



# SPANISH WAVE 3

## Pre-election Study

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# 1. Technical Report

This study is part of the MAPLE Project, ERC - European Research Council Grant, 682125, which aims to study the Politicisation of the EU before and after the Eurozone Crisis in Belgium, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain. In each of these countries an online panel will be carried out just before and just after the legislative elections. This Report pertains to the pre-election survey of Spain Legislative elections 2019. Our questionnaire seeks to model the political context of political choices, and to understand the importance that European attitudes may have in voting behaviour.

In Spain, we have partnered with Netquest.

In this report we present a number of political attitudes broken down by partisanship in Spain. We are interested in the way in which partisan preferences are related to political attitudes, including national as well as EU issues.

The target population is the General voting population aged >18 years old. The sample size is 3.007. The fieldwork was done using the Netquest online panel and took place between 27/03/2019 and 12/04/2019.

The sample was designed using data from the Census 2011 to create a socio demographic matrix which crossed four variables: gender (male, female); age (18-24; 25-54; 55+); education (up to secondary; secondary, more than secondary), region (Noroeste, Noreste, Comunidad de Madrid, Centro, Este, Sur and Canarias).

The resulting dataset was weighted according to a weight combining gender (male, female), age (18-24; 25-54; 55-64; 65+) and education up to secondary; secondary, more than secondary), using, also in this case, data from the 2011 Spanish Census.

To identify respondents' partisanship we used the following procedure: the respondent was asked if s/he felt close to a party. To those who replied "no" in this question, they were asked if they felt closer to one party in particular. Those who repeated "no" in this second question were coded as "without party id". All others were presented with a list of political parties from which they could choose the one they identified with. In this report, we only take into consideration parties which at least 5% of respondents identify with.

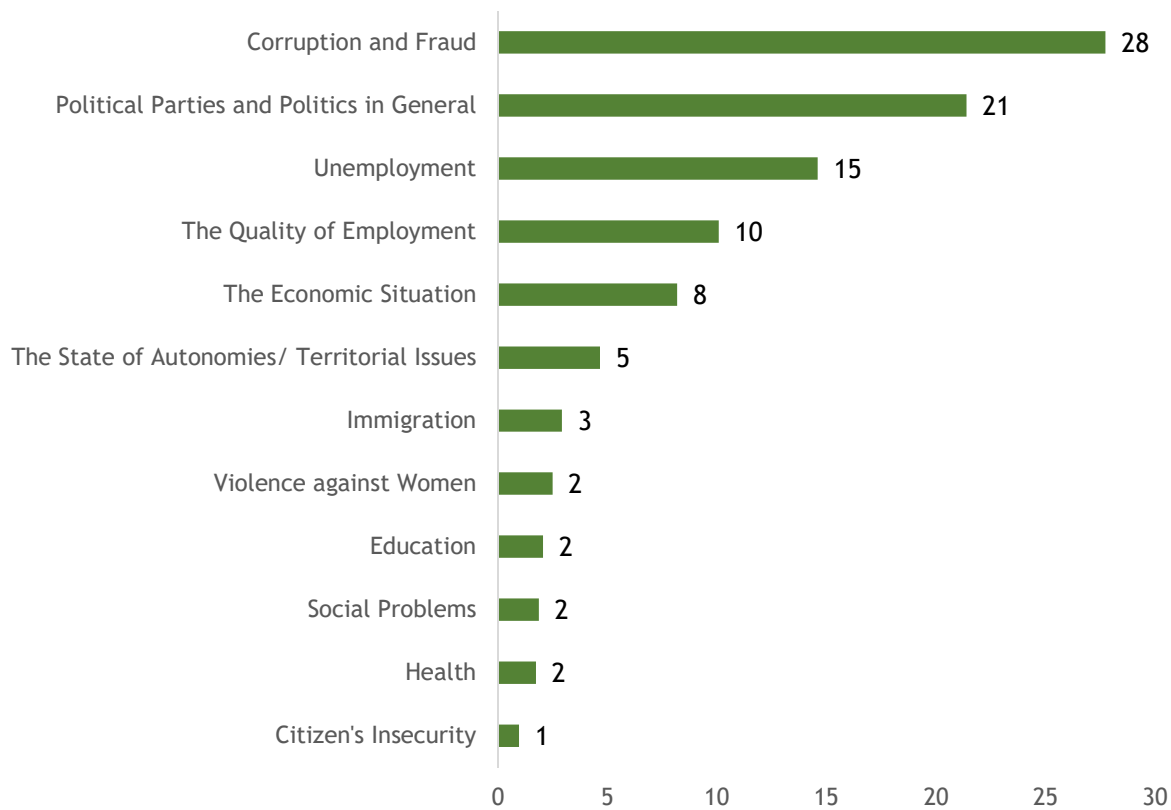
One-way ANOVA analysis was performed to check whether the differences between party means are statistically significant. On national issues, differences tend to be significant between the left and the right party group, but not within them. On European issues the pattern is not so clear. Differences tend to be significant between PP, PSOE and Ciudadanos, vis a vis VOX, IU and Podemos. The results can be provided on request.

## 2. REPORT HIGHLIGHTS

- “Corruption and fraud” followed by “political parties and politics in general” top the list of the most important problems in Spain. Economic issues follow in third, fourth and fifth place. The territorial issue is perceived as the most important issue only by 5% of the electorate.
- A large minority of Spanish people see the economy the same as one year ago. Only 29% of Spaniards consider that it has improved over the last twelve months.
- 37% consider Pedro Sanchez’s government performance bad or very bad. On the contrary, 25% consider that the government’s performance has been good or very good.
- Spaniards perceive the party system as polarized and place no party in the centre of the ideological spectrum.
- In terms of party identification, the PSOE dominates (18%) on the Left, with more than double the number of identifiers, vis-à-vis Podemos (8%), and IU (5%). On the Right, we observe more fragmentation: Ciudadanos (11%) has the most identifiers, followed by the PP (8%) and Vox (7%). 32% of Spaniards do not identify with any political party.
- Partisanship is a major indicator of political attitudes in most countries and Spain is not an exception. Indeed, partisan identity is correlated with diverging positions on national issues, as well as European issues.
- The national issues taken into account include standard issues such as perceptions of the economy or government evaluation, but also perceptions of corruption in parties, the Catalonia issue, or women’s rights. The latter two seem more divisive for party identifiers than the economic and corruption issues.
- The European issues taken into account include whether Spain should leave the EU, whether it has benefited from EU membership, whether the EU should pursue more political integration, and whether Spain has benefited from EMU membership. With these issues we capture different aspects of EU attitudes. On average, Spanish people seem to be in favour of more political integration and they are clearly against Spain leaving the EU.
- However, views on the benefits deriving from EU membership and the adoption of the single currency are not very positive. 63% of respondents consider Spain has not benefitted from adopting the Euro, whereas 41% think that Spain has not benefitted from being a EU member.
- On European issues, there is no clear left-right divide. PP and Ciudadanos tend to differ from VOX, and PSOE differs from IU and Podemos. This suggests a classic curvilinear position of political parties vis-a-vis Europe, with extreme parties more eurosceptic than the parties located closer to the centre.

