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# Football and politics: Preference for football teams in Portugal correlates with political party identification

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Football and politics: Preference for football teams in Portugal correlates with political party identification – João Pedro Silva Francisco

In Portugal it is known that at the dinner table one does not speak about football, politics or religion. This dissertation addresses two of these three topics that constitute the backbone of our society and aims to, firstly demystify a common belief that Sporting Clube de Portugal fans tend to support right wing parties and ideologies while their Sport Lisboa e Benfica rivals tend to support left-wing ones. Secondly, to determine to which extent do the football clubs have any leverage in influencing their fans to choose a political party or ideology preference based on their history and values. A chain of analysis made it possible to discover that Sporting fans are indeed right wing supporters ( $p\text{-value}=0,053$ ), even if the same is not true regarding the political parties. Moreover, it was also possible to conclude that the football clubs do not have any power over their fans regarding the choice of their political preferences. In addition to this, there was a surprising result that derived from the collected data and concludes that the more to the right is one's political preference, the more enthusiastic one is regarding football ( $p\text{-value}=0,015$ ;  $\beta=2,54$ ). In the end, this dissertation accomplished its mission and hopefully made way for future research, not only to find out why the enthusiasm for football is correlated with a political variable, but also to investigate similar variables and their correlation with other Portuguese football clubs.

Em Portugal todos sabemos que à mesa não se discute nem futebol, nem política, nem religião. Esta dissertação aborda dois dos três tópicos que são pilares da nossa sociedade e tem como primeiro objetivo desmistificar a crença social de que os adeptos do Sporting Clube de Portugal tendem a apoiar partidos e ideologias políticas de direita enquanto que os seus rivais do Sport Lisboa e Benfica tendem a apoiar as de esquerda. Em segundo, determinar até que ponto os clubes de futebol têm algum poder para influenciar os seus adeptos nas escolhas de ideologia ou partido políticos baseado na história e valores do próprio clube. Com este encadeamento de análises foi possível descobrir que, de facto, os adeptos do Sporting apoiam a direita política ( $p\text{-value}=0,053$ ), mesmo que este resultado não seja verdade no que toca aos partidos políticos. De mais a mais, foi possível concluir também que os clubes de futebol não exercem qualquer influência nos seus adeptos no que toca à escolha de preferências políticas. Além de tudo isto, resultante da amostra recolhida, surgiu um resultado surpreendente que nos diz que quanto mais à direita está a preferência política de uma pessoa, maior é o seu entusiasmo pelo futebol ( $p\text{-value}=0,015$ ;  $\beta=2,54$ ). No fim de contas, esta dissertação atingiu os seus objetivos e (espera o autor) abriu caminho para futuras pesquisas, não só pelas razões que levam o entusiasmo pelo jogo estar relacionado com uma variável política, mas também para que investigações similares possam ser feitas com outros clubes portugueses.

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*“...either write things worth reading,  
or do things worth writing.”*

*– Benjamin Franklin*

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## Introduction

On the one hand there is football. In Portugal, it is one of the most special social phenomena there is. Not only people become ambassadors of the clubs without expecting anything in return, but also many rule their lives around this sport, whether it is by working directly with it or by adjusting the weekend plans to watch a match. Football, more than a sport, is regarded as one of the biggest social bonds there is, as fans get along together to support and “defend” their team. After all, it is not surprising why football fans have much higher levels of involvement with their sport than customers have with mainstream products (Parker & Stuart, 1997; Tapp & Clowes, 1999).

On the other hand, there is politics. Topic that does not need much introduction as it is one of the bedrocks of any society. But, doing politics is much more than supporting a party or ideology, much more than building a law or be present in the parliament. It is, as well, by definition, for “people who try to influence the way a country is governed” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.), and in this way, everyone can exercise this role in the society, whether by supporting the established power or by going against it and supporting the change.

When these two variables are put together, it is possible to assess to what extent they are correlated and try to appraise how they influence each other. This is the main aim of this research paper, as it will try to answer questions such as: is the choice of a football club preference connected in any way with political party choices among the Portuguese citizens? Do football clubs have a real political power, being able to, by themselves, influence the political choices of their supporters? Last but not least, is the origin of the clubs still present in the adoption of political behaviours by the supporters?

These questions made the author feel that some dots were yet to be connected and in the pursuit of a deeper understanding of these two fields along with the help of an absolute passion for “the beautiful game”, this dissertation came to life. The ambition of contributing in a scientific way to the football and political communities and, at the same time, debunking a popular belief in this particular country, kept the author focused in delivering a precise and complete study. To achieve this, a series of analysis were done, based on a self-collected database with 289 complete answers. These answers were obtained through a meticulously built questionnaire that had the purpose of assessing not only the more superficial ideologies of the respondents but also the profound and less accessible ones.

This dissertation firstly explains the theoretical background of politics and football as well as the psychological theories behind the decision making process. After this, the results of the investigation are presented and discussed, always giving space to future researches on the topic and with a clear concern for the development of the connection between football and politics. If from one side it was possible to see that the football clubs do not have enough power to “persuade” the fans in choosing a specific political party, from the other one it was possible to see that some football clubs’ fans do have a tendency to support a specific political ideology. Moreover, it was unexpectedly found that a particular political ideology has an effect in the way how people experience football.

## Explanation of significance

Two of the most important social issues in the Portuguese society are here combined to demystify a common belief that comes from the beginnings of football in this country. Although this common belief is not supported by any empirical evidence, it is not uncommon to hear people relating specific football clubs to specific political parties. More precisely in the Portuguese capital city, it is common to refer to Sport Lisboa e Benfica as the people’s club, whereas Sporting Clube de Portugal has a connotation with the elite families of Lisbon. In fact, going back to the origins of both clubs, this statements become logical.

On one side, Sport Lisboa e Benfica comes from humble origins, being founded in 1904 in Belém by some residents, nearby workers and a group of students of Real Casa Pia de Lisboa, a public organization that helps children and teenagers without adequate household conditions (Sport Lisboa e Benfica, n.d.).

On the other side, Sporting Clube de Portugal was founded in 1906, by a group of young enthusiasts from some of the richest families in Lisbon that had already belonged to a club where the social parties had as big role as the sport itself (Pereira, 2009). Moreover, Alfredo Augusto das Neves Holtreman, the first president of the club and the person that funded with money and land the beginnings of it, was indeed a member of the Portuguese nobility and had close ties with the Portuguese Royal Family (Pereira, 2009)

In a way, it might be difficult to connect Benfica to a specific political ideology. Not only this is the Portuguese club with the biggest amount of associates and supporters which are spread throughout the whole world (hence the biggest the amount of supporters, the lowest probability of all of them supporting the same political ideologies) but also because in its origins there are

no political implications whatsoever. In regard to Sporting and looking back at the first concepts of right and left wing that are found in the French revolution, it is fairly cogent to associate Sporting and its origins to the right wing of politics.

After more than 100 years of the clubs' establishments, this dissertation aims to determine if the preferences are in any way related, whether by having the clubs' history "forcing" the political choices or by having the political influencing the clubs' choices.

## Theoretical background

### Left and Right Wing

Left wing parties and right wing parties. Left and right wing ideologies. Liberals and conservatives. Everyone has heard about these concepts and they work as a very strong reference for the general audience. Even for those who are very detail-oriented and do not like to categorize an idea or policy by "old" rules and a very simple, one-dimensional scale, it can still be very useful to simplify such a complex theme as politics. It might be even more popular exactly because it is a straightforward way to present such an enormous amount of information, such as all the policies, the history, the politicians, press releases and official documents. It is fair to say that this simplification to make decisions can be more than ever considered a need in a time where people have access to a lot of information on any topic in just seconds. However, this does not exactly mean that the common citizen is more knowledgeable or certain about what it means to support a left or a right wing party or even about politics in general (Ferbach., Sloman, Louis & Shube, 2013).

