

THE DIMENSIONALITY OF THE PORTUGUESE PARTY POLICY SPACE

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Abstract. We provide a comprehensive analysis of the Portuguese parties and their policy space. We show how and how well the parties have been able to adapt to the changing environment in the party system. Our analyses show that, not only are we able check existing static expert assessments of the Portuguese party and policy space, but we are also able to track the dynamics of the system. In this way, we expand on what little has been said thus far about the Portuguese party system. We conclude with three important ideas. First, we confirm that the Portuguese policy space is unidimensional, with the parties lining up from Left to Right, as some but not all experts, have suggested. Second, we propose that the environment of the Portuguese party system is one of compression, that is, parties have been office-seekers in that they have all been approaching the Centre of the political spectrum for a number of reasons we explore in detail. Last, we learn that only through issue dimensions and how parties pronounce themselves on these dimensions are the smaller parties able to survive and avoid extinction in the compressing environment of the party system.

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In democracy political electorates and popular control depend on political parties to present viable governing options. It is through the parties and their competitive struggle to gain power that democratic theory becomes a reality. In the midst of increasing pressures for innovation, political parties are forced to change how they organize themselves and relate to one another within a given political system. In the face of a changing environment in the party system, the parties have to adapt in order to survive and flourish.

Our purpose in this paper is to show how and how well the Portuguese parties have been able to adapt. This is interesting in two regards. First, it is relevant as a theoretical matter because we will be observing the parties during a period when they are still young, inexperienced, and, in some sense, vulnerable to extinction. Second, it is interesting as a descriptive matter because there is not too terribly much information on Portugal and the Portuguese party system.

Given adaptability as the core theme of the paper, we examine the critical question of what democratic choice the parties provide and how they organise themselves in the policy space. Through a comprehensive analysis of the Portuguese manifestoes provided by the Comparative Manifestos Project (CMP), which is especially designed to pick up on valid and reliable party dynamics (McDonald and Mendes 2000; Mendes and McDonald 2001a; Volkens 2001), we provide a picture of what the policy space looks like, and more importantly, how party strategic manoeuvring has changed it throughout Portugal's short democratic history.

We conclude with three important ideas. First, we are able to confirm that the Portuguese policy space is unidimensional, with the parties lining up from Left to Right, as some but not all experts, have suggested. Second, we propose that the environment of the Portuguese party system is one of compression, that is, parties have been office-seekers in that they have all been approaching the Centre of the political spectrum for a number of reasons we explore below in detail. Finally, we learn that only through issue dimensions and how parties pronounce themselves on these dimensions are the smaller parties able to survive in the contracting environment of the party system.

Electoral Strategies: Dimensionality of the Portuguese Policy Space

Very little is known about the dimensionality of the Portuguese policy space. Only in the last decade did expert assessments include Portugal. But existing opinions to date do not tell the same story, leaving us with mixed impressions of what is really going on.

In the last section on party competition, we learned that the Laver and Hunt expert study (1992) describe the Portuguese policy space to be unidimensional. John Huber and Ronald

Inglehart (1995) appeared on the heels of Laver and Hunt offering their take on the Left-Right dimension in 42 nations, among them Portugal. Arend Lijphart's (1999) added his voice to the discussion of what he calls issue dimensions. What is interesting about these two studies is that they raise the question of whether the Portuguese policy space is really unidimensional. In contrast to Laver and Hunt's public ownership category, Huber and Inglehart (1995, 89) identify "traditional vs. new culture" as the most salient category, where "traditional vs. new culture" refers to (1995, 78) "traditions, religious values, Catholic state, ecological sensitivity, idealism, pacifism, secularism, participation, culture, environment, religion, moral order and social conservatism".

Lijphart (1999, 80) suggests that there is more to the Portuguese policy space than the singular economic dimension. He claims there are 2.5 issue dimensions with socioeconomic issues being the most salient, followed by three other "medium-salience" issues: religion, regime support, and foreign policy issues. Lijphart also considers a "cultural-ethnic" issue category, but contrary to Huber and Inglehart, he does not think it is relevant in characterising the Portuguese policy space.

One message stands out clearly at this point: there is nothing clear about what the Portuguese policy space looks like. Laver and Hunt (1992) tell us one thing; Huber and Inglehart (1995) tell us something else, and so does Lijphart (1999). Their take on the matter is that there is an added complexity. Huber and Inglehart and Lijphart disagree on exactly what that added complexity is. In short, there is considerable wonderment as to how the parties organise themselves and no idea whatsoever as to the dynamics of party alignment in the policy space.