### 3. Most Important Problem Facing Spain

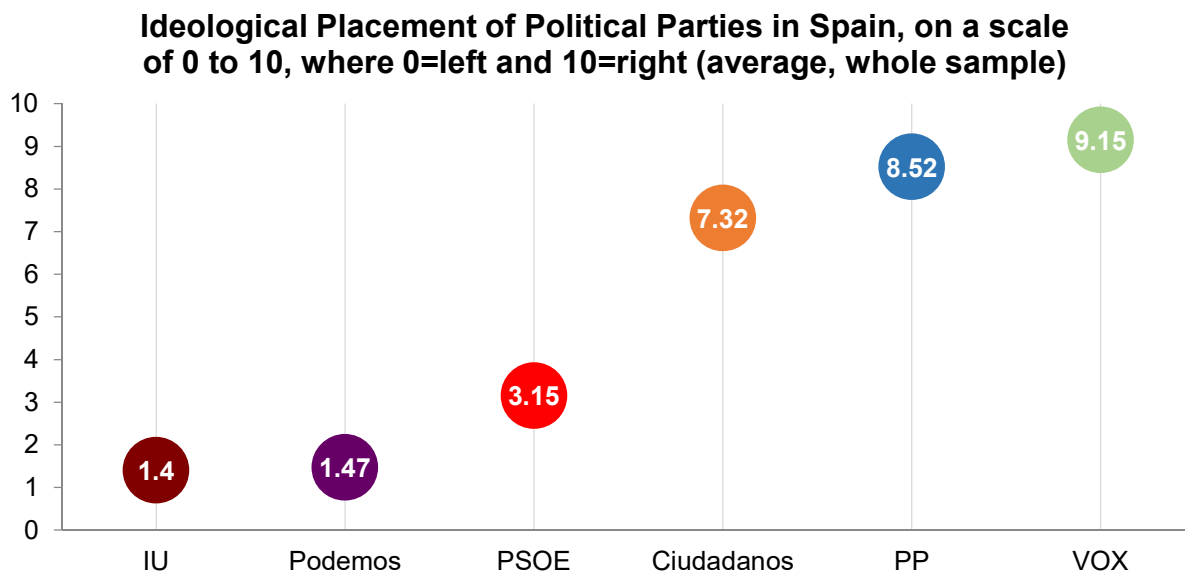
3.1. "Which is the most important problem which currently exists in Spain?" (percentage, whole sample, DK not shown) (list provided)



Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY April 2019

Respondents were presented with a list of issues, which was prepared from the CIS recoding of an open question on what were the most important issues in Spain. Corruption and Fraud, alongside Political Parties and Politics in General, are considered the most important problem in Spain. There follow economic issues such as unemployment (15%), quality of employment (10%) or the economic situation (8%). The issue of autonomies (territorial question) was only mentioned by 5% of the sample, being, nevertheless, still slightly more salient than the remaining issues, such as immigration (3%), violence against women (2%) or social problems (2%).

## 4. Ideological Placement of Parties

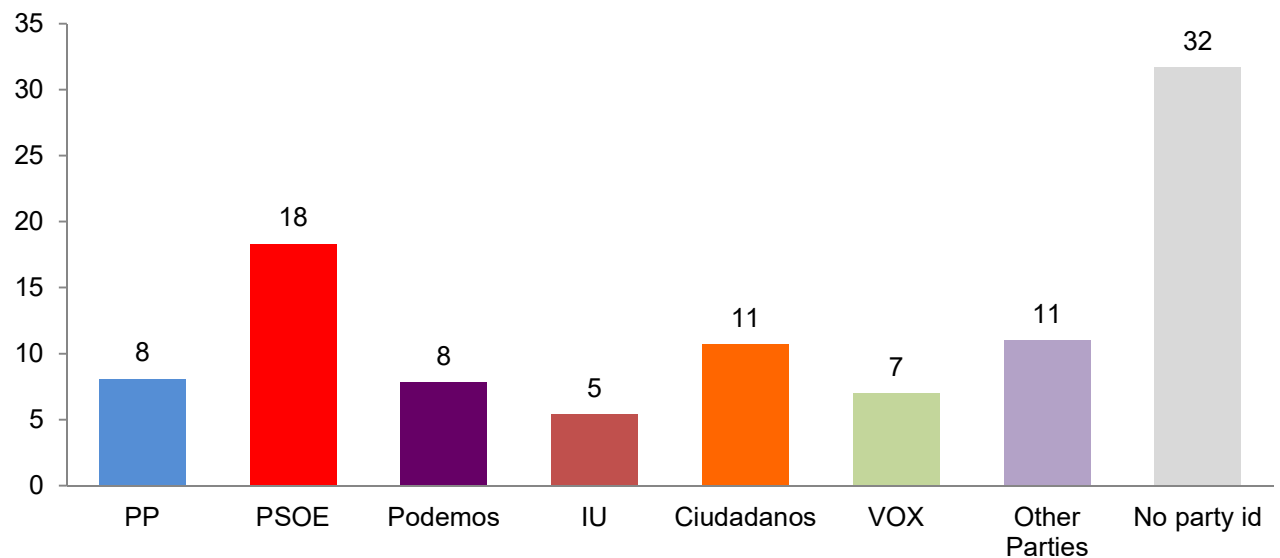


Source: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY 2019

This graph indicates the perceptions on polarization of the party system. There seem to be two blocks of parties: IU, Podemos and PSOE clearly on the left. Ciudadanos is clearly perceived on the right, even though less so than PP; finally VOX is seen as an extreme right party. No party is on average placed by Spaniards on the central points of the scale (4, 5 or 6).

