

## COMPARATIVE CANDIDATE SURVEY

### Portuguese Candidate Survey - Codebook<sup>1</sup>

#### Portuguese 2015 Legislative Elections

In Portugal, conducting the candidate survey was part of a larger research project titled “Crisis, Political Representation and Democratic Renewal: The Portuguese case in the Southern European context” (FCT: PTDC/IVC-CPO/3098/2014), based at the Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology of the Lisbon University Institute (CIES/IUL) in partnership with Portuguese Institute for International Relations of New University of Lisbon (IPRI-NOVA). The project is coordinated by André Freire, Emmanouil Tsatsanis and Marco Lisi, and the goal is to study the process of political representation in Portugal.

This project, besides the research network Comparative Candidate Survey, is also part of the PELA - Elites Parlamentarias de América Latina (<http://americo.usal.es/oir/elites/>); the European Election Study (EES) & European Candidate Survey (ECS) (<http://europeanelectionstudies.net/>) and Individualized Representation and its Prerequisites (<http://www.goethe-university-frankfurt.de/50561971/Research-projects>).

The Portuguese study was funded by Portuguese Science Foundation (FCT); and also have the institutional support of the National Election Commission (CNE – Comissão Nacional de Eleições) and the Portuguese Parliament (Assembleia da República).

The principal investigators of the Portuguese study “Crisis, Political Representation and Democratic Renewal: The Portuguese case in the Southern European context” are André Freire, Auxiliary Professor with Aggregation at ISCTE-IUL (Lisbon University Institute) and senior researcher at CIES-IUL (Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology at ISCTE-IUL); Emmanouil Tsatsanis, Integrated Researcher at CIES-ISCTE-IUL; and Marco Lisi, Assistant Professor at FCSH-NOVA (NOVA School of Social Sciences and Humanities) and researcher at IPRI-NOVA. The research assistants were Augusta Correia and Vera Ramalhete.

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<sup>1</sup> with some exceptions (that can be seen in this present codebook) the database of Portuguese Candidates 2015 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

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

The study's universe was made up of 1161 candidates to the Portuguese Parliament in the 2015 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 electoral coalition between the Communists, PCP: Partido Comunista Português, and the Greens, PEV: Partido Ecologista, Os Verdes); PS (Partido Socialista, a catch all centre-left party member of the Socialist party family in the EU); PàF – Portugal à Frente – an electoral coalition between PSD (Partido Social Democrata, a catch all centre-right party member of the EPP party family in the EU) and CDS-PP (Centro Democrático e Social – Partido Popular, a cadre conservative party member of the EPP party family in the EU) – and PAN (Pessoas Animais Natureza, a new Green party at Portuguese Parliament, focused on environmental sustainability with special attention to animals rights). Each party/coalition has 230 candidates; except for PàF wich has 219 candidates, because PSD and CDS-PP presented 11 candidates each in two separated lists for the electoral districts of Azores and Madeira.

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 along with a consent form (created for this purpose) where respondents give the research team their consent to use the information they provided on the questionnaire on this project. However, because the 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<sup>2</sup>. In the total, were sent 548 questionnaires that correspond to 47,2% of the universe.

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<sup>2</sup> PCP party, using their internal information, sent 47 questionnaires to its candidates with no available address at CNE.

The Survey was answered by 144 non-elected candidates (representing 12,5% of all candidates and 26,5% 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, once the main structure of the questionnaires is the same and also relied heavily on the comparative questionnaires of the research networks to which the project is related. We inquire 162 MPs from a total of 230 (70.4% of all MPs and 14% of all candidates). 71,6% through face-to-face interviews<sup>3</sup>. The other 28,4% were self-administered questionnaires. In this way, we can increase the sample of candidates' answers. As such, in total we end up with 306 answers (26,4% of the universe and 56% of sampling frame (i.e. the listing of the accessible candidates from which was possible to contact - personally (MPs) or by letter (non-elected candidates with registered address on the CNE). The fieldwork was conducted between 12 September 2016 and 14 July 2017<sup>4</sup>.

## 2. Weighting

A preliminary analysis of the data noted some detours relative to political party distribution, requiring the weight of the sample.

For this data base (N candidate Survey 2015=306) we weight the sample by party regarding two aspects: 1<sup>st</sup>) all candidate survey answers (N<sub>2015</sub>=306/1160) and 2<sup>nd</sup>) data collected from the MPs Survey (N<sub>2015</sub>=162/230). The data were calculated from information available in Comissão Nacional de Eleições – Resultados eleitorais, Diário da República n.º205 de 20 de outubro de 2015., Mapa Oficial n.º 2-B/2015 de 20 de outubro and Portuguese Parliament political distribution.

This results in two weights:

- **p\_part\_candidatos** - This weight is obtained by dividing each party percentage of total candidates by the corresponding response percentage (elected plus not elected)

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<sup>3</sup> For the Portuguese MPs Survey a team of 15 interviewers was recruited and trained especially to this project.

<sup>4</sup> The field work for the Portuguese MPs Survey started at 12/09/2016 and ended at 03/03/2017. For the non-elected candidates, fieldwork was conducted between 04/11/2016 and 14/07/2017.

