



**FRIEDRICH NAUMANN
FOUNDATION** For Freedom.
Europe

Elections 2025

General Elections Portugal

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Contact:

Gréta Kiss
Regional Project Manager
Friedrich Naumann Foundation
Europe
Avenue de Cortenbergh 71
1000 Bruxelles
Belgium
+32 2 282 09 38
greta.kiss@freiheit.org

Report by EUMatrix

Party Legend

Iniciativa Liberal – IL: economically and socially liberal party, which attracts younger, urban, and highly educated professionals who are dissatisfied with the established parties. Currently in opposition. EP affiliation: Renew.

Key people and information: João Cotrim de Figueiredo and Ana Vasconcelos are MEPs in the Renew Europe group, with Cotrim de Figueiredo serving as a Vice President;

The party is a member of the ALDE Party since 2017 and of Liberal International since 2024, where co-founder Alexandre Krauss is Non-Executive Vice President.

Partido Socialista – PS: Big-tent social-democratic party. Traditionally strong among pensioners and the public sector, with key strongholds in the South of Portugal. It has been intermittently in power for about 20 years since 1995, but it is currently in opposition. EP affiliation: S&D.

Aliança Democrática – AD: Centre-right coalition (PSD + CDS-PP). Main opposition to PS, currently in caretaker government. Strong in the north, where catholicism is stronger and there is a strong private sector of SMEs. It is also the dominant party in the archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira. EP affiliation: EPP.

Chega – CH: Right-wing nationalist and populist party, it has been capitalising on the dissatisfaction towards the central government among disaffected and lower education voters from peripheral and aging regions with high unemployment. It is in opposition. EP affiliation: Patriots.

Coligação Democrática Unitária – CDU: Communist party with Marxist roots. Its support has been declining, as its support consists mainly of older voters from Southern Portugal, particularly those with ties to the revolutionary workers' and land reform movements. It is in opposition. EP affiliation: The Left.

Bloco de Esquerda – BE: A more modern alternative to the Communist party which focuses on both progressive economic policies and on broader social justice issues. Strong among students and left-wing activists, it is suffering the competition from Livre. It is in opposition. EP affiliation: The Left.

LIVRE – L: Progressive, green, and civic-oriented party. Its base of support overlaps with Bloco de Esquerda, although the party arguably focuses more on post-material issues, such as environment, gender, etc. It is in opposition. EP affiliation: Greens/EFA.

Pessoas-Animais-Natureza – PAN: Centrist party centered on animal rights and environmentalism. It has a narrower focus than LIVRE and it is seen as less confrontational ideologically, with less engagement in broader left-wing politics. It is in opposition. EP affiliation: Greens/EFA.

Juntos Pelo Povo – JPP: Regional party from Madeira. The party has a strong focus on local issues and transparent governance, appealing to the middle-classes dissatisfied with AD's political dominance in Madeira. EU affiliation: European Democratic Party.

Election Results

Right-wing camp gains ground while Socialists keep falling, fragmentation remains

The Portuguese elections saw the governing centre-right **AD** make substantial gains across the country, while gains for the liberal **IL** party were more limited. The most significant shift was the rise of the right-wing nationalist party **Chega**, particularly in the South, at the expense of the **PS**, which narrowly secured second place.

Governing will remain challenging, as **AD** will need to rely on the support of either the **PS** or **Chega**.

Among the smaller parties, the left-wing **BE** suffered significant losses, benefiting the green party **Livre**. The Communist Party **CDU** continues its decline but has managed to maintain parliamentary representation. For the first time, a regional party from Madeira (**JPP**) has gained a seat in the Portuguese Parliament.

Party	Vote share (%)	Comparison to last election	Seats	Change in seats
AD	32.72	+ 3.89	89	+9
PS	23.38	-4.6	58	-20
CHEGA	22.56	+4.5	58	+8
IL	5.53	+0.59	9	+1
LIVRE	4.20	+1.04	6	+2
CDU	3.03	-0.14	3	-1
BE	2.00	-2.36	1	-4
PAN	1.36	-0.59	1	0
JPP	0.34	+0.04	1	+1

Source: <https://www.legislativas2025.mai.gov.pt/resultados/globais>

Note: counting still ongoing for overseas votes at the time of publication. 4 seats are still to be allocated.

