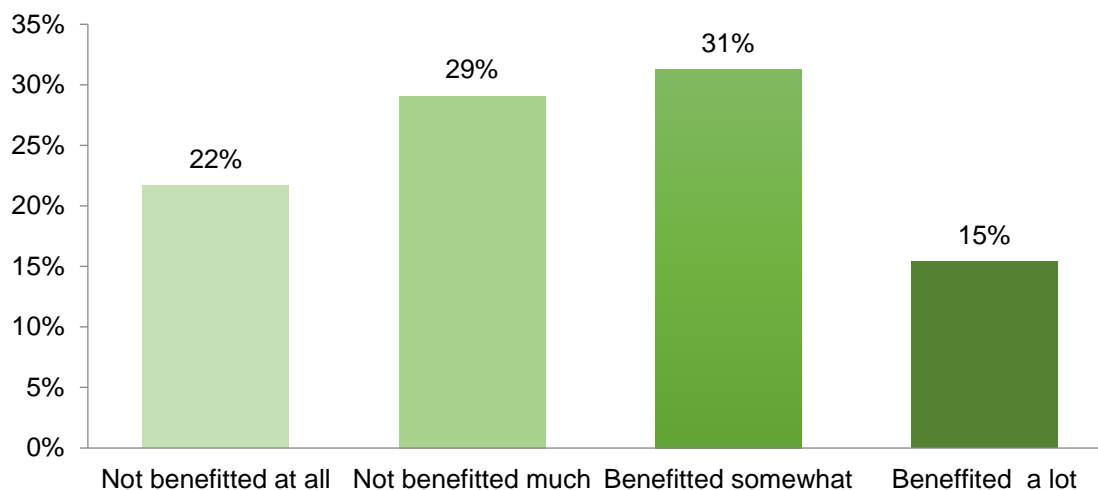
Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

13.2. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that Portugal has benefitted or not from adopting the Euro as currency?
## Average by partisanship
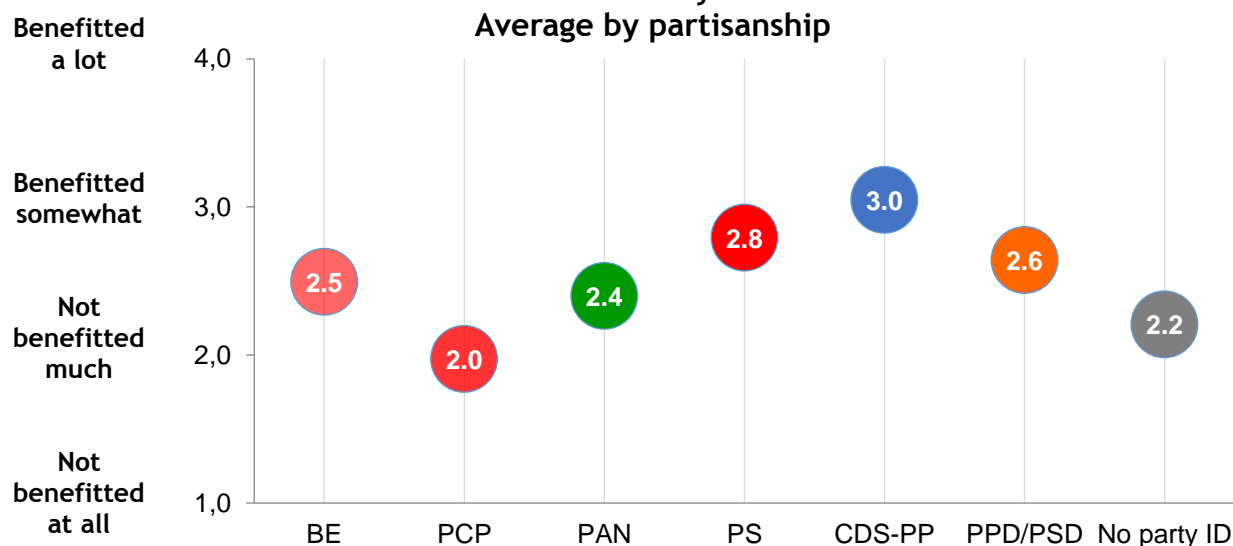
Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

The issue of membership of the Euro is divisive among Portuguese: a slim majority of 51% of the respondents perceive the Euro as not having benefitted Portugal, whereas 46% hold the opposite view. If we consider this issue according to party identity, we find that it is Communist supporters (2.0) who tend to believe the

Euro was detrimental to Portugal, alongside those without a party identification (2.2).