- **p\_parlam** - In this case, the weight is obtained by dividing each party percentage of total candidates present in the parliament by the percentage of MPs that respond to the survey by each party

### 3. Specifications of the Portuguese database

#### 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 2015 database (CCSPortugal): B6a\_1; B6a\_2; B6a\_3]

Variable Values	Exemples of aswers
1. Accessibility and transport	"Road Accessibility", "Road Infrastructures", "Mobility", "Tolls A22 road", "Transportation", "Transportation in the Metropolitan Area"
2. Health	"Access to health care", "Construction of 2nd stage of the Regional Hospital", "Health", "Lack of doctors at the local level Health services", "Access to health", "New hospital"
3. Regional issues	"Regional asymmetry", "Baixo Vouga Logadouro", "Metropolitan area", "Local Social Issues", "Regional asymmetry", "Regional Assemblies", "Regional Economics", "Financial support for the region"
4. Agriculture / Environment	"Agriculture", "Tagus River Environment", "Shared Management of the Sea", "Environmental issues", "Forest Barns", "Environment", "Environmental issues / rivers, pollution"
5. (Un)employment	"Employment", "Precarious work in the district and in the country", "Youth unemployed", "Issues of labor rights and precariousness"
6. Infrastructures	"Infrastructures", "Works of the last government in my county", "Payment plans (light / water)", "Public libraries", "Very high voltage line"
7. Education	"Education", "Rehabilitation of schools", "Higher education (young people)", "Student access to the Local Polytechnic Institute"
8. Others	"Positive action related to Energy", "Discrimination", "Regionalization", "Democracy", "Industry", "Reform of the political system", "Problems related to housing access", "Electoral system"

The three major problems of Portugal (open-ended questions) – [variables in the Portuguese Comparative Candidate Survey 2015 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	Examples of answers
1. Competitiveness and economic development	"Economic growth", "Economy", "Competitiveness", "Development of economy", "Creation of wealth and consequently jobs", "Stagnation of the economy", "Lack of economic growth", "Misconception about the economic and social model", "Lack of economic growth", "Incapacity of economic growth", "Crisis of the productive sector", "Weak economic development", "Financial crisis", "Reduced economic growth", "Weak economic fabric", "The external dependence of the Portuguese economy", "The economic and social crisis"
2. Trust in politicians and institutions	"Political alienation: how to capture the general interest", "Discrediting of political positions", "Absence of truth in political discourse", "Lack of consensus on key issues (eg, future and sustainability of social security)", "A reckless government", "Credibility of politicians", "A lot of demagoguery", "Political debate is not based on facts", "Governance credibility that affects trust", "Poor resource management", "Lack of Citizen Participation", "Distance between citizens and politics", "The existence of a government without a policy for economic growth", "Independence of holders of political positions against proven interests", "Lack of sense of mission and serve the country", "Politics without causes", "Lack of interest and participation of Portuguese in national political life", "Banalization of the Political System", "A government that was not elected", "Populism"
3. (Un)employment	"Unemployment", "Employment", "The challenge of growth and employment", "Employment and Labor Precariousness", "Precarious work", "Devaluation of work", "Work and money (lack)", "Youth unemployment", "Job creation", "Labor legislation against the intruders of the country"
4. Public finances	"External Debt", "Public finances and economic growth", "Public debt", "Lack of sustainability of public finances", "Debt", "High tax burden", "Debt deficit", "Debt pressure", "Public Money", "Management"
5. Social inequalities	"Inequality", "Distribution of wealth", "Poverty", "Social Crisis", "Social inequalities", "Poverty and Social Exclusion", "Social Cohesion", "Social Crisis", "The difference between rich and poor", "Distribution of wealth"
6. Europe and external constraints	"Sovereignty (related to the EU case, transfer of PT's decision to the EU)", "European Constraint", "Europe", "Submission to EU policies and major financial groups", "European dependency", "Loss of sovereignty", "European Union / single currency", "The

	rules of the Budget Treaty”, “Loss of sovereignty”, “Absence of democracy in the U.E.”, “Constant interference by the sovereignty of the country”, “European Institutions”, “Adapting to Globalization in the EU Framework / Lisbon Treaty”, “The European blackmail and the the loss of sovereignty”
7. Education	“Education”, “Formal training level”, “Training and education deficit”, “Teaching”, “Integral training of young people is of little concern”, “Absence of education aimed at the well-being of all beings”, “Weak education system”, “Low qualifications”, “Professional requalification of persons”, “Absence of reading the role of education for life”
8. Demography	“Population aging and depopulation of the interior”, “Demographic Crisis”, “Depopulation of the interior”, “Low birth rate”, “Demography”, “Population Exodus”, “Leaving highly qualified professionals for other countries”
9. Lack of investment	“Lack of investment”, “Investment”, “Disinvestment without public services”, “The little investment in national production”, “Lack of public and private investment”, “Lack of public investment”
10. Social policies	“Sustainability of social status”, “Social problems”, “Social Security Growth”, “Social Policy and centralism of this government”, “Lack of funding in the social functions of the State”, “Social Security Sustainability”
11. Justice	“Justice”, “The justice system”, “Slowness of Justice”, “Justice: morality; Perception of some impunity”
12. Corruption	“Corruption”, “The corruption of politicians”
13. Other.	“Globalization”, “Sustainability”, “Austerity”, “Defend an intergenerational view”, “Prejudice and Fanaticism”, “Environment”, “Little exempt social communication”, “Leadership”, “The challenge of globalization at all levels”, “Population welfare”

