

# Portugal Report

## Sustainable Governance Indicators 2024

Sofia Serra da Silva, Paulo Trigo Pereira, Lúcia Páuda,  
Joana Vicente, Constança Januário, Carlos Jalali,  
César Colino (Coordinator)



## Executive Summary

The period under review began with developments that gave rise to optimism in Portugal. First, the country entered 2022 as one of the most vaccinated nations in the world against COVID-19, with 83.5% of its population fully vaccinated by January 14, 2022. Second, Portugal began receiving funds from the EU's Recovery and Resilience Facility. This facility, amounting to €22.2 billion for Portugal, provided a unique opportunity to bolster public investment following a decade of the lowest public investment rate since democratization, starting with the country's bailout in 2011. Third, Portugal seemed poised for a period of political stability conducive to implementing reforms, as the Socialist Party, led by incumbent Prime Minister António Costa, won a single-party parliamentary majority in the January 30, 2022, legislative elections.

However, as this report highlights, the period from 2022 to 2024 fell short of expectations. The country continues to face significant hurdles regarding governance capacity, particularly in government analytical competence in areas such as impact assessment and policy evaluation. There is also a considerable gap in policy implementation, with lofty policy pronouncements not being fully reflected in actual policy delivery. This is evident in the lower-than-budgeted levels of public investment, which were 25% below the government's forecast in 2023. The health and education sectors were particularly affected, executing only 43% and 28% of the expected investment, respectively (Leitão, 2024).

Moreover, there was a deterioration in the provision of key public services, notably in education, health, and access to housing. In some cases, this decline is the culmination of long-identified factors, such as an aging teacher population, which have remained unaddressed.

Youth unemployment remains high. This, coupled with low wages, has continued to foster emigration, worsening Portugal's demographic crisis.

The anticipated period of political stability was disrupted by several political scandals, culminating in the resignation of Prime Minister António Costa in November 2023. In such cases, Portugal's political system empowers the directly elected president to decide whether to appoint a new government with

the current legislature or to hold fresh elections. The president chose the latter, scheduling legislative elections for March 10, 2024 – the third election in less than four and a half years.

Despite these challenges, there are some important bright spots. The country has maintained fiscal sustainability, with an estimated record budget surplus of 1.1% of GDP in 2023. Public debt has been significantly reduced to 98.7% in 2023, a substantial decrease from the debt exceeding 130% during the bailout period. Unemployment is low, and the country has performed comparatively well in terms of economic growth. Additionally, Portugal is welcoming to immigrants and remains strongly committed to addressing climate change, with a highly decarbonized energy system on track to achieve carbon neutrality by 2050. Portugal also demonstrates a strong foundation in civil and political rights and effective legislative committees. It upholds a broad spectrum of civil and political rights and freedoms for its citizens, as enshrined in the 1976 Portuguese constitution. Freedom of the press not only enjoys constitutional protection in Portugal but is also internationally recognized for its strong adherence to press freedom principles.

In other words, the country's assessment is by no means negative. Yet, a conclusion that emerges is that this period was arguably a lost opportunity to address long-standing and well-identified problems that Portugal faces.

In policy terms, these include not only education, health, and housing but also the taxation system, which is overly reliant on regressive indirect taxation and is complex. At the environmental level, there is an implementation gap, reflected in high landfilling rates and one of Europe's lowest municipal recycling rates.

At the governance level, the weak participation of civil society organizations (CSOs) in the co-creation of relevant policies is due in no small part to the weakness of civil society. This limited engagement of CSOs in policy formulation and decision-making processes hinders policy development.

Regarding democratic performance and protections, gaps remain in the country's anti-corruption measures, with minimal progress in combating corruption, as indicated by the 2022 reports from Transparency International and the European Commission. Moreover, despite media pluralism, practical challenges persist, especially due to a shortage of resources allocated to investigative journalism.

Overall, Portugal has benefited from some clear successes, though enduring problems remain unaddressed.

## Key Challenges

Portugal faces six key challenges:

The first challenge is the capacity to govern with foresight. Portugal scored poorly in several areas related to strategic foresight and anticipatory innovation, societal consultation, impact assessment, and ex post policy evaluation. While efforts are underway to address these weaknesses, they continue to affect the quality of policymaking and the ability to address future problems. Enhancing capacity-building and accountability within public administration, promoting stakeholder engagement for diverse perspectives, and establishing transparent monitoring and reporting mechanisms are essential. Fostering a culture of learning and adaptation within government institutions will be key to improving policymaking effectiveness and sustainability.

The second challenge is the gap between government measures and actual policy delivery. Although Portugal produces ambitious programs and plans, these frequently fall short in terms of implementation. This recurring issue has persisted across successive governments.

