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PORTUGAL TOP 50: MAP OF POWER ON THE NET Influential Politicians in Twitter

March 2015

TOP 50 MAP OF POWER ON THE NET

Influential Politicians in Twitter

PORTUGAL - March 2015

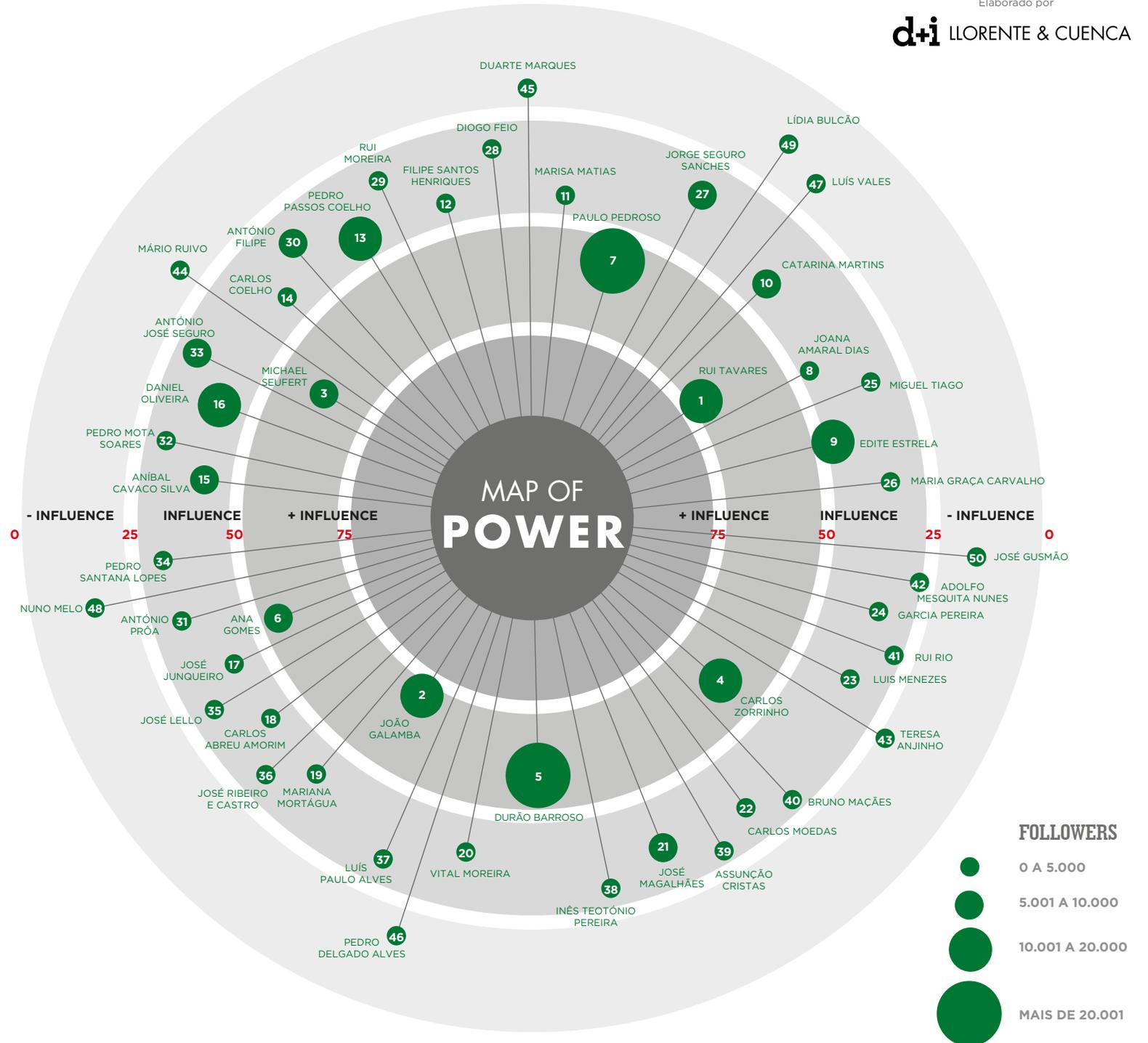
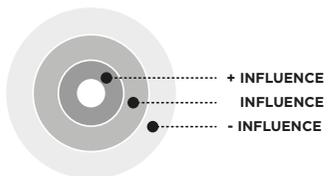
TOP 50 RANKING Map of Power on the Net - Influential Politicians in Twitter is the result of the research work by IMAGO - LLORENTE & CUENCA to identify, measure, and compare the level of influence held by the main Portuguese politicians in the digital arena.