A Closer Look at the Evidence

Up until now, we have been dealing with static views of the Portuguese party positions. They capture snapshot positions, at best, of the time of the expert surveys. McDonald and Mendes (2001a) cast doubt on whether these static distinctions among party positions could accurately reflect the reality of the Party positions. This is because the expert studies were found to be highly stable. But as McDonald and Mendes (2001a), using Comparative Manifesto Project data, show, the parties can and do move about strategically in the short run without straying too far along the Left-Right dimension. Being stable, the expert studies cannot assess party movements. The CMP data allow one to draw inferences about the party dynamics since they report on what the parties say at each election point in time.

As Mendes and McDonald (2001b) later qualify, short run party dynamics can occur because parties change the emphasis they give to specific issues by placing more emphasis on some issues compared to the others, by purposefully placing less emphasis on other issues, or by paying attention to categories that may be largely new to their party programmes. Would it not be interesting to see how, if at all, any redimensioning has occurred in the Portuguese policy space and still more interesting yet to see why and the part of which parties?

Issue Saliency

A preliminary look at the descriptive evidence on the saliency of the issue domains and categories will help us with what to expect when exploring the dimensionality of the Portuguese space. This is because the dimensionality as assessed by the manifestos is extracted under a coding scheme that was founded on saliency theory to begin with (Budge, Robertson, and Hearl 1987; McDonald and Mendes 2001a).

The means of the seven CMP domains tell us how much the parties have been referring to or emphasizing them; in other words, they tell us about the saliency or importance of the issue categories to the parties: External Relations (8.3), Freedom & Democracy (13.4), Political System (7.5),¹ Economy (18.9), Welfare & Quality of Life (19.1), Fabric of Society (3.4), and Social Groups (10.3). As is easily seen, “Fabric of Society” is the domain receiving the least mention, so much so that we exclude it from any dimensional analyses that we perform. Interesting to note as of yet is that this is precisely the domain equivalent to Huber and Inglehart’s “tradition vs. new culture” category. So at this point, we are already doubtful of what these experts tell us since the evidence does not support these authors’ premise regarding the primary issue of concern to the Portuguese parties. Economy (Domain 4) and Welfare and Quality of Life (Domain 5) are the dominant foci of the parties, with Freedom and Democracy (Freedom & Democracy) coming in a distant third.

- shows these means as well other descriptive statistics of the data we are employing to assess the dimensionality of the Portuguese policy space. Also featured are the descriptive statistics of the 20-year period divided into two sub-periods: 1975-1983 elections and the 1985-1995 elections.¹

[Table 1 about here]

¹ Critics may argue whether the 1987 election should have been the election separating the two periods because it was Cavaco Silva’s second win in 1987 that gave him a governing majority for the first time in democratic history. We chose to include the 1985 election given that we are considering a possible disjunction in time due to stability—both economic and political—and since we are assuming the EU entry

If we compare across sub-periods, we see that economic matters dominated the first half of this 20-year period with a mean of 17.49. In these first ten years of democratic history, however, it is Domain 2—especially the appeal to democracy and the democratic regime, the promotion of the constitution and the freedoms it awarded—that occupied the second most important domain to Portuguese parties with a mean of 16.77; and close behind was Welfare and Quality of Life with a mean of 16.26. Not too far off was Domain 7, Social Groups—particularly the concern for the well-being of the farming society and the establishment of labour unions.

Social and environmental concerns clearly began receiving more emphasis in the latter half of the period under consideration, as Table 2 specifies more in a more detailed fashion. Most of the favourable mention categories in this Domain gained in emphasis in the last ten years. When the economy began to come under some long-awaited control in the mid 80s, the political stability that followed and accompanied it allowed the parties to turn to building infrastructure and improving the quality of life.

[Table 2 about here]

One domain whose emphasis is clearly overstated when only considering the whole period is that of Domain 2, Freedom & Democracy. Party mentions of freedom and democracy received considerably less emphasis in the latter part of the period under analysis—about half of what it was getting before. On the flipside, Domain 3's salience, Political System, nearly doubled from the pre-85 period to the post-85 period.²

Table 3 shows a breakdown of the mean emphases of the four major parties. All four parties have been concerned with welfare questions, mostly especially the PSP and PSD. It also shows that the most Left-leaning party, PCP, emphasised questions of freedom and democracy far more than any other party. In fact in the last ten years, it was the only major party still heavily focused on these issues when the remaining major players had moved on to other issues. Social matters, as well as agricultural and labour groups have long been important to the Communists (PCP), with the latter more so in the first ten years and welfare and social issues in the last ten. The economic categories most concentrated on are, as would be expected, Marxist-related categories.

year as the beginning of less volatile economic times for the Portuguese economy, 1985 seemed to be a reasonable choice (see Gallagher, 1986, 1988).