## 5. Party Identification

### 5.1. Party Identification in Spain, (% , whole sample)

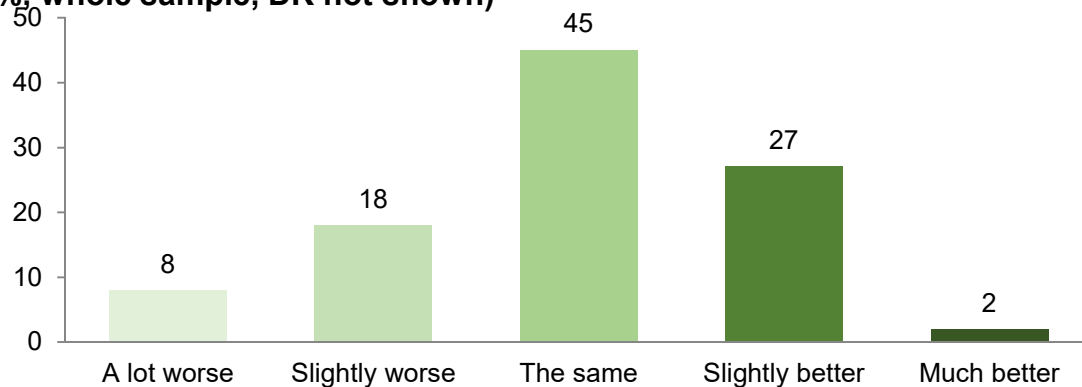


SOURCE: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY APRIL 2019i

On the Left of the Party Spectrum, PSOE emerges as the party with the largest percentage of identifiers (18%), followed by Podemos (8%) and IU (5%). The Right seems to be more divided, with 11% stating they identify with Ciudadanos, 8% with PP, and 7% with VOX. A total of 32% individuals did not indicate any party closeness.

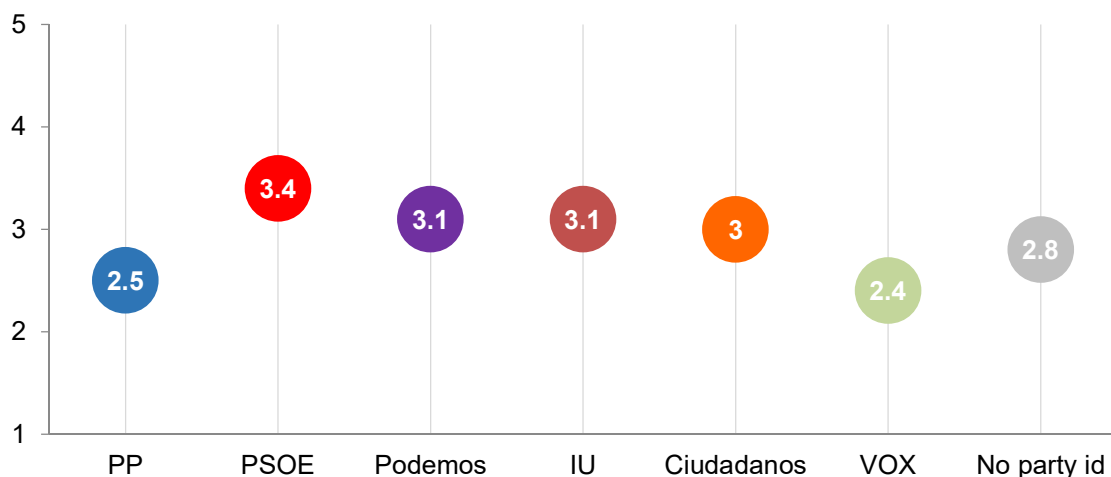
## 6. National Issues: Evaluation of the Economy

**6.1. "Thinking about the economic situation of the country, how would you evaluate it in comparison with one year ago? (1=a lot worse; 5=much better) (% whole sample, DK not shown)**



Source: MAPLE Online Survey April 2019

**5.2. "Thinking about the economic situation of the country, how would you evaluate it in comparison with one year ago?" Average per partisanship**



SOURCE: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY APRIL 2019

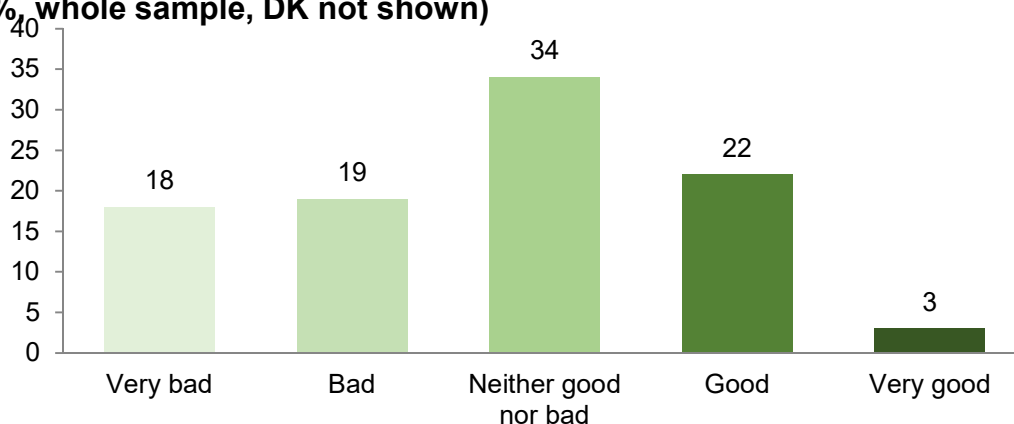
A large minority of Spanish people see the economy as the same as one year ago. Only 29% of Spaniards consider that it has improved over the last twelve months. Looking at the evaluation of the economic situation according to party identifiers, PSOE supporters have the highest average, followed closely by Podemos and IU. On



the Right, there are differences between Ciudadanos supporters, who are more positive on average of the economic situation (3), than either PP (2.5) or VOX (2.4) supporters.

