Figure 1. Measures of collective congruence: a synthesis

	Measures	**Validity**
Absolute congruence	Percentage of agreement (and differences)	Low (rough measure; little information)
	Means and means difference measure	Low (biased in distributions with outliers)
Relative congruence	Standardized mean differences	High (controls for variance at the party level; bias can still occur since the basis is the mean)
	Centrism	High (controls for voters' variance; more accurate if the median is used)

Table 1. Policy agreement between voters and MPs on the socioeconomic left-right dimension (%)

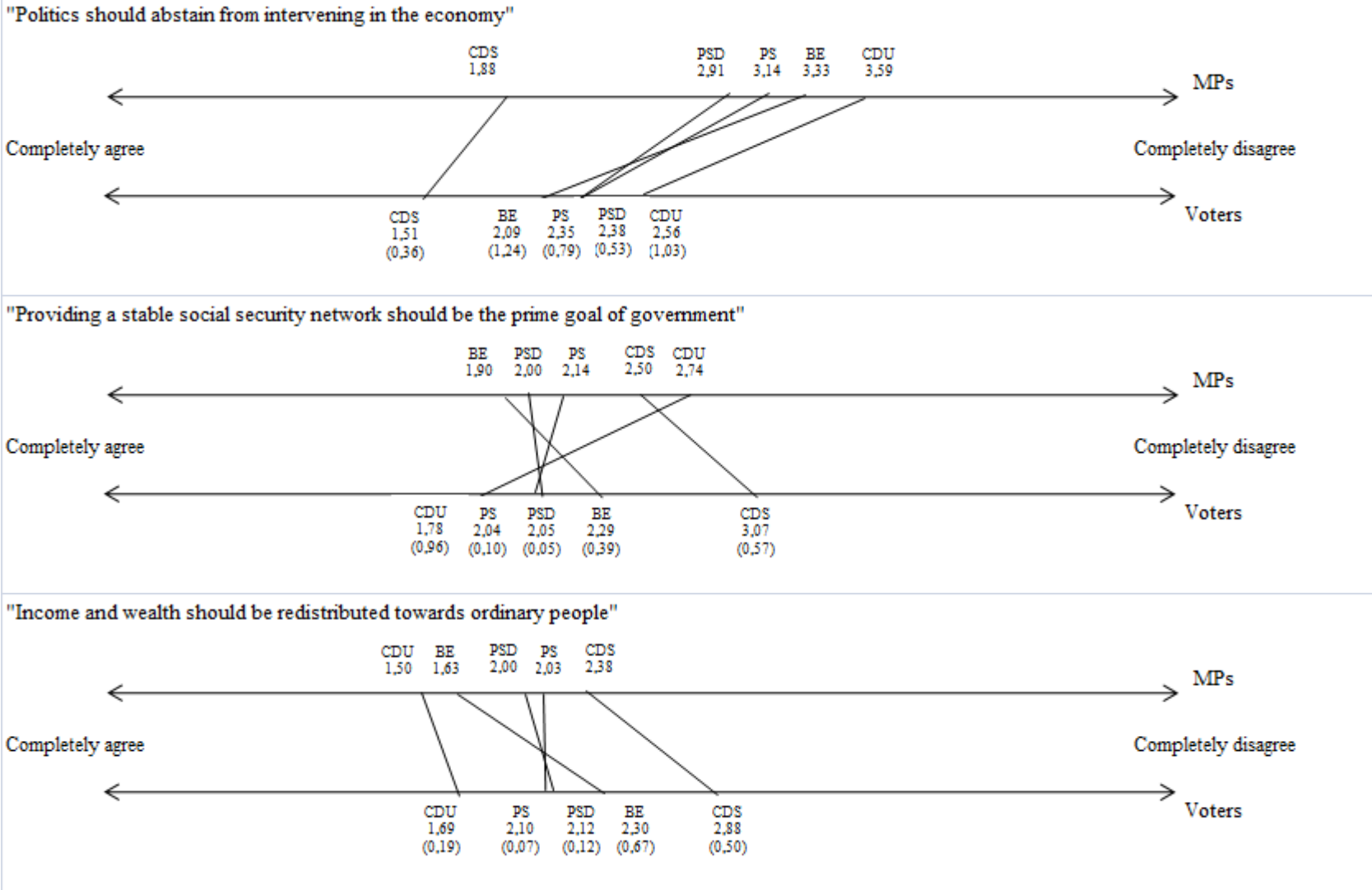| DIMENSION: Left-Right	BE Voters	BE MPs	Diff	CDU Voters	CDU MPs	Diff	PS Voters	PS MPs	Diff	PSD Voters	PSD MPs	Diff	CDS Voters	CDS MPs	Diff
"Politicians should abstain from intervening in the economy"	33.6	10.0	**23.6**	26.1	0.0	**26.1**	26.0	4.4	**21.6**	26.9	9.5	**17.4**	49.6	60.0	**10.4**
"Providing a stable social security network should be the prime goal of government"	96.5	100.0	**3.5**	97.6	67.4	**30.2**	92.8	87.5	**5.3**	91.4	90.0	**1.4**	72.2	83.3	**11.1**
"Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary people"	87.5	100.0	**12.5**	95.6	100.0	**4.4**	92.6	91.0	**1.6**	94.1	95.5	**1.4**	63.6	85.7	**22.1**
"Education should mainly be provided by the State"	100	100.0	**0.0**	100.0	100.0	**0.0**	96.9	93.4	**3.5**	98.2	42.0	**56.2**	94.2	12.5	**81.7**
"Healthcare should mainly be provided by the State"	96.9	100.0	**3.1**	99.1	100.0	**0.9**	97.8	98.9	**1.1**	97.5	59.9	**37.6**	88.1	50.0	**38.1**
"The present levels of social protection must be kept the same even if it means an increase in taxes"	54.7	100.0	**45.3**	75.3	83.3	**8.0**	68.5	90.2	**21.7**	58.7	68.5	**9.8**	14.8	28.6	**13.8**
"Economic growth is more important than balancing the state budget"	76.8	100.0	**23.2**	92.0	100.0	**8.0**	88.9	67.9	**21.0**	91.3	95.7	**4.4**	100.0	57.1	**42.9**
Mean differences			*15.9*			*11.1*			*10.8*			*18.3*			*31.4*