² The category labeled Political Authority is dropped from all of our analyses due the considerable emphasis that all of the parties place on political authority (see Appendix Table 1), so much so that the Communist Party is more Right-leaning than the extreme Rightist in Europe. Keeping it would produce unreliable estimates. The Portuguese experience with the overthrow of the authoritarian regime made the parties emphasise the importance of the new regime. Keeping this category in the analyses would only skew the results.

[Table 3 about here]

Market-oriented statements have been a major part of the Christian Democrats' or the Popular Party (PP) programmes, more so than the Socialists (PSP) and Social Democrats (PSD). All three of these parties to the left of PCP have been concerned with productivity, infrastructure, and other economic goals—most of all the PSD—as well as governmental and administrative efficiency—most of all the PP at the Right. In fact, the Populists' interest in political matters has only grown over the years, as a comparison of the means shows.

Dimensionality of the Policy Space

We have, at this point, a pretty good idea of what to expect in the dimensional analysis, that of two overall factors that define the party space: an economic and social dimension. Potentially a third and fourth factor coming from the External Relations and Social Groups domains in defining the principal underlying dimensions in Portuguese democratic history. What we know that there has been some strategic manoeuvring on the part of the Portuguese parties. But solely looking at the issue salience across the board from 1975-95 does not allow us to say this. It is misleading with respect to what issues the parties hold dear to them.

The first stage factor analysis allowed us to extract one factor within each domain (except for Domain 6 as discussed above) using Principal Components method and Varimax rotation. Table 4 reports the factor loadings of the first stage factor analysis using CMP data (Volkens 2001) for the period covering all legislative elections since the first government during the period 1975-95. Table 5 reports on the factor loadings for each of two sub-periods we thought interesting to analyse separately, given the relevance of the crossover period in Portuguese political and economic stability, before and after the 1985 election period.

[Table 4 and 5 about here]

Across the entire period, we extracted a factor that we are designating as “Good International Relations” in the External Relations domain. All of the issue categories receiving a substantial amount of attention (a CMP score of equal to or greater than 1.00) load on or about .6. That which leads the Portuguese parties to make statements about the Nation's positive international and good military relations also makes them speak negatively about anti-imperialism and negative military interventions. In the Freedom & Democracy domain, we extracted a “Democratic or Civic Rights or Freedoms” factor on which most all categories load on or about .7. In the third domain, Political System, the issue categories load on a factor “Better Government” about .8. As in the previous domain, most parties seem to agree on matters of

democratic freedom. In the next three domains, we extracted an “Economic Growth”, a “Social Concern/Quality of Life”, and an “Economic Groups. On the Economic factor, the issue categories loaded about .6 on free market issues, with the exception of Marxist-like statements. The parties are divided in that the those parties making favorable statements about issues like free enterprise and other free-market oriented issues also make negative statements on Marxist-oriented and market regulated issues. On the question of Quality of Life, most issue categories loaded on this factor on or about .8. The same occurs with the Economic Groups factor. And we get fairly the same picture when our analysis of this 20-year period.

Figures 1A-F illustrate the individual party scores on each of the six first-stage factors by election. Two things deserve notice: the factor extracted with Domain 2 or the Democratic/Civic Rights or Freedoms factor shown in Figure 1B and the Domain 7 or Economic Groups factor shown in Figure 1F. In both cases, the parties are positioned very close to one another, especially following the 1975 and 1976 elections. This means that they are pretty much in agreement on these matters and, therefore, we would not expect them to organize themselves along any distinguishable dimension.

[Figures 1 A-F about here]

In order to more clearly define the Portuguese policy space, we further reduced these six factors in a subsequent factor analysis. Table 6 shows the results of the second stage analysis for all three periods and Figures 2 A-C plot the resulting factors against one another: Factor 1 on the horizontal axis and the Factor 2 on the vertical axis. Here, factors with eigenvalues above 1.00 were extracted, again using the Principal Components extraction method. The factor loadings shown in Table 6 are the Varimax rotated figures. Two factors were extracted, however, as the depiction in Figures 2 A-C communicates, there appears to be really only one dimension, a dimension similar to the Left-Right dimension. And this is so regardless of whether we are considering the entire period or the two sub-periods, before and after political and economic stability, although the picture is clearer when we factor analyse the first 10 years of democracy (see Figure 2B). Looking at Table 6 and Figure 2, we can see that one factor creates the suspicion of a possible second dimension: that of “Democratic and Civic Rights”. This factor fails to conform to the general tendency we observe, but the lack of fit on freedom and democracy may very well be a matter of consensus just as Figure 6B shows. What is happening here is that the parties by and large agree on matters of this nature. Given the lack of distinction among them on these questions, it is fair to expect that they would not organize themselves in the same way as they would on Left-Right matters. And indeed they do not.

