

 **Political
Intelligence**

**Portugal 2019
Legislative Elections
Summary of the Results**

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On October 6th, 230 MPs were elected. The Parliamentary Elections represent a moment of utmost importance in a country's politics, representing the disruption or continuity of previously developed public policies with an impact on several economic sectors.

Hence, Political Intelligence Lisbon is elaborating the following Analysis, in which reflects on the results of the Parliamentary Elections and subsequent Parliament composition, projecting scenarios on governmental solutions.

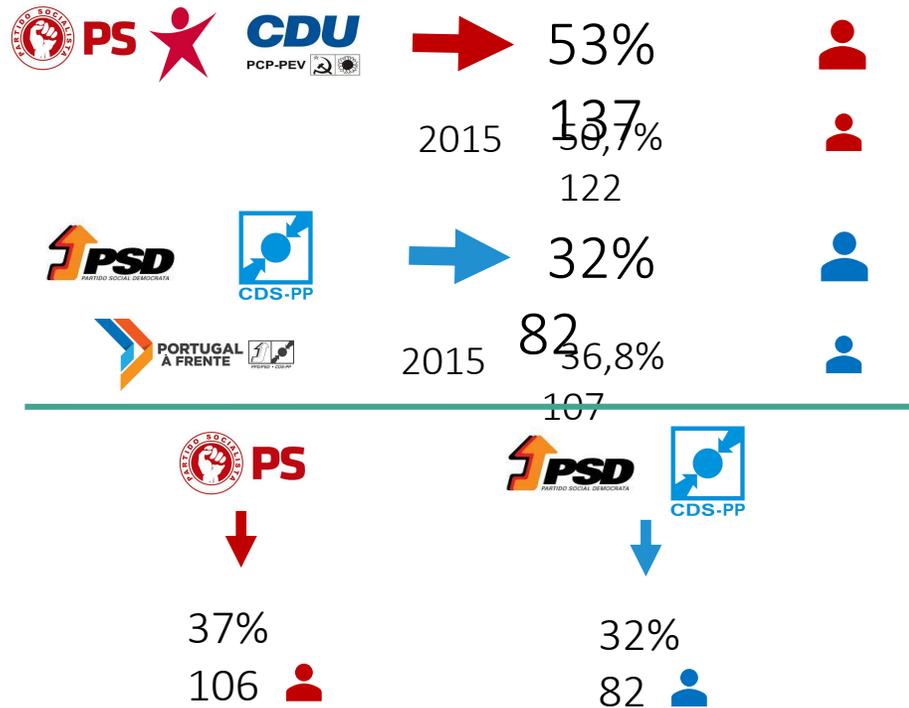
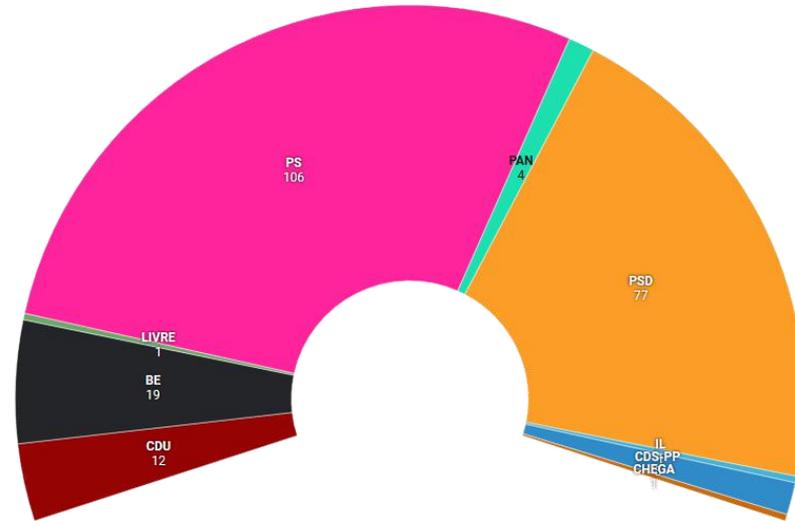
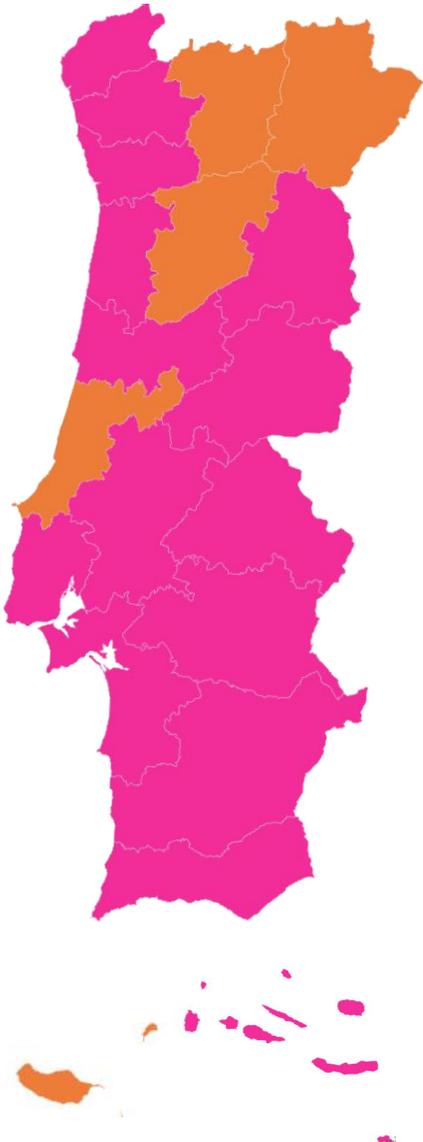