Notes: Figures are the percentage of respondents who agreed (totally or partially) with the proposition, by party identification (voters) and party list (MPs), and the differences between them (shaded). Scales are 5-point.
Sources: Study of MPs, 2008; and Study of Portuguese Citizens, 2008 (in Freire, Viegas and Seiceira, 2009).

Table 2. Policy agreement between voters and MPs on the libertarian-authoritarian dimension (%)
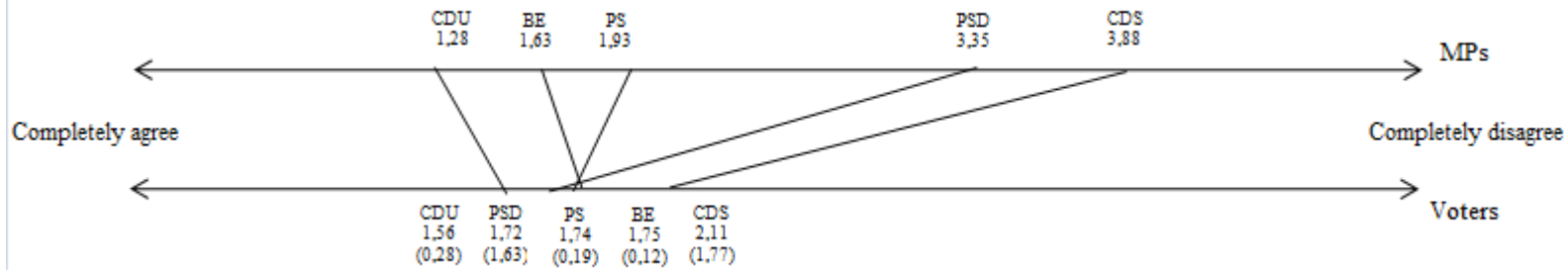
DIMENSION: Libertarian – Authoritarian	BE			CDU			PS			PSD			CDS		
	Voters	MPs	Diff	Voters	MPs	Diff	Voters	MPs	Diff	Voters	MPs	Diff	Voters	MPs	Diff
"Immigrants should be required to adapt to Portuguese customs"	64.7	0.0	**64.7**	58.2	0.0	**58.2**	58.8	10.9	**47.9**	63.8	27.7	**36.1**	64.2	62.5	**1.7**
"Stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment"	97.0	100.0	**3.0**	94.3	100.0	**5.7**	96.2	100.0	**3.8**	97.7	100.0	**2.3**	73.2	100.0	**26.8**
"Same-sex marriages should be prohibited by law"	28.5	0.0	**28.5**	46.7	0.0	**46.7**	66.5	17.3	**49.2**	75.3	53.1	**22.2**	86.8	57.1	**29.7**
"People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences"	88.6	0.0	**88.6**	91.5	8.0	**83.5**	94.5	25.6	**68.9**	98.1	59.8	**38.3**	72.9	71.4	**1.5**
"Immigrants are good for the Portuguese economy"	72.3	100.0	**27.7**	79.0	89.1	**10.1**	80.1	98.9	**18.8**	79.2	100.0	**20.8**	47.6	100.0	**52.4**
"Women should be free to decide on matters of abortion"	94.9	100.0	**5.1**	96.4	89.1	**7.3**	90.1	93.3	**3.2**	78.7	54.6	**24.1**	90.4	0.0	**90.4**
"Torturing a prisoner is never justified, even if it might prevent a terrorist attack"	71.9	100.0	**28.1**	87.3	100.0	**12.7**	84.3	89.0	**4.7**	82.1	79.0	**3.1**	92.2	71.4	**20.8**
Mean differences			*35.1*			*32.0*			*28.1*			*21.0*			*31.9*

Notes: Figures are the percentage of respondents who agreed (totally or partially) with the proposition, by party identification (voters) and party list (MPs), and the differences between them (shaded). Scales are 5-point.
Sources: Study of MPs, 2008; and Study of Portuguese Citizens, 2008 (in Freire, Viegas and Seiceira, 2009).

