Comparative Study of Electoral Systems
Module 4: Macro Report
December 21, 2015

Country: Portugal
Date of Election: October 4, 2015

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NOTES TO COLLABORATORS:

▪ The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated! Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g., electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.

▪ Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.

▪ Where brackets [ ] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an "X" within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]

▪ If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered

1a. Type of Election
    [X] Parliamentary/Legislative
    [ ] Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential
    [ ] Presidential
    [ ] Other; please specify: _____

1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?
    [] Upper House
    [X] Lower House
    [ ] Both
    [] Other; please specify:

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

Social Democratic Party (PSD). The President was also endorsed by the People's Party (CDS-PP) both in the 2006 and the 2011 presidential elections.

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

Social Democratic Party (PSD)

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights. List also cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.

Name of Political Party	Number of Cabinet Ministers
Social Democratic Party (PSD)	8
People's Party (CDS-PP)	4
Independents	1
Independents close to PSD	2

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

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3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential?

Social Democratic Party (PSD). The President was also endorsed by the People's Party (CDS-PP) both in the 2006 and the 2011 presidential elections.

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary?

Socialist Party (PS)

Brief Note: In the aftermath of the election of October 4, President Aníbal Cavaco Silva decided to reappoint the incumbent Prime Minister Pedro Passos Coelho after "Portugal Ahead" (a pre-electoral coalition between PSD and the People's Party) had won the election. However, the new government lasted under a month, being ejected through a motion of rejection put forward by the Socialist Party and approved with the support of the remaining parties (the Portuguese Communist Party, "The Greens", the Left Bloc and People-Animals-Nature). The opposition had a total of 123 MPs combined and the departing government had the support of only 107 MPs. A few weeks later President Cavaco Silva appointed the leader of PS, António Costa, as Prime Minister. The present Socialist government managed to gather the support of all the parties on the left of PS – PCP, PEV, B.E. and PAN- PAN abstained – which did not ask for cabinet positions in return.

3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights. List also cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties.

Name of Political Party	Number of Cabinet Ministers
Socialist Party (PS)	10
Independents	4
Independents close to PS	4

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)?   Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

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4a. How many political parties received votes in the election? In this answer, we want political parties, not merely alliances or coalitions of political parties. Please include all parties that received votes, but do not include independents. Where coalitions are present, please count all member parties separately – for instance, a coalition of three parties would count as three parties in your answer, not as one party. Please provide separate information for elections held contemporaneously (e.g., legislative and presidential voting), when voters cast separate ballots.

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4b. Please provide a source of data and link to a website with official, detailed election results (votes and seats) for all parties participating in the election.   If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format if possible.

http://www.eleicoes.mai.gov.pt/legislativas2015/

4c. Please list all parties who received at least 1% of the vote nationally, and the applicable electoral results for each, in the following table. Please indicate the source (even if the same as in Question 4b), and add additional rows to the table as necessary. Please provide party names both in English and in the original language, if applicable.

Brief Note: Please bear in mind that the coalition "Portugal Ahead" (PaF) – between PSD and CDS-PP – did not exist in the electoral districts corresponding to the autonomous regions / archipelagos of Madeira and Azores. In those districts both parties decided to run by themselves or, in the case of CDS-PP Azores, in coalition with PPM (Popular Monarchical Party). Since PPM did not obtain anything near 1% of the vote nationally, we have chosen to combine the results of PSD and CDS in the autonomous regions with the results of PaF (the coalition created by both parties in every district with the exception of the archipelagos) in the following table.

Source: http://www.eleicoes.mai.gov.pt/legislativas2015/

Party Name	Number of Votes	% of Vote	Number of Seats	% of Seats
Portugal à Frente - Portugal Ahead (PaF): Partido Social Democrata – Social Democratic Party (PSD) & Centro Democrático Social/Partido Popular – People's Party (CDS/PP)	2,086,165	38.57%	107	107/230 = 46.52%
Partido Socialista – Socialist Party (PS)	1,747,685	32.31%	86	37.39%
Bloco de Esquerda – Left Bloc (B.E.)	550,892	10.19%	19	8.26%
Coligação Democrática Unitária – Democratic Unity Coalition (CDU): Partido Comunista Português – Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) & Partido Ecologista "Os Verdes" - Ecologist Party "The Greens" (PEV)	445,980	8.25%	17	7.39%
Pessoas-Animais-Natureza – People-Animals-Nature (PAN)	75,140	1.39%	1	0.43%

Partido Democrático Republicano – Democratic Republican Party (PDR)	61,632	1.14%	0	0
Partido Comunista dos Trabalhadores Portugueses / Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado – Portuguese Workers' Communist Party (PCTP/MRPP)	59,955	1.11%	0	0
Total	5,027,449	92.96%	230	100%

4d. What was the voter turnout in the election? Please also provide an official Internet address (preferably) or other official source where this information is available.