Global Results

- **PS** (Socialist Party, S&D family), won the elections but fell short to win an absolute majority, reaching 36,4%. PS elected 106 MPs, needs the support of 10 MPs to reach majority in parliament (116).
- **PSD** (Social-Democratic Party, EPP family) got 27,9% and elected 77 MPs, less 12 than in 2015.
- The **BE** (Left Block, GUE family) consolidated its position as the third party with 10%.
- **CDU** (Coalition of Communists, PCP, and Greens, PEV, GUE family) will have less 5 MPs in Parliament, 10 for PCP, 2 for PEV.
- **CDS** (Christian-Democrats, EPP family) had significant reduction of its representation, from 18 MPs to only 5. Its leader, Assunção Cristas, announced her resignation.
- **PAN** (Nature and Animals Party) elected one MP in 2015, will now have 4 MPs elected in the urban areas of Lisbon, Porto and Setúbal.
- Three new parties enter the Parliament for the first time, each with only one MP – **Chega**, **Iniciativa Liberal** e **Livre**.



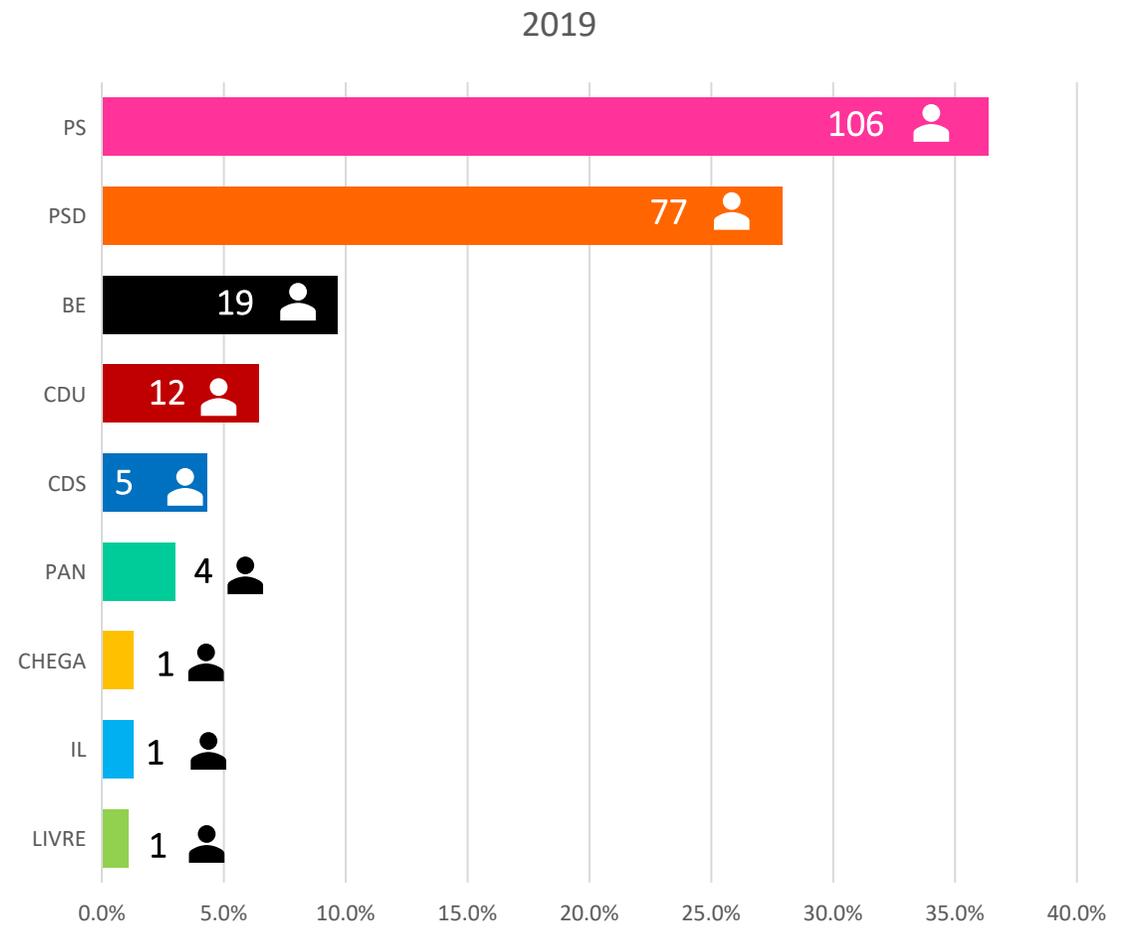
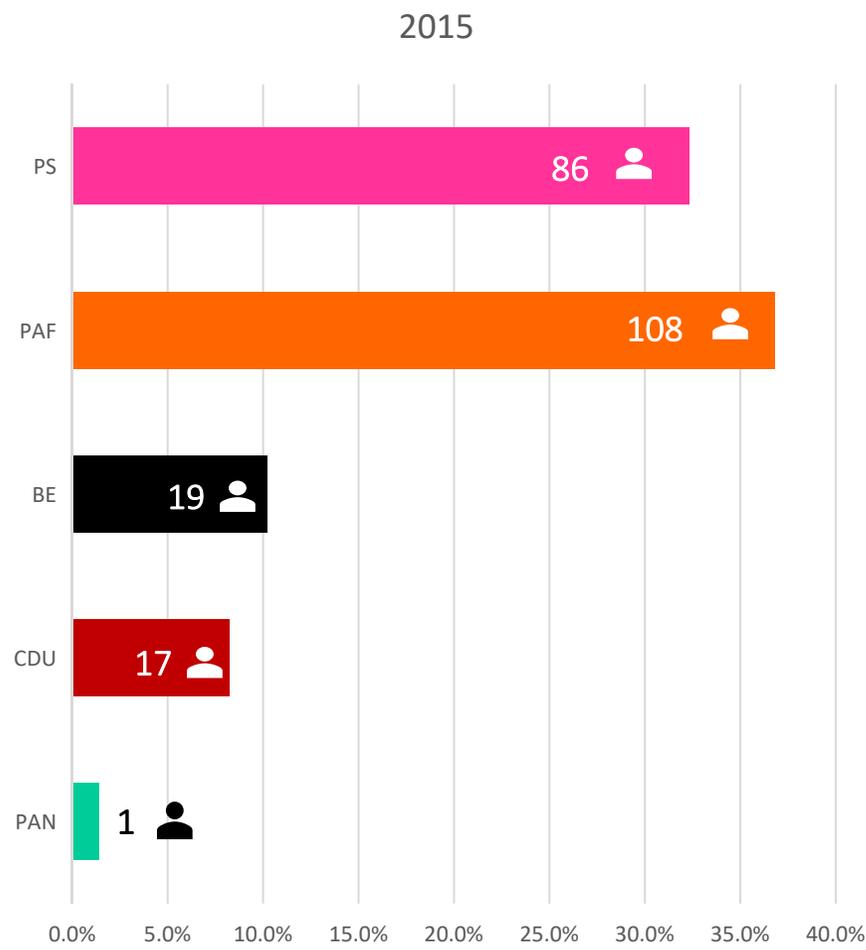
Global Results