Voter Turnout

National turnout in 2025 was 64.38%, slightly down from 66.23% in 2024, but still higher than the low point recorded in 2022. Turnout decreased in southern districts won by **Chega** (Faro, Setúbal, Beja, Portalegre), in Madeira and Lisbon. The lower turnout seems to have helped smaller parties to keep their parliamentary representation.

Voting Behaviour

Voting Behaviour By Territory

The analysis of the territorial data shows that **AD** is strengthening its position in the north of the country, particularly outside the largest cities, where the Catholic tradition and the predominance of small businesses provide fertile ground for centre-right politics. **AD** also performs well in peripheral regions, due to its opposition to Lisbon centralism, although it has lost some ground in the Azores.

The most significant territorial shift is the rise of **Chega** in southern Portugal—traditionally a Socialist and Communist stronghold—largely due to past social conflicts related to the high concentration of land ownership. With generational change, the South is shifting to the right, and **Chega** is now the leading party in almost all southern regions, which are characterised by depopulation, high unemployment, and widespread discontent with politics in Lisbon.

After losing ground in the South, the **PS** now gets its strongest support from more rural regions in the middle of the country, such as Castelo Branco and Santarem, where support for mainstream parties remains high.

As for the liberal **IL**, the party remains strongest in economically dynamic regions and major cities, reflecting its appeal among urban, highly educated professionals. It performed particularly well in Lisbon, Braga, and Porto. In contrast, **IL** faces structural barriers in the South, where a high reliance on subsidies and an ageing population make its liberal platform—focused on economic and social dynamism—less immediately resonant.

Regarding the smaller left-wing parties, such as **BE** and **Livre**, their representation stems mainly from urban support, especially in Lisbon.

Meanwhile, the Communist **CDU** continues to maintain support in the Alentejo region, particularly in Beja and Évora, areas with a strong Communist tradition.

Voting Behaviour

Regional Breakdown of Vote Share

Region	AD	PS	CHEGA	IL	BE	CDU	LIVRE	PAN	JPP	Other
Azores	36.56	23.6	22.85	3.45	2.09	1.21	2.51	1.3	0.27	6.16
Aveiro	39.48	21.72	20.69	5.66	1.69	1.19	3.09	1.24	0	5.24
Beja	20.89	26.49	27.73	1.95	1.85	13.56	2.1	0.86	0	4.57
Braga	36.3	23.02	21.99	6.73	1.84	1.68	3.05	0.95	0.06	4.38
Bragança	43.74	25.43	20.42	2.18	0.84	1.04	1.13	0.67	0	4.55
Castelo Branco	32.3	28.59	23.36	3.02	1.65	2.14	2.55	0.91	0	5.48
Coimbra	34.38	27.39	18.39	4.44	2.17	2.51	4.06	1.22	0.07	5.37
Évora	24.81	27.81	24.82	2.84	1.75	10.17	2.7	0.93	0	4.17
Faro	25.74	20.51	33.9	4.36	2.48	2.68	3.35	1.8	0.11	5.07
Guarda	39.56	26.4	21.13	2.44	1.24	1.27	1.51	0.74	0	5.71
Leiria	37.06	18.98	23.07	6.02	1.92	2.06	3.51	1.17	0	6.21
Lisbon	28.47	23.68	20.86	7.63	2.35	3.57	6.87	1.84	0.06	4.67
Madeira	41.35	13.46	20.9	2.63	1.35	1.27	1.26	1.04	12.32	4.42
Portalegre	26.84	28	29.9	1.92	1.27	5.17	1.71	0.68	0	4.51
Porto	34.22	24.04	20.67	6.1	2.02	2.28	4.3	1.5	0.07	4.8
Santarém	30.6	28.13	22.75	3.93	1.79	3.6	3.22	1.13	0	4.85
Setúbal	21.01	24.97	26.38	5.51	2.66	7.12	5.84	1.88	0.09	4.54
Viana do Castelo	39.57	22.97	21.72	3.82	1.63	1.97	2.6	0.93	0	4.79
Vila Real	44.39	24.59	19.99	2.18	1.01	1.23	1.53	0.68	0	4.4
Viseu	42.73	21.86	22.14	3.13	1.19	1.2	2.12	0	0	5.63