The research conducted took as its starting point the premise that Twitter is the maximum example of online influence - an open space where information is public, in which relationships are established and ideas spread more concisely and quickly than on any other social network.

Is there any link between online presence and influence outside the Internet? Should personal online assets be explored by politicians as mechanisms to approach their voters? These and other questions are discussed in this study.

IMAGO - LLORENTE & CUENCA is grateful for the contribution from professors Rita Figueiras and Eduardo Cíntira Torres, of the Universidade Católica Portuguesa, who helped us to reflect on this phenomenon, its causes, and its consequences.

INFLUENCE INDEX*



* The Influence Index is calculated on the basis of five different indicators: Number of Followers, Number of Retweets, Automatic Influence, Number of Mentions, and Number of Inlinks from other online assets. (see Methodology on page 8)

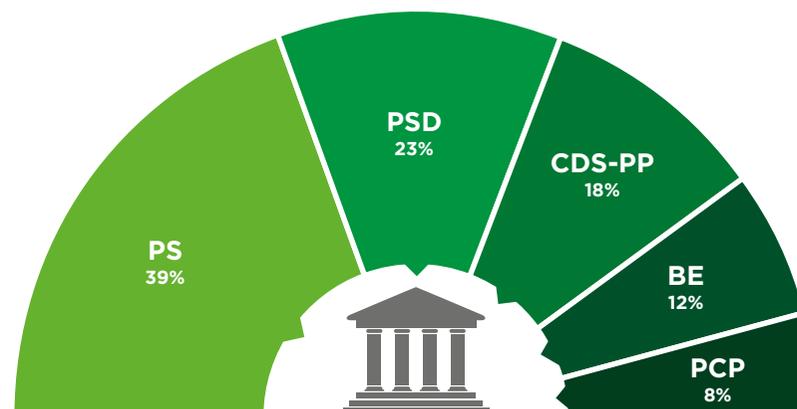
TOP 50 MAP OF POWER ON THE NET

Influential Politicians
in Twitter

PORTUGAL - March 2015

Elaborado por

d+i LLORENTE & CUENCA



RANKING: 25 MOST INFLUENTIAL POLITICIANS

RANKING	NAME	POSITION	ACCOUNT	FOLLOWERS	INFLUENCE INDEX
1	Rui Tavares	Founder of the LIVRE party	@ruitavares	14.832	73,2
2	João Galamba	PS MP	@Joaogalamba	15.826	72,8
3	Michael Seufert	CDP-PP MP	@seufert	5.328	65,2
4	Carlos Zorrinho	PS MEP	@czorrinho	16.824	62
5	Durão Barroso	Former Chairman of the EC	@JMDBarroso	137.114	59,4
6	Ana Gomes	PS MEP	@AnaGomesMEP	6.405	52,6
7	Paulo Pedroso	Former PS MP	@paulopedroso	20.980	52,6
8	Edite Estrela	PS MEP	@editeestrela	17.161	47,2
9	Joana Amaral Dias	No affiliation	@joanamaraldias	2.049	47,2
10	Catarina Martins	MP and spokeswoman for BE	@catarina_mart	7.606	46,4
11	Marisa Matias	BE MEP	@mmatias_	2.045	45
12	Filipe S. Henriques	Member of the LIVRE party	@fhenriques	2.876	44,8
13	P. Passos Coelho	First Minister	@passoscoelho	14.064	43,6
14	Carlos Coelho	PSD MEP	@CarlosCoelhoPE	4.634	43
15	Daniel Oliveira	Former BE MEP	@danielolivalx	10.103	41,4
16	A. Cavaco Silva	President of the Republic	@prcavacosilva	6.750	41,4
17	José Junqueiro	PS MP	@josejunqueiro	4.362	38
18	Carlos A. Amorim	PSD MP	@cabreuamorim	4.315	37
19	Mariana Mortágua	BE MP	@MRMortagua	834	37
20	Vital Moreira	PS MEP	@vitalmoreira09	1.198	36,8