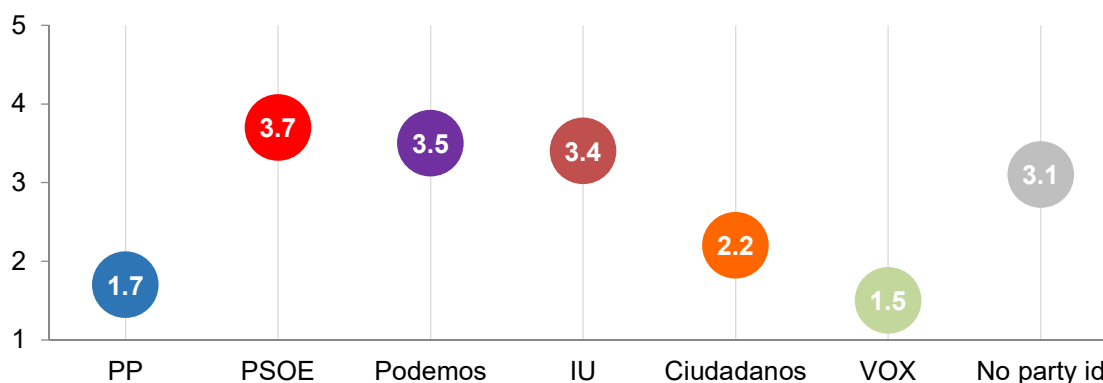
## 7. National Issues: Evaluation of the Current PSOE Government

**7.1. How would you evaluate the political performance of the PSOE government, in power since June 2018?**  
(1=very bad; 5=very good)  
(% whole sample, DK not shown)



Source: MAPLE Online Survey April 2019

**7.2. "How do you evaluate the political performance of the PSOE government, in power since June 2018?"**  
Average per partisanship



SOURCE: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY APRIL 2019

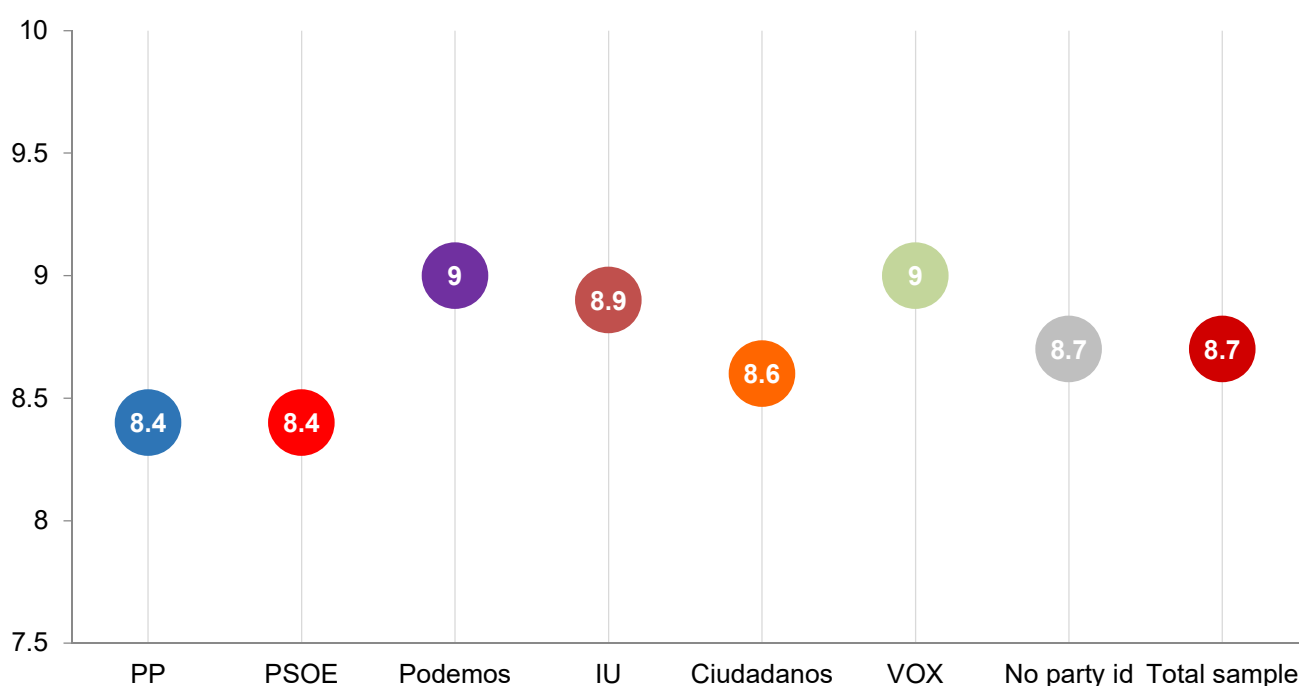
Only 34% choose the intermediate value for the evaluation of the government, whereas 37% consider Pedro Sanchez's government performance bad or very bad. On the contrary, 25% consider that government's performance are good or very good.

Concerning the evaluation of government by party identification, it appears similar to the perceptions on economic situation: PSOE supporters have the highest average, followed closely by Podemos and IU. On the right, there are differences between Ciudadanos supporters, who are more positive on average of the PSOE government (2.2), and either PP (1.7) or VOX (1.5) supporters.

