# COMPARATIVE CANDIDATE SURVEY

## Portuguese Candidate Survey - Codebook[1]

### Portuguese 2011 Legislative Elections

In Portugal, conducting the candidate survey was part of a larger research project titled *"Elections,Leadership, and Accountability: Political Representation in Portugal in longitudinal and comparative perspective"* - FCT Reference: PTDC/CPJ-CPO/119307/2010, based at the CIES-IUL (Center for Sociological Studies and Research) at ISCTE-IUL, coordinated by André Freire, José Manuel Leite Viegas and Ana Maria Belchior.

This project, besides the research network Comparative Candidate Survey, is also part of the PARENEL/Legispar (Parliamentary Representation at National and European Levels), coordinated by Olivier Costa (CNRS Senior research fellow) and Eric Kerrouche (CNRS Senior research fellow) and based at Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Bordeaux http://www.legipar.sciencespobordeaux.fr/PDF/PARENEL_EN.pdf); and PARTIREP, coordinated by Christian Deschouwer and based at Vrije Universiteit Brussel (http://www.partirep.eu/index.php?page=project&page2=survey&id=2).

The Portuguese study was funded by Portuguese Science Foundation (FCT); Portuguese Parliament (Assembleia da República); Ministery of Internal Affairs (DGAI-MAI – Direcção-geral da Administração Interna); and also have the institutional support of the National Election Commission (CNE – Comissão Nacional de Eleições).

The principal investigators of the Portuguese study *"Elections, Leadership and Accountability: Political Representation in Portugal in longitudinal and comparative perspective"* are André Freire, Auxiliary Professor with Aggregation at ISCTE-IUL (Lisbon University Institute) and senior researcher at CIES-IUL (Center for Sociological Studies and research at ISCTE-IUL); José Manuel Leite Viegas, Auxiliary Professor with Aggregation at ISCTE-IUL and senior researcher at CIES-IUL (Center for Sociological Studies and research at ISCTE-IUL); Ana Maria Belchior, assistant professor at ISCTE-IUL (Lisbon University Institute) and senior researcher at CIES-ISCTE-IUL (Center for Sociological Studies and research at ISCTE-IUL). The Research Assistant was Inês Lima (Master in Political Science).

---

[1] with some exceptions (that can be seen in this present codebook, starting from page 4) the database of Portuguese Candidates 2011 was adapted according to the Codebook of Comparative Candidate Survey (Codebook as of April 27, 2008 [corrected June 25, 2013] in order to facilitate the integration of Portuguese data in general comparative database.

*For any contact please consider the following:* André Freire, Auxiliary Professor with Aggregation, ISCTE-IUL (Lisbon University Institute), Avenida das Forças Armadas, 1649-026, Lisboa, Portugal. Email: andre.freire@iscte.pt

*For further contacts please consider the following Emails:*

José Manuel Leite Viegas: jmlv@iscte.pt

Ana Maria Belchior: ana.belchior@iscte.pt

Inês Lima: Ines_Gloria_Lima@iscte.pt

### 1. Methodological note on the survey´s application in Portugal

The study's universe was made up of 1150 candidates to the Portuguese Parliament in the 2011 Legislative Elections. These candidates were from the 5 major parties/coalitions with representation in the Parliament: BE (Bloco de Esquerda: Left Bloc, a left-libertarian party); CDU (a permanent coalition between the Communists, PCP: Partido Comunista Português, and the Greens, PEV: Partido Ecologista, Os Verdes); PS (Partido Socialista, a catch all center-left party member of the Socialist party family in the EU); PSD (Partido Social Democrata, a catch all centre-right party member of the EPP party family in the EU); CDS-PP (Centro Democrático e Social – Partido Popular, a cadre conservative party member of the EPP party family in the EU) (230 candidates by party/coalition).

The questionnaire was printed and sent by letter through National Elections Commissions (CNE - Comissão Nacional de Eleições) who have the addresses of each candidate in their personal records. In order to meet the requirements of the National Commission for Data Protection (CNPD – Comissão Nacional de Protecção de Dados) the questionnaire was sent only for those who expressed in a consent form created for this purpose) their consent to provide the address. However, because these addresses were incomplete or inexistent in some cases, we were not able to send the questionnaire to all the candidates. This information gaps were filled in cases where it was possible to send the questionnaire to an institutional address. In the total, were sent 878 questionnaires that correspond to 76, 3% of the universe.