Figure 2. Mean distances between MPs and voters referring to left-right policy issues

"Politics should abstain from intervening in the economy"

	CDS 1,88				PSD 2,91	PS 3,14	BE 3,33	CDU 3,59	

MPs

Completely agree   Completely disagree

Voters

CDS 1,51 (0,36)	BE 2,09 (1,24)	PS 2,35 (0,79)	PSD 2,38 (0,53)	CDU 2,56 (1,03)

"Providing a stable social security network should be the prime goal of government"

BE 1,90	PSD 2,00	PS 2,14	CDS 2,50	CDU 2,74

MPs

Completely agree   Completely disagree

Voters

CDU 1,78 (0,96)	PS 2,04 (0,10)	PSD 2,05 (0,05)	BE 2,29 (0,39)	CDS 3,07 (0,57)

"Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary people"

CDU 1,50	BE 1,63	PSD 2,00	PS 2,03	CDS 2,38

MPs

Completely agree   Completely disagree

Voters

CDU 1,69 (0,19)	PS 2,10 (0,07)	PSD 2,12 (0,12)	BE 2,30 (0,67)	CDS 2,88 (0,50)

4

"Education should mainly be provided by the State"

| | CDU 1,28 | BE 1,63 | PS 1,93 | | PSD 3,35 | CDS 3,88 | MPs |

Completely agree   Completely disagree

| | CDU 1,56 (0,28) | PSD 1,72 (1,63) | PS 1,74 (0,19) | BE 1,75 (0,12) | CDS 2,11 (1,77) | Voters |

"Healthcare should be mainly provided by the State"
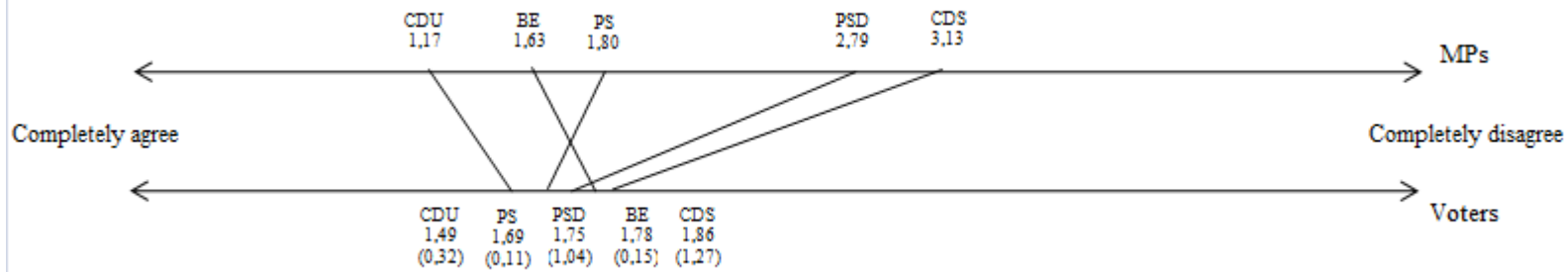
| | CDU 1,17 | BE 1,63 | PS 1,80 | PSD 2,79 | CDS 3,13 | MPs |

Completely agree   Completely disagree

| | CDU 1,49 (0,32) | PS 1,69 (0,11) | PSD 1,75 (1,04) | BE 1,78 (0,15) | CDS 1,86 (1,27) | Voters |

"The present levels of social protection must be kept the same even if it means an increase in taxes"

| | BE 1,90 | PS 2,12 | CDU 2,34 | PSD 2,59 | CDS 3,38 | MPs |

Completely agree   Completely disagree

| | CDU 2,58 (0,24) | PS 2,67 (0,55) | BE 2,70 (0,80) | PSD 2,97 (0,38) | CDS 4,27 (0,89) | Voters |