21	José Magalhães	PS MP	@zmaglh	5.326	36,4
22	Carlos Moedas	European Union Commissioner	@Moedas	3.790	36,4
23	Luis Menezes	Former PSD MP	@luismenezes1980	4.614	35,8
24	Garcia Pereira	Founder of MRPP	@Garcia_Pereira	3.779	35,4
25	Miguel Tiago	PCP MP	@migueltiago	2.617	34,4

CONCLUSIONS

- Politicians like **Rui Tavares** (#1), **Joana Amaral Dias** (#9), **Daniel Oliveira** (#15) and **Garcia Pereira** (#24), who are not currently active in the Assembly of the Republic, choose digital platforms to convey their views and ideologies;
- Even after leaving, temporarily or permanently, their positions in their parties, a number of politicians continue to use the digital arena to convey their views and ideas, such as **Durão Barroso** (#5) and **Paulo Pedroso** (#7);
- Perhaps due to the "regionalisation" that is inherent to their political positions, the chairpersons of municipal chambers do not yet tend to opt for online assets as a way to approach their voters;
- The top 25 ranking positions are held by 9 Portuguese politicians that hold or used to hold a position in Europe. Entry in the European political arena seems to simulate the activation of politicians' online presence.

TOP 50 MAP OF POWER ON THE NET

Influential Politicians in Twitter

PORTUGAL - March 2015

Elaborado por

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THE MOST INFLUENTIAL POLITICIANS

GOVERNMENT				
RANKING	NAME	ACCOUNT	FOLLOWERS	INFLUENCE INDEX
13	P. Passos Coelho	@passoscoelho	14.064	43,6
32	P. Mota Soares	@pedromotasoares	4.654	30,2
39	Assunção Cristas	@ACristas	3.123	27,4
40	Bruno Mações	@macaesbruno	1.106	27,2
42	A. Mesquita Nunes	@Adolfo_MN	1.567	26
54	J. Aguiar Branco	@aguiarbranco	1.013	18,2
57	Emídio Guerreiro	@EmidioG	1.053	17,8
69	J. Moreira da Silva	@jmoreiradasilva	124	12,4
72	A. Pires de Lima	NPC*	0	12
74	Paulo Portas	NPC*	0	12

*NPC: Não possui conta de Twitter

PS				
RANKING	NAME	ACCOUNT	FOLLOWERS	INFLUENCE INDEX
2	João Galamba	@Joaogalamba	15.826	72,8
4	Carlos Zorrinho	@czorrinho	16.824	62
6	Ana Gomes	@AnaGomesMEP	6.405	52,6
8	Edite Estrela	@editeestrela	17.161	47,2
17	José junqueiro	@josejunqueiro	4.362	38
20	Vital Moreira	@vitalmoreira09	1.198	36,8
21	José Magalhães	@zmaglh	5.326	36,4
27	Jorge Seguro Sanches	@JorgeSeguro	5.759	33
35	José Lello	@joselello	3.965	29,4
37	Luis Paulo Alves	@luispalves	463	28,6