Source: <https://www.legislativas2025.mai.gov.pt/resultados/territorio-nacional?local=LOCAL-500000>

Changes of Vote Share compared to 2024

Region	AD	PS	CHEG A	IL	BE	CDU	LIVRE	PAN	JPP
Azores	-3.28	-5.58	7.09	0.74	-1.32	0.12	0.8	-0.26	0.07
Aveiro	4.35	-5.97	3.44	0.55	-2.41	-0.19	0.85	-0.48	0
Beja	4.15	-5.21	6.18	-0.27	-2.56	-1.47	0.32	-0.36	0
Braga	3.14	-5.22	5.13	0.63	-2	-0.14	0.73	-0.48	-0.05
Bragança	3.73	-4.21	2.23	0.47	-1.09	-0.02	0.13	-0.15	0
Castelo Branco	3.85	-5.63	3.84	0.29	-2.46	-0.05	0.54	-0.41	0
Coimbra	3.8	-5.28	2.93	0.48	-2.93	-0.31	1.22	-0.36	-0.01
Évora	2.38	-4.98	4.86	0.35	-2.52	-0.76	0.72	-0.18	0
Faro	3.35	-4.95	6.71	-0.2	-3.27	-0.5	0.6	-0.78	-0.15
Guarda	5.44	-5.48	2.54	0.19	-1.46	-0.3	0.16	-0.22	0
Leiria	1.85	-3.52	3.41	0.37	-2.37	-0.35	0.88	-0.53	0
Lisbon	1.43	-4.05	3.84	1.05	-2.61	-0.16	1.4	-0.65	0
Madeira	5.97	-6.38	3.34	-1.26	-1.59	-0.35	0.02	-1.05	2.74
Portalegre	3.54	-6.05	5.31	0.03	-1.85	-0.77	0.27	-0.15	0
Porto	3.8	-6.29	5.34	0.35	-2.64	-0.08	0.95	-0.6	-0.03
Santarém	3.32	0.28	-0.57	0.15	-2.67	-0.52	0.76	-0.43	0
Setúbal	3.84	-6.3	6.07	0.15	-3.34	-0.61	1.55	-0.68	0
Viana do Castelo	4.85	-5.18	3.08	0.25	-1.82	-0.2	0.63	-0.51	0
Vila Real	5.06	-5.01	2.88	0.15	-1.44	-0.14	0.17	-0.23	0
Viseu	6.37	-5.59	2.69	0.32	-1.57	-0.17	0.43	-1.21	0

Source: <https://www.legislativas2025.mai.gov.pt/resultados/territorio-nacional?local=LOCAL-500000>

Voting Behaviour

Voting Behaviour By Age

Support for mainstream parties in Portugal is strongly correlated with age. Both **AD** and, especially, **PS** receive significant backing from pensioners, while **Chega** and smaller parties tend to perform poorly among older demographics. The one exception is the Communist **CDU**, which continues to overperform with senior voters.

This highlights the enduring role of tradition in Portuguese voting patterns. **AD** and **PS** also benefit from their more established presence in rural areas, where older populations are concentrated.

In contrast, **PS** struggles to attract younger voters—many of whom are used to see **PS** in government throughout their lives and do not associate the party with meaningful change.

Polling data indicates that **Chega** resonates with some younger voters, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds, living outside major urban centers and without higher education. Meanwhile, liberal **IL** and smaller left-wing parties such as **BE**, **Livre** and **PAN** compete for the votes of progressive, urban, and more educated youth.

Age Group	AD	PS	CHEGA	IL	BE	CDU	LIVRE	PAN
18-34	21	12	21	9	3	1	6	2
35-64	26	17	19	5	1	2	2	<1
65+	29	33	9	1	2	3	<1	<1

Source: <https://www.erc.pt/download.php?fd=14066&l=pt&key=ad344d0e98c0a2669298de09ae501ee1>

Note: Socio-demographic data is based on pre-electoral polls, as such data from exit polls was not yet available at the time of publication.