14. Portugal and the EU: Exit from the Euro

14.1. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements: Portugal should leave the Euro and go back to Escudo? (DK not shown)
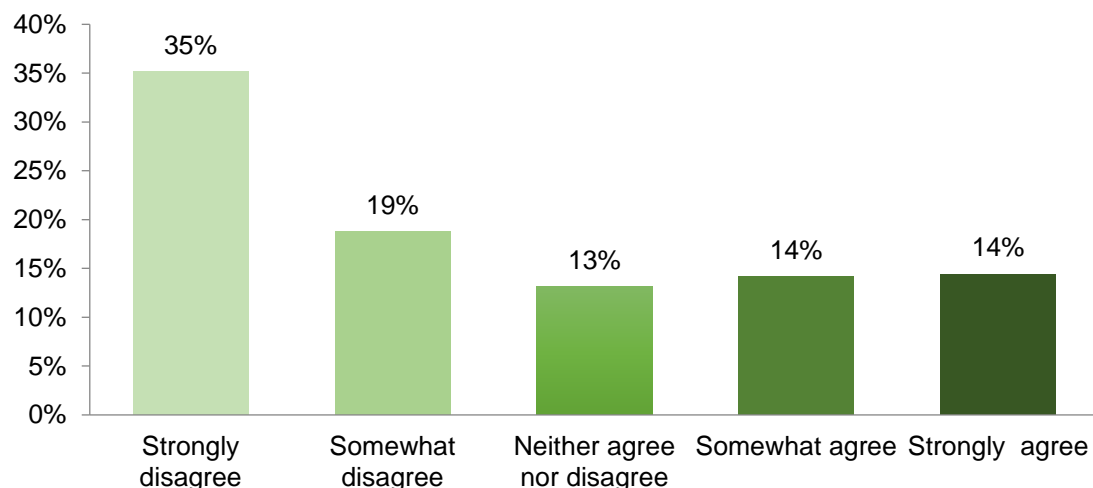
Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

14.2 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements: Portugal should leave the Euro and go back to Escudo?
Average by partisanship
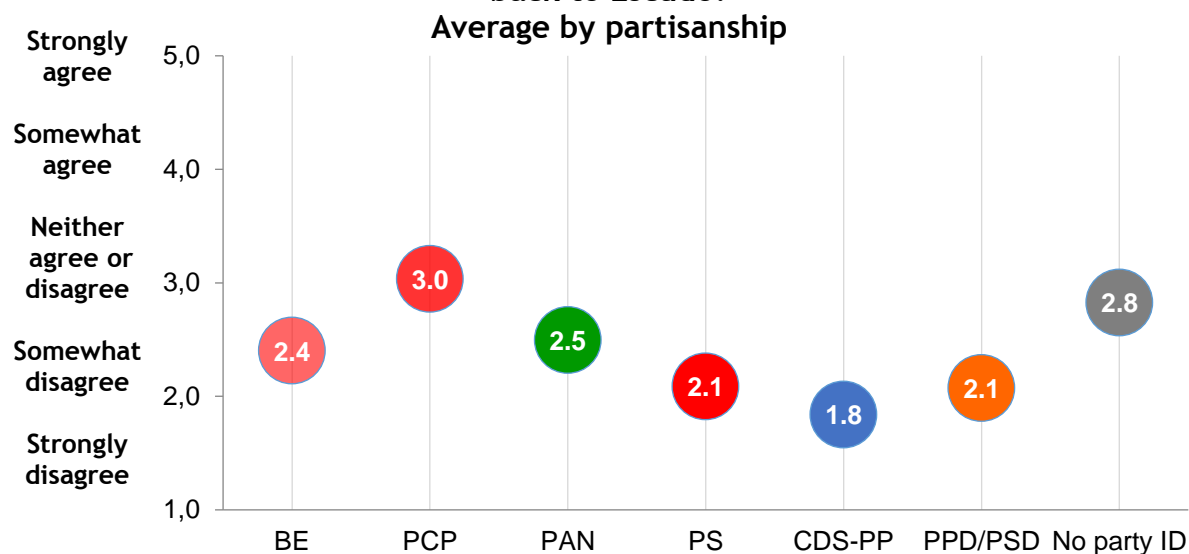
Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY August/September 2019

The final question presented in this report pertains to the preference for leaving the Euro and going back to the Escudo. Whereas Portuguese are split on the benefits of the single currency, they do not believe that exiting the euro is desirable: the majority of respondents (54%) are against this idea, with only 28% of Portuguese favoring it. Considering this issue along party lines, we can detect a trend previously exposed: although all parties' supporters don't favor, on average, an exit from the Euro, it's PCP supporters, as well as those without a party id, that least agree with the opinion of the majority, holding less favorable views concerning the Euro.

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