## 8.National Issues: Corruption and Parties

**8.1. To what extent do you think corruption is widespread in Political parties in Spain? (0= Not at all widespread; 10= Extremely widespread).**

**Total sample and average per partisanship**

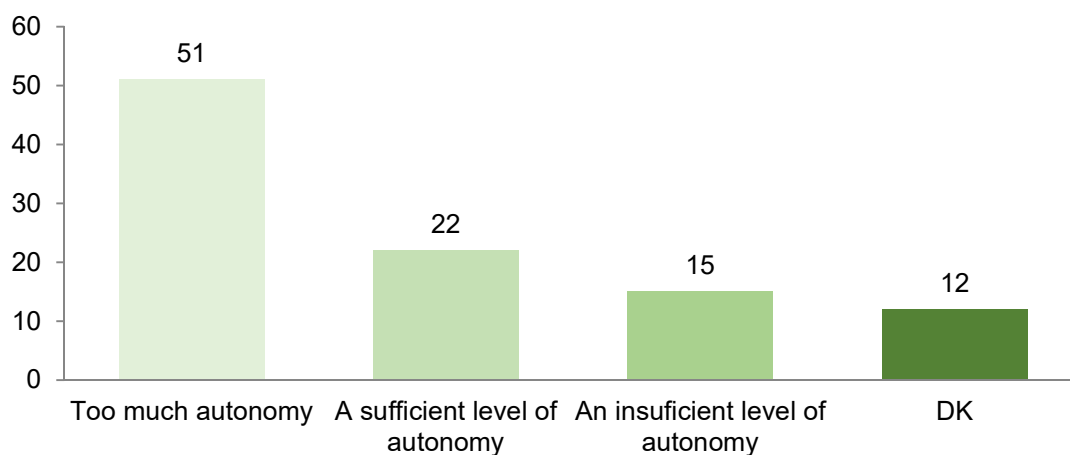


SOURCE: MAPLE ONLINE PANEL SURVEY APRIL 2019

We have seen that "Corruption and Fraud" is perceived as the most important problem in Spain. Graph 7.1 shows that perceptions about Corruption in Parties does not vary very much by partisanship. Perceptions are overwhelmingly negative, varying on average between 8.4 (PP and PSOE identifiers) and 9 (Podemos and Vox identifiers).

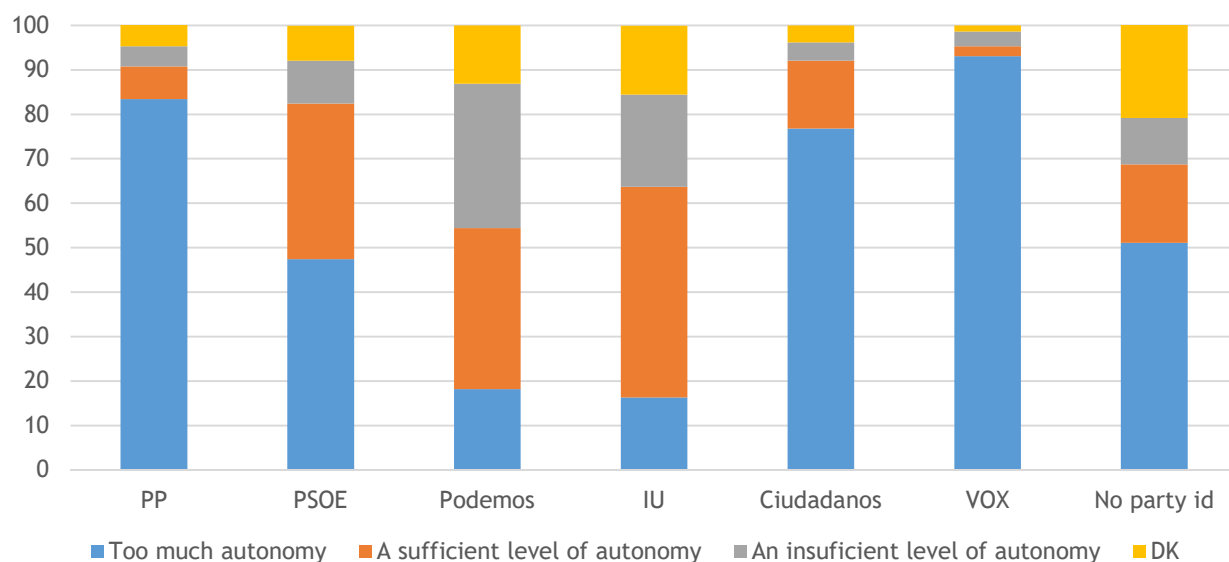
## 9. National Issues: Catalonia Issue

### 9.1. "As far as relations between Catalonia and Spain are concerned, you think Catalonia has reached..." (% , whole sample)



Source: MAPLE Online Survey April 2019

### 9.2. "As far as relations between Catalonia and Spain are concerned, you think Catalonia has reached..." Average per partisanship



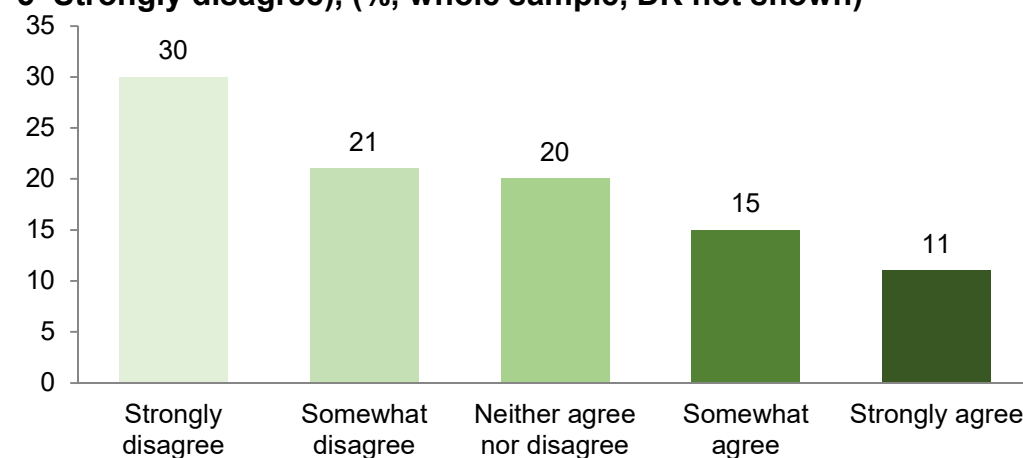
Considering the issue of Catalonia, 51% of the respondents consider that Catalonia has reached “too much autonomy”, whereas 22% believe it already

has a sufficient level of autonomy. 15% agree that Catalonia's level of autonomy is insufficient.