"Economic growth is more important than balacing the state budget"

| | CDU | BE | PSD | | | PS | CDS | |
| | 1,61 | 1,73 | 1,74 | | | 2,66 | 2,88 | |

Completely agree   MPs

Completely disagree

Voters

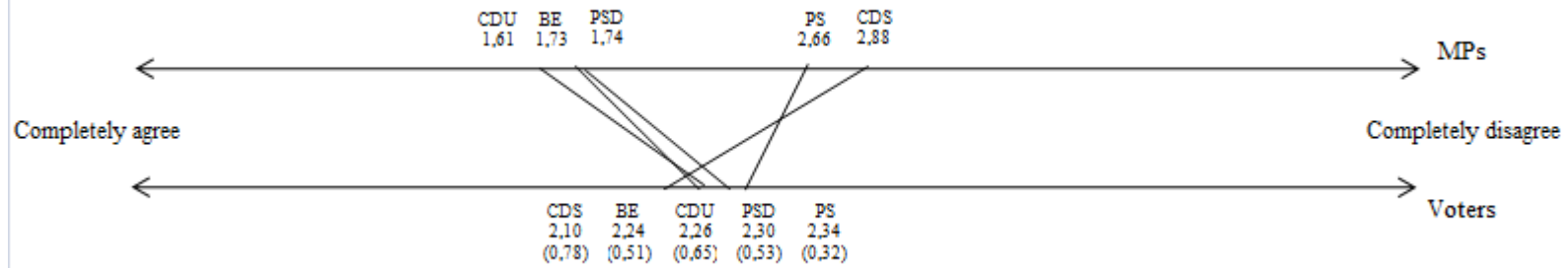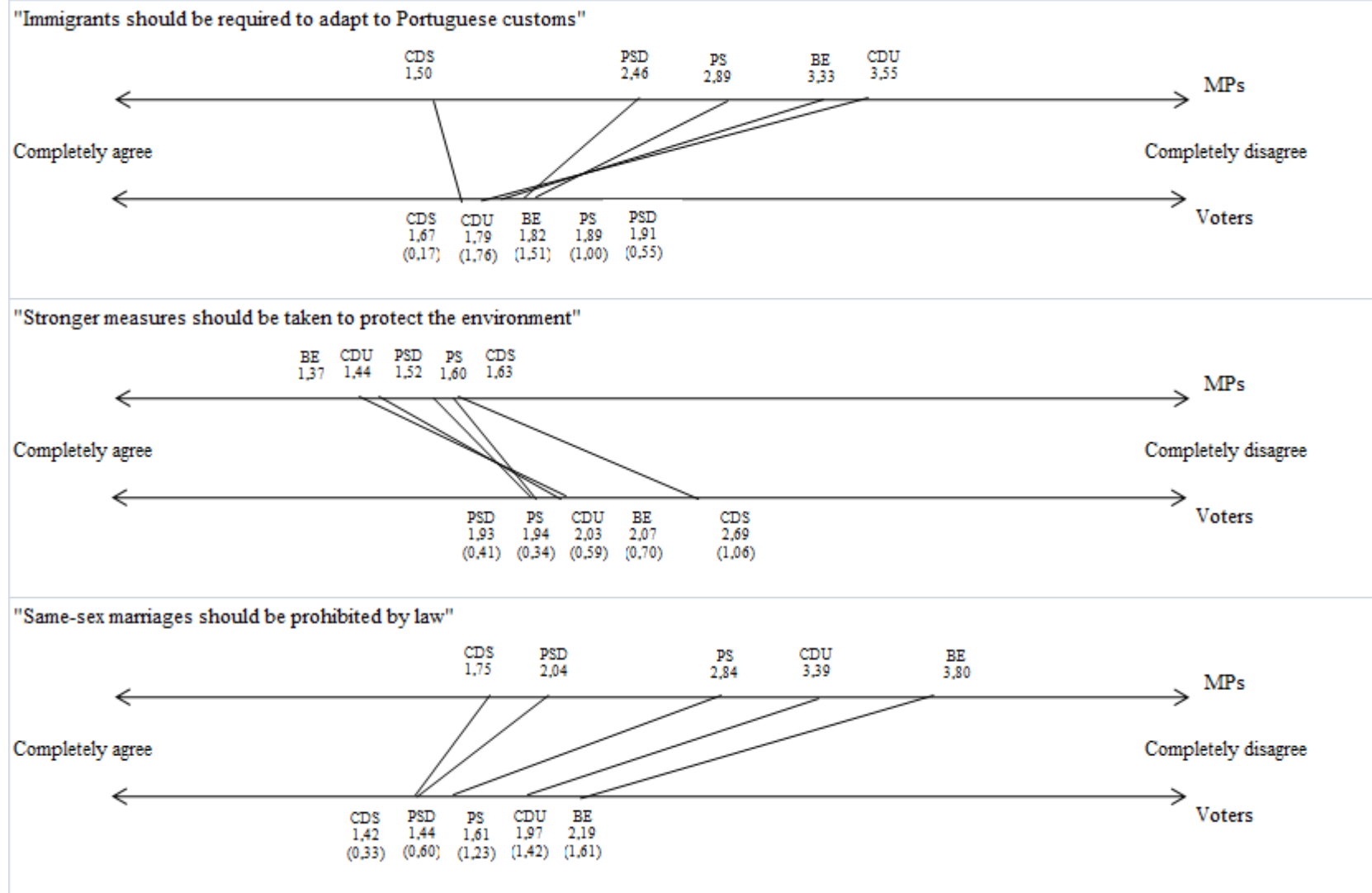| | CDS | BE | CDU | PSD | PS |