Only to the MPs questionnaire it was added the following open question: “In your perspective, what are the main sources of legitimacy of laws?”. In this case we created a new variable to code the MPs answers. The coding is as follows:

Variable Values	Exemples of aswers
1. Parliament	“Parliament”, “Be approved by a majority in parliament”, “To be voted and appreciated in the parliament democratically elected by the Portuguese people”
2. Vote	“Popular Vote” “Legitimacy derived from free and universal voting”, “Vote”, “Elections, universal and secret electoral suffrage”
3. Public Interest / Population Needs	“The needs of citizens”, “Problem solving and population well-being”, “Addressing citizens' needs”, “The collective interest”
4. Democracy / Democratic legitimacy	“Democracy and compliance with the Constitution”, “Representative democracy”, “Representativeness”, “Democratic sources”, “The whole legislative process, hearings, opinions, hearings, etc.”, “Democratic legitimacy”

5. People / Peoples Will / Civil Society	"The people", "Decisions of citizens, democracy, parliament", "Popular will", "The citizens and through the vote the parliament", "Listening to the readers (intuitions and associations)"
6. Constitution	"The Constitution", "The Constitution of the Republic", "Comply with the constitution"
7. Others	"Electoral programs; Commitments with voters" "Ethics and Social Justice" "Discussion, majority, strength" "Most agree" "Party commitments. Population needs"

**Ethnic background** [variables in the Portuguese Comparative Candidate Survey 2015 database (CCS-Portugal): – E14]

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

Variable Values E14	Notes
1. Portuguese - Caucasian	Portuguese candidates born in Portugal
2. Portuguese - African	Portuguese candidates born in an African country or with African parents.

#### 4. Variable list

##### Technical Variables

Position	Variable	Label	Values	Label
1	ID			
2	Ord_ent	Ordem de entrada na respetiva base de dados		
3	Amostra	Sample		
4	Codigo	MP Code		
5	Partido	Party		
6	Partido_CNE	Candidates according coalitions		
7	Circulo	Distrit		
8	Entrevistador	Interviewer		
9	Tipo_inquerito	Self or Interviewer-administered questionnaires	1 2	Interview Self-administered

## A. Political Background and Activities

Position	Variable	Label	Values	Label
			1	BE
			2	CDS-PP (PáF)
			3	PAN
10	A1	What party did you stand for in this 2015 election?	4	PEV (CDU)
			5	PCP (CDU)
			6	PSD (PáF)
			7	PS
			8	Another Party
11	A1_2	Another Party. Please specify:		
12	A2	In what year did you become a member of this party?		
13	A3a	Did you stand for other parties in previous elections?	1	Yes
			2	No
14	A3b_1	BE		
15	A3b_2	CDS-PP		
16	A3b_3	PAN		
17	A3b_4	PEV		
18	A3b_5	PCP		
19	A3b_6	PSD		
20	A3b_7	PS		
21	A3b_8	Another Party.		
22	A3b_q	Other, please specify:		
23	A4_1_a		1975	1 Candidate
24	A4_2_a		1976	1 Candidate
25	A4_3_a		1979	1 Candidate
26	A4_4_a		1980	1 Candidate
27	A4_5_a		1983	1 Candidate
28	A4_6_a		1985	1 Candidate
29	A4_7_a		1987	1 Candidate
30	A4_8_a		1991	1 Candidate
31	A4_9_a		1995	1 Candidate
32	A4_10_a		1999	1 Candidate
33	A4_11_a		2002	1 Candidate



34	A4_12_a		2005	1	Candidate
35	A4_13_a		2009	1	Candidate
36	A3n_a		2011	1	Candidate
37	A3o_a		2015	1	Candidate
38	A4_1_b		1975	1	Elected
39	A4_2_b		1976	1	Elected
40	A4_3_b		1979	1	Elected
41	A4_4_b		1980	1	Elected
42	A4_5_b		1983	1	Elected
43	A4_6_b		1985	1	Elected
44	A4_7_b		1987	1	Elected
45	A4_8_b		1991	1	Elected
46	A4_9_b		1995	1	Elected
47	A4_10_b		1999	1	Elected
48	A4_11_b		2002	1	Elected
49	A4_12_b		2005	1	Elected
50	A4_13_b		2009	1	Elected
51	A3n_b		2011	1	Elected
52	A3o_b		2015	1	Elected
53	A5a1	Trade Union		1	Member
				2	Not Member
54	A5a2	An employer's Association		1	Member
				2	Not Member
55	A5a2_1	Business Association		1	Member
				2	Not Member
56	A5a3	Religious Association		1	Member
				2	Not Member
57	A5a4	Environmental Association		1	Member
				2	Not Member
58	A5a5	Human and Civil Rights Association		1	Member
				2	Not Member
59	A5a6	Sports club		1	Member
				2	Not Member
60	A5a6_1	A cultural Association		1	Member
				2	Not Member
61	A5a7	Other, please specify:			
62	A5a8	Other, please specify:			
63	A5b1	Trade Union		1	Publically endorsed
				2	Not endorsed
64	A5b2	An employer's Association		1	Publically endorsed