The Survey was answered by 190 candidates (16,5% of the universe and 21,6% of the questionnaires sent). In order to increase the number of answers it was sent four follow up letters reminding the candidates of the questionnaire and the importance of their answer. Beside this we also collected data from the Portuguese MPs Survey (5,9% of the universe) once the main structure of the questionnaires are the same and also relied heavily on the comparative questionnaires of the research networks to which the project is related. In this way, we can increase the sample of candidates' answers. As such, in total we end up with 257 answers (22,3% of the universe and 29,3% of the questionnaires sent) with the fieldwork having been conducted between 27th July 2012 and 31st May 2013 (This delay which was communicated and accepted by the CCS international coordinator (Professor Hermann

Schmitt) was due to several problems, namely: 1st) delay in funding by FCT / Portuguese Science Foundation; 2nd) delay in the permission of National Commission of the Protection of Personal Data to have access to candidates' addresses; 3rd) normal delay in fieldwork that required 4 reminders). However, in the latter case, MPs only answered to a subset of all variables: the ones that are common between the CCS and the MPs survey. Thus, we have 190 or 257 respondents, depending on the questions.

## 2. Weighting

A preliminary analysis of the data noted some detours relative to population distribution regarding sex and political party, requiring the weighting of the sample. So for this data base (N Candidate Survey 2011 =257) we weight the sample by party and sex and regarding two aspects: *1st*) all the Candidates survey answers (N2012=190/1150); *2nd*) data collected from the MPs Survey (N2012-2013=67/1150) once the main structure of the questionnaires are the same and also relied heavily on the comparative questionnaires of the research networks to which the project is related. In this way, we can increase the sample of candidates' answers.

So, this results in three Weights:

 - Weight 1. – Regarding N=257 [Candidates Surveys answers + Data collected from the MP Survey];

 - Weight 2. – Regarding N=190 [only Candidates Surveys answers];

 - Weight 3. – Regarding N=67 [only Data collected from the MP Survey];

We also created the variable **INFO** with the label *"info about the samples"* (that works like a filter) for the main sample [1=Candidates who responded to the Candidates Survey] and for the sub-sample [2=Data from the MP's Survey].

### 2.1. Example of calculating the weighting

Imagine if you want to calculate the weight for a female candidate from Socialist Party regarding the sample of N=257:

1$^{st}$) you need to know how many people from the feminine sex run in the 2011 Portuguese Legislative Election by the Socialist Party (through the candidate list by constituency, information available in the National Election Commission - http://www.cne.pt/content/eleicoes-para-assembleia-da-republica-2011);

2$^{nd}$) Calculate: *nr. female candidate that run by PS Party*/1150

i.e. (87/1150)*100=7,6

3$^{rd}$) Then calculate: {N *sample* * (*nr. female candidate that run for PS Party*/1150)}

 i.e. 257*0,076= 19,532

4$^{th}$) Then you need to know who many female candidates from Socialist Party answered the Candidate Survey (through running a frequency on your database)

i.e. N=11

5$^{th}$) And the weight result of the calculation:

{(*N sample * nr. female candidate that run for PS Party/1150) /nr. female candidate from PS Party answered the Candidate Survey*}

i.e. 19,532/11=1,78

6th) Finally, computes the weight (1,78) inserting it in all cases in which it applies.

### 3. Specifications of the Portuguese database

***How many years local party office? / How many years regional party office? / How many years national party office? –*** *[variables in the Portuguese Comparative Candidate Survey 2011 database (CCS-Portugal): A8a – A8c]*

In these questions we have respondents that answer in more than one of these variables that they held a (…) party office during few months. So we decided to create the variable value "less than one year" for these cases.