BE				
RANKING	NAME	ACCOUNT	FOLLOWERS	INFLUENCE INDEX
10	Catarina Martins	@catarina_mart	7.606	45
11	Marisa Matias	@mmatias_	2.045	45
19	Mariana Mortágua	@MRMortagua	834	37
50	José Gusmão	@joseggusmao	1.745	20
53	Pedro Filipe Soares	@PedroFgSoares	863	18,4
66	Helena Pinto	@HelenaPinto	1.241	14

PSD				
RANKING	NAME	ACCOUNT	FOLLOWERS	INFLUENCE INDEX
13	P. Passos Coelho	@passoscoelho	14.064	43,6
14	Carlos Coelho	@CarlosCoelhoPE	4.634	43
18	Carlos A. Amorim	@cabreuamorim	4.315	37
26	M.ª Graça Carvalho	@mgracacarvalho	972	33,6
31	António Prôa	@antonioproa	1.704	30,6
40	Bruno Mações	@macaesbruno	1.106	27,2
45	Duarte Marques	@DuarteMarques	3.132	23
49	Lídia Bulcão	@lidiabulcao	776	20,4
54	J. Aguiar Branco	@aguiarbranco	1.013	18,2
55	Paulo Mota Pinto	@paulomotapinto	1.360	18,2

CDS-PP				
RANKING	NAME	ACCOUNT	FOLLOWERS	INFLUENCE INDEX
3	Michael Seufert	@seufert	5.328	65,2
28	Diogo Feio	@diogo_feio	2.772	31,8
32	P. Mota Soares	@pedromotasoares	4.654	30,2
36	J. Ribeiro e Castro	@ribeiroecastro	3.380	29,2
38	Inês Teotónio Pereira	@inestp	143	28,4
39	Assunção Cristas	@ACristas	3.123	27,4
42	A. Mesquita Nunes	@Adolfo_MN	1.567	26
43	Teresa Anjinho	@anjinho74	113	23,8
48	Nuno Melo	@NunoMeloCDS	221	20,6
59	Helder Amaral	@helderamaralcds	737	16,8

PCP				
RANKING	NAME	ACCOUNT	FOLLOWERS	INFLUENCE INDEX
25	Miguel Tiago	@migueltiago	2.617	34,4
30	António Filipe	@AntonioFilipe	9.676	31
76	João Oliveira	@joao_g_oliveira	452	10
85	Jerónimo de Sousa	NPC*	0	8

*NPC: Não possui conta de Twitter

CONCLUSIONS

- Of the leaders of the main Portuguese parties, only **Catarina Martins** (#10) and **Passos Coelho** (#13) appear in this ranking;
- The main members of the ruling party do not make use of Twitter to communicate with their voters. Only **Bruno Mações** (#40) and **Adolfo Mesquita Nunes** (#42) are active on Twitter on a regular basis;
- Most influential politicians concentrate in the opposition parties;
- Even though it has the same number of influential politicians in the TOP50 (14), PS has a much higher quality/quantity ratio than that of PSD.



THE "REPRESENTATION CRISIS" INCLUDES A LACK OF INTEREST IN SOCIAL MEDIA

Eduardo Cintra Torres

Assistant Professor - Universidade Católica Portuguesa

Most politicians seem not to have understood or assumed yet that, in a democracy, politics is communication, and thus communication must take place among citizens. Twitter is one of the new meeting points for the Portuguese, exceeding and often replacing other forms of physical association or meeting.

The study shows that political parties rely on other forms of communication, or not even that. They do not have a strong presence on Twitter. The LIVRE party is an exception, due not only to the fact that its politicians are younger, but also to its small size: it needs to reach more people which it would otherwise not reach through concurrent presence and the existing party structures. Other parties - PS, CDS, PCP, and above all PSD - rely on their size and dominant position to be able to ignore the "digi-locations" where citizens are located. Only the most ambitious Members of Parliament or Members of the European Parliament - who are physically distant from their voters - make more intense use of Twitter. Rui Tavares meets all four conditions, which accounts for his top position in use of Twitter: he is young, he is the head of a small party, he is ambitious, and he is a former Member of the European Parliament.