5,408,805; 55.86%

Source: http://www.eleicoes.mai.gov.pt/legislativas2015/

4e. Please provide the following six statistics for the country at the time of the election studied, so that we may calculate voter turnout in various ways. Some definitions, where provided, are based on those developed by International IDEA. Please also provide an official Internet address (preferably) or other official source where this information is available.

- Total Population:

  Definition: The total population includes all inhabitants, of all ages, both citizens and non-citizens (including illegal aliens).

  10,401,100

  Source: http://www.pordata.pt/en/Portugal/Resident+population+total+and+by+sex-6

- Total Number of Voting Age Citizens:

  Definition: This number is meant to approximate the eligible voting population.

  8,757,878

  http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?id=184

- Total Vote:

  Definition: The total number of votes cast in the relevant election. Total vote includes valid and invalid votes, as well as blank votes in cases where these are separated from invalid votes.

  5,408,805

  Source: http://www.eleicoes.mai.gov.pt/legislativas2015/

- Total Number of Invalid and Blank Votes:

  202,395

  Source: http://www.eleicoes.mai.gov.pt/legislativas2015/

- Voting Age Population:

  Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

  No estimate (only for legal age citizens, see above)

- Number of Registered Voters:

  Definition: The figure represents the number of names on the voters' register at the time that the registration process closes, as reported by the electoral management body.

  9,746,069 (as of 12-31/2014)

  http://www.cne.pt/content/recenseamento-eleitoral

5. Ideological family of political parties. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name   **Ideological Family**

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. Democratic Republican Party (PDR)	K
B. Democratic Unity Coalition (CDU)	A & B
C. FREE/Time to move forward – LIVRE/Tempo de Avançar (L/TDA)	F
D. Left Bloc (BE)	B & F
E. People's Party (CDS/PP)	E & I

F. Social Democratic Party (PSD)	E & H
G. Socialist Party (PS)	D

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

6a. Ideological Positions of Parties:

Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Left										Right
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. Democratic Republican Party (PDR)				X							
B. Democratic Unity Coalition (CDU)			X								
C. FREE/Time to move forward – (L/TDA)				X							
D. Left Bloc (B.E.)			X								
E. Portugal Ahead (PSD+CDS)								X			
F. Socialist Party (PS)					X						

6b. If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on an alternative dimension, other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings of the parties on this dimension. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

        Not applicable

7. 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)?
Rank them according to their salience (1 = most salient).
1. The slender economic recovery experienced since 2014 – following the successful completion of the bailout program by the International Monetary Fund, the European Central Bank and the

European Commission (2011-2014) – probably was beneficial for the right-wing coalition, which had carried out a very strict economic adjustment program as prescribed by international lenders.

2. The fratricidal dispute which culminated in the election of current Prime Minister António Costa as leader of the Socialist Party only 10 months before the general election of 2015 – after defeating his predecessor António José Seguro in the first open primary in the history of PS – may have had something to do with the party's disappointing electoral results.

3. The pre-electoral coalition between both incumbent parties on the right side of the political spectrum (the Social Democratic Party and the People's party) allowed them to aggregate overlapping electorates and, consequently, to prevent intra-bloc competition and benefit from electoral system disproportionality.

4. The prominence acquired by two Left Bloc Members of Parliament – Mariana Mortágua (during extraordinary committee hearings on the collapse of a pivotal Portuguese private bank; BES) and Catarina Martins (the coordinator of the party) – in the months leading to the general election, enabled B.E. to achieve its best result since the formation of the party in 1999.

5. The bailout of 2011 still hovered over the general election of 2015. Some electors still blamed the Socialist Party for filing for bankruptcy in 2011; others resented the right-wing coalition for the hardships caused by the already mentioned economic adjustment program.

8. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates:

In the table below, report the leader(s) of each party. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 4 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I). If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this.

Party Name	Name of Party Leader	Name of Presidential Candidate, if appropriate
A. Democratic Republican Party (PDR)	António Marinho e Pinto	
B. Democratic Unity Coalition (CDU)	Jerónimo de Sousa	
C. FREE/Time to move forward – (L/TDA)	Rui Tavares	
D. Left Bloc (B.E.)	Catarina Martins	
E. People's Party (CDS/PP)	Paulo Portas (coalition partner of Passos Coelho's PSD)	
F. Social Democratic Party (PSD)	Pedro Passos Coelho	
G. Socialist Party (PS)	António Costa	

9a. Fairness of the Election

How impartial was the body that administered the election law?
        [X] Very impartial
        [ ] Mostly impartial
        [ ] Not very impartial
        [ ] Not impartial at all

9b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?
        [X] Yes
        [ ] No

9c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?
        [ ] Yes
        [ ] No
        [X] No international election observers

9d. On what date was the election originally scheduled to be held?

        October 4, 2015.

9e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 9d, please explain why.

        October 4, 2015.

10a. Election Violence

To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation during the election campaign and the election day?
        [X] No violence at all
        [ ] Sporadic violence on the part of the government
        [ ] Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
        [ ] Sporadic violence on all sides
        [ ] Significant violence on the part of the government
        [ ] Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
        [ ] Significant violence of all sides

10b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?
        [ ] Geographically concentrated
        [ ] National

10c. Post-Election (and election-related) Violence

To what extent was there violence following the election?
        [X] No violence at all
        [ ] Sporadic violence on the part of the government
        [ ] Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
        [ ] Sporadic violence on all sides
        [ ] Significant violence on the part of the government
        [ ] Significant violence on the part of opposition groups

[ ] Significant violence of all sides

10d. Post-Election (and election-related) Protest

To what extent was there protest following the election?
    [ ] No protest at all
    [X] Sporadic protest
    [ ] Significant protest

Questions about the Possibilities of Electoral Alliance

Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

11. Joint Lists/Candidates

There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are explicitly interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.

Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?
    [X] Yes
    [ ] No

Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?
    [X] Yes
    [ ] No

If "Yes" was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

Alliance Name	Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an "*")
Alliance 1: Portugal Ahead (PaF)	Social Democratic Party (PSD)* and People's Party (CDS-PP)
Alliance 2: Democratic Unity Coalition (CDU)	Portuguese Communist Party* and Ecologist Party "The Greens"

12. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc.
(please mark all applicable responses)

[ ] Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
[ ] Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
[ ] Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the
    regulations governing independent parties; please specify: _____
[X] No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
[ ] Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

13a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?
    [ ] Yes
    [X] No

13b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:
    [ ] lists of the same party in the same constituency
    [ ] lists of the same party from different constituencies
    [ ] lists of different parties in the same constituency

14a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?
    [ ] Yes
    [X] No

14b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?
    [ ] No
    [ ] No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
    [ ] Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
    [ ] Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing
        him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
    [ ] Yes, other; please explain:

Data on Electoral Institutions

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

Portuguese electoral law: https://aceproject.org/ero-en/regions/europe/PT/portugal-electoral-law-english-2011/view

Voters' handbook (available only in Portuguese):
http://www.cne.pt/content/apresentacao

Stakeholders' handbook (available only in Portuguese):
http://cne.pt/sites/default/files/dl/ar2015_Caderno_Apoio.pdf

Electoral commission official results (available only in Portuguese):
http://cne.pt/sites/default/files/dl/ar2015_mapa_oficial_resultados.pdf

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Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.

Electoral Tier (Segment) and House

15a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

15b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

Questions about Voting

16a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

> One vote only.

16b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)
(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)
    [ ] Candidates
    [X] Party Lists
    [ ] Party Bloc Voting
    [ ] Other; please explain: _____

16c. How many rounds of voting are there?

> One round only.