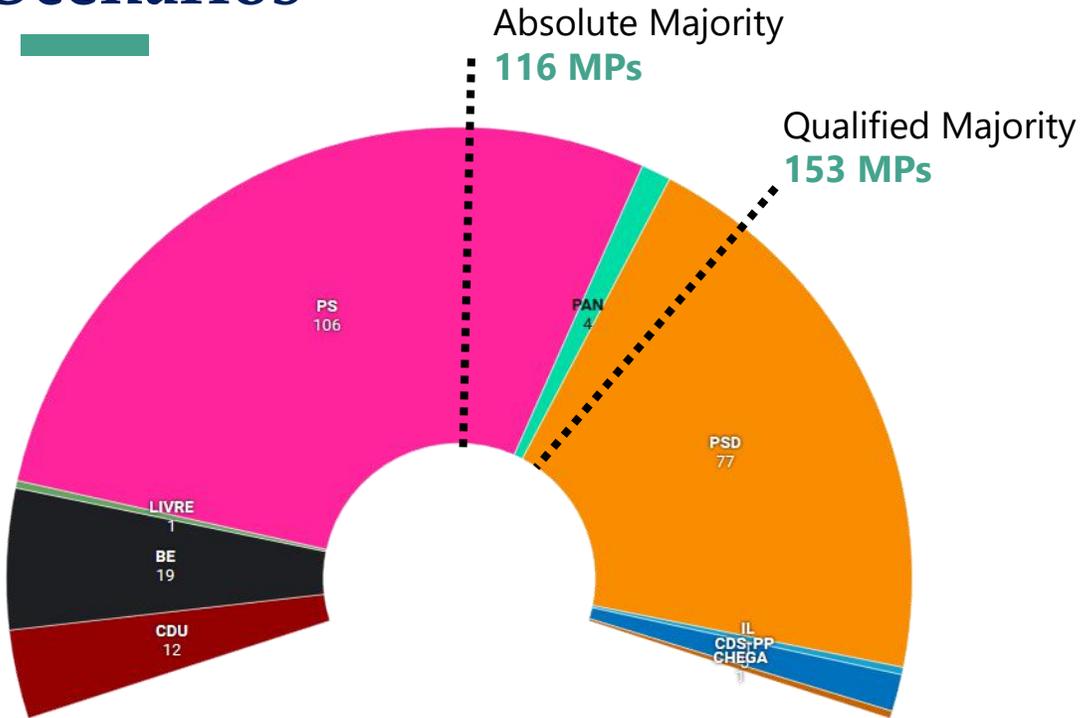
Party	Mandates	%	Var. 2015
PS	106	36,65%	+19 (+ 3p.p.)
PSD	77	27,9%	-12*
Bloco de Esquerda	19	9,67%	= (-0,6 p.p.)
CDU PCP-PEV	12	6,45%	-5 (-1,8 p.p.)
CDS-PP	5	4,25%	-13*
PAN PESSOAS-ANIMAIS-NATUREZA	4	3,28%	+3 (+1,8 p.p.)
CHEGA	1	1,3%	-
	1	1,29%	-
	1	1,09%	-

*In 2015, PSD and CDS formed a coalition "Portugal à Frente" (PàF) which got 36,86% and 108 MPs (PSD – 89; CDS - 18)

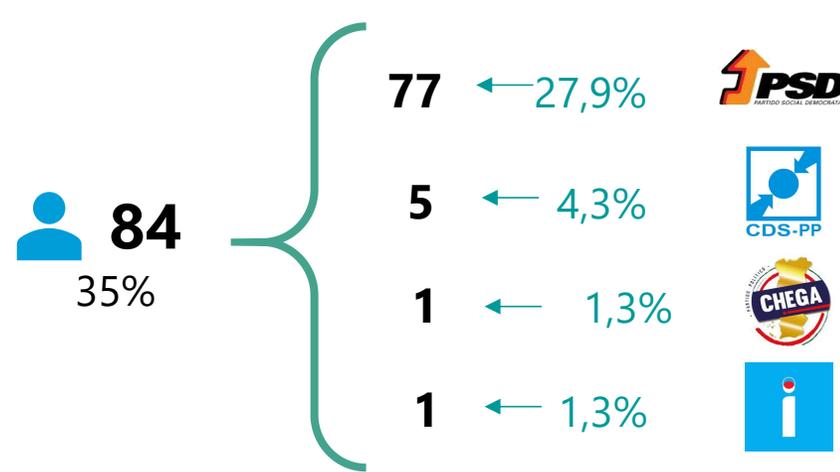
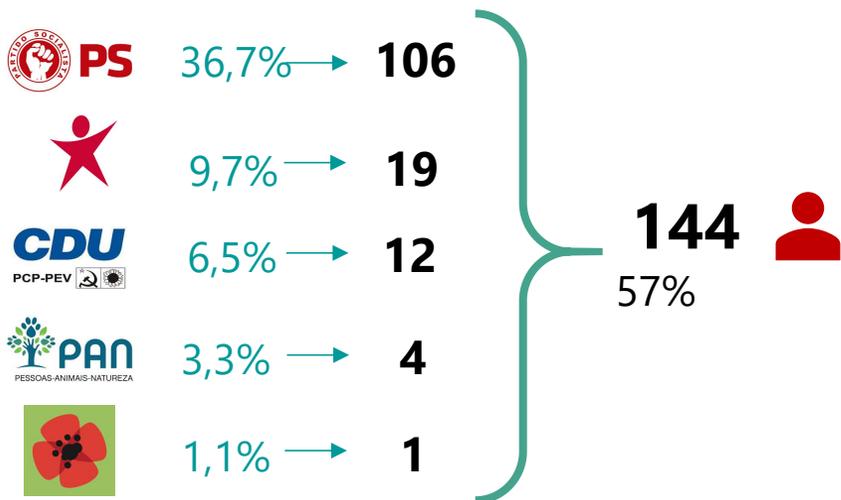
Global Results