The top 10 positions in the Influence Index created for this study are held by "foreigners" (MEPs, the former Chairman of the European Union), and MPs who want to have an individual or independent voice with respect to their parties (e.g. Ana Gomes), as well as extremely ambitious politicians, like João Galamba. Many MPs just sit in Parliament and do politics "as always", without coming into direct contact with citizens, which would give them an individual, independent voice: their motto is "the party comes first, then I as its instrument". Ambition beyond "my position" can also be seen in Rui Moreira's ranking position: his presence on Twitter, as well as in other media, enables him to go beyond the frontiers of Porto council, making use of new communications - as he did in the campaign in which he was elected.

Bearing in mind that contemporary democratic societies are characterised by the personalisation of politics, which may lead to a change in legislation to allow double voting (for parties and for specific persons on party lists), ignoring digital social media such as Twitter reveals the old-fashioned, backward nature of the Portuguese political elite as a whole. This backwardness reflects an obsolete conception of representation: the vast majority, of MPs and of elected politicians as a whole, think of their position as unchanging between two elections, with no need for constant communication with the local citizens. This conception of representation is precisely a cause and a result of what is known as the "representation crisis": if citizens are currently empowered by mass self-communication media (as theorised

by Manuel Castells), how can politicians justify that they do not communicate with citizens who can be reached in seconds via Twitter or Facebook?

There are certainly limits to mass self-communication on the part of the elected powers, in order to prevent a populist conception. There is a prevalence of "secrecy" (its positive side is the internal political process of institutions, negotiations, etc.), and a certain degree of contention that people seem to accept or even demand, condemning those who express themselves "as loose cannons", who are even, in the most extreme cases, dismissed, as was the case in various democracies (not all politicians or politicians outside party lists, like Ana Gomes and Pacheco Pereira, respectively, manage to achieve a status that enables them to "speak their mind" without penalties from their parties).

The prevalence of "secrecy" and the "right of reserve" is particularly visible in the case of members of Government. The executive holds a special place among power institutions, its communications being more reticent in general and those of its members in particular. In general, all their communications have a national impact and can have disastrous results for the Government and for the country. More specifically, members of the Government are subordinate to the First Minister, and may be immediately dismissed. This is not the case with Members of Parliament, who are free to express opinions that do not reflect the party line without placing their parliamentary seat at risk, at least during the legislature. This accounts, to a large extent, for the absence of the Government from Twitter. However, we can also see the Government members' lack of interest in having this voice, which, due to its nature, is frankly individual: they always prefer to talk in their capacity as members of the executive, thus representing it. Their statements have an impact on the entire Government, so they avoid Twitter's "I". However, it is becoming increasingly obvious that the media are not responsible for the use given to them (they are just communication technologies), and so it would be possible for Government members' communication managers to make adequate use of Twitter, which is currently overlooked.

Perhaps the current First Minister's lack of interest in the media during his first years of mandate, or else the crisis and troika period - which required that the Government speak as a single voice - account for this dismissal of the new media. But that time is over, and nothing has changed. The opposition parties are the ones most active on Twitter. But would they be so active if they were part of the government? I doubt it. For the ruling party, communication does not look like propaganda - but it is propaganda. For the opposition parties, communication is propaganda - but it does not look like it.