			2 Not endorsed
65	A5b2_1	Business Association	1 Publically endorsed 2 Not endorsed
66	A5b3	Religious Association	1 Publically endorsed 2 Not endorsed
67	A5b4	Environmental Association	1 Publically endorsed 2 Not endorsed
68	A5b5	Human and Civil Rights Association	1 Publically endorsed 2 Not endorsed
69	A5b6	Sports club	1 Publically endorsed 2 Not endorsed
70	A5b6_1	A cultural Association	1 Publically endorsed 2 Not endorsed
71	A5b7	Other, please specify:	
72	A5b8	Other, please specify:	
73	A6a	... worked as unpaid party/campaign volunteer?	1 Yes 2 No
74	A6b	... worked as paid party/campaign worker or MP employee?	1 Yes 2 No
75	A6c	... held local or regional party office?	1 Yes 2 No
76	A6d	... held national party office?	1 Yes 2 No
77	A6e	... been elected or appointed as mayor?	1 Yes 2 No
78	A6f	... been Member of local government?	1 Yes 2 No
79	A6g	... been Member of local parliament?	1 Yes 2 No
80	A6h	... been President of regional parliament?	1 Yes 2 No
81	A6i	... been Member of regional parliament?	1 Yes 2 No
82	A6j	... been Member of European parliament?	1 Yes 2 No
83	A7a1	Do you live in your constituency?	1 Yes 2 No
84	A7a2	If yes: since what year have you been living there?	
85	A7a3	If not, have you once lived there?	

86	A7a4	Were you born in your constituency?	1 Yes 2 No
87	A8	Outside of the election campaign, about how much time, if any, do you usually devote to party activities in an average week?	

## B. Campaigning

Position	Variable	Label	Values	Label
88	B1	Did any persons or groups particularly encourage you for presenting your candidacy, or was this decision the result of your personal initiative only?	1 2	Yes, I was encouraged No, it was my own initiative only
89	B1b_1	Family, friends, colleagues	1 2	Yes No
90	B1b_2	Someone within the party	1 2	Yes No
91	B1b_3	Representative(s) from a civil society organization or interest group?	1 2	Yes No
92	B1b_3a	If so, which organisation(s)?:		
93	B1b_4	Other, please specify:		
94	B2	Was your recent nomination contested?	1 2	Yes No
95	B2a	If yes, how contested was your nomination?	1 2 3	Very much contested Moderately contested Very little contested
96	B3	Who was most influential in deciding on your candidacy nomination for 2015 election?	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	The electorate in general The party's own voters The party's supporters A conference with my party delegates Party delegates in my constituency National Party Leadership Other
97	B3_q	Please specify:		

			0 No
			1 Little important
98	B4a	Door-knocking, canvassing	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
99	B4b	Distributing campaign material	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
100	B4c	Calling up voters on the phone	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
101	B4d	Visiting businesses and social organisations	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
102	B4e	Meetings with party elites/members and/or party groups	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
103	B4f	Media activities (interviews, press releases, writing blogs)	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
104	B4g	Public speeches and rallies	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
105	B4h	Personal campaign posters	2 Somewhat important

			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
106	B4i	Direct mailing	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
107	B4j	Personal newspaper adds	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
108	B4k	Personal spots in radio, TV, movie houses	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
109	B4l	Personal flyers or other campaign material (give-aways)	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
110	B4m	Personal website	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
111	B4n	Mailing list to inform supporters and voters about my campaign	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
112	B4o	Own blog	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
113	B4p	Facebook	1 Little important

			2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
114	B4q	SMS	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
115	B4r	YouTube Channels	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
			0 No
			1 Little important
116	B4s	Twitter	2 Somewhat important
			3 Very important
			4 Most important
117	B4t_a	Other, please specify	
118	B4t_b	Other, please specify	
119	B5	What was your primary aim during the campaign?	0 Attention for candidate
			10 Attention for party
120	B6	Did you raise any local issues during your campaign?	1 Yes
			2 No
121	B6a_1	If yes, what where the most important ones?	125
			1 Accessibility and transport
			2 Health
			3 Regional issues
122	B6a_1_rec	If yes, what where the most important ones? (Recoded)	4 Agriculture / Environment
			5 (Un)employment
			6 Infrastructures
			7 Education
			95 Others
123	B6a_2	If yes, what where the most important ones?	
124	B6a_2_rec	If yes, what where the most important ones? (Recoded)	1 Accessibility and transport
			2 Health
			3 Regional issues