| | 2,10 | 2,24 | 2,26 | 2,30 | 2,34 |
| | (0,78) | (0,51) | (0,65) | (0,53) | (0,32) |
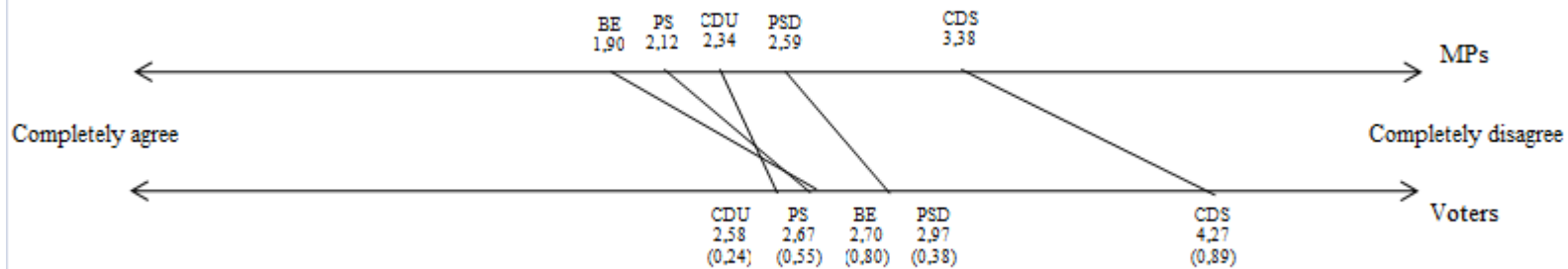
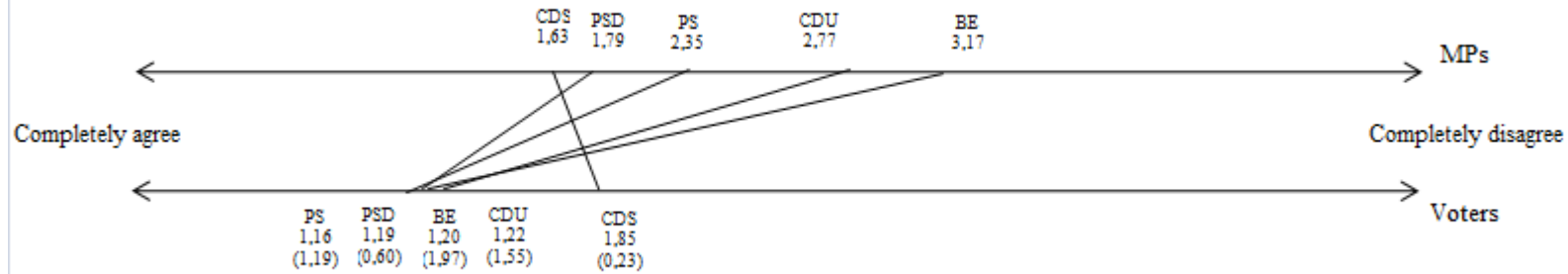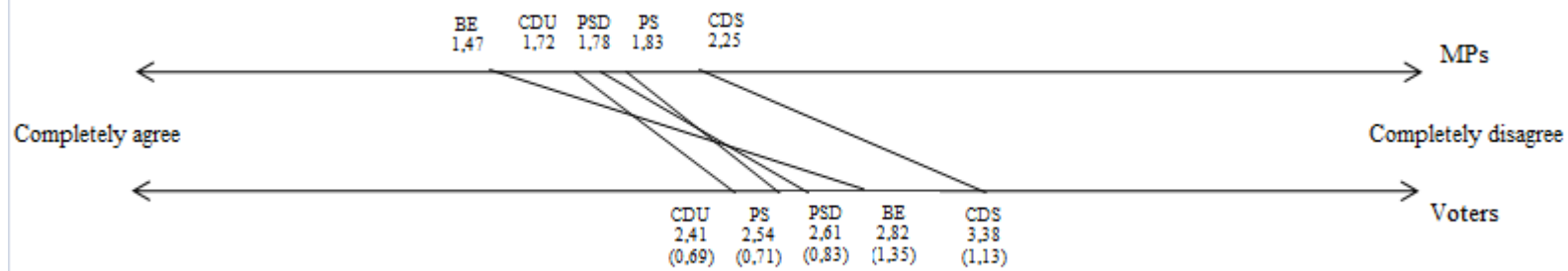# Figure 3. Mean distances between MPs and voters referring to libertarian-authoritarian policy issues