"Ignoring digital social media
such as Twitter reveals the old-fashioned,
backward nature of the Portuguese
political elite as a whole"

"Many MPs just sit
in Parliament and do politics
'as always', with no direct
contact with citizens"





POLITICAL LEADERS ARE OFF

Tiago Vidal

Managing Director at IMAGO - LLORENTE & CUENCA

The mapping of the influence of political agents in digital platforms performed by the IMAGO - LLORENTE & CUENCA online communication team in Lisbon at the start of the election year discloses transversal symptoms to organisations in general with respect to the challenge posed by users' preferences, be they voters, customers or consumers. Despite appearances - given the low rate of Twitter use in Portugal - the image captured is quite representative, as Twitter concentrates a broad range of institutional opinion makers, be they publications and journalists, opinion leaders in general or politicians.

Among the political classes, the relatively incipient use of Twitter of Portugal reflects an undemanding system of democratic representation from an individual point of view, in which parties play a central role and individuality is dissolved. Furthermore, this lack of use seems to reflect prudence and unease in dialogue with stakeholders, something which is common in many organisations and their leaders, be they political, social or business organisations.

Information and communication modes and circuits have always been part of the main instruments for the conquest and exercise of power, be it military, political or financial power. Social media have introduced an environment in which this information is apparently out of control, which can be seen as a threat against power. In this regard, the fact that the political leaders of the opposition have higher online activity is mainly due to the fact that, not being in power, they need to achieve communicational relevance among the various audiences in order to be seen as an alternative.

This attitude on the part of the vast majority of political leaders is based on the principle that silence protects. It was precisely here that social networks introduced a new communication paradigm, as, through their apparent technological coldness, they force us to dialogue and understand, to ask, to answer, to take part in conversations, and to a constant challenge involving scrutiny and transparency. The business environment must take significant steps to understand and use these spaces for relationship. As the leaders of a country, politicians are responsible for taking part in this dialogue, as this is the current and future reality.

"Incipient use of Twitter in Portugal

reflects a system of democratic representation

which was always rather undemanding from the

individual point of view"

"Social media have introduced an environment

of apparent lack of control over information, which

may be understood as a threat against power"





"TWITTER: BETWEEN NEW AND OLD POLITICAL TRADITIONS"

Rita Figueiras

Coordinator of the Communications Ph.D. Programme
Universidade Católica Portuguesa

On the basis of the monitoring of politicians' Twitter activity, IMAGO - LLORENTE & CUENCA has created an influence index of Portuguese politicians in Twitter. Between December 2014 and January 2015 5 indicators were analysed - followers, retweets, online presence indicators, automatic indicators, and mentions - to identify political parties' online representation and the profiles of politicians who have Twitter activity, as well as to find the most influential politicians online.

The results show that Twitter in Portugal is a space of political influence that is dominated by the opposition parties, in particular by PS (5 items) and by BE and its dissidents (3 items). This means that it is left-wing parties that have the greatest online influence, by contrast to the parties in the ruling coalition, whose impact is significantly lower, as there is only one CDS MP and a member of PSD in the top 10. There are two types of profiles at the top of the ranking: party leaders and leaders of more recent political movements in Portugal - Catarina Martins of BE, Rui Tavares of Livre, and Joana Amaral Dias, of the Juntos Podemos movement - as well as politicians with a high degree of notoriety, such as Jose Manuel Durão Barroso (PSD) and Edite Estrela (PS).

As for the top 10, we found the presence of 4 women. Female presence becomes significantly diluted in the top 50, where there is only a total of 10. Influence by gender replicates the old logic of party politics, of parliamentary representation, and of the presence of women in the Government in this new medium, as well as in spaces for comment in traditional media. Thus Twitter reflects the social, financial, political and cultural power structure of Portuguese society.

The top 50 politicians are for the most part members of the national Parliament (20 politicians) or of the European Parliament (12 politicians), and belong to the parties in power (PSD, PS, and CDS). As well as the prevalence of the parties in power in Portugal, the top 50 also reflects the overrepresentation of BE with respect to PCP, the third political party in the Portuguese Parliament (Miguel Tiago is the PCP member who holds the highest position in the ranking at # 27). These data are in line with studies conducted on party representation in

the opinion spaces in the mainstream press and on cable TV. The explanation may be linked to both parties' communication strategies. PCP has a communication tradition that is mainly aimed at institutional spaces in the political struggle. By contrast, BE's communication strategy is based on media logic while simultaneously privileging alternative communication spaces.

