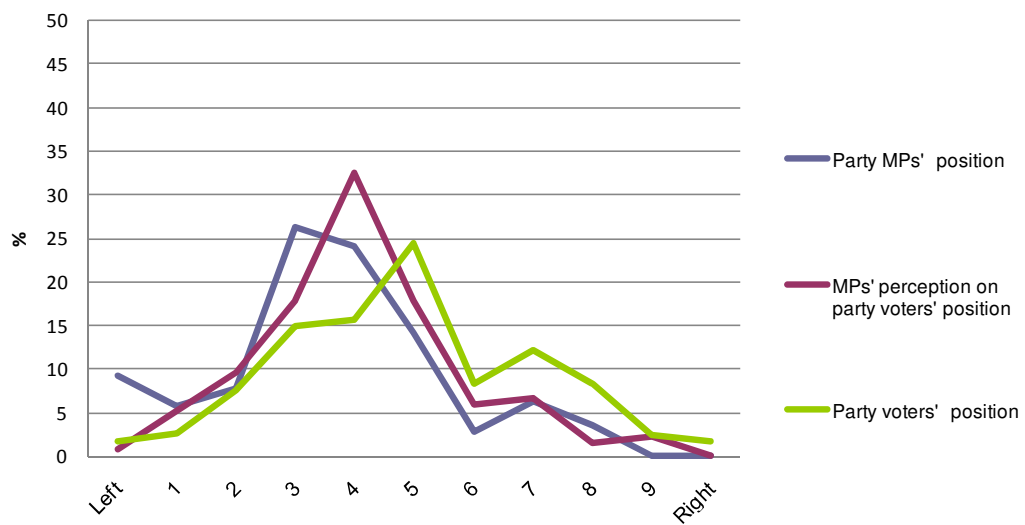


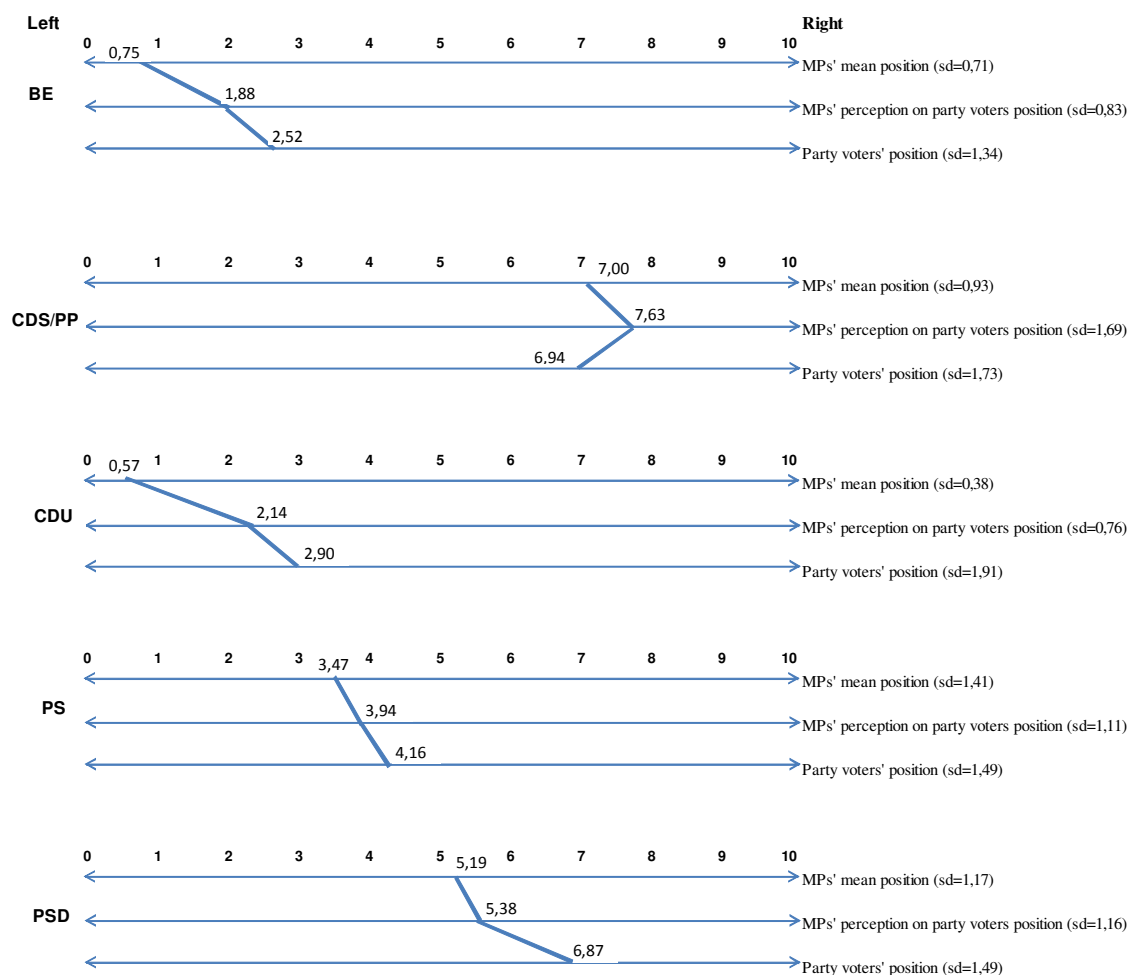
Explaining MPs' Perceptions of Voters' Positions in a Party-Mediated Representation System: Evidence from the Portuguese Case

Figure 1
The Ideological Position of MPs and Voters and MPs' Perceptions of Voter Position
 (Sample Size: 135 MPs; 1,025 Voters)



Sources: *Portuguese Citizens' Study*, 2008 and *Members of the Portuguese Parliament Study*, 2008.