**Portugal categories:**

0=never had a (…) party office

104=Less than one year

99=No response

98=Don't Know

***Was your recent nomination contested? –*** *[variables in the Portuguese Comparative Candidate Survey 2011 database (CCS-Portugal): B2]*

**Portugal:** No category 3= I had more than one contender campaign

***Who made the decision about your nomination? –*** *[variables in the Portuguese Comparative Candidate Survey 2011 database (CCS-Portugal): B2a]*

**Portugal:** No category 6= candidate of the last campaign

***Importance of the campaign activities: (…)? –*** *[variables in the Portuguese Comparative Candidate Survey 2011 database (CCS-Portugal): B5a1 – B5a10 and also for B5b1 – B5b7]*

**Portugal categories:**

1=No time

2=1 to 5 hours

3=5 to 10 hours

4=12 to 20 hours

5= More than 20 hours

99= No response

**Primary aim of candidate's campaign –** *[variables in the Portuguese Comparative Candidate Survey 2011 database (CCS-Portugal): B7]*

**Portugal scale: [0-10 scale]**

0= Attract as much attention as possible for me

10= Attract as much attention as possible for my party

**IF ABROAD: country –** *[variables in the Portuguese Comparative Candidate Survey 2011 database (CCS-Portugal): E3a]*

**Portugal categories:**

2=PALOP countries

3= European Countries

4="E.U.A"

5="Latin America"

9997= Not applicable

9999= No response

### 3.1. Open-ended questions

In order to start working with the data, the Portuguese team created new variables and codes for the open questions. These codes and variables are going to be explained bellow.

*Constituency-Specific issues raised by the candidate. IF YES, what were the most important ones?* – *[variables in the Portuguese Comparative Candidate Survey 2011 database (CCS-Portugal): B8a – B8f]*

| Variable Values<br>1st mention – 5th mention | Examples of answers |
|---|---|
| Health Issues. | *"Existence of specific equipment, (…) including hospitals"; "Hospital"; "Health"; "Health Care"; "Health Services"; "Health responses".* |
| Infrastructures and accessibility issues. | *"Dam construction", "infrastructure construction"; "railway line"; "transport management"; "need for train connection"; "metro"; "tolls"; "transports and mobility".* |
| Territorial planning issues. | *"rural development"; " combat territorial desertification"; "combat regional disparities", "urban organization", "Regionalization".* |
| Economic issues/economic problems. | *"Investment"; "Growth"; "Economic development"; "Poverty"; "Economic activities".* |
| Employment/unemployment issues. | *"job insecurity"; "unemployment"; "labor rights"; "local employment"; "workers' rights".* |
| Environmental issues. | *"Agriculture", "Environment", "Pollution", "Energy, water, sustainable tourism", "animal rights".* |
| Issues about specific economic activities of the constituency. | *"Specific issues of my constituency"; "issues about local culture"; "promotion of regional products"; "lighting of the portico"; "potential local problems of fisherman"; "defense of the textile industry"; "resolution of the problems of* Baixo Vouga Lagunar*".* |
| Education. | *"training"; "education"; "maintenance of the polytechnic".* |
| Social and cultural issues. | *"Combating regional disparities in economic, social and cultural level"; "sporting and cultural infrastructures"; "social care"; "social issues"; "social security".* |
| Others. | *"Gender equality / equal opportunities"; "security"; "family"; "justice"; "Troika Memorandum"; "Welfare State"; "emigrants".* |

*The three major problems of Portugal (open-ended questions)* – *[variables in the Portuguese Comparative Candidate Survey 2011 database (CCS-Portugal): C1a – C1c]*

In this case, we created three new variables corresponding to the major problem, the second major problem and the third major problem: all of them with the same coding that correspond to the candidates' answers. The coding is as follows:

| Variable Values<br>C1a – C1c | Examples of answers |
|---|---|
| 1. Unemployment | *"Unemployment continues to rise"; "Insufficient qualified employment".* |

