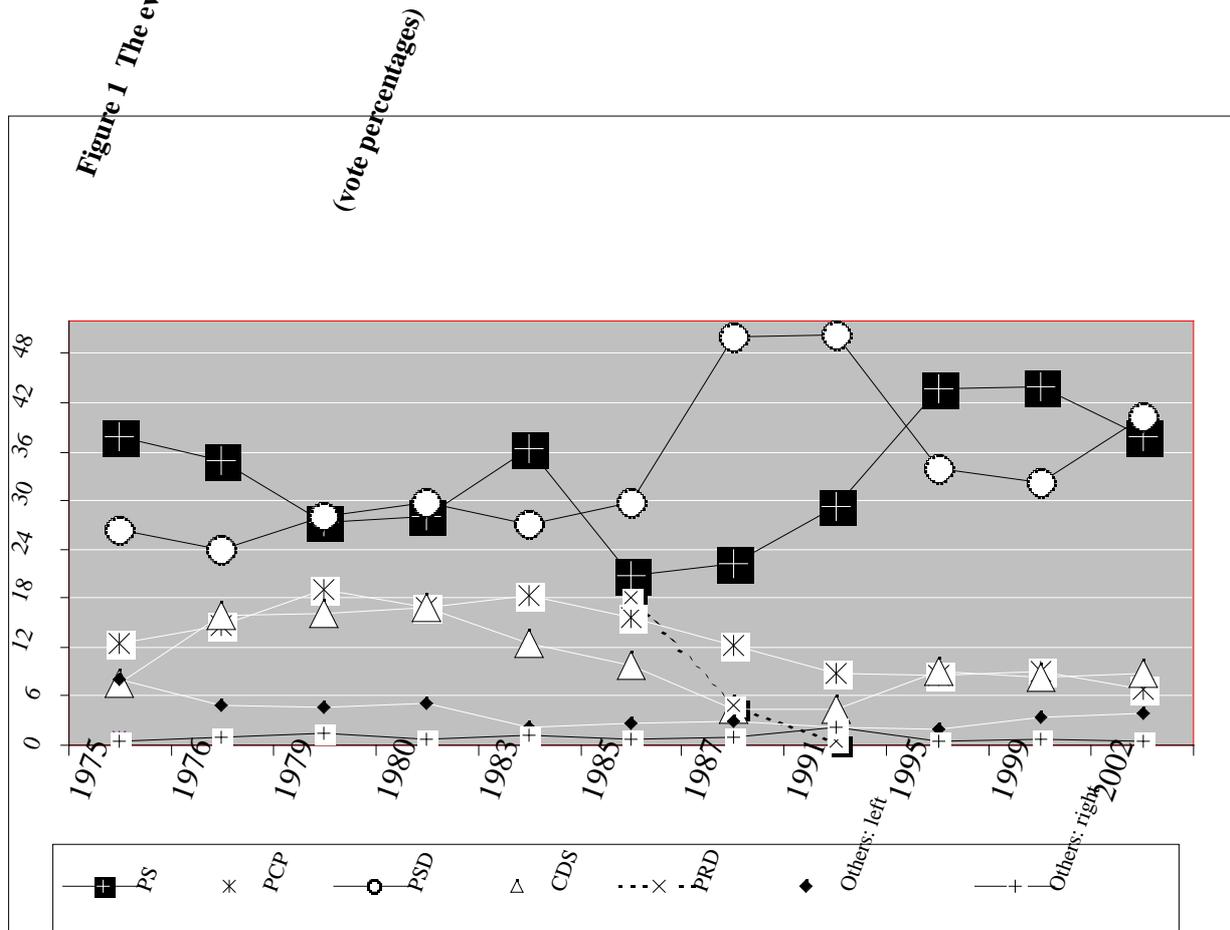


**Figure 1 The evolution of the party**



Sources: data elaborated from official electoral results available at [www.stape.pt](http://www.stape.pt), and [www.cne.pt](http://www.cne.pt).