On this issue, the distribution per partisanship is very different, from Left to Right. Over 80% of PP identifiers, 90% of VOX identifiers and almost 80% of Ciudadanos supporters consider that Catalonia has already "too much autonomy", whereas on the Left, PSOE voters are much more divided on the issue (47% agree it has too much autonomy) whereas among Podemos and IU identifiers only 18% and 16% respectively, share that opinion. Regarding those without any party identification, the majority of them (51%) consider that Catalonia has already "too much autonomy", while only 11% think that the region has an insufficient level of autonomy.

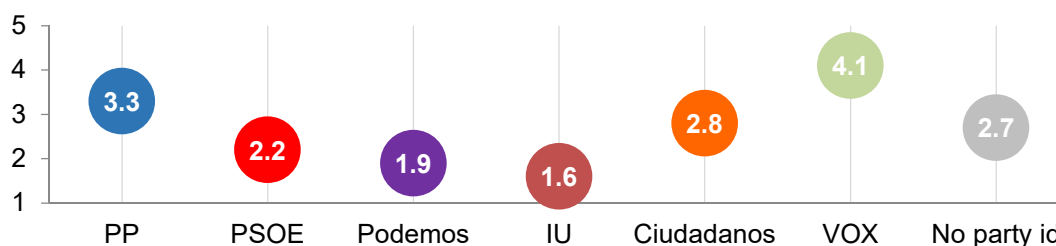
## 10. National Issues: Women's Rights

**10.1. "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements: Many women tend to exaggerate the problem of male violence." (1= Strongly disagree; 5=Strongly agree), (% , whole sample, DK not shown)**



Source: MAPLE Online Survey April 2019

**10.2. "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements: Many women tend to exaggerate the problem of male violence."  
(Average per partisanship)**



SOURCE: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY APRIL 2019

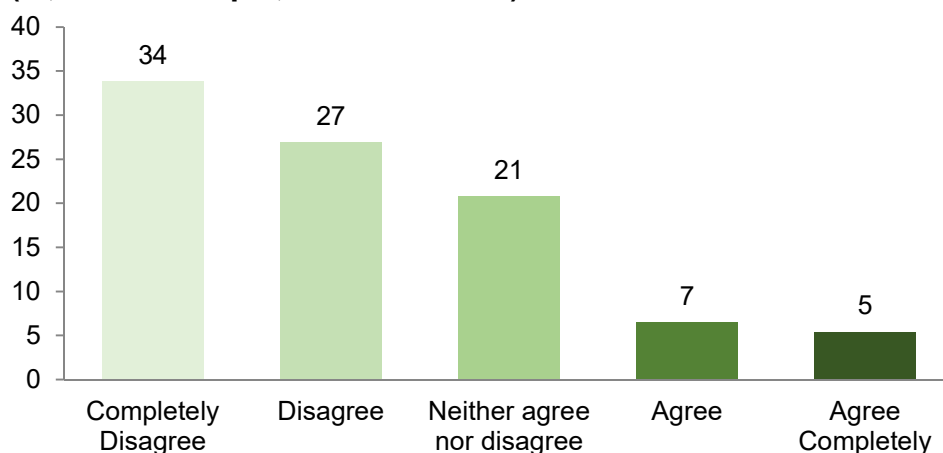
When we consider the issue of women's rights, we see that considering the aggregate sample, there is a majority of Spaniards (51%) who consider that women do not exaggerate the problem of male violence. On the contrary, 26% have the opposite opinion.

Yet, this issue is not perceived similarly across party identifiers. On the left, averages for PSOE, Podemos and IU are the lowest ones, varying between 1.6 and 2.2. On the right, VOX identifiers (4.1) are the those who most agree with the statement, and Ciudadanos identifiers (2.8) those who are most likely to disagree.

## 11. Spain and the EU: Membership

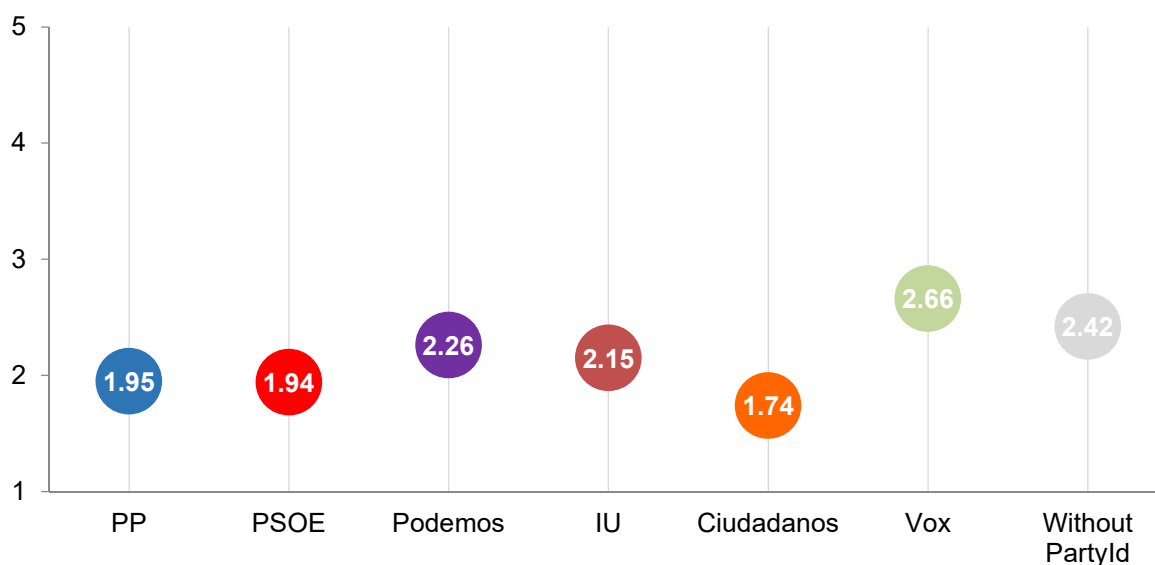
In many countries, the EU is achieving prominence as a political issue, and especially since the Eurozone crisis. Therefore, we turn now to attitudes towards the EU, by considering membership itself, attitudes towards the process of European integration, and attitudes towards the Euro, as the main policy of the EU.