"Immigrants should be required to adapt to Portuguese customs"

	CDS 1,50			PSD 2,46	PS 2,89	BE 3,33	CDU 3,55	

MPs

Completely agree   Completely disagree

Voters

CDS 1,67 (0,17)	CDU 1,79 (1,76)	BE 1,82 (1,51)	PS 1,89 (1,00)	PSD 1,91 (0,55)

"Stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment"

BE 1,37	CDU 1,44	PSD 1,52	PS 1,60	CDS 1,63

MPs

Completely agree   Completely disagree

Voters

PSD 1,93 (0,41)	PS 1,94 (0,34)	CDU 2,03 (0,59)	BE 2,07 (0,70)	CDS 2,69 (1,06)

"Same-sex marriages should be prohibited by law"

CDS 1,75	PSD 2,04	PS 2,84	CDU 3,39	BE 3,80

MPs

Completely agree   Completely disagree

Voters

CDS 1,42 (0,33)	PSD 1,44 (0,60)	PS 1,61 (1,23)	CDU 1,97 (1,42)	BE 2,19 (1,61)

"People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences"

| CDS 1,63 | PSD 1,79 | PS 2,35 | CDU 2,77 | BE 3,17 |

MPs

Completely agree ←——————————————————————————→ Completely disagree

Voters

| PS 1,16 (1,19) | PSD 1,19 (0,60) | BE 1,20 (1,97) | CDU 1,22 (1,55) | CDS 1,85 (0,23) |

"Immigrants are good for the Portuguese economy"

| BE 1,47 | CDU 1,72 | PSD 1,78 | PS 1,83 | CDS 2,25 |

MPs

Completely agree ←——————————————————————————→ Completely disagree

Voters

| CDU 2,41 (0,69) | PS 2,54 (0,71) | PSD 2,61 (0,83) | BE 2,82 (1,35) | CDS 3,38 (1,13) |

"Women should be free to decide on matters of abortion"

| BE 1,30 | CDU 1,61 | PS 1,82 | PSD 2,78 | CDS 4,13 |

MPs

Completely agree ←——————————————————————————→ Completely disagree

Voters

| BE 1,87 (0,57) | CDU 1,87 (0,26) | CDS 2,17 (1,96) | PS 2,22 (0,40) | PSD 2,40 (0,38) |

"Torturing a prisoner is never justified, even if it might prevent a terrorist attack"

CDU   BE   PS   CDS   PSD
1,17 1,37   1,85   2,13   2,27   MPs

Completely agree   Completely disagree

                              Voters

                  CDS   CDU   BE   PS   PSD
                  2,00   2,02   2,12   2,47   2,48
                  (0,13) (0,85) (0,75) (0,62) (0,21)

Sources: Study of MPs, 2008; and Study of Portuguese Citizens, 2008 (in Freire, Viegas and Seiceira, 2009).
Note: Figures in brackets are mean differences within party.

Figure 4. Mean distances between MPs and voters referring to left-right self-positioning
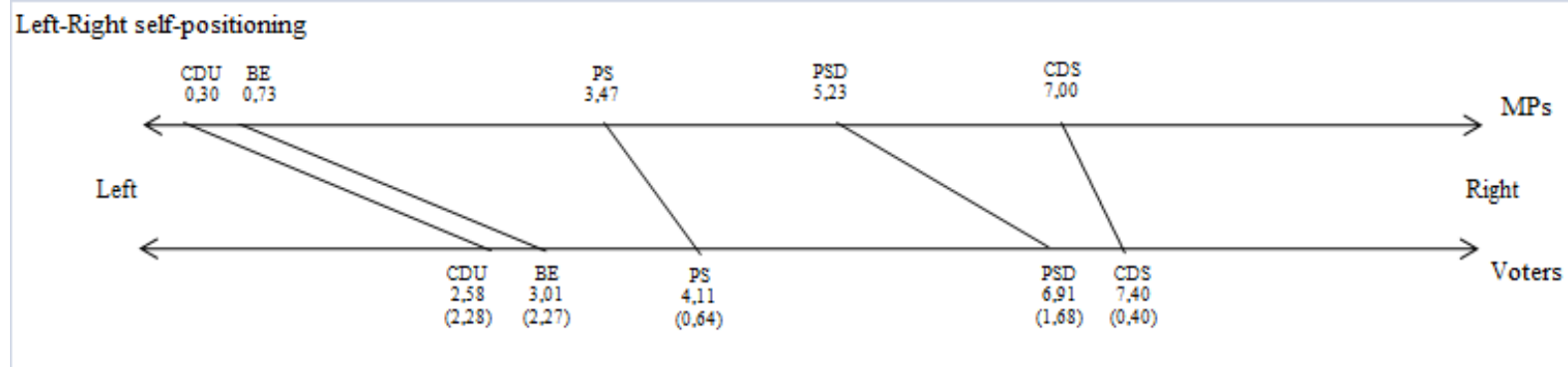
Left-Right self-positioning

CDU BE		PS	PSD	CDS		
0,30 0,73		3,47	5,23	7,00		MPs

Left   Right

	CDU BE	PS		PSD CDS		Voters
	2,58 3,01	4,11		6,91 7,40		
	(2,28) (2,27)	(0,64)		(1,68) (0,40)		

Sources: Study of MPs, 2008; and Study of Portuguese Citizens, 2008 (in Freire, Viegas and Seiceira, 2009).
Note: The scale is eleven-point: 0, left, to 10, right.