16d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?
    [X] Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)
    [ ] Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)
    [ ] Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)

17. Are the votes transferable?
(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are *transferred* from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

[ ] Yes
[X] No

18. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

[ ] Yes
[ ] No

19. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

[ ] Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions
[ ] Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions
[ ] Yes; Without Sanction for Violation
[X] No

20. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

1- District magnitude: Portuguese electoral law encompasses 22 electoral districts for general elections: 18 districts for continental Portugal, 1 district for each autonomous region/archipelago (Madeira and Azores) and another 2 for out-of-country voting (one for emigrants living in European countries and another one for emigrants living outside Europe). Each of these 2 districts for emigration has a magnitude of 2.

There are 230 elected Members of Parliament (the maximum allowed by the Portuguese Constitution). 226 of them are elected for 1 out of 20 districts that comprise the Portuguese territory. The average district magnitude is 10.45, if we include the districts specifically devised for emigration and 11.3 if we do not take them into consideration. However, due to the geographical distribution of the population, there is a pronounced asymmetry in terms of district magnitude between the most populated districts (Lisbon: 47 and Porto: 39) and the more scarcely populated ones (Portalegre: 2 and Beja: 3, to name just a couple of examples).

This means that if we exclude both districts concerned with emigration – which are not subject to variation in terms of magnitude – the two most populated districts in Portugal elect 38% of Parliament (86/226), whereas the 10 least populated districts (ranging between 2 and 6 in district magnitude) elect only about 18% of MPs (41/226). Hence, 8 medium-size districts elect roughly 44% of MPs, ranging in district magnitude from 9 to 19.

2- External voting / out-of-country voting: Has already been described in N. 1.

3- Electoral Formula: The D'Hondt method has been (constitutionally) adopted. (Article N. 149.1 of the Constitution).

4- Party-centered ballot: The electoral law establishes closed party lists.

5- Independents: Closed party lists can, nevertheless, include independents. (Article N. 151.1 of the Constitution).

Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

21a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?
    [ ] Yes
    [X] No

21b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

21c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?
    [ ] Percent of total votes
    [ ] Percent of valid votes
    [ ] Percent of the total electorate
    [ ] Other; please explain: _____

21d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

> **Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature. Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.**

References

22. Please provide an official source for district-level election results. English language sources are especially helpful. Include website links or contact information if applicable.

http://www.eleicoes.mai.gov.pt/legislativas2015/territorio-nacional.html

23. Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described. Include website links if applicable.

- Ace: The Electoral Knowledge Network:
http://aceproject.org/

- Electoral commission official results (available only in Portuguese):
http://cne.pt/sites/default/files/dl/ar2015_mapa_oficial_resultados.pdf

- General Election of 2015 – results district by district:
http://www.eleicoes.mai.gov.pt/legislativas2015/territorio-nacional.html

- Inter-Parliamentary Union:
http://www.ipu.org/english/home.htm

- International IDEA:
http://www.idea.int/

- Nacional Electoral Commission – official website:
http://cne.pt/

- POP – Trends in Public Opinion (developed by the Francisco Manuel dos Santos Foundation):
https://www.ffms.pt/en/study/7/pop

- PORDATA – The Database of contemporary Portugal (developed by the Francisco Manuel dos Santos Foundation):
http://www.pordata.pt/en/

- Portuguese Electoral system:
http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2257_B.htm

- Portuguese Constitutional Court – official website:
http://www.tribunalconstitucional.pt/tc/en/home.html

- Portuguese Electoral law:
https://aceproject.org/ero-en/regions/europe/PT/portugal-electoral-law-english-2011/view

http://www.cne.pt/sites/default/files/dl/legis_lear_2015_0.pdf   (available   only   in
Portuguese)

- Portuguese Government – official website:
 http://www.portugal.gov.pt/en/portuguese-democracy/o-governo/o-governo.aspx

- Portuguese Parliament – official website:
http://www.en.parlamento.pt/

- Presidency of the Portuguese Republic – official website:
http://www.presidencia.pt/?idl=2

-Stakeholders'   handbook   (available   only   in   Portuguese):
http://cne.pt/sites/default/files/dl/ar2015_Caderno_Apoio.pdf

- Statistics Portugal – official website:
https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpgid=ine_main&xpid=INE&xlang=en

- The Portuguese Constitution; English version:
http://www.tribunalconstitucional.pt/tc/conteudo/files/constituicaoingles.pdf

- Voters' handbook (available only in Portuguese):
http://www.cne.pt/content/apresentacao