### Origins

The left and right wings concept in politics has been a reference for more than 200 years (Laponce, 1981). Whether it can be considered an accident of history (Cochrane, 2012) or not, the truth is that it is still widely used nowadays. Going back to the French Assembly in 1789 (Laponce, 1981), and looking at the seating arrangements, the concept becomes clear. On the right of the president there were the aristocrats, those loyal to King Louis XVI and on the left there were those who favoured the revolution and the abolishment of monarchy (Goodsell, 1988). Between these two groups there were those who defended a smoother and gradual change (Gauchet, 1994). Even if nowadays the left and right wing supporters have different reasons to support their ideologies, it is indisputable that on one side there is still the wish to maintain the status quo and on the other there is the wish to change (Weber, 2012).

## Polarization as a trend

For the past years, the European political ideologies have been becoming polarized (Jost, 2006). If one looks back to very recent days, it appears that this polarization has become even stronger with the political elections in countries like the Netherlands and France being known for having strong candidates representing parties that are on the edge of the political spectrum. In the United States of America, polarization is almost a trivial subject as there are always two sides running for the elections and this duality makes it impossible to be in the middle, inciting polarity by itself. This polarity in the United States is, among other reasons, boosted by the different media sources that manipulate the news to please their audience (Bernhardt, Krasa, & Polborn, 2006).

Moreover, and considering the world as it is today, it has to be undeniable that social media has a huge impact on people's lives and society in general. Just because of that, the role social media could have in stopping the exploitation of radical thoughts could be decisive but, in fact, social media has proved to be contributing to this polarization. It not only allows behavioural demonstrations that one would not expect personally, but it also reinforces pre-existing political biases as people tend to follow, share and comment topics that they already believe in (Conover, Gonçalves, Ratkiewicz, Flammini & Menczer, 2011). Regarding the informed society that is in the basis of democracy, this reinforcement of one's opinions and beliefs can be seen has a step back (Sunstein, 2002).

## Sport as a Social Issue

Sport has to be considered one of the most relevant activities of a society. It is now, alongside recreational activities, a central part in all cultures "because they are as fundamental form of human expression as music, poetry and painting" (Loy & Kenyon, 1969, p.15).

Nowadays it is easy to recognize the importance of sports in the society. Not only for the big amounts of money that this industry involves and for the growing number of professional athletes that are among the richest people in the world, but also for the economic and social impact that big events have in a certain country, region or community. A great example is the acclaimed multiplication effect that made an investment of 2,8 million Australian dollars turn into 50,6 million in the 1994 Brisbane World Masters Game (Gratton, Shibli & Coleman 2006).

Furthermore, the importance of sports in a wide variety of issues has been studied over the years, being that its value in public health, universal education, gender equality, poverty reduction, prevention of HIV and AIDS and other diseases, environmental sustainability as well

as peace-building and conflict resolution as already been proven (Beutler, 2008). Even though one is able to see these bigger impacts of sports, it is also important to refer two more approaches to this topic that might be “invisible” for the majority and for sure will complement the view one has about it.

### Associativism

Firstly, when analysed in a more bureaucratic approach, one can see sports from the associative point of view, where sports and recreational associations are an important part of a society. These associations have been given a different treatment across the years, but the common ground they all share is the “conviction of the importance of the associations to the operation of democracy” (Roßteutscher, 2000, p.234). Indeed, these “groups of people organized for a joint purpose” (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.) have a major role in the society and it is fair to say that they affect it in three distinct ways: individual effects (such as increase of information and deepening of critical sense), public sphere effects (such as turning private matters into public ones and contributing to the public debate) and institutional effects (such as support of collective actions of protest and representation of interests) (Warren, 2001, 2004).

Having explained the importance of associativism and regarding what are considered the three types of organizations (Viegas & Santos, 2009), there is one that is particularly relevant here: the social integration organizations. This category disintegrates into another three types: social solidarity and religious ones, sports, cultural and recreational ones and finally parents and residents’ ones. It was shown that in the Portuguese particular case the sports’ clubs were the kind of association that had the biggest representation (11,9%) in the collected sample of 2003 and were the second one in 2008, even if the association’s belonging across all categories dropped significantly (Viegas & Santos, 2009).

### Social Integration

Secondly, regarding the social integration point of view, sports play a very important role for the minorities. Social life is often regarded as a positive aspect of one’s life but for certain people or specific communities it represents one of their biggest struggles. The practice of some sport is then seen as the escape route they need (Atherton, Turner & Russell, 2001). In addition to this, sports can also act as an empowerment process as it allows them to compete in ways that are often impossible in other areas of their life and, finally, it can also fill the opportunity and social interaction gap as it can act as a way of escaping the pressures of everyday life (Atherton et al., 2001).

## Football in Portugal

Talking about sports in Portugal is almost the same as talking about football. Not only it has, by far, the most federated players in the country, representing almost 29% of the total in 2015 (PORDATA - Praticantes desportivos federados, n.d.) but also because the media time and space dedicated to this sport surpasses almost any other subject. Despite the big decrease of sold newspapers in the country in the last years (from 353.284.030 in 1999 to 158.013.094 in 2015) (PORDATA - Jornais e outras publicações periódicas, n.d.), there are still the same three daily sports' newspapers. Furthermore, football is the second most addressed subject in the daily newscasts on "open" (i.e., free of charge) television channels, right after national politics (Brandão, 2002). In addition to this, the public investment on this sport is the biggest among all sports representing almost 8% of the governmental budget for these activities (PORDATA - Comparticipação financeira, n.d.).

In terms of international recognition, the fact that, for the past decade, Cristiano Ronaldo is consistently among the best players in the world, winning 4 of the last 9 editions of the most important individual player's trophy (France Football – Palmarès du Ballon D'or, n.d.), has contributed to a sense of vanity and national pride when talking about Portuguese football. It is also worth to mention the growing "passion" and recognition of international clubs and nations for Portuguese managers. Nowadays, just like players, coaches are involved in big transfers and names such as José Mourinho, Leonardo Jardim, Fernando Santos, Carlos Queiroz, Paulo Sousa, Marco Silva, Paulo Fonseca, Pedro Caixinha, André Villas-Boas and Carlos Carvalhal are spreading, throughout the world, the Portuguese football culture that starts in the countries' universities and clubs. Besides all these examples, there is one other person that contributes to the Portuguese recognition, not only by being involved in some of the biggest transfers of all time, but also by starting to shape some teams' squads with his influence. Jorge Mendes, acclaimed as the best players' agent from 2010 until 2015 (Consulting B., n.d.), has already his own mark in the history of the game. The cherry on the cake was the victory on the 2016 UEFA European Cup in France, which made the Portuguese people finally proud of their national team. It is fair to say that Portugal lives an unprecedented era regarding football.

The economic impact of football in the country is also noteworthy. The Portuguese clubs are becoming "famous" for making huge deals regarding players' transfers as they tend to buy the players for a "small" price mostly in Latin American countries or in lower ranked European leagues and after some seasons they are able to sell them to financially stronger clubs for much

bigger prices. In addition to this, as a host country of the UEFA European Cup in 2004, the country benefited from an immediate boost of infrastructure's construction which generated 40.000 new jobs and 370 million euros in salaries (Martins, Tenreiro, Mendes, Jacinto, Ribeiro, Castro & Perna, 2004). Regarding the tourism industry, during the month of June of 2004, it was registered an increase in the production of 184 million euros as well as 4500 new jobs (Martins et al., 2004)

Evidence that football in Portugal is an important subject is not lacking but there is one last characteristic that has to be mentioned. When the records of stadium average attendance are analysed, it becomes obvious that the passion for the game does not translate into stadium visits. There are three main explanatory reasons: the lack of purchase power to buy tickets, the intense television coverage of the matches and finally the concentration of "power" in only three clubs of the two main cities in the country, Lisboa and Porto (Coelho & Tiesler 2007).

### Decision Making Process

Now that it is clear that football and politics have an essential role in the communities, it is needed to understand what underpins the choices of both club and party, more specifically, what psychological or situational factors contribute to the decision making process.

### Political Ideology

(Author's note: It is common practice among the literature about left-right differences that the analysis is made in terms of the conservative propensity of people and in the author's analysis this can be translated into the propensity of supporting right-wing parties or having right-wing ideologies. This adjustment, although not being a perfect fit, is, in its core, close to reality.)