The third challenge is the significant decline in the sustainability of key public services, particularly in education and health. This issue is partly a consequence of the first two challenges. The aging workforce in these fields was identified long ago. However, weaknesses in governance with foresight, along with the gap between planning and implementation, have resulted in these issues not being adequately addressed in a timely manner. Consequently, there has been a considerable decline in the quality of these public services.

The fourth challenge is Portugal's aging population. In 2023, Portugal had the second-highest median age in the EU-27 at 47 years, surpassed only by Italy (Eurostat, 2024). Moreover, its old-age dependency ratio (population 65 or over to population 15 to 64) is the highest in the EU-27 at 38% (Eurostat, 2024). The country has done little to address both the causes and consequences of this demographic crisis.

The fifth challenge involves Portugal's economic model, characterized by low wages and high youth unemployment, which fosters continued high levels of emigration. The profile of emigration is also changing to include those with

higher qualifications, in addition to those with lower qualifications who have traditionally been the main source of emigration.

The sixth challenge concerns the lack of progressivity in taxation. Research on the distributional effects of indirect taxes in Portugal highlights fiscal policies that could markedly enhance tax progressivity. For instance, Araujo (2019) provides valuable insights into these policies. Additionally, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development recommends two approaches to enhance fiscal justice in Portugal: the implementation of a combination of inheritance and gift taxes along with progressive capital income taxes, and the establishment of a comprehensive global wealth tax (OECD, 2018).

# Democratic Government

## I. Vertical Accountability

### Elections

Free and Fair  
Political  
Competition  
Score: 9

By law, presidential candidates in Portugal must disclose specific information, such as criminal records and declarations of income and assets. In contrast, candidates for legislative and local elections are only required to provide basic information, including party or group identification, age, address, and party affiliation. Rejected candidates and parties have the right to appeal to the Constitutional Court within two days after the publication of the list (Lei n.º 14/79, art. 30).

Financial transparency is mandated, requiring parties to conduct internal audits of their activities and campaign accounts. The Constitutional Court, along with the independent body Entidade das Contas e Financiamentos Políticos (ECFP), monitors party funding and audits political parties' accounts and electoral campaigns (Lei n.º 19/2003, art. 24). Although there were significant delays in previous years in providing account reports, recent reports up to 2022 are now available on the ECFP website. These delays were primarily due to the ECFP's ongoing lack of essential and adequate human resources (ECFP, 2023).

Regarding media access, all candidates and parties theoretically enjoy equal rights and opportunities. Electoral propaganda is distributed through public and private radio and television stations, including Radio and Television of Portugal (RTP) (Lei n.º 14/79, art. 62). However, the growing use of new media, particularly among Portuguese youth, raises concerns about disinformation and fake news campaigns (MediaLAB Iscte, 2019). Despite high trust in traditional media and a low risk of external disinformation campaigns among the Portuguese population (MediaLAB Iscte, 2019), the

potential impact of distorted public opinion perceptions on political competition is a real concern. The misuse of AI models and the creation of fake content are alarming examples (Pereira, 2023).

Obstacles to the representativeness of all parties still exist within the electoral system. The combination of low-magnitude districts and the D'Hondt system creates a majoritarian bonus, hindering new parties and strengthening the two largest ones (PS and PSD). While there is no legal electoral threshold, smaller parties polling below 5% can only aspire to win seats in the largest electoral circles: Lisbon and Porto (Serra-Silva & Santos 2023: 131).

Free and Fair  
Elections  
Score: 9

The right to participate and vote in national elections in Portugal is extended to all adult citizens over the age of 18. Early voting options are available for hospitalized, imprisoned, or overseas citizens. Foreign residents in Portugal, hailing from EU member states or specific countries, can register for local elections under certain conditions (CNE, n.da). Brazilian citizens in Portugal with equal political rights can vote in legislative elections (CNE, n.db). Those denied the right to vote can file complaints with the National Elections Commission (CNE) – the independent body overseeing elections in Portugal.

There is typically a good balance between polling stations and population density, with stations in each administrative parish. Free transportation is provided for those with limited mobility if required. Polling stations operate from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m., usually on Sundays (CNE, n.dc). The ballot design is accessible, and Braille voting matrices can be provided upon request. However, concerns have been raised by the Association of the Blind and Partially Sighted of Portugal (ACAPO) about irregularities with the Braille matrix (DN/Lusa, 2022).

While the electoral process is generally transparent and non-discriminatory, occasional irregularities occur. Irregularities in the early voting process for emigrant Portuguese communities have been observed, with thousands reportedly not receiving their ballot papers in the 2022 legislative elections (Observador, 2022a). Additionally, irregularities in the European electoral circle led to the unprecedented annulment of 80% of votes by the Constitutional Court, necessitating a repeat of the voting process (Observador, 2022b).