[Table 6 and Figures 2 A-C about here]

Given that we are excluding the possibility of a second dimension, our final depiction in Figure 3 represents the Portuguese policy space as we see it: a unidimensional space, with the parties moving around strategically from one election to the next, in conformity with our salience analysis, but by and large organising themselves according to a general Left-Right dimension. In this way our analysis confirms that Laver and Hunt (1992) were right on the mark about the Portuguese policy space. It does appear to be unidimensional. But our story goes beyond what Laver and Hunt, as well as any other expert assessment, can tell us. We not only effectively show how the parties align themselves along this singular dimension, but we are also able to say something about the party dynamics. The evidence shows that there is considerable strategic movement or change through time, at least on the part of the four major parties. This change or movement reflects a contracting party system, with the parties moving closer to one another towards the Centre from one election to the next. Figure 3 shows two things: 1) the contracting tendency; but 2) it also reveals how the parties, particularly the smaller parties, the PP and the PCP, adapted to this changing environment.

[Figure 3 about here]

As we can see from Figure 3, party movement is common among all four parties. In the beginning, the parties were strategically closer to the Left, not wanting to be associated with the Right. Indeed, the Constitution of 1976 is Leftist sounding, even today. But in the late 70s, the parties became office-seekers because they began to approach the Centre of the political spectrum. The consequence was a compression in the party system. The greatest contribution to this compression was the PS movement toward the Right. In the first two elections, in 1975 and 1976, the PS was very close to the Communists on the Left, but then it took off to the Right and, but for the in early 1980s elections, stayed there. In a couple of cases it actually leap-frogged the PSD on the Left-Right dimension. This left the PCP, although also having moved toward the especially when in alliance with the Greens, with the most Leftist place in the policy space. In this way, the PCP secured its survival by remaining a clear Leftist option to the Portuguese electorate. Also presenting itself as a distinct policy option is the PP, generally in the Right-most position in the last ten years. It strategically sought to disassociate itself from the PSD following the breakup of the AD, thus providing a distinct policy choice to the public.

Conclusion

This study tells a story of the Portuguese party system and the dimensionality of its policy space in times of mounting pressure in Europe for parties to innovate. It is essentially a story of the changing environment of the party system and the strategic survival behaviour of the parties. Our principal message is one of compression. The Portuguese party system has contracted throughout its democratic history with the parties largely behaving in a Downsian, office-seeking way approaching the middle of the political spectrum. Throughout this paper, we have argued and effectively shown evidence pointing a compression tendency: the unidimensional policy space itself.

These features of the Portuguese society and party system are not likely to change, at least not in the near future. That means that one can expect the tendency for Portugal to have a small number of effective parties is likely to continue. And this has important implications for those smaller parties that have up until now been able to compete, and wish to continue competing for a few seats in parliament, with the two largest Centrist parties, the PS and the PSD. In the Portuguese case, these smaller parties are the PCP and the PP. The only option these parties have to survive in the trend of contraction is through the issue dimensions. Depending on where they position themselves along the Left-Right dimension, they can offer more distinct policy choices to the Portuguese electorate. In this way, they have a chance at successfully adapting to the system environment.

To sum up, in the end our analyses allowed us to, not only check the expert opinions of the Portuguese party and policy space—among which we stand with those of Laver and Hunt (1992) about the unidimensionality of the Portuguese policy space—, but also to track the dynamics of the system, that is, the strategic manoeuvring of the parties. In this way, we expand on what has thus far been said about the Portuguese party system. We learn two additional things. First, throughout its democratic history, the party system is contracting, and second, the only viable option for party survival depends on how they, particularly the smaller parties, pronounce themselves on the issues.