There is strong evidence, from many researchers, that a link between one's psychological characteristics and the political choices or ideologies one makes or supports, exists. As "conservative ideologies, like virtually any other belief systems, are adopted in part because they satisfy various psychological needs" (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski & Sulloway, 2003, p. 369), it is crucial to analyse those needs or characteristics in order to get a deeper knowledge on the political decision making process. Despite a great number of studies on the classic personality theories explain this link, the situational factors are also worthy the attention of researchers (e.g. Crowe & Higgins, 1997; Greenberg et al., 1990; Jost, Kruglanski & Simon, 1999; Kruglanski & Webster, 1991; Sales & Friend, 1973; Sulloway, 1996, 2001). Nevertheless, for the purpose of this dissertation, the psychological characteristics will be the main focus in this part.

**Uncertainty Avoidance** – Looking back at the origin of the right-wing term, maintaining the status quo is one of the main characteristics, so it is not surprising that people who support right-wing/conservative ideologies are reluctant when facing uncertainty. In fact, conservatives are more likely to prefer simple over complex poems (Gillies & Campbell, 1985), unambiguous over ambiguous literary texts (McAllister & Anderson, 1991) and familiar over unfamiliar music (Glasgow & Cartier, 1985). It also became clear that conservatives prefer job security over task variety at work (Atieh, Brief, & Vollrath, 1987). Moreover, there is very strong evidence that authoritarianism, which showed evidence of being correlated in many fronts with conservatism (Peterson, Doty & Winter, 1993) was, again, negatively correlated with readiness to change at work, acceptance of new technology, interest in work innovation and attempts at innovation (Fay & Frese, 2000).

**Death anxiety** – Fear of one's own death has been studied across the years as one of the motivators for political conservatism attitudes, not only by the uncertainty avoidance theories (Wilson, 1973) but also by the terror management ones (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Rosenblatt, Veeder, Kirkland & Lyon, 1990; Greenberg, Simon, Pyszczynski, Solomon & Chatel, 1992). However, only in more recent studies it was concluded that with mortality salience people defend, to a stronger degree, culturally valued norms and practices (Greenberg et al., 1990; Greenberg, Porteus, Simon & Pyszczynski, 1995) and they tend to distance themselves or even to denigrate people that do not fit in their group (Harmon-Jones, Greenberg, Salomon, & Simon, 1996; McGregor, Zanna, Holmes & Spencer, 2001). Stereotypical behaviours (Schime, Simon, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Waxmonsky, Arndt, 1999) and excessive punitiveness (Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski & Lyon, 1989) are also variables that were positively correlated with mortality salience. It seems plausible then, that death anxiety has a significant connection with political conservatism, more specifically, in such topics as tradition, law and order, strict forms of parenting and legal punishment (Jost et al., 2003), hence, with the right wing ideologies when extrapolating to the Portuguese reality.

**Dogmatism and intolerance of ambiguity** – “I know what I believe and I believe what I believe is right” (Sanger, 2001) – George W. Bush, former president of the United States and an assumed conservative ideologist, gave voice to what can be considered as an expression of dogmatism or intolerance of ambiguity (Jost et al., 2003). There are, indeed, many studies that show a consistent correlation between dogmatism and authoritarianism, political-economic conservatism, and the holding of right-wing opinions (Barker, 1963; Christie, 1991; Elms,

1969; Pettigrew, 1958; Rokeach, 1960; Smithers & Loblely, 1978; Stacey & Green, 1971). Moreover, intolerance of ambiguity is also positively correlated with ethnocentrism (O'Connor, 1952) and authoritarianism (Kenny & Ginsberg, 1958; Pawlicki & Almquist, 1973). These two characteristics are connected between them but they also correlate to a significant number of political conservatism attributes (Jost et al., 2003)

**Needs for order, structure and closure** – It is fairly understandable that conservatives long for order and structure so it is not surprising that not only conservative adolescents are more likely to describe themselves as being neat, orderly and organized than liberal ones (Eisenberg-Berg & Mussen, 1980), but also the common “authoritarian” defends firm parental discipline, comprehensive drug testing, core educational curricula and quarantines for AIDS patients (Peterson et al., 1993). Even though the importance of needs for order and structure is not questionable, one of the best measures for closed-mindedness is still the need for cognitive closure (e.g. Dittes, 1961; D.M. Webster & Kruglanski, 1994). This need for cognitive closure has a particularly interesting development across the political spectrum as it becomes stronger in a regular way as one goes from left to right-wing party membership (Kimmelmeier, 1997). Furthermore, need for closure was found to be positively correlated with religious and nationalist conservatism as well as economic one (Golec, 2001). Finally, the support for the capital punishment sentences also known as death sentences, which are said, by its supporters, to be “beneficial because they allow victims and observers to finally experience closure” (Jost et al., 2003, p.360) is also a positively correlated issue with this need for closure (Jost et al., 1999).

**Integrative complexity** – “Integrative complexity refers to the extent of differentiation among multiple perspectives or dimensions and the higher order integration or synthesis of these differentiated components” (Jost et al., 2003, p.353). This complexity has been studied in the political elites and the results are exquisite. Besides the evidence that extremists are more dogmatic and closed-minded than their moderate counterparts (Tetlock, 1984), it is even more conspicuous that conservative ideologues are generally less complex than liberals or moderates (Tetlock, 1984). Even if there is not a consensus in all the studies regarding the integrative complexity of conservatives, liberals and moderates, it is stated that liberals appear to have the highest levels of integrative complexity (Jost et al., 2003).

**Fear of threat and loss** - The idea that conservatives are more likely to be motivated than others by fear, aggression and contempt has been studied since 1950 (Adorno, Frenkel-

Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950) and has been corroborated over the years (e.g., Tomkins, 1963; F. Stone, 1989; Krugman, 2002). Not only there is a strong correlation between right wing authoritarianism and the perception of danger (Altemeyer, 1998), but also that high authoritarians showed much higher response latency to threatening words than low authoritarians (Lavine, Burgess, Snyder, Transue, Sullivan, Haney & Wagner, 1999). This fear response may be connected with the fact that national defense expenditures are generally higher when the political leader is conservative (Jost et al., 2003). As a matter of fact, even in the unconscious world of night dreams, conservatives have stated to have three times more nightmares than liberals (Bulkeley, 2001). It is reasonable to say that fear and threat are positively associated with political conservatism (Jost et al., 2003).

**Self-esteem** - Political conservatism and threats to self-esteem have never been associated per se (Jost et al., 2003). Although this may be true, it was demonstrated that failure stimuli can lead people to show authoritarian behaviour as well as the opposite stimuli induced lower authoritarianism scores (Sales & Friend, 1973). Moreover, on a sample of New Zealand's students, a negative correlation was found between self-esteem and scores on the Wilson and Patterson conservatism (C) scale (Boshier, 1969). All things considered, and despite being the psychological characteristic with the weakest relationship with conservatism, it is still significantly correlated (Jost et al., 2003).

**System instability** – What does the pre-Nazi Germany and the post-9/11 United States of America have in common? Possibly more things, but the relevant here is the rise of the right-wing or conservative support across both countries. If on the first case it was due to the abrupt economic decline, on the other case it was due to the infamous terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center towers (Jost et al., 2003). Both circumstances shook the foundations of the nation and that is one of the catalysts for the increase of the right-wing populism. In fact, the 2001 attack had such an impact that right-wing populism grew in many other countries such as Belgium, France, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, among others (Cowell, 2002; Gordon, 2002; Judt, 2002; Krugman, 2002). The “conservative impact” of societal crisis can be felt in many areas of the communities' lives. In religious terms, people tend to seek more authoritarian churches (Sales, 1972), whereas on cultural terms, it can be seen a rise of authoritarian and conservative themes (Sales, 1973). Finally, in political terms, it is also evident that presidents characterized by their power, forcefulness and strength are elected by larger margins when compared to times without any crisis (McCann, 1997).