			4 Agriculture / Environment
			5 (Un)employment
			6 Infrastructures
			7 Education
			95 Others
125	B6a_3	If yes, what where the most important ones? (Recoded)	
			1 Accessibility and transport
			2 Health
			3 Regional issues
126	B6a_3_rec	If yes, what where the most important ones? (Recoded)	4 Agriculture / Environment
			5 (Un)employment
			6 Infrastructures
			7 Education
			95 Others
127	B7a	Providing services and practical help to people in the constituency	1 Not at all
			2 Not much
			3 Somewhat
			4 Much
			5 Very much
128	B7b	Advocating the policy demands of the voters in the constituency	1 Not at all
			2 Not much
			3 Somewhat
			4 Much
			5 Very much
129	B7c	Taking care of the socio-economic well-being of the constituency	1 Not at all
			2 Not much
			3 Somewhat
			4 Much
			5 Very much
130	B7d	Openness to the voters in the constituency and communicating with them extensively	1 Not at all
			2 Not much
			3 Somewhat
			4 Much
			5 Very much
131	B7e	Promoting local customs and traditions	1 Not at all
			2 Not much
			3 Somewhat
			4 Much
			5 Very much
132	B7f	Your personal characteristics and circumstances	1 Not at all

			2 Not much
			3 Somewhat
			4 Much
			5 Very much
			1 Not at all
			2 Not much
133	B7g	Particular items on the party platform	3 Somewhat
			4 Much
			5 Very much
134	B8a	How many people worked for you in your personal campaign?	
135	B8b	Of which staff paid by your personal campaign:	
136	B8c	Of which volunteers:	
137	B8d	How many of them were provided by your party?	
138	B9	Did you employ any professional consultant in your personal campaign?	1 Yes
			2 No
139	B9a	If yes, please specify the aims of resorting to a consultant:	
140	B10	How much money did you spend for your personal campaign in euros (including party funds, donations, and private funds)?	
141	B11a	Party funds	
142	B11b	Donations	
143	B11c	Private funds	
144	B12	Did members of national party leadership visit your constituency during the campaign in 2015?	0 No
			1 Yes, once
			2 Yes, more than once
145	B13	In the beginning of the campaign, how did you evaluate your chances to win the mandate?	1 I thought I could not win
			2 I thought I could hardly win
			3 I thought it was an open race
			4 I thought I could hardly lose
			5 I thought I could not lose

### C. Issues and policies

Position	Variable	Label	Values	Label
146	C1a	The most important problem is:		



147	C1a_rec	The most important problem is: (Recoded)	Competitiveness 1 and economic development 2 Trust in politicians and institutions 3 (Un)employment 4 Public finances 5 Social inequalities 6 Europe and external constraints 7 Education 8 Demography 9 Lack of investment 10 Social policies 11 Justice 95 Other
148	C1b	The second most important problem is:	Competitiveness 1 and economic development 2 Trust in politicians and institutions 3 (Un)employment 4 Public finances 5 Social inequalities 6 Europe and external constraints 7 Education 8 Demography 9 Lack of investment 10 Social policies 11 Justice 95 Other
149	C1b_rec	The second most important problem is: (Recoded)	Competitiveness 1 and economic development 2 Trust in politicians and institutions 3 (Un)employment 4 Public finances 5 Social inequalities 6 Europe and external constraints 7 Education 8 Demography 9 Lack of investment 10 Social policies 11 Justice 95 Other
150	C1c	The third most important problem is: :	Competitiveness 1 and economic development 2 Trust in politicians and institutions 3 (Un)employment 4 Public finances 5 Social inequalities 6 Europe and external constraints 7 Education 8 Demography 9 Lack of investment
151	C1c_rec	The third most important problem is: (Recoded)	Competitiveness 1 and economic development 2 Trust in politicians and institutions 3 (Un)employment 4 Public finances 5 Social inequalities 6 Europe and external constraints 7 Education 8 Demography 9 Lack of investment

			10 Social policies
			11 Justice
			95 Other
152	C2a	Immigrants should be required to adapt to the customs of Portugal.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
153	C2b	Governments should abstain from intervening in the economy.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
154	C2c	Stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
155	C2d	Same-sex marriages should be prohibited by law.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
156	C2e	Women should be given preferential treatment when applying for jobs and promotions..	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
157	C2f	People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences..	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
158	C2g	Providing a stable network of social security should be the prime goal of government..	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree

159	C2h	The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
160	C2i	Immigrants are good for Portugal's economy.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
161	C2j	Women should be free to decide on matters of abortion..	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
162	C2k	Public companies should not be privatized..	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
163	C2l	To promote growth it is more important to reduce taxations on companies than investing in the public sector.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
164	C2m	More flexible labour legislation is necessary to create more jobs	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
165	C2n	The economic consequences of globalization are eminently negative.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree
166	C2o	Homosexual couples should be able to adopt kids. .	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree

		4 Agree
		5 Strongly Agree
167	C2p	Trade unions have far too much power.
		1 Strongly disagree
		2 Disagree
		3 Neither agree nor disagree
		4 Agree
		5 Strongly Agree
168	C3a	In politics, people sometimes talk about the 'left' and the 'right'. Where would you place your own views on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means the most left and 10 means the most right?
		0 Left
		1
		2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7
		8
		9
		10 Right
169	C3b	Using the same scale, where would you place your party?
		0 Left
		1
		2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7
		8
		9
		10 Right
170	C3c	Using the same scale again, where would you place your party's voters?
		0 Left
		1
		2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7
		8
		9
		10 Right
171	C4	Generally speaking, do you think that Portugal's membership of the European
		1 A bad thing
		2 Neither