Scenarios



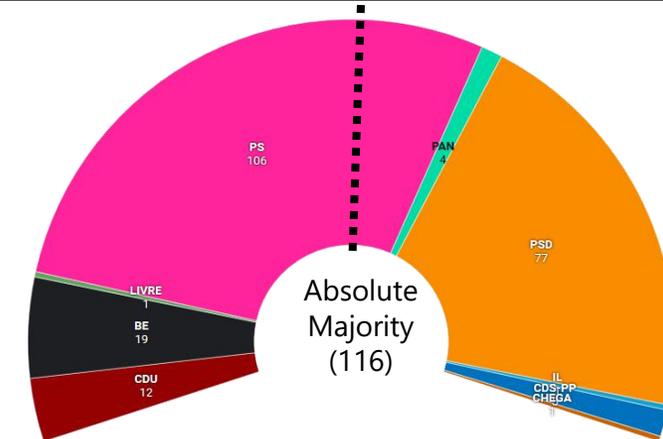
Possible Scenarios		
PS (106) + BE (19) + CDU (12) + PAN + (4) Livre + (1)	142	✓
PS (106) + BE (19)	125	✓
PS (106) + CDU (12)	118	✓
PS (106) + PAN (4)	110	✗
PS (106) + PAN + (4) + Livre (1)	111	✗
PSD (77) + CDS + (5) + IL (1)	83	✗



Scenarios

“Geringonça” with Variable Geometry

- PS won the elections and increased its representation to 106 MPs (+19). It needs 10 MPs to reach majority. In this scenario, it will be enough for BE or CDU to abstain in certain votes to approve the Government’s proposals.
- **The Socialists alone got more votes and MPs than PSD and CDS together (right wing opposition parties).** This means a relevant change in the political configuration to the left wing parties. Now, PS can form a minority Government without their formal support, whereas in 2015 this was not possible.
- **António Costa is available for a “Geringonça” 2.0,** more or less formal, with BE and CDU, also including PAN and Livre.
- BE consolidates its position as third party. **Catarina Martins is available to negotiate with PS, be it on a long term basis or on a “year-by-year” basis.**
- CDU (PCP+PEV) had the worst result from all the left parties (elected 12, less 5 than 2015). **Jerónimo de Sousa declared that PCP might support the Government on an *ad hoc* basis.**
- PAN goes from 1 MP to 4. It is available to integrate a new Geringonça, but **alone cannot help PS to reach majority.**

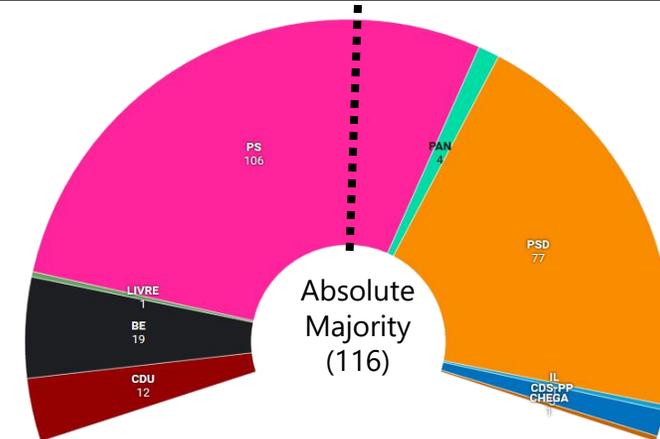


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Iniciativa Liberal	1	1,29%
Livre	1	1,09%
Abstention		45,5% (+2,5%)
Blank/Nulls		2,5% / 1,7%

Scenarios

Opposition Parties, Leadership Crisis

- PSD decreased to 27,9%, losing 12 MPs, its worst result in legislative elections since 1983. Rui Rio said the result was positive in comparison to the European elections results and in the face of internal opposition. **Rio is trying to legitimize his leadership towards internal contenders who will challenge him on the forthcoming Congress, scheduled to the beginning of 2020, or even before, if they convene an extraordinary Congress.**
- Rio might opt to abstain in the 2020 State Budget vote, as a way to put pressure on BE and PCP, but risks being pushed internally to step down if he doesn't legitimize his leadership beforehand. The next PSD Parliamentary Group will have to adapt to an instable situation on the next months.
- CDS-PP elected only 5 MPs, less than half of its parliamentary group. **Assunção Cristas announced her resignation.** The dispute for the new leadership will be between the center-right and the more conservative fractions.