Figure 5. Means difference (dichotomous variable) across policy dimensions (the mean of means)
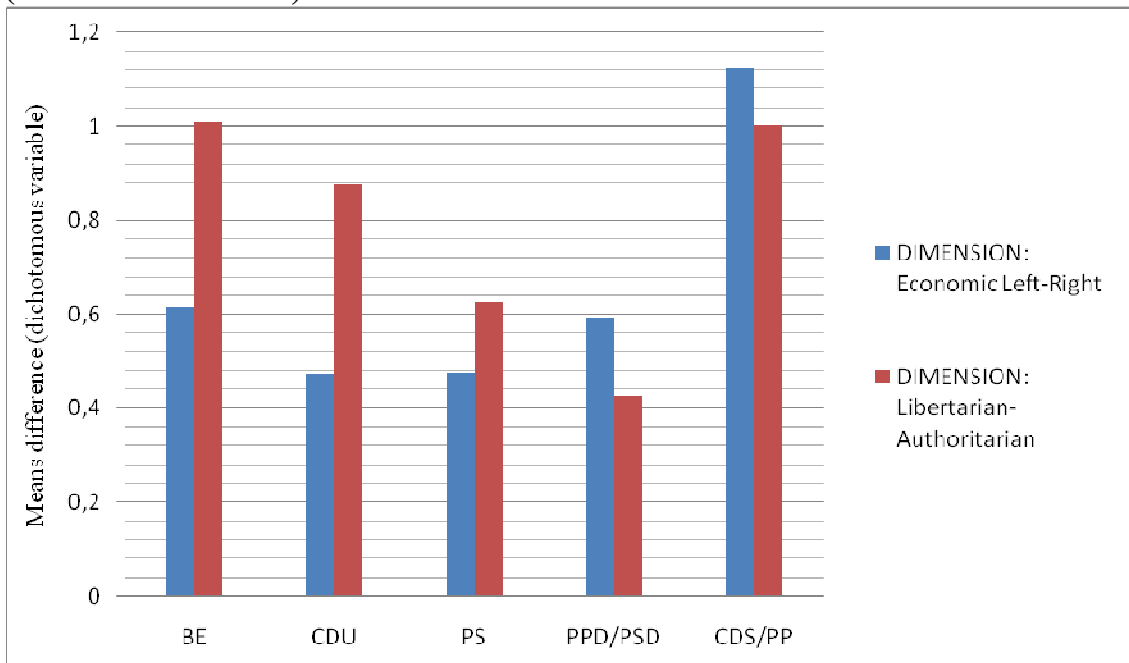
Note: The mean difference by party and dimension disregards the signs of the real differences and, therefore, all the values are entered as having positive signs.

Table 3. Standardized mean differences across policy issues

		BE	CDU	PS	PPD/PSD	CDS/PP
DIMENSION Economic Left-Right	"Politicians should abstain from intervening in the economy"	1.39	1.04	0.91	0.61	0.59
	"Providing a stable social security network should be the prime goal of government"	0.53	1.35	0.12	0.06	0.63
	"Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary people"	0.84	0.26	0.09	0.15	0.56
	"Education should mainly be provided by the State"	0.16	0.42	0.27	2.39	1.56
	"Healthcare should mainly be provided by the State"	0.18	0.53	0.15	1.31	1.16
	"The present levels of social protection must be kept the same even if it means an increase in taxes"	0.74	0.22	0.52	0.34	1.12
	"Economic growth is more important than balancing the state budget"	0.54	0.75	0.41	0.79	1.55
DIMENSION Libertarian/Authoritarian	"Immigrants should be required to adapt to Portuguese customs"	1.52	2.06	1.17	0.67	0.20
	"Stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment"	0.72	0.75	0.46	0.52	1.47
	"Same-sex marriages should be prohibited by law"	1.75	1.23	1.12	0.59	0.40
	"People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences"	2.77	2.13	1.91	0.86	0.28
	"Immigrants are good for the Portuguese economy"	1.38	0.79	0.87	0.98	1.24
	"Women should be free to decide on matters of abortion"	0.99	0.34	0.49	0.38	2.21
	"Torturing a prisoner is never justified, even if it might prevent a terrorist attack"	1.21	0.89	0.76	0.26	0.26
	Left-right self-positioning	**1.37**	**1.34**	**0.44**	**1.10**	**0.31**

Sources: Study of MPs, 2008; and Study of Portuguese Citizens, 2008 (in Freire, Viegas and Seiceira, 2009).