Table 1: Means of the Seven Domains of the Comparative Manifestos Project Data

Domains	Entire Period				Before 1985				After 1983			
	Mean	StD	Min	Max	Mean	StD	Min	Max	Mean	StD	Min	Max
Domain 1 External Relations	8.286	5.134	0.00	26.26	7.855	4.419	.80	22.97	8.906	6.062	0.00	26.26
Domain 2 Freedom and Democracy	13.379	11.856	0.00	50.96	16.766	13.719	0.00	50.96	8.503	5.916	0.00	27.08
Domain 3 Political System	7.475	6.193	0.00	30.36	5.867	4.499	0.00	14.20	9.791	7.542	1.04	30.36
Domain 4 Economy	18.926	10.746	0.00	51.25	17.490	8.983	0.00	42.86	21.096	12.756	.93	51.25
Domain 5 Welfare & Quality of Life	19.127	12.433	0.00	59.38	16.256	12.335	0.00	59.38	23.260	11.591	4.88	49.49
Domain 6 Fabric of Society	3.439	3.469	0.00	12.50	3.934	3.979	0.00	12.50	2.726	2.468	0.00	8.65
Domain 7 Social Groups	10.305	6.219	0.00	34.40	12.079	6.811	0.00	34.40	7.751	4.185	0.00	16.67

Table 2: Means in Top Ten Categories of the Comparative Manifestos Project Data

Domains and Categories	Entire Period	Before 1985	After 1983
Domain 1 External Relations			
European Community			3.745
Domain 2 Freedom and Democracy			
Freedom and Human Rights		2.993	
Democracy	8.065	10.686	4.290
Constitutionalism		3.087	
Domain 3 Political System			
Governmental and Adm. Efficiency	3.635	2.811	4.822
Domain 4 Economy			
Enterprise, Incentives, & Market Reg.			
Economic Orthodoxy and Goals	3.235		4.446
Infrastructure	3.121		4.590
Domain 5 Welfare & Quality of Life			
Environmental Protectionism	3.565	2.718	4.786
Social Justice	3.735	3.078	4.681
Welfare	5.636	4.563	7.181
Education	3.531	3.421	3.690
Domain 7 Social Groups			
Labour	3.870	4.418	3.082
Agriculture and Farmers	3.757	4.629	

Table 3: Breakdown of the Means of Top Categories Comparative Manifestos Project by Major Party

Domains and Categories	975-95				975-83				1985-95			
	PCP	PS	PSD	PP	PCP	PS	PSD	PP	PCP	PS	PSD	PP
Domain 1 External Relations												
Anti-Imperialism	3.019				3.774	2.879						
Internationalism												
Peace												
European Community				4.206						3.979	3.624	8.230
Domain 2 Freedom & Democracy												
Freedom and Human Rights	2.938		3.946		3.106		5.924		2.265			
Democracy	12.579	7.420	3.920		14.649	11.518	5.674		7.917			
Constitutionalism	3.250	2.848			3.897	3.273						
Domain 3 Political System												
Centralisation & Decentralisation								4.943				
Governmental & Adm. Efficiency		5.800	5.780	6.608		4.885	4.885	3.276	2.683	6.943	6.943	10.772
Domain 4 Economy												
Free Enterprise				3.764				3.612				3.954
Incentives		3.061								3.785		
Economic Orthodoxy				6.085				5.306		3.999	3.977	7.057
Market Regulation												3.290
Marxist Analysis	2.235				2.797							
Productivity	1.890		4.317		2.045			3.370			6.102	
Economic Goals		4.627	5.174	4.238		3.684	3.447	3.644		5.807	7.333	4.981

Domains and Categories	PCP	PS	PSD	PP	PCP	PS	PSD	PP	PCP	PS	PSD	PP
Infrastructure		5.519	5.545	4.182		3.129	4.711		3.117	8.508	6.587	5.817
Domain 5 Welfare & Quality of Life												
Culture							3.236		3.953		3.717	
Social Justice	3.009		6.149	3.668	1.992		7.823		5.423	4.833	4.057	4.823
Environmental Protection									2.284			4.294
Welfare	4.559	7.675	7.166	6.907	2.738	7.675	5.928	5.171	6.440	9.063	8.713	9.076
Education		6.562	3.788	4.242		6.562	3.869	5.281	2.364	10.215	3.687	
Domain 7 Social Groups												
Labour	5.988	3.862			6.503	3.402		4.390	5.988			
Agriculture and Farmers	3.950	5.273	4.026	3.641	4.114	7.697	4.665	3.604		4.438		

Table 4: Results of First Stage Factor Analysis, 1975-95

Domains and Categories	1975-95 Factor
Domain 1 External Relations	
Foreign Relations Pos	.668
Internationalism Pos	.367
Military Pos	.793
Military Neg	-.547
European Community Pos	.525
Anti-Imperialism	-.527
Domain 2 Freedom & Democracy	
Freedom & Human Rights	.725
Democracy	.725
Constitutionalism Pos	-.002
Domain 3 Political System	
Centralisation & Decentralisation	.703
Governmental & Adm. Efficiency	.619
Political Corruption	.687
Domain 4 Economy	
Free Enterprise	.614
Incentives	.632
Market Regulation	.609
Corporatism	.330
Productivity	.598
Infrastructure	.680
Economic Orthodoxy	.553
Marxist	-.648
Domain 5 Welfare & Quality of Life	
Environmental Protectionism	-.045
Culture	.600
Social Justice	.214
Welfare Pos	.840
Education Pos	.796
Domain 7 Social Groups	
Labour	.343
Agricultural & Farmers	.865
Minority Groups	.790
Non-economic Groups	.042