| | |
|---|---|
| 2.  Poverty | *"Austerity policies useless and inadequate leading to the impoverishment of the population", "poverty", "impoverishment of working people", "Impoverishment of the Portuguese and the country".* |
| 3.  Exclusion and Social inequalities | *"Excessive and growing inequality," "unequal distribution of wealth," "lack of equity in terms of social wellbeing," "social justice", "social exclusion", "social injustice".* |
| 4.  Deficit | *"The overspending on superfluous goods", "deficit", "public accounts", "public overspending", "public deficit", "unbalanced public finances", "careless budget."* |
| 5.  Education | *"Portuguese's qualifications", "loss of education and educational capabilities", "delay in terms of qualifications", "levels of illiteracy", "lack of knowledge of the population", "lack of culture", "school dropout".* |
| 6.  Economic growth | *"lack of in economic growth", " Absence of growth in the last 10 years", " recession and lack of solutions that enhance the growth", "boosting the economy", " stagnant economy".* |
| 7.  Productivity, competitiveness and investment | *"lack of investment", "lack of connection between the university and the productive fabric", "Lack of national Industry and degradation of agricultural and fisheries sector", "lack of productivity", "lack of courage for the necessary reforms, including facilitating investment, barriers to investment (bureaucracy, difficulties of funding)".* |
| 8.  Policies | *"Austerity policy", "Result of government economic policy", "excess of policies", "Right policies implementers".* |
| 9.  Economic and social crisis | *"economic crisis" "financial crisis"; "social crisis"; "austerity", "destruction of the social fabric", "economic, financial and social crisis", "economic and financial crisis, which generates unemployment, lack of purchasing power, business failure, etc."* |
| 10. Low salaries | *"wage cuts and tax increases", "Low-wage earners and pensioners", "Decreased household disposable income", "Low salary of the Portuguese, especially the middle class", "loss of purchasing power".* |
| 11. Lack of future perspectives | *"Lack of financial expectations and progression", "lack of idea of the future", "Lack of direction for the country".* |
| 13.Lack of motivation, trust and political participation | *"lack of political culture", "lack of confidence in politicians", "apathy of the population", "lack of civic, patriotic sense and responsibility", "passivity", "People are more concerned with football than with the political destiny of the country."* |
| 14. Debt | *"external debt", "private debt (Banks)", "public debt".* |
| 15. Justice | *"Justice too slow which makes it almost ineffective benefiting the strongest", "The total disorganization of justice".* |
| 16. Corruption | *"corruption of the political class", "Corruption and lack of transparency of the political and financial systems", "ethics in politics", "partisan patronage", "trading in influence ", "There isn't a serious fight against corruption", " close connections between political power and economic power today".* |
| 17. Malfunctioning of democratic institutions | *"The coalition government (…) does not electorally represent the country", "Lack of contact between politicians and voters," "Lack of Political contact with your constituency", "The politicians, who govern for over three decades our country, are always the same", "Lack of agreement between the political parties".* |

| | |
|---|---|
| 18. Lack of political credibility | *"Making promises that cannot be fulfilled afterwards", "the Portuguese political credibility", "credibility of politicians", "failure to enforce", "discrediting the institutions".* |
| 19. Weak governance | *"Difficulty of politicians to solve the economic recession that the country faces", "Unawareness of the real country", "Lack of strategic vision", "Inability of government to solve problems," "Untrained politicians and/or with inadequate preparation for political positions".* |
| 20. Loss of sovereignty | *"Submission to European standards and loss of sovereignty", "What are we? a country subordinate to the lords of the troika", "dependence on foreign markets."* |
| 21. Malfunctioning of the labor market | *"job insecurity"; "A inflexible labor market. Unionized sectors immutable. Archaic constitution".* |
| 22. Health | *"Discredit health services and lack of access to health care in the inner areas of the country", "access to healthcare".* |
| 23. Security | *"Security".* |
| 24. Dependence on State grants | *"Facilitismo culture, dependence on subsidies".* |
| 25. Degradation of the Welfare State | *"attack on the Welfare State", "The disregard of existing constitutional requirements relating to the Welfare State".* |
| 26. Privatization | *"privatization of public services".* |
| 27. Economic dependency of Portugal | *"Dependence situation and little autonomy"; "Portugal is economically Europe dependent".* |
| 28. Population aging | *"Demographics"; "aging".* |
| 30. Submission to the economic power and other private interests | *"Subordination to capitalism and economic interests", "political power submitted to economic power".* |
| 31. Values | *"crisis of values", " lack of values".* |
| 32. Troika and austerity policies | *"The excessive and negative impact of austerity measures", "Unfair distribution of sacrifices until now have only harmed the working class and pensioners", "Troika memorandum", "international financial assistance".* |
| 33. Social cohesion | *"Social cohesion".* |
| 34. State reform | *"State reform", "tax reform".* |
| 35. High tax burden | *"high tax burden".* |
| 36. Territory | *"depopulation of the countryside", "urban planning and transports".* |
| 37. Media regulation | *"Lack of Free Press and with resources", "Lack of regulation of the media and his excessive power".* |
| 38. Absence of Democracy | *"Inversion of April values", "attack of democratic rights", "this is not a Democracy in fact".* |
| 39. Other | *"Globalization", "common agricultural policy", "family", "immigration", "society", "bipartisanship/polarization".* |