## Football Club

The most avid fans will definitely argue that one does not choose the club, the club chooses them. However, as it is known, behind such passion as this game emanates, there are logical reasons for the “choice” phenomenon. In Portugal, this topic might be subject to a considerable amount of effort by the families of young kids. Indeed, there might exist a sense of fear that one’s child will support the rival club or that the youngster will not even like the sport. Unfortunately, this is only a conjecture, and further research is needed in the Portuguese scenario. However, there is research that shows who are the real influencers in the choosing of a club to support. As one could expect, it is indeed the father figure that has the biggest influence accounting for almost 40% of men and roughly 30 % of women, in a questionnaire elaborated for adults, asking who was the main responsible for their choice of club. The brother and friends are the following “influencers” for men, as for women is their school followed by their friends (Wann, Melnick, Russell & Pease, 2001).

(Note: The results presented above are from the United States and were elaborated regarding a different sport – American football. However, the author considers that for the matter of this part of the dissertation, the most important is how the human being behaves under the constraints of being a social creature and dedicating some time on supporting a specific team inside a sport, independently of the sport itself.)

## Statement of research and constraints

It was pointed out, until now, the relevance of the political left-right framework, the importance of football in the Portuguese society and the different factors that might influence the decision making process when adopting left or right wing ideologies. In an attempt to bring together all these topics but also reflecting on the football clubs’ origins and the aforementioned popular belief that Sporting fans might be more likely to support conservative ideologies, it is expected that a research on this field would find results that corroborate this exact idea. The author proposes then to design a questionnaire to assess the preferences of people on these two topics and test the following two hypotheses:

**H1:** Sporting fans are more likely to support right wing parties than Benfica fans are;

**H2:** Sporting fans are more likely to have a right wing political ideology than Benfica fans are.

Regardless of these two hypothesis seeming similar, the political scenario in Portugal has been, recently, so distrustful that supporting a political ideology is not sufficient condition anymore

to support the corresponding political party. Furthermore, and on the same questionnaire, the author expects to measure the influence of a stimuli on the preferences of both club and party choices hence testing the following two hypotheses:

**H3:** When the football club preference is measured first, respondents will be more likely to support the political parties that identify with the club (Benfica - left-wing parties; Sporting - right wing parties);

**H4:** When the football club preference is measured first, respondents will be more likely to support the political ideologies that identify with the club (Benfica - left-wing ideology; Sporting - right wing ideology).

With this research methodology the author expects to find meaningful results that would help the football and political community to better understand their supporters. Though the research is meant to be straightforward, some constraints and limitations are expected to show up and, eventually, turn this dissertation into a much more demanding challenge. Firstly, it is the author belief that no money should be spent to get answers, mostly because there is a will to test his own communication and persuasion capabilities. Secondly, the size of the network of a twenty-two-year-old person is not big enough to gather by itself a significant sample and it is definitely unbalanced in terms of average of age. Finally, in terms of geographical localization, it is expected that the majority of the answers gathered will be from Lisbon based clubs' supporters, which might narrow down the sample's representation of the Portuguese society as a whole.

## Analysis

To analyse the aforementioned issues, a questionnaire was elaborated (see Appendix B2) targeting Portuguese people among all age groups, genders and areas of residence. The survey was distributed through email (to individuals but also to 17 Portuguese football clubs from first and second division and to the 21 political parties), social media (private messages) and, finally, through printed QR codes that were spread in a major event (Web Summit) held in Lisbon as well as in public transports' stations.

With this, 384 answers were gathered, being 289 of them valid across all questions hence becoming the official size of the sample. This final sample is characterized by having approximately 56,75% of female respondents, 64% of its respondents aged between 15-24 and 56,75% of participants that reside currently in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (to consult all the sample's demographic data in detail, please see Appendix A - Table Set 1).

In this sample, as expected, the answers for the football club choice's questions are concentrated, representing  $\approx 78\%$  of the total, in two of the three most relevant clubs in Portugal, Sport Lisboa e Benfica and Sporting Clube de Portugal (see Appendix A – Table Set 1). Therefore it was decided to narrow down the analysis to these two clubs as they would be the only ones to have enough respondents to get strong conclusions and also because they are the ones that have a bigger societal belief of being correlated to specific political ideologies.

Moreover, the questionnaire automatically assigned the respondent to one of two surveys, being the structure the only difference. On the first one, the question about the football club predilection was made before the questions about the political ideology and political parties' options. On the other one, it started with the ideology and political party preferences and then the football club choice. This split had the objective of studying the influence that the football club would have on the choice of political party, i.e., if it could impose a psychological barrier on the choice having in mind the “traditional” belief that specific clubs have a correlation to specific ideologies or parties in Portugal. Moreover, it was decided to evoke more powerful feelings by showing the club badge when asking this question, as the badge/logo is one of the most powerful brand elements (Keller, 2011). In addition to this, logo constitutes a way of communicating image and gaining attention but it is also a way of provoking an emotional response by itself (Muller, Koehler & Crettaz, 2011; Aaker, 1991; Henderson & Cote, 1998; Kepferer, 1997; Melewar et al., 2005; Pittard et al., 2007). From now on, the first survey will be named Control Group and the second Test Group.

### **Analysis One – Football Club Choice and Political Party Choice**

It was hypothesized before, in H1, that both clubs' supporters are different when choosing the political party, and this is what the first study will try to prove. The conviction that Sporting fans are more likely to support right wing parties than Benfica ones could now be demystified.

#### *Method*

As the results of the two surveys are not yet needed in separate, all the answers regarding the football club choice were combined into one variable, so it would be possible to have the complete “picture” of the sample. The respondents were also asked, given a list with the political parties that have a seat in the Portuguese parliament and the options of “Other” or “None”, to select the political party they support. After this selection, the data was separated into right wing parties and left wing parties according to their official political ideologies (only the five biggest parties of the country were considered being that they were, as well, the five

parties with the most answers in this survey). A new variable was created where left wing parties (Partido Socialista, Partido Comunista Português and Bloco de Esquerda) were computed into 0 whereas right wing parties (Partido Social Democrata and CDS-Partido Popular) were computed into 1. By doing so, it was possible to achieve a mean measure that would translate a right or left wing propensity. These answers were also turned into one common variable, as they were previously split between the two surveys available for the respondents.

### *Results*

After running an SPSS' Independent Samples T-Test (see Appendix A - Table Set 3), having Benfica (M=0,5432; SD=0,50123) and Sporting (M=0,6618; SD=0,47663) as grouping variables, it is visible that the results are not statistically significant ( $t(147)=-1,471$ ;  $p=0,144$ ), hence, the SPSS's null hypothesis, that the means of the two clubs' supporters are equal, cannot be rejected.

### *Discussion*

Notwithstanding there is a difference in the means of both club's supporters, it is not statistically significant, therefore they have to be considered statistically equal when choosing the political parties. This can be due to the sample size as it seems that with more answers the results could become stronger, but also due to the timing of this dissertation. This analysis comprises a substantial part of the respondents that do have a political orientation but do not support a specific political party or support parties with smaller representation in the national panorama. In different political moments where the contentment in the country is higher or lower, the support for the bigger parties might become stronger, hence possibly increasing the significance of such an analysis as this.

## **Analysis Two – Football Club Choice and Political Ideology**

This second study aims to measure the political ideology of both clubs' supporters. As hypothesized before in H2, it is expected that Sporting fans are more likely to have a right wing political ideology than Benfica ones.

### *Method*

Regarding the question about the football club, the same method was used as in the first study, i.e., both surveys' answers were gathered into one variable. When it comes to the political ideology question, the participants were asked to, in a scale of 1 to 9 (Knutsen, 1997; Kroh, 2007), rate their political ideology, being 1 extreme left wing and 9 extreme right wing. With a

straightforward question such as it was the case here (“My political preference is...”), it was expected that the respondents would give the answer of the political wing they believe they support, being this even more important than knowing their “true” position through more precise and explanatory questions, e.g., their position on abortion, social benefits or patriotism. It was conjectured that this measure would correspond better to a postulant ideology that could not only be related to the football clubs’ origins and history but also to what they represent nowadays in the national football panorama.

### *Results*

An Independent Samples T-Test on SPSS (see Appendix A - Table Set 4) was executed in order to analyse the mean of both Benfica (M=5,1172; SD=1,27743) and Sporting (M=5,4694; SD=1,43738) fans regarding their political ideology. The results ( $t(224)=-1,1945$ ;  $p=0,053$ ) led to the rejection of the null hypothesis, which states that the political ideologies are equal among the two groups.