Figure 2: Effective Number (ENEP) in Portuguese Elections

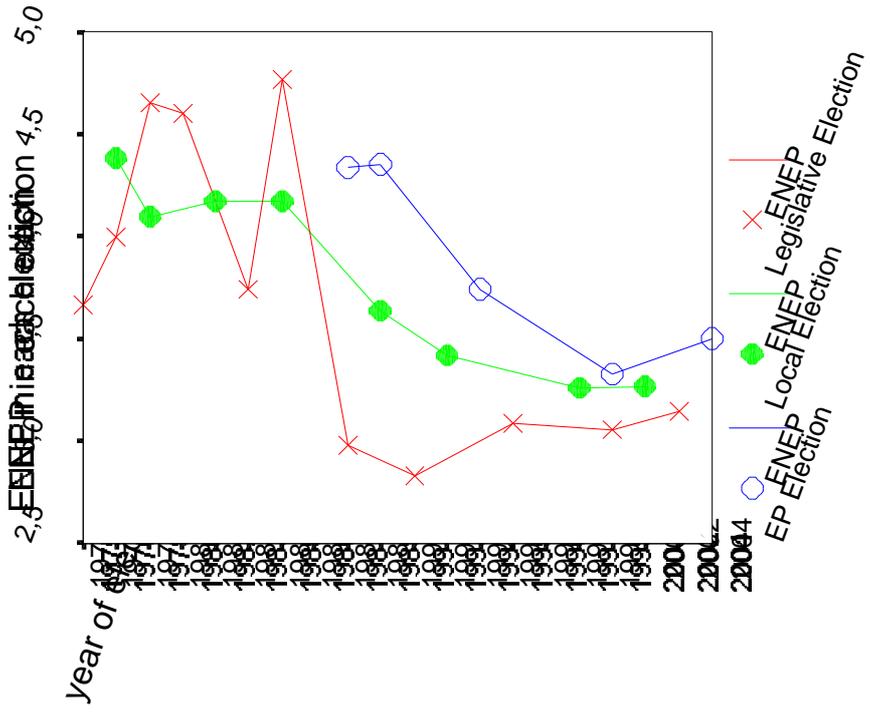


Figure 3: Total Volatility (T  
 Portuguese Elections (T

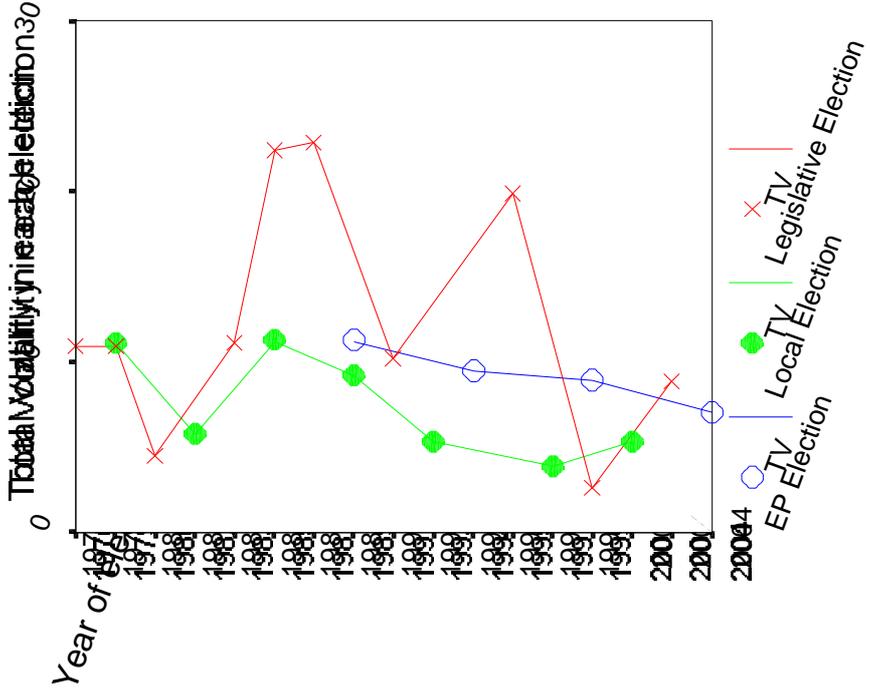
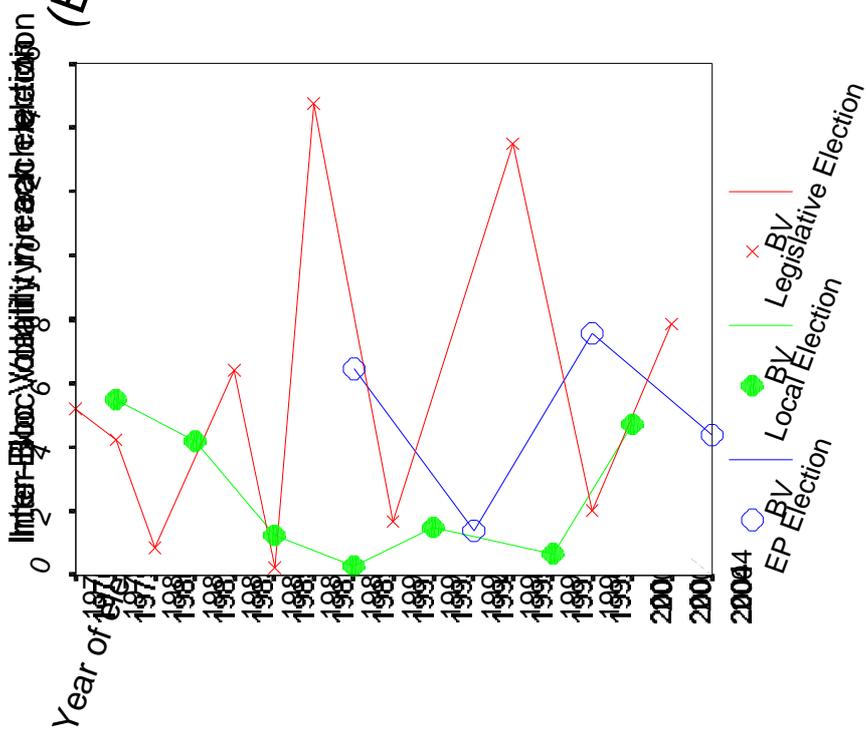