The National Electoral Commission (CNE) and the Constitutional Court are responsible for addressing such irregularities, but the engagement of government ministries and the implementation of legislative changes remain crucial.

Socially Rooted  
Party System  
Score: 8

### Quality of Parties and Candidates

The expression of broader societal interests through political parties is somewhat hindered by certain features of the Portuguese electoral system, as previously discussed. In legislative elections, 226 seats are distributed proportionally to the number of voters in the 20 electoral districts of Portugal: 18 mainland districts and two districts for each Autonomous Region. In addition, there are two districts for Portuguese citizens residing abroad, one for those in Europe and another for those outside Europe, with two seats each. This generates a total of 230 seats in parliament.

It should be noted that this diaspora is substantial, with around 1.5 million registered electors in 2022 (Setenta e Quatro, 2022); however, the proportion of these who actually vote is very small. Turnout was only 11% in these two districts in the 2022 elections.

Previous elections reveal challenges in representing districts with much lower population density, primarily due to the limited number of seats they elect, which favors major political parties. For instance, in Portalegre, a district that elects only two members for parliament, the 2022 legislative elections showed that more than half of the valid votes cast in this district (51.82%) did not result in the election of any representatives (Expresso, 2022).

Despite these challenges, the traditionally stable Portuguese party system has recently undergone significant changes, moving away from the long-standing dominance of the same five parties that have controlled representation since 1999. However, it remains to be seen whether this shift has made the system more representative of broader social and political interests.

The January 2022 legislative elections saw 22 different lists competing, one more than in 2019, marking the highest total since democratization and reflecting increased inter-party differentiation and diverse societal representations (Serra-Silva & Santos, 2023). The upcoming snap election scheduled for March 2024 is likely to maintain this level of partisan diversity, potentially encompassing more societal interests. Furthermore, the two mainstream parties – PS and PSD – which historically shared substantial programmatic agreement, have experienced increased ideological divergence in recent years (Serra-Silva & Santos, 2023).

Portugal's main political parties have a formally decentralized structure at local and regional levels. However, these structures are predominantly mobilized for elections rather than articulating local interests and fostering grassroots engagement.

Effective Cross-Party Cooperation  
Score: 8

The Portuguese constitution guarantees political and civic liberties, as well as democratic values, through political parties that promote widely agreed-upon fundamental liberties, rights, and the development of democratic institutions.

Despite the stability of the Portuguese party system since democratization – mainly characterized by the alternating rule between the two major parties, PSD and PS, and the dominance of the same five parties in parliament from 1999 to 2015 (Jalali, 2019) – Portuguese politics has recently undergone substantial transformations.

First, the unexpected government solution known as Geringonça (“contraption”) in 2015, which saw cross-party cooperation between the PS and left-wing parties for the first time, marked a significant shift in cross-party collaboration in Portuguese politics (Fernandes et al., 2018).

Second, the 2019 general elections witnessed the emergence of three new parties: Iniciativa Liberal (Liberal Initiative), focused on economic and social liberalization; the left-wing LIVRE (FREE); and Chega (Enough), the first Portuguese populist radical right party to win parliamentary representation.

Third, the 2022 general elections saw a significant increase in Chega’s and IL’s vote share in a short period, contributing to higher party polarization (Serra-Silva & Santos, 2023: 136).

The rise of these new parties has heightened conflicts in parliament, impacting cross-party cooperation and consensus-building on legislative approvals, as observed in recent research (e.g., Serra-Silva & Santos, 2023: 145). Scholars have concluded that there are clear signs of increased polarization, especially between 2015 and 2022 (Serra-Silva & Santos, 2023). While Portugal didn’t have prominent anti-democratic forces until recently, the emergence of Chega has sparked discussions about whether this political force deviates from the values of liberal democracy. The legal existence of Chega has been questioned by several parties, and there have been formal requests, such as the one made by Ana Gomes, a former diplomat and Eurodeputy, to outlaw the Chega party, though without effect (Rádio Renascença, 2021).

#### Access to Official Information

Transparent Government  
Score: 8

Article 48 of the Portuguese constitution, along with comprehensive legal regulations such as Law 26/2016, safeguards the right to participate in public life and access official information. If access is required, the process is

outlined in this law, necessitating a written request to the relevant entity or body. Restrictions on official information access are outlined in Article 6 of Law 26/2016. These restrictions take the form of exemptions and are justified.

Citizens can appeal to the Commission on Access to Administrative Documents (Comissão de Acesso aos Documentos Administrativos, CADA) if they have any complaints. This entity oversees access to administrative documents and information.