### *Discussion*

As stated before, the number of respondents that have a clear political ideology does not match the ones that support a specific political party hence the results in this analysis are much stronger and clearly indicate that Sporting fans are in a way related to the political right-wing. This results may also follow the previous clue that there might be a feeling of uneasiness in the political set in Portugal, and the respondents might not fully identify with the parties, even if it is clear that the ideology is a strong variable and statistically significant in this analysis.

### **Analysis Three – Football Clubs’ political strength – Party Choice**

As previously hypothesized in H3, it will be tested in this study if, when the clubs’ stimuli are “activated”, there is any impact on the political party choice, more precisely, if this activation translates into an identification of the respondent with the clubs’ values and origins. It is expected that Sporting fans relate more to right wing parties than Benfica ones.

### *Method*

This analysis has one big difference when compared to the first two. The split that was made in the questionnaire is now a determinant part of the test making it possible for the control group and test group answers to be analysed separately. Regarding the political parties’ question, respondents on the control group had it shown as the second one in the survey, right after the football club question whereas respondents on the test group had it shown as the fourth question, right before the football club one (see Appendix B2). After this, the answers from the control

group from Benfica and Sporting fans were computed as 0 whereas the answers from the test group were computed as 1. This creates an opportunity to measure the influence of both groups in the choosing process of political party across each club's supporters.

### *Results*

A SPSS' Linear Regression model (see Appendix A - Table Set 6 and 7) was built having the political parties' wings as a dependent variable and the Benfica and Sporting fans' answers as independent ones. Both Benfica fans' choices ( $p\text{-value}=0,905$ ;  $\beta=0,013$ ) and Sporting ones ( $p\text{-value}=0,867$ ;  $\beta=-0,021$ ) do not have a significant influence in the political party choice in terms of their left-right propensity. This indicates that the order in which the questions are asked (political party first or football club preference first) does not influence the responses.

### *Discussion*

The SPSS' null hypothesis, that both clubs' supporters' averages of left or right wing parties' choices were equal among the test and control groups, is not rejected. The club's political strength is not significant. It is likely that after more than 100 years of the clubs' existence, the circumstances of their establishment are no longer present in the fans minds or it just does not have enough power to change a political choice.

### **Analysis Four – Football Club's political strength – Political Ideology**

It was hypothesized in H4 that when the clubs' "imagery" is activated, it is expected that the respondents would lean on to choose a political ideology that would identify more with the clubs' history and values. It was expected that Sporting fans would lean more to the right of politics than Benfica ones.

### *Method*

This study, similarly to study three, uses the split survey data on the political ideology question in order to assess differences on the answers of both control and test groups. Then again, the Sporting and Benfica variables that contain the answers pre and post-stimuli were used, as well as the variable that measured the political ideology, precisely for the same reasons that were explained in the second analysis.

### *Results*

After creating a Linear Regression model in SPSS (see Appendix A – Table Set 5 and 8), with the political ideology variable as dependent and Benfica ( $p\text{-value}=0,88$ ;  $\beta=-0,151$ ) and Sporting ( $p\text{-value}=0,712$ ;  $\beta=0,038$ ) fans' answers as independent, it becomes clear, that the order in

which the questions were asked (political ideology first or football club preference first) did not influence the results.

### *Discussion*

As it was possible to observe, this study could not prove H4 to be statistically relevant, as it is not possible to show a significant difference between both clubs' fans' answers before and after the stimuli. On the point of the previous analysis, the clubs' existence for more than a century and all the social and political changes that occurred in the meantime, might be enough reason to explain the lack of influence of the stimuli.

### **Side Analysis – Political Ideology – Football Enthusiasm**

As the sample was being analysed, it came across the author a set of very promising data that revealed to be enough to present a new analysis. Besides all the variables presented in the above-mentioned investigations, there was another one that aimed to measure the enthusiasm one has regarding football. In order to make the respondents aware of the importance of the football club for them, there was a need to invoke powerful moments in their lives therefore, the scale was made, from one side, in the most generalized way but from the other side in the most personalized way (See Appendix B1). Bearing on one extreme “I would not change any event of my life for an important match of my club” and on the other one “I would change the most important event of my life for an important match of my club.”, it was possible to make the respondent recall his personal life events. Consequently, it was possible to make them decide whether an important football match of his club, such as the final match of the Champions League, would be more meaningful than any other event in his life, such as the wedding day, the birth of a son or daughter, the first relationship, the start of a company, or basically any other event that translates into happiness.

### *Method*

Two linear regression models were built in order to explain the key drivers that would explain the enthusiasm the fans have towards this sport. The models embraced, first, the previously explained football enthusiasm variable as dependent and the political ideology as independent. The second model had the age, gender, political involvement, stadium visits and place of residence variables added to the ideology as independent ones. The place of residence question was transformed into a metric variable to assess if there was an enthusiasm propensity between northern and southern regions of the country.

## *Results*

The above-mentioned linear regressions were run in SPSS and the first one (See Appendix A – Table Set 9), with an adjusted R Square of 0,02 revealed to be insufficient to explain much of the variance. Despite the lack of explanatory power of the model, the political ideology variable showed to be statistically significant ( $p\text{-value}=0,01$ ;  $\beta=0,152$ ). In the pursuit of a more powerful model (See Appendix A – Table Set 10), even if it is still not perfect to explain all the variance (Adjusted R Square=0,272), new variables showed to be relevant to explain the enthusiasm variance. The left-right wing variable ( $p\text{-value}=0,015$ ;  $\beta=2,54$ ) continued to have a significant explanatory power. In addition to this variable, also the gender ( $p=0,049$ ;  $\beta=-6,282$ ) and the stadium visits ( $p=0,0000$ ;  $\beta=8,903$ ) are statistically significant.

## *Discussion*

This linear regression proved indeed that an increment of one unit in the right wing ideology translates into an increment of 2,54 units in the enthusiasm towards football. This result is extremely interesting and demands further research to analyse the implicit reasons why it happens. In one way it can be only the “thirst” of winning as Sporting fans are waiting for a league title for many years. But, in a more profound way, it might be even related to the right wing fanaticism, and if this is the case, further investigation is a necessity. The explanation for the fact that men are more enthusiastic about the sport than women might be more straightforward. Not only there are many more men playing the sport hence men more likely to show fervour towards it, but also because it is still seen as a manly sport. The audience is mostly men and the advertisements and sponsors on the stadiums, on the TV broadcasts and for the football clubs themselves are directed to men (e.g. Nivea Man Cream banner in Estádio da Luz, Heliflex banner in Estádio Alvalade XXI, Sagres and Dielmar sponsor Benfica, SuperBock and Suits Inc. sponsor Sporting Clube de Portugal, Heineken and Nissan sponsor UEFA Champions League and finally, Hyundai, Kia, Castrol, Budweiser and Continental sponsored the 2014 FIFA World Cup in Brazil). Moreover, there are almost only male sports TV shows’ hosts and guests. Stadium visits is strongly correlated with the enthusiasm for obvious reasons, as someone who is very enthusiastic tends to go more often to the stadium to watch matches.

## **Conclusion**

This dissertation had two major purposes. On the one hand, demystify the belief that Sporting fans are, politically speaking, more right-wing oriented than Benfica ones. On the other hand, test the leverage of the clubs when their fans have to say which political party and ideology

they support. Indeed, it was possible to prove that Sporting fans are more conservative than their Benfica counterparts, even if they do not support right wing parties so resolutely as they support the right-wing ideology. A discontentment with the political scenario in Portugal and the youth of the sample may be one of the possible reasons to justify this difference. Moreover, it became clear that the football clubs by themselves do not hold the power to influence the political choices of their fans and this might be explained with the longevity of the clubs (in more than 100 years it is expected that political and social preferences, ideologies and behaviours have dramatically changed). In addition to all of these, an additional analysis revealed that right wing supporters are more enthusiastic about football than the left wing endorsers. It might be a relevant area of study as this can have deep political and ideological roots.