Figure 4: Inter-Bloc Volatility (BV) in Portuguese Elections



**Table 2: Political Parties' Average Vote Percentages by Decade in First-Order and Second-Order Elections**

Political Parties	Type of Elections	1970s (*)	1980s (*)	1990s (*)	2000s (*)	1975-2004 (*)
PS+PSD	Legislative	59.6	61.1	77.9	78.0	69.2 (72,3) (**)
	Local EP	58.6 -	63.4 60.1	74.2 71.7	76.1 70,5	68.1 67,4
PCP+CDS	Legislative	28.6	26.5	16.1	15.6	21.7 (19,4) (**)
	Local EP	34.9 -	29.5 27.7	20.5 21.1	16.8 15,9	25.4 21,6
PRD	Legislative	-	11.5	0.6	-	6.0 (6,0) (**)
	Local EP	- -	2.8 4.4	- 0.2	- -	2.8 2.3
Others: left and right	Legislative	6.9	4.1	3.6	4.3	4.7 (4,0) (**)
	Local EP	3.9 -	1.7 6.6	3.3 4.0	2.7 9,2	2.9 6,6

Sources: data elaborated from official electoral results available at [www.stape.pt](http://www.stape.pt), and [www.cne.pt](http://www.cne.pt).

Notes:

(\*) Political parties' vote percentages are averages for each decade (1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000) or for the entire democratic period (1975-2004).

(\*\*) Because before 1987 the party system in legislative elections was rather more fragmented, and EP elections only began in 1987, to compare averages for the whole period in EP (1980s-2000s) and legislative elections, we consider only the 1980s-2000s period also for the latter contests – the correspondent values are shown in parenthesis.