**11.1 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Spain should leave the EU (1=completely disagree; 5=completely agree) (% , whole sample, DK not shown)**



SOURCE: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY APRIL 2019

**11.2. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "Spain should leave the EU?" Average per partisanship**



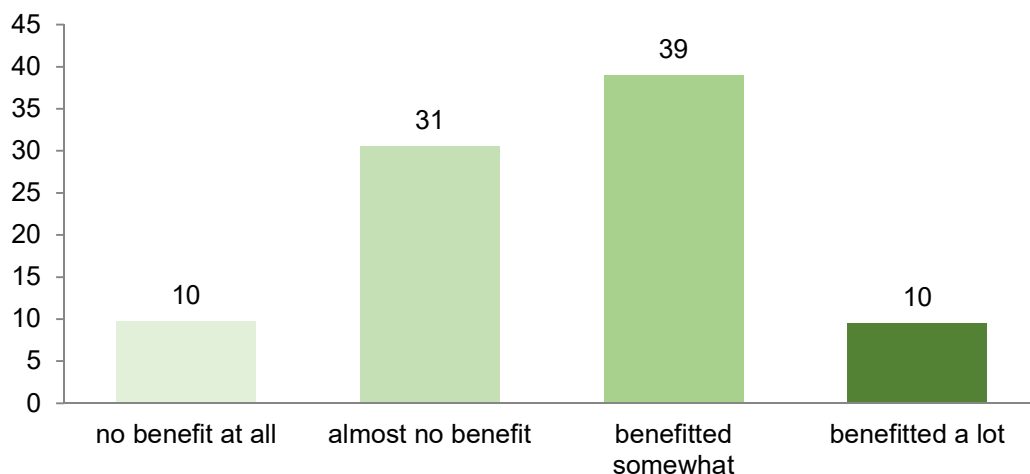
SOURCE: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY APRIL 2019

As can be seen in Graph 10.1, 61% of Spanish respondents disagree with the position that Spain should leave the EU, and only 12% agree or completely agree. Not surprisingly, given that it is a consensual issue among Spaniards, respondents do not differ along party lines to a large extent. Ciudadanos's supporters seem to

be the least in favour of an exit (1.7 average) and VOX supporters the most in favour (2.7).

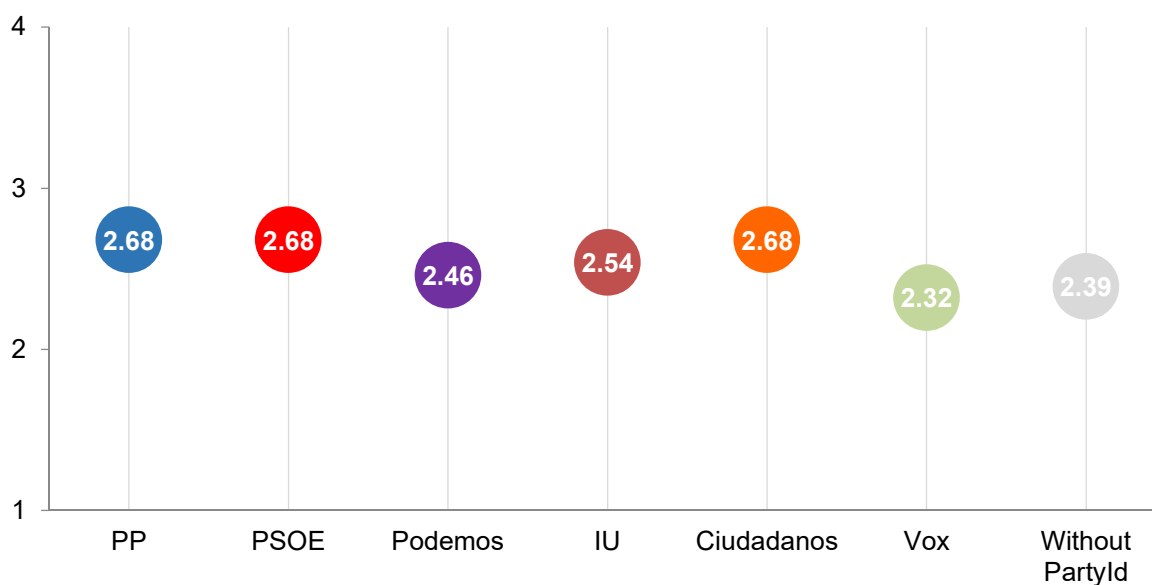
## 12.Spain and the EU: Benefits of Membership

**12.1. Taking everything into consideration, would you consider that Spain has benefitted from being a member of the EU?" (1=no benefit at all; 4=benefitted a lot) (% , whole sample, DK not shown)**



SOURCE: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY APRIL 2019

**12.2 "Taking everything into consideration, would you consider that Spain has benefitted from being a member of the EU?" (Average per partisanship)**

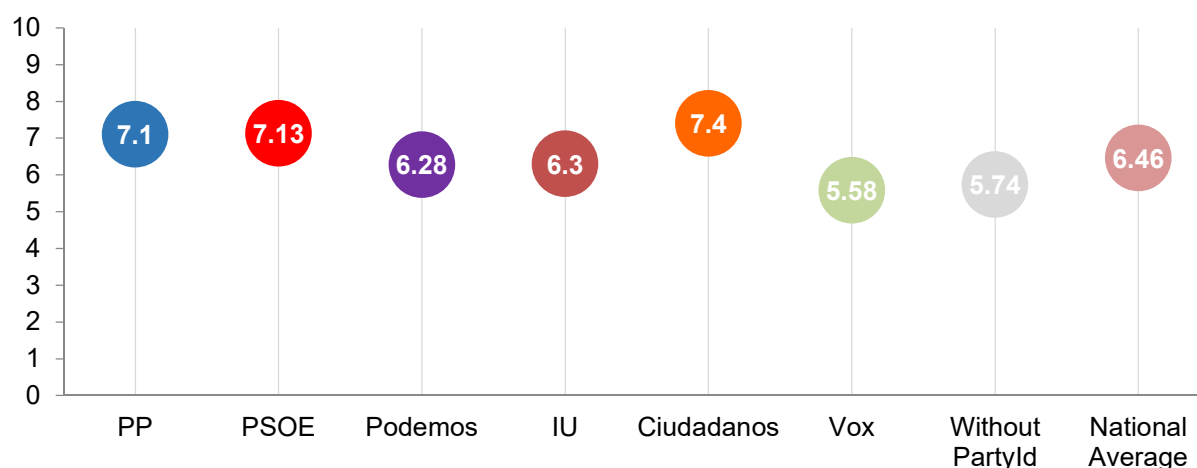


SOURCE: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY APRIL 2019

Although exiting the EU does not seem a realistic possibility, Spanish people are quite divided on the issue of Benefits of EU membership. 41% of the electorate consider that Spain has either not benefitted at all, or almost not benefited from EU membership. On the contrary, 49% of respondents do consider that Spain benefited. As we can see below, PP, PSOE and Ciudadanos identifiers on average are the most likely to believe that the EU membership has benefited Spain (2.7), whereas Podemos and IU follow close at 2.5 average, and Vox are slightly less enthusiastic at 2.5.