***Countries that should be admitted in the European Union*** *[variables in the Portuguese Comparative Candidate Survey 2011 database (CCS-Portugal): – C7a – C7d]*

We create several new variables values that correspond to the main countries indicated by the candidates.

| Variable Values<br>1st mention – 4th mention | Notes |
|---|---|
| Turkey | - |
| Country or countries from Eastern Europe | In this variable references to Russia or countries from the ex-URSS are not included. |
| All other European countries (not in the EU) | In this variable is included only countries from the |

| | European continent, in some cases with the reference to the fulfillment of the previously defined conditions. |
|---|---|
| Country or countries from the Balkans | - |
| Country or countries from ex-URSS | - |
| All countries that declare interest, if they fulfill the previously defined conditions | In this variable there are no geographical delimitations. |
| Country or countries from northern and central Europe | Includes countries as Norway. |
| Russia | - |
| Others | Other references not included in the above categories |

***Definition of Left and Right*** (open-ended question) - *[variables in the Portuguese Comparative Candidate Survey 2011 database (CCS-Portugal): – E15a and E15b]*

Regarding the definition of left and right, and because the candidates' answers in several cases express more than one idea, we create several new variables that correspond to the main ideas/items indicated by the candidates. The values of these variables were "Yes" – the candidate refers the item - and "No" – the candidate did not refers the item, i.e., we used several dichotomies.

## Definition of Left [E15a]

| Variable<br>[E15a1 – E15a23]<br>(Values: 1, No; 2, Yes) | Examples of answers |
|---|---|
| concern with labor affairs | *"Left understands work as a right".* |
| concern with social affairs | *"concerns with the human being (...) left for me is to have happy people "; "defends reforms of the social system"; "concern about social issues"; "action guided by the defense of citizens."* |
| equal rights | *"(...) equality in a society where its citizens are treated equally, regardless of his color, race or sex".* |
| larger state intervention in the society and in the economy | *"Control of the productive apparatus by State"; "society based on state regulation of the instruments of economic dynamics"; "Defend the state's role in the creation and defense of freedom and justice / social cohesion".* |
| people's government | *"(...) left is to fight for the interests of the people; "politics that serve the people."* |
| revolutionary/progressive politics | *"Have a revolutionary position", "respect and fight for an advanced democracy," "policies that leading to social mobility".* |
| democracy and liberty | *"Democracy", "Freedom".* |
| primacy of the public over the private | *"the state accumulates functions quite broad," "defense of public institutions".* |
| opposition | *"persist against these devastating neoliberal policies", "opposition".* |
| liberal values (in habits, life styles) | *"Disrespect the traditional family values", "The right to abortion overlaps the value of life," "libertinage, indiscipline, anarchy, lack of moral* |

| | and aesthetic values." |
|---|---|
| Socialism | *"Socialism".* |
| Communism | *"Communism".* |
| ethic | *"End up with off-shores", "combat illicit enrichment", "ethic".* |
| balance between economic, market regulation and social dimension | *"Have a transformative attitude towards society and reality seeking to reconcile: the functioning of the economy with consumer rights, the defense of the welfare state, the operation of market regulation and freedom with the sovereign functions".* |
| defense of the sovereignty | *"Defend the country's sovereignty in its decisions".* |
| fiscal and tax policy | *"Public control of bank credit and the financial sector".* |
| Utopia | *"Taking as reference utopians horizons in the models of society".* |
| Left and Right cleavage is meaningless | *"this division is outdated".* |
| Other | *"an extreme", "ideological vision who values the past".* |
| allusions to PCP | *"Partido Comunista Português".* |
| allusions to BE | *"the Bloco de Esquerda".* |
| allusions to PS | *"the PS".* |
| Don't know | -- |