**Table 3a: Ideology, cleavages and the vote in European Parliament (EP) and Legislative elections, 1987-1994 – OLS regressions**

Independent variables	Dependent variable: past vote ordered in a left-right scale			
	Legislative 1987	EP 1989	Legislative 1991	EP 1994
	Beta & significance	Beta & significance	Beta & Significance	Beta & significance
Self placement on a left right scale	0.705***	0.683***	0.626***	0.586***
Education	-0.013	-0.019	0.080**	0.072
Household Income	0.045	0.117**	0.028	0.100*
Union membership	0.054	-0.045	0.061	0.091*
Church attendance	0.112***	0.111**	0.077**	0.097*
Occupation	n.u.	n.a.	n.u.	n.u.
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.552 (0.554)	0.504	0.423 (0.381)	0.381
N	1000	1000	1000	1000
Valid N	324	276	420	272

Source: European and Legislative elections, 1987 to 1994: data elaborated from Euro-barometers 31.1 (1989) and 41.1 (1994), ICPSR study numbers 9360 and 6535.

Notes:

- 1) \*  $p < 0,1$ ; \*\*  $p < 0,05$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0,01$ .
- 2) For the Adjusted R<sup>2</sup> in legislative elections we present two values: one with the total number of people who voted for legislative elections; the other with only those who voted in legislative and EP elections (in parenthesis).
- 3) N.u. = not used.
- 4) Self-placement on a left right scale: 0 – left; 10 – right
- 5) Age Finished School ordered from lowest to highest.
- 6) Household Income (Quartiles): 1 – Poorest; 4 - Richest.
- 7) Union membership: 1 – yes; 2 – No.
- 8) Church attendance: ordered from lowest (“never”) to highest (“more than weekly”).
- 9) Occupation: 1 – manual workers; 2 – routine non manual workers; 3 – professionals.
- 10) Vote in legislative elections: 1987: 1 - UDP (left) ; 2 – PCP-CDU; 3 – MDP-CDE ; 4 – PS; 5 – PSD; 6- CDS; 7 – PPM; 8 - PDC (right); 1991: 1 – PCP-CDU (Left); 2 – PS; 3 – PRD; 4 – PSD; 5 – CDS; 6 – PSN; 7 - PPM (right).
- 11) Vote in EP elections: 1989: 1 - UDP (left) ; 2 – PCP-CDU; 3 – MDP-CDE ; 4 – PS; 5 – PSD; 6- CDS; 7 – PPM; 8 - PDC (right); 1994: 1 - UDP (left) ; 2 – PCP-CDU; 3 – PS ; 4 – PSD; 5 – CDS; 6- PSN; 7 – PPM (right).
- 12) When using the Euro-barometer data, in EP elections, only respondents aged 18 or more were included. In legislative elections, due to the additional use of “past vote,” only people aged 20 or more (1987) or aged 21 or more (1991) were included.

**Table 3b: Ideology, cleavages and the vote in European Parliament (EP), Local and Legislative elections, 1999-2004 – OLS regressions**

Independent variables	Dependent variable: past vote ordered in a left-right scale (except Legislative 2004: voting intention)					
	EP 1999	Legislative 1999	Local 2001	Legislative 2002	EP 2004	Legislative 2004
	Beta & significance	Beta & significance	Beta & significance	Beta & significance	Beta & significance	Beta & significance
Self placement on a left right scale	0.610***	0.430***	0.502***	0.617***	0.478***	0.505***
Education	-0.064	-0.064	0.074	0.038	-0.044	-0.013
Household Income	n.u.	0.063	n.u.	n.u.	n.u.	n.u.
Union membership	0.029	-0.084	0.090**	0.084**	0.021	0.033
Church attendance	0.007	0.127**	0.105***	0.068**	-0.179***	-0.080*
Occupation	-0.038	0.105**	0.011	0.030	0.010	-0.004
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.354	0.243	0.299	0.419 (0.415)	0.325	0.292 (0.303)
N	500	1000	1303	1303	1000	1000
Valid N	169	303	554	538	368	478

Sources: European Elections 1999 – *European Election Study 1999*; Legislative Elections 1999 – *European Value Study (EVS) 1999/2000, The Third Wave* (Portuguese field work: October-December 1999); Local and Legislative elections, 2001 and 2002 respectively: data elaborated from the *Post Electoral Survey – Portuguese NES Survey*, in Freire, et al, 2003; European Elections 2004 – *European Election Study 2004*.