Figure 6. Standardized mean differences across policy dimensions (the mean of means)
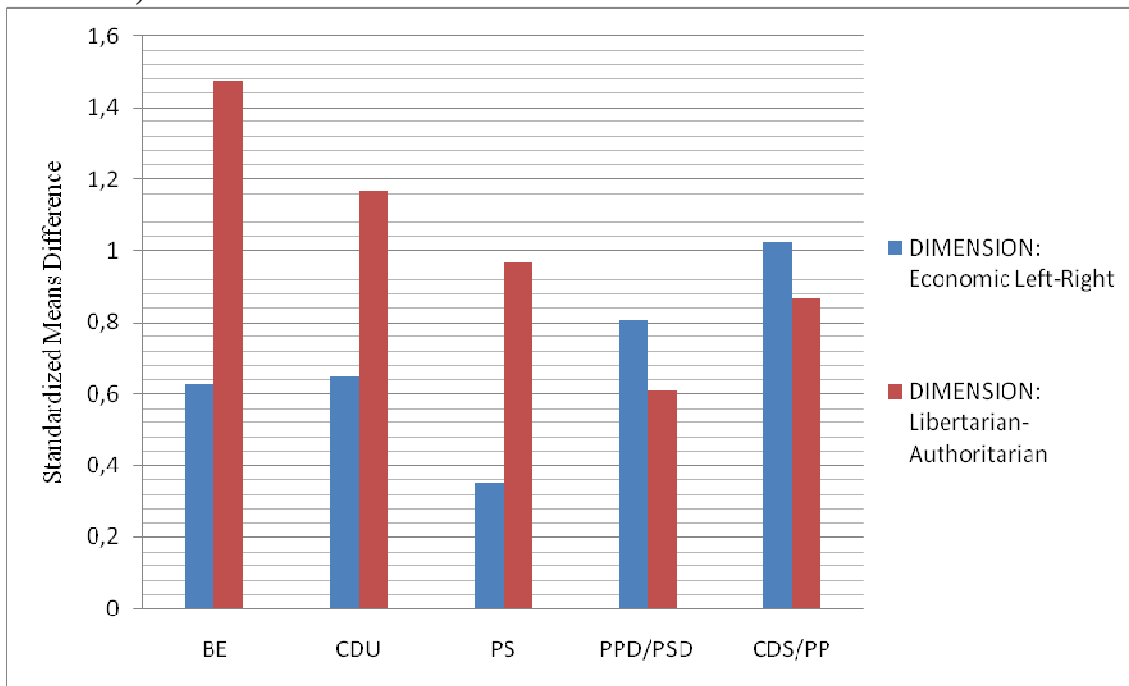
Table 4. Centrism across policy issues

		BE	CDU	PS	PPD/PSD	CDS/PP
DIMENSION Economic Left-Right	"Politicians should abstain from intervening in the economy"	1.31	0.95	1.03	0.20	0.20
	"Providing a stable social security network should be the prime goal of government"	0.24	1.07	0.23	0.19	0.15
	"Income and wealth should be redistributed towards ordinary people"	0.63	0.22	0.24	0.22	0.11
	"Education should mainly be provided by the State"	0.25	0.14	0.22	2.80	2.20
	"Healthcare should mainly be provided by the State"	0.23	0.07	0.17	1.30	0.74
	"The present levels of social protection must be kept the same even if it means an increase in taxes"	0.01	1.50	1.31	0.88	0.40
	"Economic growth is more important than balancing the state budget"	0.23	0.49	0.21	0.46	0.79
DIMENSION Libertarian/Authoritarian	"Immigrants should be required to adapt to Portuguese customs"	0.19	3.09	1.39	0.74	0.18
	"Stronger measures should be taken to protect the environment"	0.46	0.58	0.40	0.42	0.79
	"Same-sex marriages should be prohibited by law"	2.99	1.53	0.97	0.13	1.27
	"People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences"	3.70	2.61	1.60	0.64	0.18
	"Immigrants are good for the Portuguese economy"	1.08	0.38	0.23	0.70	0.67
	"Women should be free to decide on matters of abortion"	0.59	0.33	0.30	0.26	2.60
	"Torturing a prisoner is never justified, even if it might prevent a terrorist attack"	0.93	0.93	0.44	0.03	0.18
	Left-right self-positioning	**1.76**	**2.58**	**1.49**	**0.97**	**6.87**

Sources: Study of MPs, 2008; and Study of Portuguese Citizens, 2008 (in Freire, Viegas and Seiceira, 2009).

Figure 7. Centrism across policy dimensions (the mean of centrism)