## Definition of Right [E15b]

| Variable<br>[E15b1 – E15b26]<br>(Values: 1, No; 2, Yes) | Examples of answers |
|---|---|
| valorization of the economic affairs | *"The right (...) see the world and societies in a mercantilist logic of things", "Priority concern for the liberal economy, the capitalist system and the maximization of profit at any price".* |
| defense of large economic groups' interests | *"Defense of strong economic and social groups".* |
| capitalism | *"primacy of blind capitalism".* |
| traditional values/conservatism | *"Conservative ideals regarding to the customs, the freedoms and the economy".* |
| Left and Right cleavage is meaningless | *"I'm not interested in catalogs of left or right".* |
| valorization of the upper social classes | *"Maintenance of power and wealth in the hands that traditionally hold them", "(…) the securitarian vocation for the protection of the strongest/fittest".* |
| democracy and liberty | *"Democracy", "freedom".* |
| privatizations | *"Defend the privatization of state enterprises and sectors ".* |
| evolution and social mobility | *"ideological vision who values the future"; "modernity".* |
| allusions to Partido Social Democrata (PSD) | *"The Partido Social Democrático".* |
| liberalism | *"Social and economic liberalism".* |
| individual interests/free iniciative | *"A State that respects the individuality, entrepreneurship and free initiative".* |
| social injustice/social inequality | *"Indulge injustices"; "Means accepting, deterministically, the existence of rich and poor, ostentation and luxury of the few at the expense* |

| | |
|---|---|
| | *of the misery and suffering of the majority population"; "Being right means to accept the unequal distribution of wealth produced in the country or in the world".* |
| less State intervention in the society and in the economy | *"Restriction of state power", "Less State, better State".* |
| government oriented for the society | *"The right values the true welfare state, closest to the citizens".* |
| watchdog and regulator State | *"Main difference lies in the concept of function/ role of the state in society. The Right advocates a more efficient, but smaller, more regulatory and facilitative role of society itself".* |
| Power, authority and order | *"(…) authoritarianism over democracy and citizen participation", "order/discipline", "obligations and duties".* |
| allusions to CDS-PP | *"The real right (CDS-PP)".* |
| current form of rule Portugal | *"example of the party that is in government today".* |
| justice, equality and solidarity | *"defends more social equity"; "Promote justice".* |
| security | *"safety assurance".* |
| Corruption | *"Corruption, nepotism, favoritism and patronage (…)".* |
| political participation and citizenship | *"Appeal to participate and citizenship as a duty and a benefit and not as a right of all citizens".* |
| Nazism and Fascism | *"Nazism".* |
| war and military conflicts | *"It means accepting the logic of war (…)".* |
| others | *"Decrease of State finances", "selfishness".* |

**Ethnic background** *[variables in the Portuguese Comparative Candidate Survey 2011 database (CCS-Portugal): – E12]*

We created a new variable corresponding to the ethnic background, with the following coding:

| Variable Values<br>E12 | Notes |
|---|---|
| 1. Portuguese - Caucasian | Portuguese candidates born in Portugal |
| 2. Portuguese - African | Portuguese candidates born in an African country or with African parents. |

4. **Citation**

Freire, A., Viegas, J. M. L. & Lisi, M. (2013) 'Portuguese candidate survey: 2011 legislative election', Research project at ISCTE-IUL and CIES-IUL, *Elections, Leadership and Accountability: Political Representation in Portugal in a Longitudinal and Comparative Perspective*, FCT: PTDC/CPJ-CPO/119307/2010, available online at: http://er.cies.iscte-iul.pt/

**CONTACTS**

In case of any doubt regarding the data base please contact:

Inês Lima

CIES-IUL

Av. das Forças Armadas, Edf.I

1649-026 Lisboa, Portugal

Telephone: (+351) 210 464 018

Fax: (+351) 217 940 074

Email: Ines_Gloria_Lima@iscte.pt