	Union is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good nor bad?	3 A good thing
		0 Has already gone too far
		1
		2
		3
		4
172 C5	Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it already has gone too far. What is your opinion?	5
		6
		7
		8
		9
		10 Should be pushed further
173 C6	All in all, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in the European Union?	1 Not at all satisfied
		2 Not very satisfied
		3 Fairly satisfied
		4 Very satisfied
174 C7a	The governments and politicians in the countries suffering from the economic crises.	1 Not at all responsible
		2 Not very responsible
		3 Fairly responsible
		4 Very Responsible
		5 Extremely Responsible
		98a Don't Know
		99a No answer
175 C7b	The European Union.	1 Not at all responsible
		2 Not very responsible
		3 Fairly responsible
		4 Very Responsible
		5 Extremely Responsible
		98a Don't Know
		99a No answer
176 C7c	The large banks.	1 Not at all responsible
		2 Not very responsible
		3 Fairly responsible
		4 Very Responsible
		5 Extremely Responsible
		98a Don't Know
		99a No answer

177	C7d	Foreign investors/speculators.	1 Not at all responsible 2 Not very responsible 3 Fairly responsible 4 Very Responsible 5 Extremely Responsible 98a Don't Know 99a No answer
178	C7e	The European currency – EURO.	1 Not at all responsible 2 Not very responsible 3 Fairly responsible 4 Very Responsible 5 Extremely Responsible 98a Don't Know 99a No answer
179	C7f	The people/everybody in these countries	1 Not at all responsible 2 Not very responsible 3 Fairly responsible 4 Very Responsible 5 Extremely Responsible 98a Don't Know 99a No answer
180	C8a	Rather than take on more debt, countries with unsustainable sovereign debts should default and start anew.	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree 98a Don't Know 99a No answer
181	C8b	The EU should continue to support all current members of the Eurozone facing major financial crises.	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree 98a Don't Know 99a No answer
182	C8c	Austerity is the only way to solve the Eurozone crisis.	1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree

			3	Neither agree nor disagree
			4	Agree
			5	Strongly Agree
			98a	Don't Know
			99a	No answer
			1	Strongly Disagree
			2	Disagree
183	C8d	Eurozone countries with financial difficulties should leave the EURO and return to the national currency.	3	Neither agree nor disagree
			4	Agree
			5	Strongly Agree
			98a	Don't Know
			99a	No answer
			1	Strongly Disagree
			2	Disagree
184	C8e	The EU and/or IMF should provide funds for more investment to stimulate economic growth.	3	Neither agree nor disagree
			4	Agree
			5	Strongly Agree
			98a	Don't Know
			99a	No answer
			0	Abandon Austerity measures
			1	
			2	
			3	
			4	
185	GL_C9	In a scale of 0 to 10, tell us which number better describes your personal position:	5	
			6	
			7	
			8	
			9	
			10	Accept Austerity measures
			98a	Don't Know
			0	Abandon Austerity measures
			1	
			2	
186	GL_C10_BE	BE	3	
			4	
			5	
			6	
			7	

			8
			9
			10 Accept Austerity measures
		98a	Don't Know
			0 Abandon Austerity measures
			1
			2
			3
			4
187	GL_C10_PCP	PCP	5
			6
			7
			8
			9
			10 Accept Austerity measures
		98a	Don't Know
			0 Abandon Austerity measures
			1
			2
			3
			4
188	GL_C10_PS	PS	5
			6
			7
			8
			9
			10 Accept Austerity measures
		98a	Don't Know
			0 Abandon Austerity measures
			1
			2
			3
			4
189	GL_C10_PAN	PAN	5
			6
			7
			8
			9
			10 Accept Austerity measures



			98a	Don't Know
			0	Abandon Austerity measures
			1	
			2	
			3	
			4	
190	GL_C10_PSD	PSD	5	
			6	
			7	
			8	
			9	
			10	Accept Austerity measures
			98a	Don't Know
			0	Abandon Austerity measures
			1	
			2	
			3	
			4	
			5	
191	GL_C10_CDS_PP	CDS-PP	6	
			7	
			8	
			9	
			10	Accept Austerity measures
			98a	Don't Know
			1	Not worried
			2	Slightly Worried
			3	Worried
192	GL_C11a	Portugal not reimburse its debt.	4	Very Worried
			5	Extremely Worried
			98a	Don't Know
			99a	No answer
			1	Not worried
			2	Slightly Worried
			3	Worried
193	GL_C11b	Wide social protests	4	Very Worried
			5	Extremely Worried
			98a	Don't Know
			99a	No answer
194	GL_C11c		1	Not worried

	2 Slightly Worried
	3 Worried
Portugal leaving the Eurozone and going back to its former currency.	4 Very Worried
	5 Extremely Worried
98a	Don't Know
99a	No answer

### D1. Democracy and Representation

Position	Variable	Label	Values	Label
195	D1	On the whole are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Portugal?	1 2 3 4	Not at all satisfied Not very satisfied Fairly satisfied Very satisfied
196	D2	Thinking about how elections in [country] work in practice, how well do you think they ensure that the views of MPs accurately reflect the views of voters?	1 2 3 4	Not well at all Not very well Fairly well Very well
197	D3a	Own voters in the constituency	1 2 3 4 99a	Not important at all Rather not important Rather important Very important No answer
198	D3b	All citizens in the constituency	1 2 3 4 99a	Not important at all Rather not important Rather important Very important No answer
199	D3c	The party electorate at large	1 2 3 4 99a	Not important at all Rather not important Rather important Very important No answer
200	D3d	Members of specific social group (e.g. young or elderly people)	1 2	Not important at all Rather not important