It is also important to refer that the sample was not perfect and this can be a good starting point to dive into this subject and do more research. Firstly, the 289 respondents might not be enough to present very strong results as the author believes that with a bigger sample, much stronger results could be attained. Secondly, the geographical area where the respondents are concentrated might constitute a problem in having a broader picture of all the nation, as for example, Alentejo region is known for having a left wing propensity and also a big base of Benfica supporters. The fact that this sample does not comprise many answers from this region can be weakening the results and can even be enough to link Benfica fans to left-wing ideologies or parties. Lastly, the age of the respondents might also have influence as the vast majority is below 24 years old and the political constructs may not be so well defined in all of them yet.

During the analysis it also came to light that Futebol Clube do Porto fans might have also a right wing propensity but unfortunately there were not sufficient answers to conduct a relevant investigation. This might be a relevant field of study for future research as then it would be possible to compare the three biggest Portuguese clubs.

Finally, the differences between the American and the Portuguese dimensions should be discussed in the future. Not only the differences between the average American conservative and the average Portuguese right wing supporter may be huge, but also the countries idiosyncrasies might be enough to have a completely different view on the matter, even if the author believes otherwise.

Overall, there is a feeling of contentment as this dissertation has fulfilled its purpose. Not only it was possible to prove and corroborate some “ancient” societal beliefs, but it was also possible

to make new findings and contribute scientifically to the football and political panoramas. In addition to this, the suggestions that were made for future research are, hopefully, a solid ground to construct a deeper and concise network of knowledge in these two fields.

# Appendices

## Appendix A - Tables

### Table Set 1 - Crosstabs

#### Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Clubs_Total * Gender	289	100,0%	0	0,0%	289	100,0%
Clubs_Total * Age_Groups	286	99,0%	3	1,0%	289	100,0%

#### Clubs\_Total \* Gender Crosstabulation

		Gender		Total
		Masculino	Feminino	
Clubs_Total	Sport Lisboa e Benfica	59	69	128
	Sporting Clube de Portugal	35	63	98
	Futebol Clube do Porto	13	10	23
	Outro	7	2	9
	Nenhum	11	20	31
Total		125	164	289

#### Clubs\_Total \* Age\_Groups Crosstabulation

		Age_Groups				Total
		15-24	25-44	45-64	65+	
Clubs_Total	Sport Lisboa e Benfica	82	28	16	2	128
	Sporting Clube de Portugal	68	12	16	0	96

Futebol Clube do Porto	11	5	4	2	22
Outro	3	1	4	1	9
Nenhum	19	8	4	0	31
Total	183	54	44	5	286

*Table Set 1 - SPSS' Crosstabs - Age and Gender by Club.*

Table Set 2 - Frequencies

**Statistics**

Residence\_NUTSII\_String

N	Valid	289
	Missing	0

**Residence\_NUTSII\_String**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	North	8	2,8	2,8	2,8
	Centre	104	36,0	36,0	38,8
	Metropolitan Area of Lisbon	164	56,7	56,7	95,5
	Alentejo	2	,7	,7	96,2
	Algarve	3	1,0	1,0	97,2
	Autonomous Region of Madeira	2	,7	,7	97,9
	Autonomous Region of Azores	1	,3	,3	98,3
	Overseas	5	1,7	1,7	100,0
	Total	289	100,0	100,0	

Table Set 2 - SPSS' Frequencies - Residence Area by NUTSII.

Table Set 3 - T-Test

**Group Statistics**

	Clubs_Total	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Parties_	Sport Lisboa e Benfica	81	,5432	,50123	,05569
Wings	Sporting Clube de Portugal	68	,6618	,47663	,05780

**Independent Samples Test**

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Parties_	Equal variances assumed	7,363	,007	-1,471	147	,144
Wings	Equal variances not assumed			-1,477	144,701	,142

**Independent Samples Test**

		t-test for Equality of Means			
		Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
				Lower	Upper
Parties_	Equal variances assumed	-,11855	,08062	-,27788	,04077
Wings	Equal variances not assumed	-,11855	,08026	-,27720	,04009

Table Set 3 - SPSS' Independent Samples T-Test - Political party wing by club.

Table Set 4 - T-Test

**Group Statistics**

	Clubs_Total	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Left_Right	Sport Lisboa e Benfica	128	5,1172	1,27743	,11291
_Wing	Sporting Clube de Portugal	98	5,4694	1,43738	,14520

**Independent Samples Test**

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means		
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
Left_Right	Equal variances assumed	2,950	,087	-1,945	224	,053
_Wing	Equal variances not assumed			-1,915	195,251	,057

**Independent Samples Test**

		t-test for Equality of Means			
		Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
				Lower	Upper
Left_Right	Equal variances assumed	-,35220	,18107	-,70903	,00463
_Wing	Equal variances not assumed	-,35220	,18393	-,71495	,01055

Table Set 4 - SPSS' Independent Samples T-Test: Political ideology by club.

## Table Set 5 - Regression

### Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	CGvsTG_Benfica <sup>b</sup>	.	Enter

a. Dependent Variable: Q5\_1 - A minha preferência politica é:

b. All requested variables entered.

### Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,013 <sup>a</sup>	,000	-,008	1,27736

a. Predictors: (Constant), CGvsTG\_Benfica

### ANOVA<sup>a</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	,037	1	,037	,023	,880 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	207,219	127	1,632		
	Total	207,256	128			

a. Dependent Variable: Q5\_1 - A minha preferência politica é:

b. Predictors: (Constant), CGvsTG\_Benfica

### Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	5,132	,155		33,133	,000
	CGvsTG_Benfica	-,034	,225	-,013	-,151	,880

a. Dependent Variable: Q5\_1 - A minha preferência política é:

*Table Set 5 - SPSS' Linear Regression – Control and Test Groups' Benfica supporters impact on political ideology.*

Table Set 6 - Regression

**Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>**

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	CGvsTG_Benfica <sup>b</sup>	.	Enter

a. Dependent Variable: Parties\_Wings

b. All requested variables entered.

**Model Summary**

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,013 <sup>a</sup>	,000	-,012	,50435

a. Predictors: (Constant), CGvsTG\_Benfica

**ANOVA<sup>a</sup>**

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	,004	1	,004	,014	,905 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	20,095	79	,254		
	Total	20,099	80			

a. Dependent Variable: Parties\_Wings

b. Predictors: (Constant), CGvsTG\_Benfica

### Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized		Standardized	t	Sig.
		Coefficients		Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	,537	,079		6,812	,000
	CGvsTG_Benfica	,013	,112	,013	,120	,905

a. Dependent Variable: Parties\_Wings

Table Set 6 – SPSS' Linear Regression - Control and Test Groups' Benfica supporters impact on political party choice.

## Table Set 7 - Regression

### Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	CGvsTG_Sporting <sup>b</sup>	.	Enter

a. Dependent Variable: Parties\_Wings

b. All requested variables entered.

### Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,021 <sup>a</sup>	,000	-,014	,47829

a. Predictors: (Constant), CGvsTG\_Sporting

### ANOVA<sup>a</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	,006	1	,006	,028	,867 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	15,327	67	,229		
	Total	15,333	68			

a. Dependent Variable: Parties\_Wings

b. Predictors: (Constant), CGvsTG\_Sporting

### Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
1 (Constant)	,676	,079		8,593	,000
CGvsTG_Sporting	-,019	,115	-,021	-,168	,867

a. Dependent Variable: Parties\_Wings

*Table Set 7 – SPSS' Linear Regression - Control and Test Groups' Sporting supporters impact on political party choice.*

## Table Set 8 - Regression

### Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	CGvsTG_Sporting <sup>b</sup>	.	Enter

a. Dependent Variable: Q5\_1 - A minha preferência politica é:

b. All requested variables entered.

### Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,038 <sup>a</sup>	,001	-,009	1,43736

a. Predictors: (Constant), CGvsTG\_Sporting

### ANOVA<sup>a</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	,283	1	,283	,137	,712 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	200,404	97	2,066		
	Total	200,687	98			

a. Dependent Variable: Q5\_1 - A minha preferência politica é:

b. Predictors: (Constant), CGvsTG\_Sporting

### Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized		Standardized	t	Sig.
		Coefficients		Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	5,426	,196		27,740	,000
	CGvsTG_Sporting	,107	,290	,038	,370	,712

a. Dependent Variable: Q5\_1 - A minha preferência politica é:

*Table Set 8 - SPSS' Linear Regression – Control and Test Groups' Sporting supporters impact on political ideology.*

Table Set 9 - Regression

**Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>**

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	Left_Right_Wing <sup>b</sup>	.	Enter

a. Dependent Variable: Football\_Enthusiasm

b. All requested variables entered.