Notes:

- 1) \*  $p < 0,1$ ; \*\*  $p < 0,05$ ; \*\*\*  $p < 0,01$ .
- 2) For the Adjusted R<sup>2</sup> in legislative elections we present two values: one with the total number of people who voted for legislative elections; the other with only those who voted in legislative and local elections (in parenthesis). Except for EVS 1999, because past vote in EP elections was not asked. For the vote in the 2002 legislative elections
- 3) N.u. = not used.
- 4) Self-placement on a left right scale: 0 – left; 10 – right
- 5) Education. For EVS 1999 and Portuguese NES Survey 2002 : highest level of education attained ordered from lowest to highest. EES 1999 and 2004: Age when stopped full-time education, in ascending order.
- 6) Household Income ordered from lowest to highest.
- 7) Union membership: 1 – yes; 2 – No.
- 8) Church attendance: ordered from lowest values (1: “never”) to highest (“weekly” or “more than weekly”).
- 9) Occupation: 1 – manual workers; 2 – routine non-manual workers; 3 – professionals. For EVS 1999: 1 – manual workers; 2 – routine non-manual workers; 3 – professionals; 4 & 5 – petty bourgeoisie; 6 – employers. For EES 1999 and 2004, subjective social class: 1 - working class; 5 – upper class. For EES 1999 and 2004: subjective social class.
- 10) Vote in EP elections 1999: 1 – BE – (left); 2 – PCP-CDU; 3 – PS; 4 – PSD; 5 – CDS-PP (right).
- 11) Vote in Legislative elections 1999: 1 – MRPP – (left); 2 – PSR; 3 – Left Bloc (BE); 4 – PCP-CDU; 5 – PS; 6 – PSD; 7 – CDS-PP (right).
- 12) Vote in local elections 2001: 1 – Left Bloc (BE) – (left); 2 – PCP-CDU; 3 – PS-PCP; 4 – PS; 5 – PSD; 6 – PSD-CDS-PPM; 7 – PSD-PPM; 8 – CDS-PP (right).
- 13) Vote in legislative elections 2002: 1 – BE – (left); 2 – PCP-CDU; 3 – PS; 4 – PSD; 5 – CDS-PP (right).
- 14) Vote in EP elections 2004: 1 – BE (Left); 2 – PCP-CDU; 3 – PS; 4 – PSD-PP; 5 – PND (right).
- 15) Voting intention in legislative elections 2004: 1 – BE (Left); 2 – PCP-CDU; 3 – PS; 4 – PSD; 5 – PSD-PP; 6 – CDS-PP (right).

**Table 4: Electoral Cycles in Democratic Portugal, 1976-2004: change in national government vote support in second order elections, and government's popularity**

Date and Type of Second-order Election	Change in vote percentages of the party(ies) controlling national government: second order elections compared with the prior (or concurrent) legislative election			National government popularity (in the month of the second-order election)
	Honeymoon: 0-12 months after legislative election	Midterm: 13-36 months after legislative election	Later term: 37-48 months after legislative election	Not for honeymoon
1976: L		-1.7		n.a.
1979: L	2.1			
1982: L		-5.7		n.a.
1985: L	4.2			
1987: EP	-12.8			
June 1989: EP		-17.5		28.7
Dec. 1989: L		-15.7		28.7
1993: L		-16.9		29.0
1994: EP		-16.2		31.0
1997: L		-3.6		33.3
1999: EP			-0.6	32.7
2001: L		-7.7		22.3
2004: EP		-15.6		24.3

Sources: in terms of electoral returns, the data was elaborated by the author from official electoral results available at [www.cne.pt](http://www.cne.pt). The data referring to government popularity was elaborated by the authors from the monthly polls carried out by *Euroexpansão*, a commercial polling unit, between 1986 and 2001, and published by *Expresso*, a weekly Portuguese newspaper. From January 2002 on, the *Expresso's* monthly polls used were carried out by a different commercial polling unit, *Eurosondagem*, and there was a change in the measure of government popularity. About the latter issue, see comments in the paper text.

Notes:

n.a. = not available.

L = Local elections.

EP = European Parliament elections.

*Honeymoon* – see definition in the paper text.

*Midterm* – see definition in the paper text.

*Later term* – see definition in the paper text.

*National government popularity*: see definitions in the paper text.