			3 Rather important
			4 Very important
		99a	No answer
201	D3e	The Portuguese citizenry	1 Not important at all
			2 Rather not important
			3 Rather important
			4 Very important
		99a	No answer
202	D4a	If the voters in his/her constituency have one opinion and his/her party takes a different opinion?	1 MP should vote according to his/her party's opinion
			2 MP should vote according to his/her voters opinion
203	D4b	If his/her own opinion on an issue does not correspond with the opinion of the voters in his/her constituency?	1 MP should vote according to his/her own opinion
			2 MP should vote according to his/her voters opinion
204	D4c	If his/her own opinion on an issue differ from the party's opinion?	1 MP should vote according to his/her own opinion
			2 MP should vote according to his/her party's opinion
205	D5a	Citizens have ample opportunity to participate in political decisions.	1 Strongly disagree
			2 Disagree
			3 Neither agree nor disagree
			4 Agree
			5 Strongly agree
		98a	No answer
206	D5b	Legislation reflects the interests of the majority of citizens.	1 Strongly disagree
			2 Disagree
			3 Neither agree nor disagree
			4 Agree
			5 Strongly agree
		98a	No answer

207	D5c	Political parties are the essential link between citizens and the state.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly agree 98a No answer
208	D5d	Special interests have too much influence on law making.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly agree 98a No answer
209	D5e	Parliament, not voters, should make final decisions on law and policy.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly agree 98a No answer
210	D5f	Citizens should be able to initiate a binding referendum.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly agree 98a No answer
211	D5g	Referendums tend to be poorly thought out and make bad law.	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly agree 98a No answer
212	D5h	Our democracy is about to lose the trust of the citizens	1 Strongly disagree 2 Disagree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Agree 5 Strongly agree

			98a	No answer
213	D5i	What people call "consensus" in politics actually is a concession in a matter of principles	1	Strongly disagree
			2	Disagree
			3	Neither agree nor disagree
			4	Agree
			5	Strongly agree
			98a	No answer
214	D5j	The demanding of the citizens are ignored in favour of the vested interests	1	Strongly disagree
			2	Disagree
			3	Neither agree nor disagree
			4	Agree
			5	Strongly agree
			98a	No answer
215	D5k	The electoral system should be modified to allow citizens to vote for candidate and not parties	1	Strongly disagree
			2	Disagree
			3	Neither agree nor disagree
			4	Agree
			5	Strongly agree
			98a	No answer
216	D5l	Like what happen with the right wing parties in Portugal, the left parties (PS, BE and PCP/PEV) did well in understanding each other to enable the existence of the present government	1	Strongly disagree
			2	Disagree
			3	Neither agree nor disagree
			4	Agree
			5	Strongly agree
			98a	No answer
217	D5m	Citizens should be able to participate directly in the selection of candidates through primary elections	1	Strongly disagree
			2	Disagree
			3	Neither agree nor disagree
			4	Agree
			5	Strongly agree
			98a	No answer
218	D6a	There is a general discussion of the topic in the parliamentary group and then a decision is made	1	Never occurs
			2	Occurs very rarely
			3	Occurs with some frequency

			4	Occurs very frequently
			99a	No answer
			1	Never occurs
			2	Occurs very rarely
219	D6b	There are made hearings with some members of the parliamentary group and then a decision is taken	3	Occurs with some frequency
			4	Occurs very frequently
			99a	No answer
			1	Never occurs
			2	Occurs very rarely
220	D6c	A decision is made by a restrict group and then it is communicated to the group	3	Occurs with some frequency
			4	Occurs very frequently
			99a	No answer
			1	Influencing government policy
			2	Assist voters in their relations with the Administration
221	D7_1	Of the following five tasks, what, in your opinion, is the most important of a MP?	3	Participate in the Parliament works
			4	Defend your constituency in the Assembly
			5	Solve the problems in his constituency
			1	Influencing government policy
			2	Assist voters in their relations with the Administration
222	D7_2	Of the following five tasks, what, in your opinion, is the second most important of a MP?	3	Participate in the Parliament works
			4	Defend your constituency in the Assembly
			5	Solve the problems in his constituency

223	D8	In your perspective, what are the main sources of legitimacy of laws?	1 Parliament
			2 Vote Public Interest
			3 / Population Needs
224	D8_rec	In your perspective, what are the main sources of legitimacy of laws? (Recoded)	4 Democracy / Democratic legitimacy
			5 People / Peoples Will / Civil Society
			6 Constitution
			95 Others

## D2. Government performance evaluation

Position	Variable	Label	Values	Label
225	D2_1	Considering the GENERAL PERFORMANCE of the present socialist government, supported in parliament by BE and PCP-PEV, how would you evaluate it?	1	Very bad
			2	Bad
			3	Good
			4	Very good
			98a	Don't know
			99a	No answer
226	D2_2	Considering the GENERAL PERFORMANCE of the former coalition government (PSD/CDSP-PP), how would you evaluate it?	1	Very bad
			2	Bad
			3	Good
			4	Very good
			98a	Don't know
			99a	No answer