**Model Summary**

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,152 <sup>a</sup>	,023	,020	27,77115

a. Predictors: (Constant), Left\_Right\_Wing

**ANOVA<sup>a</sup>**

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	5222,063	1	5222,063	6,771	,010 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	221344,968	287	771,237		
	Total	226567,031	288			

a. Dependent Variable: Football\_Enthusiasm

b. Predictors: (Constant), Left\_Right\_Wing

**Coefficients<sup>a</sup>**

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	12,044	6,121		1,968	,050
	Left_Right_Wing	2,928	1,125	,152	2,602	,010

a. Dependent Variable: Football\_Enthusiasm

*Table Set 9 – SPSS' Linear Regression – Football Enthusiasm as dependent variable and political as independent variable.*

Table Set 10 - Regression

**Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>**

Model	Variables Entered	Variables	
		Removed	Method
1	StadiumVisits_Ordered, Political_Envolvement, Left_Right_Wing, Gender, North_vs_South, Age <sup>b</sup>	.	Enter

a. Dependent Variable: Football\_Enthusiasm

b. All requested variables entered.

**Model Summary**

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,538 <sup>a</sup>	,289	,272	23,83143

a. Predictors: (Constant), StadiumVisits\_Ordered, Political\_Envolvement, Left\_Right\_Wing, Gender, North\_vs\_South, Age

**ANOVA<sup>a</sup>**

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	56451,393	6	9408,566	16,566	,000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	138576,678	244	567,937		
	Total	195028,072	250			

a. Dependent Variable: Football\_Enthusiasm

b. Predictors: (Constant), StadiumVisits\_Ordered, Political\_Envolvement, Left\_Right\_Wing, Gender, North\_vs\_South, Age

## Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized		Standardized	t	Sig.
		Coefficients		Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	13,156	10,374		1,268	,206
	Left_Right_Wing	2,540	1,036	,134	2,452	,015
	Political_Envolvement	,033	,050	,036	,661	,509
	Gender	-6,282	3,175	-,112	-1,979	,049
	Age	-,109	,134	-,047	-,814	,416
	North_vs_South	,532	3,292	,009	,161	,872
	StadiumVisits_Ordered	8,903	1,106	,465	8,046	,000

a. Dependent Variable: Football\_Enthusiasm

*Table Set 10 – SPSS' Linear Regression – Football Enthusiasm as dependent variable and political ideology, gender, age, political involvement, stadiums visits and area of residence as independent variables.*

## Appendix B - Survey

### Appendix B1 - Survey in the programming perspective

Q1 Caro participante,este questionário está a ser realizado no âmbito de uma tese de mestrado da Universidade Católica Portuguesa - CLSBE. Todas as respostas fornecidas são completamente confidenciais e serão puramente utilizadas para fins de análise estatística. O questionário não demorará mais de 3 minutos. Desde já muito obrigado pelo seu valioso contributo.

Q2 Por favor, indique a sua preferência em termos de clube de futebol profissional em Portugal.

- Futebol Clube do Porto (3)
- Sport Lisboa e Benfica (1)
- Sporting Clube de Portugal (2)
- Outro (4) \_\_\_\_\_
- Nenhum (5)

Q3 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q5 Por favor, indique onde se situa a sua preferência em termos do espectro político português, sendo 1 - Extrema Esquerda e 9 - Extrema Direita.

\_\_\_\_\_ A minha preferência política é: (1)

Q6 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q7 Por favor, indique agora até que ponto nutre sentimentos negativos ou positivos em relação aos seguintes tópicos, sendo 0 um sentimento de grande negativismo e 100 um sentimento de grande positivismo. O valor 50 indica que tem um sentimento neutro em relação ao assunto.

- \_\_\_\_\_ Militarismo e Segurança Nacional (1)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Aborto (2)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Livre porte de arma (3)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Religião (4)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Benefícios Sociais (5)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Casamento Tradicional (6)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Valores Tradicionais (7)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Poder limitado do governo (8)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Responsabilidades Fiscais (9)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Negócios (10)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Unidade Familiar (11)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Patriotismo (12)

Q8 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q9 Por favor, indique onde se situa a sua ideologia política na seguinte escala:

\_\_\_\_\_ (1)

Q10 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q11 Por favor, indique agora o partido politico português que apoia.

- PCP - Partido Comunista Português (1)
- CDS - Partido Popular (2)
- PSD - Partido Social Democrata (3)
- PS - Partido Socialista (4)
- BE - Bloco de Esquerda (5)
- Outro (6) \_\_\_\_\_
- PAN - Pessoas-Animais-Natureza (7)
- PEV - Partido Ecologista "Os Verdes" (8)
- Nenhum (9)

Q12 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q13 Browser Meta Info

- Browser (1)
- Version (2)
- Operating System (3)
- Screen Resolution (4)
- Flash Version (5)
- Java Support (6)
- User Agent (7)

Q14 Por favor, indique onde se situa a sua preferência em termos do espectro politico português, sendo 1 - Extrema Esquerda e 9 - Extrema Direita.

\_\_\_\_\_ (1)

Q15 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q16 Por favor, indique agora até que ponto nutre sentimentos negativos ou positivos em relação aos seguintes tópicos, sendo 0 um sentimento de grande negativismo e 100 um sentimento de grande positivismo. O valor 50 indica que tem um sentimento neutro em relação ao assunto.

- \_\_\_\_\_ Militarismo e Segurança Nacional (1)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Aborto (2)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Livre porte de arma (3)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Religião (4)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Benefícios Sociais (5)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Casamento Tradicional (6)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Valores Tradicionais (7)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Poder limitado do governo (8)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Responsabilidades Fiscais (9)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Negócios (10)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Unidade Familiar (11)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Patriotismo (12)

Q17 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q18 Por favor, indique onde se situa a sua ideologia política na seguinte escala:

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1)

Q19 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q20 Por favor, indique agora o partido politico português que apoia.

- PCP - Partido Comunista Português (1)
- CDS - Partido Popular (2)
- PSD - Partido Social Democrata (3)
- PS - Partido Socialista (4)
- BE - Bloco de Esquerda (5)
- Outro (6) \_\_\_\_\_
- PAN - Pessoas-Animais-Natureza (7)
- PEV - Partido Ecologista "Os Verdes" (8)
- Nenhum (9)

Q21 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q22 Por favor, indique a sua preferência em termos de clube de futebol profissional em Portugal.

- Futebol Clube do Porto (1)
- Sport Lisboa e Benfica (2)
- Sporting Clube de Portugal (3)
- Outro (4) \_\_\_\_\_
- Nenhum (5)

Q23 Timing

- First Click (1)
- Last Click (2)
- Page Submit (3)
- Click Count (4)

Q25 Browser Meta Info

- Browser (1)
- Version (2)
- Operating System (3)
- Screen Resolution (4)
- Flash Version (5)
- Java Support (6)
- User Agent (7)

Q34 Por favor indique agora qual o seu nível de envolvimento com a vida política nacional, sendo que 0 significa que não afecta de todo o seu quotidiano e 100 que é um aspecto extremamente importante do mesmo.