Voting Behaviour

Voting Behaviour By Gender

Differences by gender tend to be smaller than those observed across age groups, but some interesting patterns still emerge. As in other countries, left-wing parties tend to be more popular among women—especially the **PS** among older women—while **BE** and **PAN** perform particularly well among younger women.

The largest gender gap (even accounting for the margin of error) is observed with **Chega**, which—like many right-wing nationalist parties across Europe—draws significantly more male support.

A notable gap is also observed with the liberal **IL**, although this result should be interpreted with caution due to the smaller sample size. Nonetheless, this trend seems to be consistent with broader EU patterns, where liberal parties often appeal more to men, who are generally more drawn to platforms emphasizing economic themes such as growth and innovation.

Gender	AD	PS	CHEGA	IL	BE	CDU	LIVRE	PAN
Male	26	18	21	6	1	3	2	1
Female	25	23	11	3	3	2	2	2

Source: <https://www.erc.pt/download.php?fd=14066&l=pt&key=ad344d0e98c0a2669298de09ae501ee1>

Note: Socio-demographic data is based on pre-electoral polls, as such data from exit polls was not yet available at the time of publication.

Voting Behaviour

Voting Behaviour By Education

Education remains a key dividing line in Western societies, as reflected in Portugal's electoral patterns. Data on voters with very low education is less revealing, as this group mainly consists of older people who tend to support the **PS** more than the general population. More telling is the comparison between voters with and without higher education.

As expected, **Chega** performs particularly well among those without higher education, while the centre-right **AD** appeals more to highly educated voters—though its electorate is relatively balanced in terms of education.

Among smaller parties, **Liberal IL** and green **Livre** perform best among highly educated voters, while **BE** and **PAN** appeal more to progressive voters with secondary education.

Gender	AD	PS	CHEGA	IL	BE	CDU	LIVRE	PAN
Up to 3 rd cycle	27	24	16	<1	1	3	<1	<1
Secondary	22	16	24	4	3	1	1	3
Higher	28	21	11	8	2	2	5	<1

Source: <https://www.erc.pt/download.php?fd=14066&l=pt&key=ad344d0e98c0a2669298de09ae501ee1>

Note: Socio-demographic data is based on pre-electoral polls, as such data from exit polls was not yet available at the time of publication.

Voting Motivations

Portuguese voters are primarily motivated by economic and social welfare issues. **Health** is a top priority, particularly among older people and in the more deprived region of Alentejo. **Housing** is another key concern, especially in large cities such as Lisbon and among younger people.

Although health and housing could be considered favorable topics for the left-wing camp, left-wing parties were unable to capitalize on these issues. Instead, **Chega** more effectively tapped into the growing dissatisfaction among the working-class population.

Low salaries and **inflation** are also cited as prominent concerns, which may have benefited parties advocating economic pragmatism, such as the **AD** in the North. Notably, **migration** was among the key issues as well, including in Southern Portugal, where it is sometimes perceived as placing pressure on public services for the local population. This perception likely contributed to **Chega's** gains.

Top issues	Percentage (%)	Top issues for: (age groups)	Top issues for: (region)
Health	36.8	55+ years old	Alentejo
Housing	31.7	18-34 years old	Lisbon
Low Salaries	20.4	55+ years old	North
Migration	17.8	18-34 years old	Algarve
Inflation	13.1	55+ years old	Centre

Source: <https://www.erc.pt/download.php?fd=14072&l=pt&key=9a209c1d17459f81979262bd49d8c6f4>

Note: Voting motivation data is based on pre-electoral polls, as such data from exit polls was not yet available at the time of publication.

Issues such as **climate change**, **discrimination**, and **disinformation** were widely regarded as lower priorities by Portuguese voters, which helps explain why smaller left-wing parties are struggling to gain ground. Similarly, there is relatively low engagement with topics like **transparency** and **anti-corruption**—one reason why the scandal involving the Prime Minister had a limited impact on the performance of the **AD** party.

Likewise, themes such as **bureaucracy**, **taxation**, and the **justice system**—which might favor a **liberal** perspective—rank lower in importance compared to more immediate material concerns.