## E. Personal background

Position	Variable	Label	Values	Label
227	E1	Are you...:	1	Male
			2	Female
228	E2	In what year were you born?		
229	E3	Did you have Portuguese citizenship when you were born?	1	Yes
			2	No
230	E3a	If no: What citizenship did you have when you were born?		
231	E4	Do you live in a...	1	Rural area or village
			2	Small or middle-sized town

			3 Suburb of a large town or city
			4 Large town or city
232	E4a	In which parish do you actually live?	
233	E5	How long have you been living in your current residential community?	
			1 None
			2 Incomplete Primary School
			3 4 full years (full primary - 4th grade)
			4 6 full years (preparatory, 6th grade)
234	E6a	What is your highest level of education?	5 9 full years (9th grade)
			6 12 full years (secondary)
			7 Post-secondary trade/vocational school
			8 University (Bachelor)
			9 Other
235	E6a_q	What is your highest level of education? Other?	
			1 None
			2 Incomplete Primary School
			3 4 full years (full primary - 4th grade)
			4 6 full years (preparatory, 6th grade)
			5 9 full years (9th grade)
236	E6a_q_rec	What is the highest level of academic qualification do you achieved? (Recoded)	6 12 full years (secondary)
			7 Post-secondary trade/vocational school
			8 University (Bachelor)
			9 Post-Graduation
			10 Master
			11 PhD
			12 Aggregation
237	E6b	If university degree: What was your discipline?	
238	E6b_rec		1 Law



		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2 Economy</li> <li>3 Engineering</li> <li>4 Policy and / or International Relations</li> <li>5 Psychology</li> <li>6 Sociology</li> <li>7 Management and Administration</li> <li>8 Communication</li> <li>9 Education</li> <li>10 Languages and humanities</li> <li>11 Architecture</li> <li>12 Medical / Nursing</li> <li>13 Philosophy</li> <li>95 Others</li> </ul>
239 E7	If university degree: What was your discipline? (Recoded)	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 Self-employed</li> <li>2 Employed full-time (32 hrs or more per week)</li> <li>3 Employed part-time (15-32 hrs)</li> <li>4 Employed part-time (less than 15 hrs)</li> <li>5 Assisting a family member</li> <li>6 Unemployed</li> <li>7 Student</li> <li>8 Retired</li> <li>9 Responsible for homework</li> <li>10 Other, not in the labour force</li> </ul>
240 E7a	Irrespective of whether or not you are a Member of Parliament, what is your employment status?	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1 Self-employed</li> <li>2 Employed full-time (32 hrs or more per week)</li> <li>3 Employed part-time (15-32 hrs)</li> <li>4 Employed part-time (less than 15 hrs)</li> <li>5 Assisting a family member</li> <li>6 Unemployed</li> <li>7 Student</li> <li>8 Retired</li> <li>9 Responsible for homework</li> </ul>
	If RETIRED, SELF-EMPLOYED or UNEMPLOYED: What was your previous employment status?	

			10 Other, not in the labour force
241	E7b	As self-employed, do you have any employees?	1 No 2 Yes
242	E7c	If yes, how many employees do you have?	1 1 to 5 employees 2 6 to 9 employees 3 10 or more employees
243	E8	What is your current [IF MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND/OR RETIRED: what was your former] occupation?	
			1 Attorney / Jurist 2 Teacher 3 Manager / Entrepreneur 4 MP 5 Senior Technician 6 Economist 7 Engineer 8 University Student 9 Councillor / Mayor
244	E8_rec	What is your current [IF MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT AND/OR RETIRED: what was your former] occupation? (Recoded)	
245	E8a	This main occupation is/was as:	1 Civil servant 2 In the private sector 3 Other. Please specify: _____
246	E8a_q	Other occupation, please specify:	
247	E8a_q_rec	Other occupation, please specify (Recoded)	1 MP 2 Self-employed 95 Others
248	E9	About how often do you attend religious services these days	1 Never 2 Less often 3 Once a year 4 A number of times a year 5 Once a month 6 2 or 3 times a month 7 At least once a week
249	E10	What is your religious belief?	1 Catholic 2 Other. Please specify _____ 3 None
250	E10_q	What is your religious belief? Other, please specify:	
251	E11		1 Married

		What is your current marital status?	2 Domestic Partnership 3 Widowed 4 Divorced or separated 5 Single
252	E12_1	Age child 1	
253	E12_2	Age child 2	
254	E12_3	Age child 3	
255	E12_4	Age child 4	
256	E13	Do you have any dependent adults in your care?	1 Yes 2 No
257	E14	What is your ethnic background?	
258	E14_rec	What is your ethnic background? (Recoded)	1 Caucasian 2 White 3 Portuguese 95 Others
259	E14_rec2	What is your ethnic background? (Recoded)	1 Portuguese Caucasian 2 Portuguese African 95 Others
260	p_part_candidatos	Pesos para a totalidade dos candidatos (eleitos e não eleitos)	
261	p_parlam	Peso para a representação parlamentar dos partidos	

## 5. Citation

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