The map of power on the net also shows that the most influential politicians are part of the pool of spokespeople of the parties in Parliament and in the comment spaces in the mainstream press and in cable news channels. All the top 10 politicians have experience representing their parties in niche media, as well as in blogs. These politicians have taken part in different forums and often appear in various circles of visibility, revealing their media experience and capacity to adapt to the new arenas for political communication.

Beyond the continuity between the social media and offline logic, there are three factors that seem to show that Twitter can give rise to something different in the Portuguese public space: Rui Tavares, the founder of the Livre party (with a 73.2% influence index) is the most influential Portuguese politician on the net; Paulo Pedroso, a politician who has been absent from traditional arenas, holds the 7th position in this map of power, with a 52.6% influence index; and there are 4 women among the top 10 most influential politicians in Twitter.

In addition to the specificities related to each of these cases, they all, as a whole, reflect the capacity of these new spaces to reconfigure the established hierarchies and communication power relationships. These politicians want to become part of the agents involved in the development of issues, who contribute to shaping political struggles and citizens' perception of public matters - and social media enable them to be so. These are privileged spaces for connectivity (interaction and conversation), for the creation of a supporting audience and social base. Thus, contradicting and/or exceeding party and media logic, the social media provide other political arenas, enabling them to create their own alternative communication channels and thus take active part to structure their political influence.

"The most influential politicians are part of the pool of party spokespeople in the Parliament as well as in the mainstream press op-eds and in cable news channels"

"Influence by gender replicates the old logic of party politics in this new medium"



METHODOLOGY

SCOPE

Active Portuguese politicians.

FIELD WORK

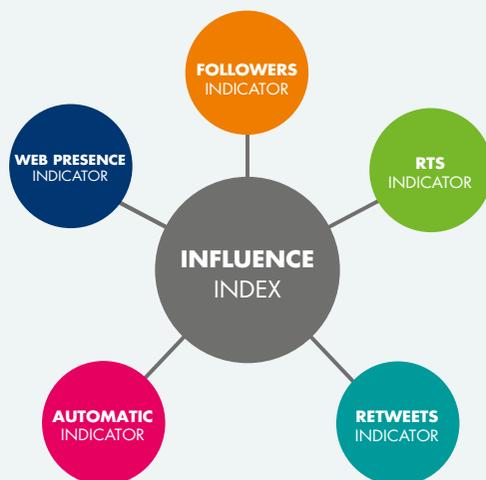
A total of 618 subjects were examined.

TECHNIQUE

The influence index is based on two basic factors: the degree of influence that these people have on Twitter, and the influence generated through other online assets, if any. Twitter was taken to be the social network that best represents online influence. Only physical persons who clearly identify themselves on Twitter were taken into account. The data for this study were collected between January and February 2015.

It should be borne in mind that the number of followers and the influence index are dynamic parameters that can quickly change.

The influence index was calculated on the basis of five factors:



TWITTER CONTEXT

Number of followers, with correction for fake followers.

Number of retweets (RTs).

Influence through automatic parameters

Number of mentions

ONLINE CONTEXT

Number of inlinks (links generated from other websites to one's own digital assets)

Study management and coordination:

d+i LLORENTE & CUENCA

Study conducted by the Online Communication department at Imago - LLORENTE & CUENCA in Portugal.

Tiago Vidal tvidal@llorenteycuenca.com
Managing Director

Filipe Nogueira fnogueira@llorenteycuenca.com
Senior Manager
[@filipen](#)

Ana Gil agil@llorenteycuenca.com
Consultant
[@AnaFrancoGil](#)

Nuno Cunha ncunha@llorenteycuenca.com
Consultant Assistant
[@nunocg](#)