Note: Extraction Method: Principal components with one factor extracted

Table 5: Results of First Stage Factor Analysis in Both Sub-Periods

	1975-83	1985-95
Domains and Categories	Factor	Factor
Domain 1 External Relations		
Foreign Relations Pos	-.016	.836
Internationalism Pos	-.182	.674
Military Pos	.823	.810
Military Neg	-.475	-.597
European Community Pos	.875	.414
Anti-Imperialism	-.722	-.587
Domain 2 Freedom & Democracy		
Freedom & Human Rights	.066	.806
Democracy	-.724	.762
Constitutionalism Pos	.744	-.078
Domain 3 Political System		
Centralisation & Decentralisation	.610	.881
Governmental & Adm. Efficiency	.756	.403
Political Corruption	-.637	.854
Domain 4 Economy		
Free Enterprise	.714	.528
Incentives	.442	.772
Market Regulation	.695	.567
Corporatism	.532	.070
Productivity	.728	.516
Infrastructure	.519	.791
Economic Orthodoxy	.582	.523
Marxist	-.672	-.539
Domain 5 Welfare & Quality of Life		
Environmental Protectionism	.102	-.454
Culture	.733	.530
Social Justice	-.251	.747
Welfare Pos	.806	.784
Education Pos	.897	.640
Domain 7 Social Groups		
Labour	.402	.058
Agricultural & Farmers	.837	.663
Minority Groups	.718	.666
Non-economic Groups	-.349	.810

Note: Extraction Method: Principal Components with one factor extracted

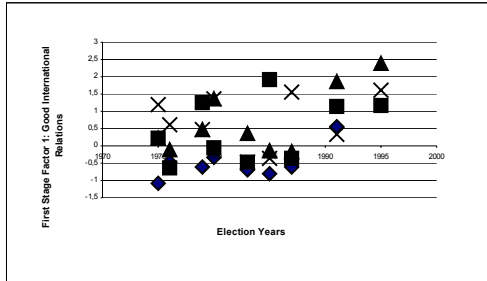
Table 6: Results of Second Stage Factor Analysis

Factors from 1 st Stage	1975-95		1975-83		1985-95	
	1 st Factor	2 nd Factor	1 st Factor	2 nd Factor	1 st Factor	2 nd Factor
D1 Good International Relations	.722	.032			.835	.0003
D1 Good European Relations			.938	-.022		
D2 Democratic/Civic Freedoms	-.749	-.076	.433	.373	-.481	-.688
D3 Better Government	.667	-.458	.856	.088	-.177	.798
D4 Economic Growth	.868	.146	.753	.245	.745	.461
D5 Social Concerns/Quality of Life	.703	.396	.526	.711	.619	.358
D7 Economic Groups	.146	.905	-.092	.918		
D7 Poverty/Inequality Groups					.852	-.217

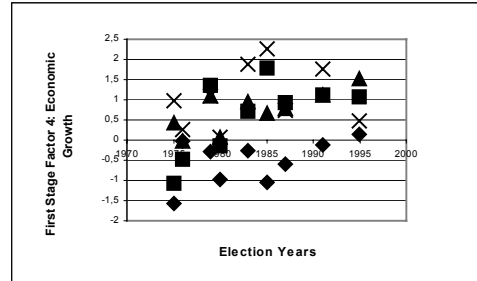
Notes: Extraction Method: Eigenvalues >1.00
Rotation Method: Varimax

Figure 1: First Stage Factor Scores by Party and Election, 1975-95

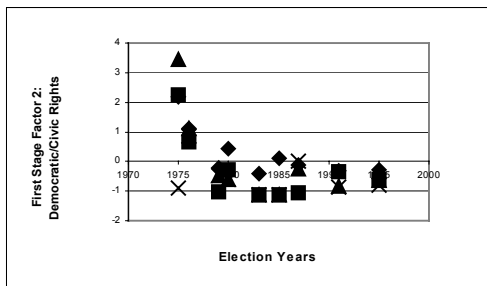
A.