\_\_\_\_\_ (1)

Display This Question:

If Por favor, indique a sua preferência em termos de clube de futebol profissional em Portugal.  
<span style="font-size:16px;"><strong>Nenhum</strong></span> Is Not Selected

Or Por favor, indique a sua preferência em termos de clube de futebol profissional em Portugal.  
<span style="font-size:16px;"><strong>Nenhum</strong></span> Is Not Selected

Q24 Por favor, indique o seu nível de entusiasmo em relação à modalidade de futebol profissional e ao seu clube de acordo com a seguinte escala:

\_\_\_\_\_ (1)

Display This Question:

If Por favor, indique a sua preferência em termos de clube de futebol profissional em Portugal.  
<span style="font-size:16px;"><strong>Nenhum</strong></span> Is Not Selected

Or Por favor, indique a sua preferência em termos de clube de futebol profissional em Portugal.  
<span style="font-size:16px;"><strong>Nenhum</strong></span> Is Not Selected

Q4 Por favor, indique com que frequência se desloca aos estádios para assistir aos jogos de futebol do seu clube:

- Vou a todos os jogos do meu clube. (7)
- Vou a todos os jogos no estádio do meu clube e vou a alguns no estádio dos adversários. (6)
- Tenho bilhete de época. (1)
- Assisto entre 10 a 14 jogos no estádio por época. (2)
- Assisto entre 6 a 9 jogos no estádio por época. (3)
- Assisto entre 2 a 5 jogos no estádio por época. (4)
- Assisto a 1 jogo no estádio por época. (5)
- Não assisto a nenhum jogo no estádio durante a época desportiva. (14)

Q26 Por favor, indique o seu género.

- Masculino (1)
- Feminino (2)

Q27 Por favor, indique a sua idade.

Q28 Por favor, indique a sua área de residência.

Q35 Por favor, indique finalmente como tomou conhecimento deste questionário:

- Código QR (1)
- Redes Sociais (2)
- Email (3)
- Mensagem privada (4)
- Através de um pedido de um amigo ou familiar (5)
- Outro (6) \_\_\_\_\_

Q29 Termina aqui este questionário. Agradeço imenso a sua preciosa colaboração. Para qualquer dúvida em relação á sua participação, não hesite em contactar-me: [jp.silva.francisco@gmail.com](mailto:jp.silva.francisco@gmail.com)

## Appendix B2 - Survey in the user's perspective

Qualtrics Survey Software

09/12/16, 14:03

**Introduction**

Caro participante,  
este questionário está a ser realizado no âmbito de uma tese de mestrado da Universidade Católica Portuguesa - CLSBE. Todas as respostas fornecidas são completamente confidenciais e serão puramente utilizadas para fins de análise estatística.  
O questionário não demorará mais de 3 minutos.  
Desde já muito obrigado pelo seu valioso contributo.

**Control Group**

Por favor, indique a sua preferência em termos de clube de futebol profissional em Portugal.

**Futebol Clube do Porto**      **Sport Lisboa e Benfica**      **Sporting Clube de Portugal**



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 Click Count: 0 clicks

Por favor, indique onde se situa a sua preferência em termos do espectro político português, sendo 1 - Extrema Esquerda e 9 - Extrema Direita.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
A minha preferência política é:									

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 Click Count: 0 clicks

Por favor, indique agora até que ponto nutre sentimentos negativos ou positivos em relação aos seguintes tópicos, sendo 0 um sentimento de grande negativismo e 100 um sentimento de grande positivismo. O valor 50 indica que tem um sentimento neutro em relação ao assunto.

	Grande negativismo	Neutro	Grande positivismo

	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Poder limitado do governo											
Patriotismo											
Aborto											
Valores Tradicionais											
Negócios											
Livre porte de arma											
Casamento Tradicional											
Militarismo e Segurança Nacional											
Religião											
Responsabilidades Fiscais											
Unidade Familiar											
Benefícios Sociais											








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Por favor, indique onde se situa a sua ideologia política na seguinte escala:

Extremamente Liberal	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	Extremamente Conservador

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 Last Click: 0 seconds  
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 Click Count: 0 clicks

Por favor, indique agora o partido político português que apoia.

-  CDS - Partido Popular
-  PEV - Partido Ecologista "Os Verdes"
-  PSD - Partido Social Democrata
-  PAN - Pessoas-Animais-Natureza
-  PCP - Partido Comunista Português
-  BE - Bloco de Esquerda
-  PS - Partido Socialista
- Outro
- Nenhum

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**Browser Meta Info**

This question will not be displayed to the recipient.

Browser: Safari  
Version: 10.0.1  
Operating System: Macintosh  
Screen Resolution: 1440x900  
Flash Version: 23.0.0  
Java Support: 1  
User Agent: Mozilla/5.0 (Macintosh; Intel Mac OS X 10\_12\_1) AppleWebKit/602.2.14 (KHTML, like Gecko) Version/10.0.1 Safari/602.2.14

**Test Group**

Por favor, indique onde se situa a sua preferência em termos do espectro político português, sendo 1 - Extrema Esquerda e 9 - Extrema Direita.










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Click Count: 0 clicks

Por favor, indique agora até que ponto nutre sentimentos negativos ou positivos em relação aos seguintes tópicos, sendo 0 um sentimento de grande negativismo e 100 um sentimento de grande positivismo. O valor 50 indica que tem um sentimento neutro em relação ao assunto.





-  PS - Partido Socialista
-  PSD - Partido Social Democrata
-  BE - Bloco de Esquerda
-  PCP - Partido Comunista Português
-  PEV - Partido Ecologista "Os Verdes"
-  CDS - Partido Popular
-  PAN - Pessoas-Animais-Natureza
- Outro
- Nenhum

These page timer metrics will not be displayed to the recipient.

First Click: 0 seconds  
Last Click: 0 seconds  
Page Submit: 0 seconds  
Click Count: 0 clicks

Por favor, indique a sua preferência em termos de clube de futebol profissional em Portugal.

Futebol Clube do Porto



Sport Lisboa e Benfica



Sporting Clube de Portugal



Outro

Nenhum

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**Browser Meta Info**

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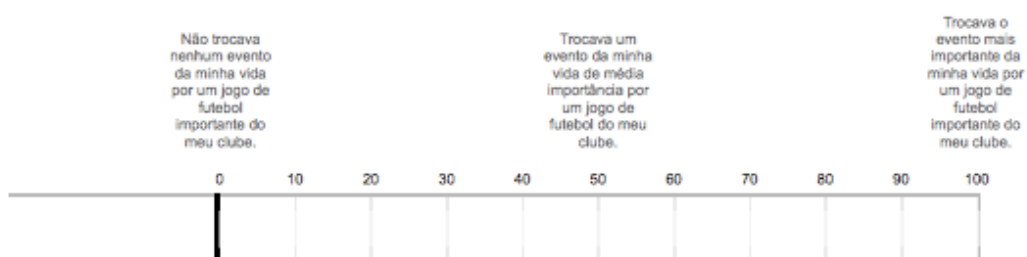
Browser: Safari  
Version: 10.0.1  
Operating System: Macintosh  
Screen Resolution: 1440x900  
Flash Version: 23.0.0  
Java Support: 1  
User Agent: Mozilla/5.0 (Macintosh; Intel Mac OS X 10\_12\_1) AppleWebKit/602.2.14 (KHTML, like Gecko) Version/10.0.1 Safari/602.2.14

Demographics and Intensity of Support

Por favor indique agora qual o seu nível de envolvimento com a vida política nacional, sendo que 0 significa que não afecta de todo o seu quotidiano e 100 que é um aspecto extremamente importante do mesmo.



Por favor, indique o seu nível de entusiasmo em relação à modalidade de futebol profissional e ao seu clube de acordo com a seguinte escala:



Por favor, indique com que frequência se desloca aos estádios para assistir aos jogos de futebol do seu clube:

- Vou a todos os jogos do meu clube.
- Vou a todos os jogos no estádio do meu clube e vou a alguns no estádio dos adversários.
- Tenho bilhete de época.
- Assisto entre 10 a 14 jogos no estádio por época.
- Assisto entre 6 a 9 jogos no estádio por época.
- Assisto entre 2 a 5 jogos no estádio por época.
- Assisto a 1 jogo no estádio por época.
- Não assisto a nenhum jogo no estádio durante a época desportiva.

Por favor, indique o seu género.

- Masculino
- Feminino

Por favor, indique a sua idade.

Por favor, indique a sua área de residência.

Por favor, indique finalmente como tomou conhecimento deste questionário:

- Através de um pedido de um amigo ou familiar
- Redes Sociais
- Mensagem privada
- Email

Código QR

Outro

**Agradecimento**

**Termina aqui este questionário.  
Agradeço imenso a sua preciosa colaboração.  
Para qualquer dúvida em relação à sua participação, não hesite em contactar-me: [jp.silva.francisco@gmail.com](mailto:jp.silva.francisco@gmail.com)**

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