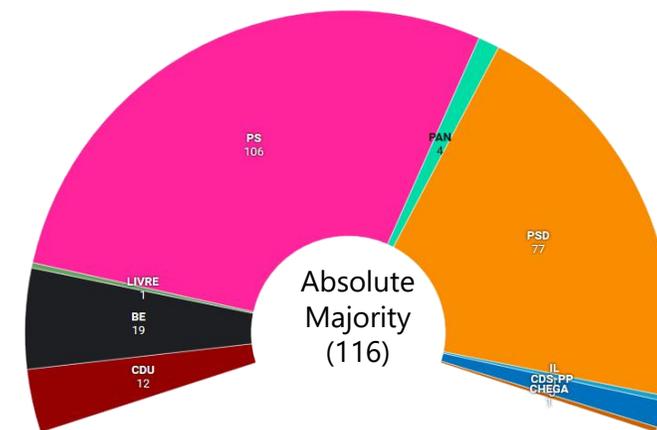


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Scenarios

Small Parties. Reconfiguration in Parliament?

- **The new Parliament will have the highest number of parties ever.** The emergence of Iniciativa Liberal, Chega and Livre, despite not having an impact in the scenarios for Government solutions, reflects a small fragmentation and, in the case of Chega, the unprecedented presence, in the Portuguese political panorama, of a party with strong right-wing populist views.
- **Parliamentary system consolidates as bipartisan** – the 2 main parties represent more than two thirds of the Parliament, and the third party is fixed at 10%. Fragmentation happens particularly **with the right wing parties, Chega and IL.**
- **Livre (Free) wins in the urban circles of Lisbon and Setúbal.** Ideologically close to BE, with an pro-Europe agenda, in line with other European Green parties.
- Iniciativa Liberal (Liberal Initiative, ALDE family) is also the first of its kind in Portugal, standing up for individual freedoms and economic liberalism. Popular with young voters, put up a digital and innovative campaign. Might attract voters from PSD and CDS. It's growth depends on its ideological consistency and the communication capacities of its brand new representative in the Parliament.
- **Chega (Enough) is the first populist anti-immigration, Eurosceptic and anti-establishment party to get into the Parliament.** It resembles Marine Le Pen or Salvini's rhetoric. Represent a protest vote and has potential to grow if it knows how to use the parliamentary stage.



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Scenarios



- The Government's priority is to keep the political stability, in as much as it "is essential to the international credibility and to strengthen the investors' confidence in Portugal". PS wants to guarantee a stability solution for the 4 year horizon of the Legislative Mandate.
- António Costa will try to renew the Geringonça with the left wing parties plus PAN (4 MPs) and Livre (1 MP).
- If a new Geringonça it is not possible, António Costa said he will do everything, "day by day" if need be, to guarantee the Government's stability and longevity. This means an openness to *ad hoc* agreements, including non left-wing parties, if the left "fails".
- PS' demands:
 - Climate;
 - Stability in work conditions and housing [housing is a big theme to the left parties, it will be high on the political agenda];
 - Investing in education, training, research and innovation. Solidary transition to the digital age;
 - Fight inequalities and erase poverty;
 - Strengthen the National Health System;
 - Fight against corruption;
 - Defending the European project.

Scenarios



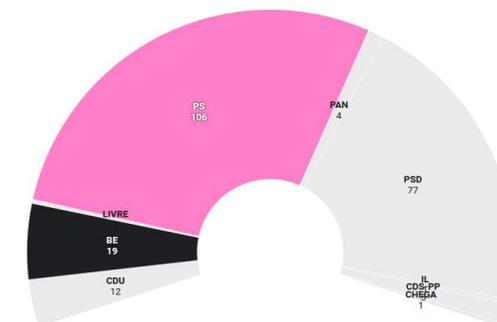
PS



Bloco
de Esquerda



Majority of 125 MPs
46%

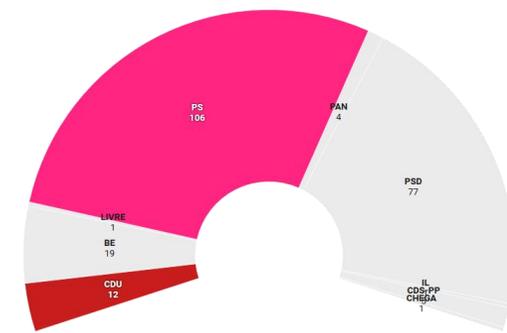


- **Catarina Martins is available to support a Socialist Government**, either by negotiating a “stable solution”, projected to last 4 years, or by negotiating *ad hoc*. If the option is a “stable solution”, it will have to be negotiated and included in the Programme the Government will present to the Parliament. The support will continue to be of parliamentary nature. BE doesn’t claim to be part of the Government.
- **BE’s demands:**
 - Restore the *troika* cuts (holidays, compensation for dismissal, overtime pay);
 - Fight job insecurity;
 - National Health System (fight public-private deals, guarantee the exclusiveness of health professionals in the NHS);
 - Protect public services, including the renationalization of CTT (Postal Services).
 - Recover public investment, especially responding to crisis in housing and transport sectors.