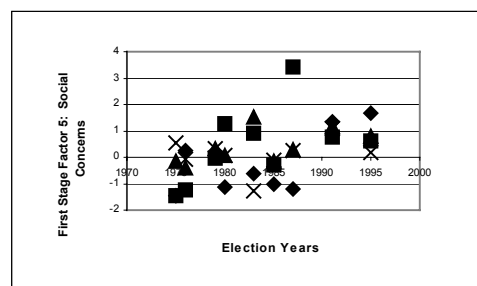
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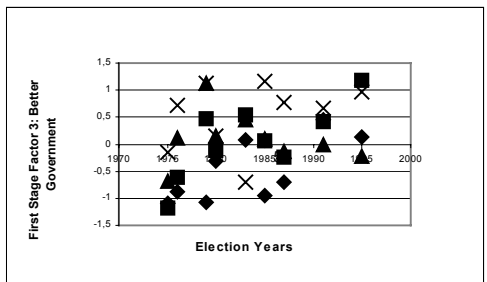
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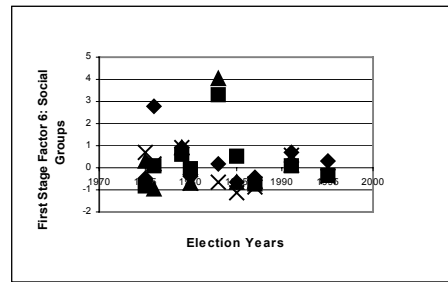
E.



C.



F.

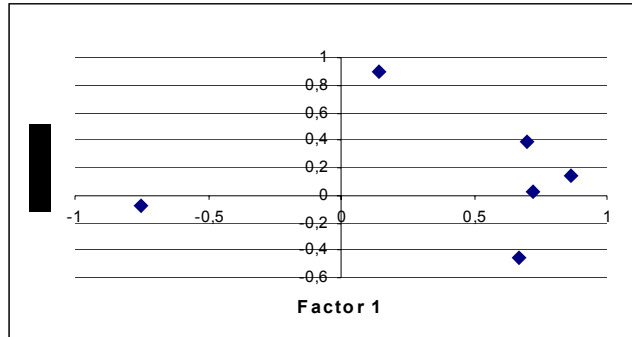


Legend:

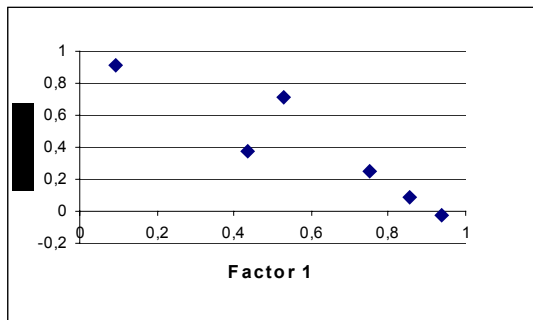
Diamond=PCP; Square=PS; Triangle=PSD; X=PP

Figure 2: Second Stage Factor Scores

A. 1975-95



B. 1975-83



C. 1985-95

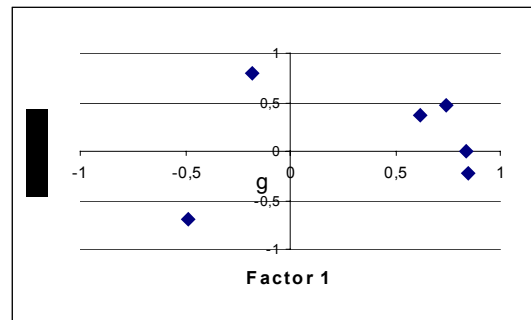
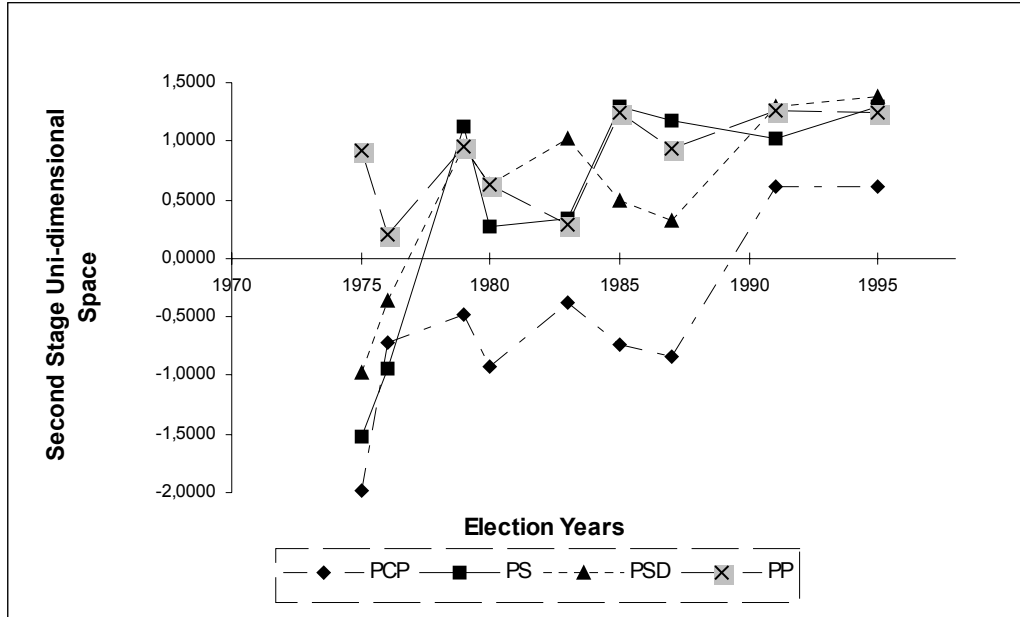