## 13. Spain and the EU: Political Integration?

**13.1. "Some people say that the process of European Integration should move forward to the creation of the United States of Europe, others say the EU should disappear to go back to a situation where all states are totally sovereign. Where would you place**



SOURCE: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY APRIL 2019

Moving on to the issue of whether the process of political integration should proceed toward the United States of Europe, or whether the EU should be dissolved, Graph 12.1 below shows the average perceptions of Spaniards, as well as per party identity.

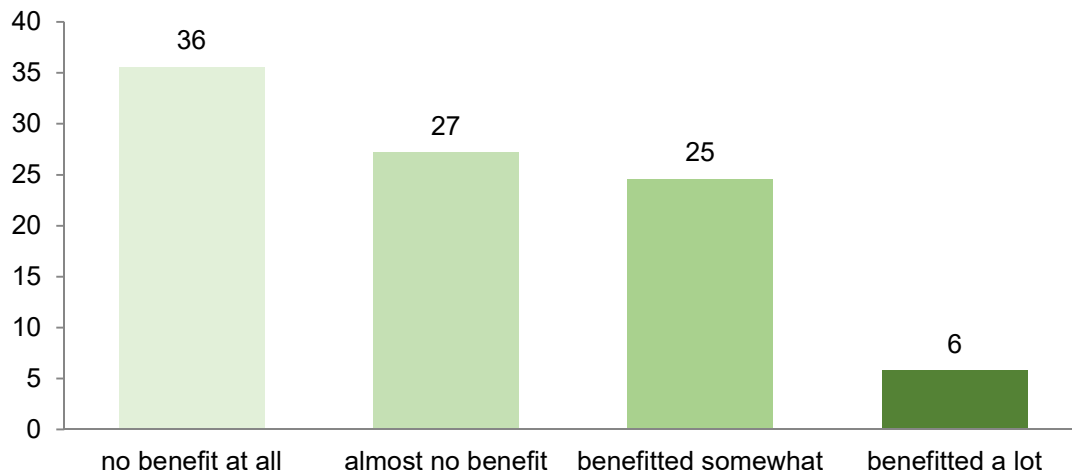
There seems to be a general positive attitude toward the EU integration. The whole sample, in fact, has an average score of 6.5.

Most enthusiastic for political integration are Ciudadanos, PP and PSOE supporters. Podemos and IU identifiers seem less enthusiastic, with VOX identifiers having the smallest pro-integration average (5.6).



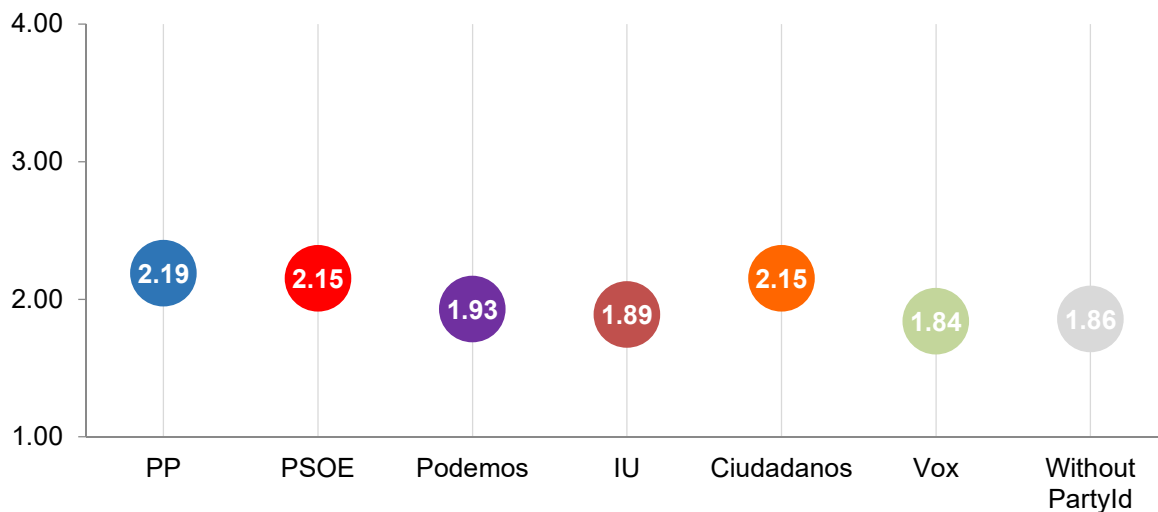
## 14. Spain and the EU: Benefits of the Euro

**14.1. "Taking everything into consideration, would you say Spain has benefitted from adopting the Euro as its currency?" (1=no benefit at all; 4=benefitted a lot) (% , whole sample, DK not shown)**



SOURCE: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY APRIL 2019

**14.2. "Taking everything into consideration, would you say Spain has benefitted from adopting the Euro as its currency?" (Average per partisanship)**



SOURCE: MAPLE ONLINE SURVEY APRIL 2019

We finally consider perceptions on whether Spain has benefitted from the Euro. Here the opinion is overwhelmingly negative: 63% of Spaniards believe that Spain has had no benefit or almost no benefit, and only 31% thinking otherwise.

Ciudadanos, PP and PSOE supporters have on average more positive perceptions (2.2) than supporters of Podemos and IU, and those without party identification (1.9). Vox identifiers are those with the most negative perceptions on this issue (1.8).

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