Scenarios

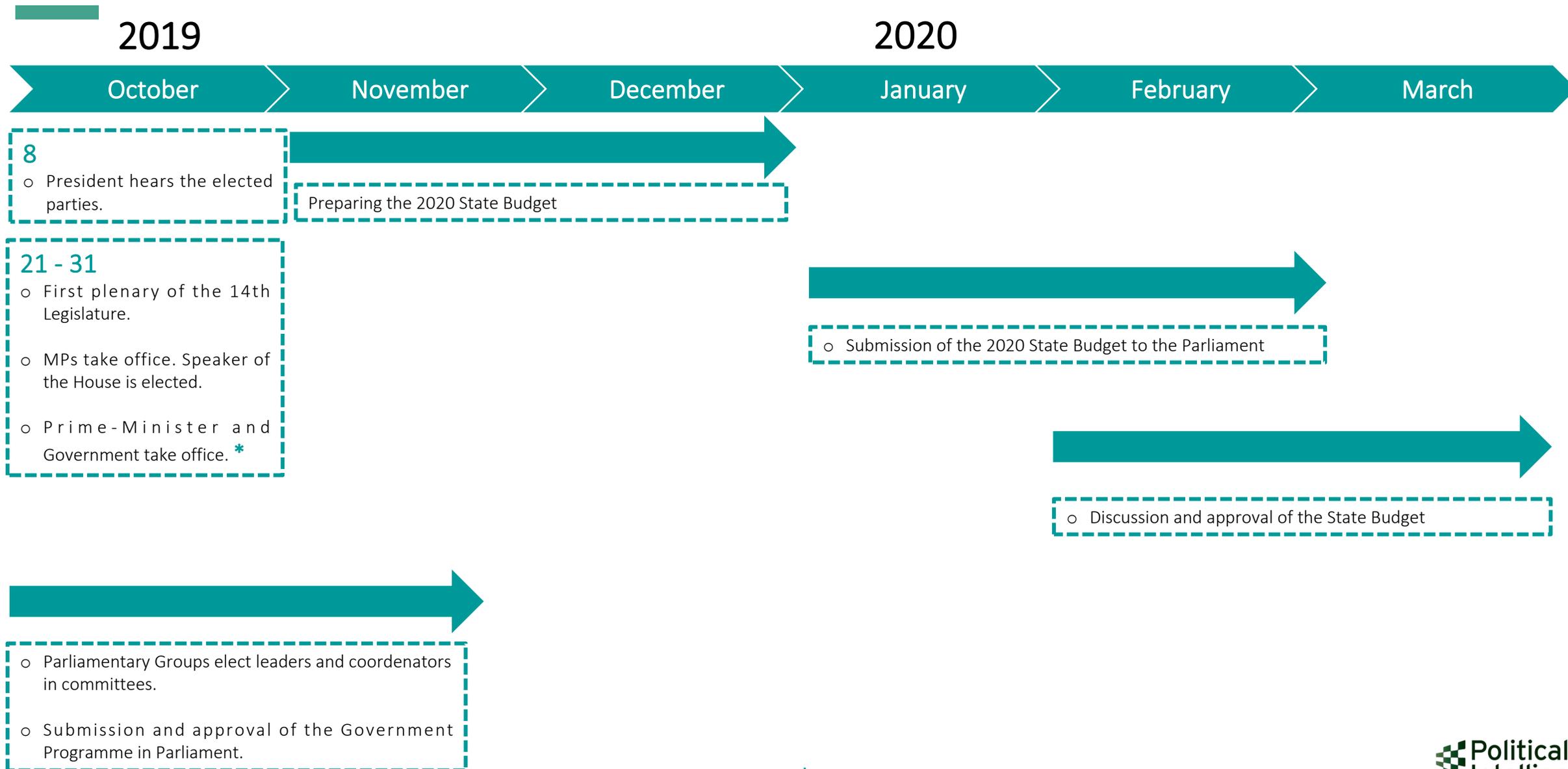


Majority of 118 MPs
42,8%

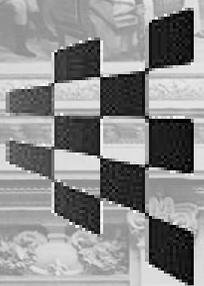
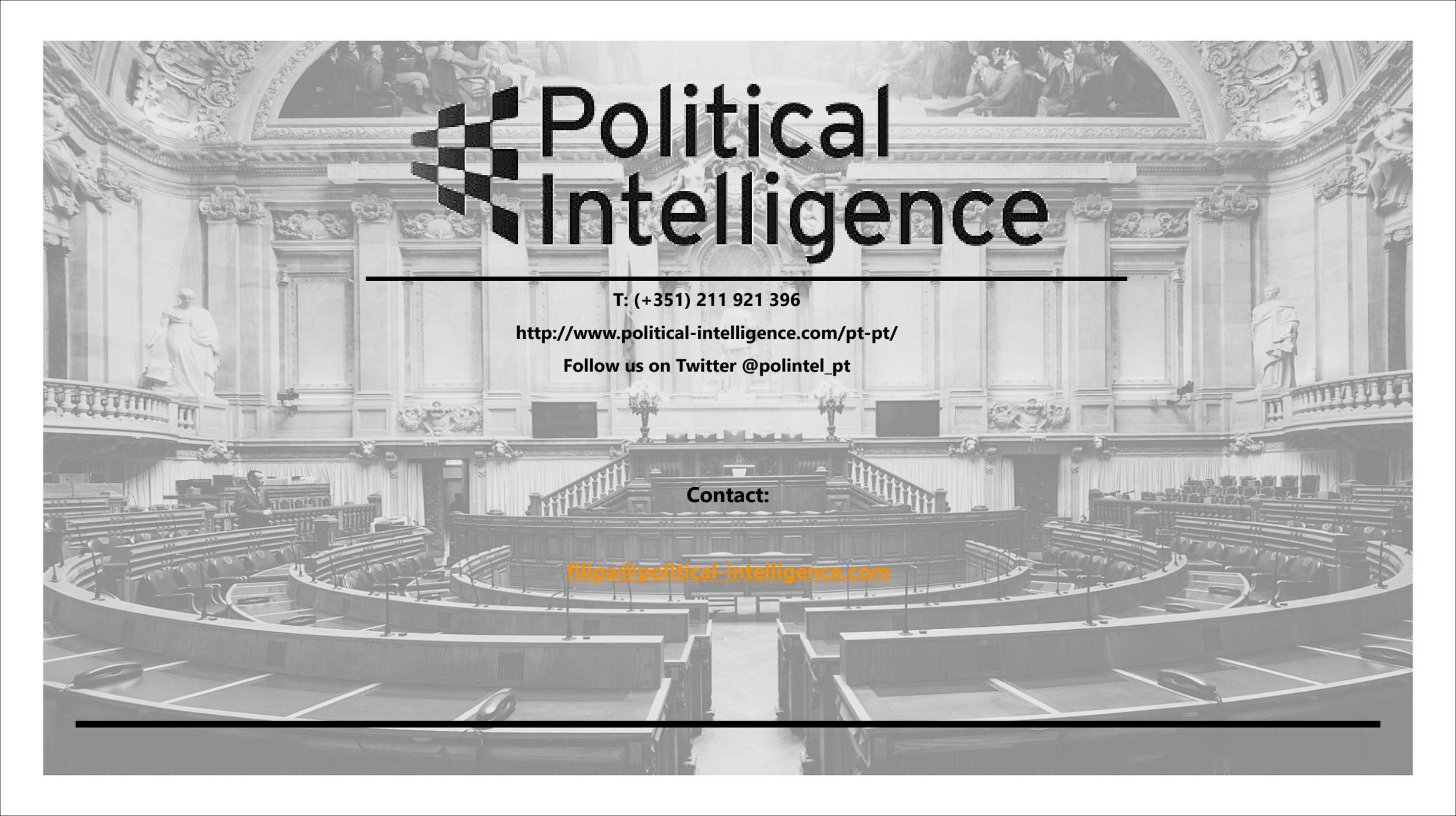


- The Communist Party is not open to repeat formal written agreements as in 2015. The “national urgency” factor does not apply from the moment the Socialists get a better result than the right wing parties all together.
- PCP is available to negotiate on a case by case basis with PS
- PCP demands:
 - Increase of the National Minimum Income to 850€;
 - Increase of retirement pensions;
 - Public housing and guarantees to tenants;
 - Strengthen investment on HNS and public services;
 - 1% to Culture;
 - Guarantee environmental protection and an ecological balance.

Institutional Calendar



* Might be extended, if bilateral negotiations take place



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