Figure 3: Unidimensional Portuguese Party Space using CMP Data, 1975-95



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Domains and Categories	PCP				PS				PSD				PP			
	Mean	StD	Min	Max	Mean	StD	Min	Max	Mean	StD	Min	Max	Mean	StD	Min	Max
Welfare & Quality of Life	14.077	13.283	0	36.00	21.602	14.090	0	30.30	23.180	6.205	0	18.87	20.906	9.987	0	11.25
Environmental Protection	1.108	1.549	0	3.90	1.472	2.181	0	5.68	2.595	2.799	0	7.88	3.272	2.872	0	7.64
Culture	2.801	3.055	0	7.90	1.859	2.581	0	6.51	3.450	2.795	0	7.28	2.789	2.282	0	5.98
Social Justice	3.009	3.313	0	8.96	3.346	2.867	0	7.14	5.413	5.874	.52	18.87	4.061	3.543	0	10.19
Welfare State Expansion	4.559	4.142	0	12.59	8.099	4.136	0	13.60	6.813	3.446	1.89	11.48	7.187	3.559	.89	11.25
Welfare State Limitation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.229	.453	0	1.04	.127	.359	0	1.01
Education Expansion	2.600	2.964	0	6.56	6.826	9.157	0	30.30	4.681	2.677	1.89	10.42	3.470	2.289	0	6.86
Education Limitation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fabric of Society	1.900	1.268	.64	3.88	3.697	2.881	0	10.40	4.898	3.888	0	6.25	6.051	4.236	0	8.82
Natl Way of Life Pos	.042	.092	0	.27	.093	.184	0	.55	.267	.437	0	1.10	.548	.753	0	1.79
Natl Way of Life Neg	.091	.273	0	.82	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	.112	.316	0	.89
Traditional Morality Pos	.138	.249	0	.64	.034	.090	0	.27	.779	.725	0	2.08	2.024	2.918	0	8.82
Traditional Morality Neg	.030	.062	0	.17	0	0	0	0	.008	.024	0	.07	0	0	0	0
Law & Order	.753	.698	0	1.62	2.187	3.294	0	10.40	1.886	1.925	0	6.25	1.416	1.654	0	4.61
Social Harmony	.734	.596	0	1.64	1.343	1.285	0	3.55	1.875	1.759	0	4.41	1.886	2.209	0	6.25
Multiculturalism Pos	.111	.250	0	.74	.040	.083	0	.23	.083	.126	0	.29	.066	.123	0	.29
Multiculturalism Neg	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Social Groups	13.032	7.350	6.50	31.15	10.737	9.152	0	20.80	10.843	5.575	0	12.36	9.418	3.799	0	6.23
Labour Groups Pos	5.988	2.484	4.05	11.48	4.030	2.516	1.78	8.80	1.755	2.245	0	5.66	1.323	1.545	0	4.46
Labour Groups Neg	0	0	0	0	.019	.056	0	.17	.306	.684	0	2.08	1.237	1.813	0	4.46
Agriculture & Farmers	3.950	4.820	.64	16.39	4.852	6.607	0	20.80	4.604	3.285	1.47	12.36	3.445	2.160	0	6.23
Middle Class & Prof Groups	.540	.744	0	1.64	.026	.057	0	.17	.046	.092	0	.22	.333	.501	0	1.25
Minority Groups	1.235	1.042	0	2.79	.864	.901	0	2.74	1.702	2.335	0	7.51	.846	1.130	0	2.61
Non-Econ Groups	1.320	1.245	0	3.21	.947	1.234	0	3.20	2.429	1.333	.52	4.50	2.233	2.065	0	5.88