Figure 2
MPs Ideological Position, their Perception of Voters' Positions, and Voters' Position
 (Sample size: 8 BE; 8 CDS/PP; 9 CDU; 21 PSD; 89 PS)



Sources: *Portuguese Citizens' Study*, 2008, and *Members of the Portuguese Parliament Study*, 2008.

Table 1
Model of Variance and Causality of Perceptual Accuracy - Variables Categorization

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		CODING
Individual characteristics and political experience	Age	
	University degree (dummy)	1 = Political Sciences and Law; 0 = other areas
	Social class 1 (dummy)	1 = High level professionals; 0 = other
	Social class 2 (dummy)	1 = Middle level professionals; 0 = other
	Number of years in the party	0 - 38 years
	Number of years of party experience	0 - 106 (additive index)
	Number of years of political experience	0 - 57 years
	Number of times of election	0 - 12 times
Ideological and party identification	Left-right self-positioning	0 = Left; 10 = Right
	Distance from the “neutral” centre (MPs left-right position minus 5 - all values positive)	0 = in the ideological centre; 5 = in the far left / right
	Party membership 1 (dummy)	1 = BE; 0 = others
	Party membership 2 (dummy)	1 = CDU; 0 = others
	Party membership 3 (dummy)	1 = PSD; 0 = others
MPs attitude perceptions of representation	Party membership 4 (dummy)	1 = CDS/PP; 0 = others
	How to vote if voters have a different opinion from the party (dummy)	1 = MPs should vote according to the position of the party; 0 = others
	How to vote if MPs have a different opinion from voters (dummy)	1 = MPs should vote according their own opinion; 0 = others
	Attitude dissonant perception (MPs positions minus their perception of the electorate’s position)	From -10 to +10
	Party perception distance (MPs’ perception minus the median party perception)	
DEPENDENT VARIABLE		
	Congruence of perceptions (mean left-right position of the electorate minus MPs perception of the electorate’s position)	From 0 to 4

Table 2
Explaining MPs' Perceptual Accuracy, OLS (method enter)

	Bloc 1	Bloc 2	Bloc 3
Individual characteristics and political experience			
Age	-0,12	-0,09	-0,07
University degree	0,01	0,14	0,15
Social class 1 (high level professionals)	0,21*	0,31**	0,32**
Social class 2 (middle level professionals)	-0,11	-0,04	-0,04
Number of years in the party	-0,12	-0,14	-0,18
Number of years of party experience	0,08	0,04	0,01
Number of years of political experience	-0,09	0,01	0,10
Number of times of election	0,22	0,07	0,04
Ideological and party identification			
Left-right self-positioning	-	0,26	-0,20
Distance from the "neutral" centre	-	0,41*	0,29
Party membership 1 (BE)	-	-0,16	-0,17
Party membership 2 (CDU)	-	-0,03	-0,12
Party membership 3 (PSD)	-	0,28*	0,30**
Party membership 4 (CDS/PP)	-	-0,15	0,08
MPs' attitude perceptions of representation			
How to vote if voters have a different opinion from the party	-	-	-0,07
How to vote if MPs have a different opinion from voters	-	-	-0,05
Attitude dissonant perception	-	-	0,38**
Party perception distance	-	-	0,24*
<i>Adj R²</i>	4,0%	11,0%	22,3%

Sources: *Portuguese Citizens' Study* 2008, and *Members of the Portuguese Parliament Study*, 2008.

Notes: values are standardized coefficients. ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05. N = 135.

Table 3
MPs Estimates and Voter Positions (%) by Political Party

	BE	CDS/PP	CDU	PSD	PS
Left	44	0	56	0	1
1	24	0	23	0	3
2	15	0	18	0	3
3	39	6	33	2	1
4	8	0	17	7	6
5	3	17	5	34	3
6	0	7	0	14	0
7	3	14	3	16	2
8	0	28	3	24	2
9	0	13	0	10	0
Right	0	11	1	2	1
Sum of Diff.	136	95	159	108	20
<i>N (MPs)</i>	8	8	9	21	89
<i>N (voters)</i>	36	18	77	323	264

Sources: *Portuguese Citizens' Study*, 2008 and *Members of the Portuguese Parliament Study*, 2008.

Table A. Turnout and vote by political party in parliamentary elections, 1991-2011 (%)

Election year	BE	CDS/PP	CDU	PSD	PS	<i>Abstention</i>
1991	-	4,4	8,8	50,6	29,1	32,2
1995	-	9,1	8,6	34,1	43,8	33,7
1999	2,4	8,3	9,0	32,3	44,1	38,9
2002	2,7	8,7	6,9	40,2	37,8	38,5
2005	6,4	7,2	7,5	28,8	45,0	35,7
2009	9,8	10,4	7,9	29,1	36,6	40,3
2011	5,2	11,7	7,9	38,7	28,1	42,0

Source: CNE – National Elections Commission (available at: <http://eleicoes.cne.pt/>).