Official information is readily available online, even in public spaces such as municipal libraries. However, barriers like disorganized information presentation may hinder citizens' access. The government's Simplex system – particularly its 2023 edition – has demonstrated positive outcomes by modernizing public administration through digitalization, thus offering citizens better and simpler access to information.

## II. Diagonal Accountability

### Media Freedom and Pluralism

Free Media  
Score: 9

Freedom of the press is constitutionally guaranteed in Portugal (CRP, Article 38°, part I). Both private and public media in Portugal operate independently of the government, with strong constitutional protections for media freedom. The Entidade Reguladora da Comunicação Social (ERC) serves as the independent body regulating social communication activities and ensuring the autonomy of media entities (Lei n.º 2/99).

However, the election process for the ERC's Regulatory Body has faced criticism, particularly regarding the selection of its fifth member. The two predominant parties in parliament appear to retain significant influence in this process, even though the member should ideally be chosen jointly by the four ERC members appointed through a parliamentary majority (Público, 2017). Additionally, the ERC struggles with a funding model that compromises its financial independence and limits its ability to effectively intervene in various media issues (ECO, 2023).

The government, whether directly or indirectly, lacks the authority to censor any type of media. The 2021 Charter on Human Rights in the Digital Age aims to strengthen citizens' free speech online, enhance internet access rights, and combat disinformation. Although Article 6 of the charter sparked controversy

for potentially enabling censorship, its content was largely revoked following a Constitutional Court inspection in 2022 (Lusa, 2022). Unlawful censorship hindering freedom of the press can result in a prison sentence of 3 months to 2 years or a fine of 25 to 100 days. For public officials involved, the sentence is aggravated, ranging from 3 months to 3 years of imprisonment or 30 to 150 days in fines (Lei n.º 2/99, art.33). Journalistic investigations and public scrutiny play a crucial role in holding offenders accountable by bringing visibility to such cases.

Portugal is globally recognized for its press freedom, as acknowledged by Freedom House, which assigns the highest score to Portugal for free and independent media (4 points). Despite this achievement, challenges persist, including occasional instances of journalists facing physical intimidation during their reporting and precarious labor conditions for many in the profession. Generalized low-income and financial instability may lead to a shift in priorities, prompting some to resort to self-censorship (Expresso, 2018). This scenario poses risks to the collective strength of journalists' voices. Additionally, there is a prevailing notion that journalists face increased violence and harassment, albeit sporadically. Since 2018, assaults on journalists carrying out their duties are considered a public crime, following an amendment to Article 132 of the penal code.

Pluralism of  
Opinions  
Score: 8

Portugal's media landscape demonstrates some degree of diversity. Media pluralism is a key aspect of the ERC's mandate, emphasizing "the range of expressions from various schools of thought," as stated in Article 7, Point A of its regulations.

This diversity is evident across various media platforms, including broadcast television networks, radio stations, and newspapers. In terms of television stations, there are four free-to-air channels: two public channels (RTP, with four channels, and ARTV, the official Portuguese Assembly's channel) and two private channels (SIC and TVI), owned by Impresa and Media Capital, respectively. In the realm of radio stations, a high degree of plurality is observed at the national, regional, and local levels, with public radio (affiliated with RTP), RFM, Rádio Comercial, and Rádio Renascença enjoying extensive coverage.

Portugal's media landscape is marked by a diverse array of large media groups, including the Global Media Group (which owns Jornal de Notícias and Diário de Notícias), the Impresa group (owner of Expresso), the Sonae group (controlling Público), and Cofina Media (holding Correio da Manhã), among several others. A notable trend is the emergence of independent and alternative journalism platforms like Fumaça, Shifter, and Setenta e Quatro, which offer

distinctive perspectives and are funded differently from traditional media's reliance on advertising (Média Alternativos, n.d.).

However, challenges remain in the realm of media pluralism. Evidence suggests a continued limitation in the representation of smaller political parties and those without parliamentary representation, both in terms of visibility and access to media space (Silva et al., 2020).

Portuguese media universally enjoy the right to freedom of the press, allowing them to freely express societal discontent regarding the government and to frequently report, investigate, and critically denounce any irregularities and potential abuses of power. Yet, two significant issues impact the media's capacity to scrutinize effectively.

First, there is a notable lack of resources dedicated to investigative journalism, a concern raised by Portuguese journalists themselves (Setenta e Quatro, 2021). Second, the profession is marred by precarious working conditions and instability. A recent study by the Observatory for Living and Working Conditions at Universidade Nova de Lisboa, which surveyed 866 journalists in April and May 2022, highlighted toxic work environments and identified a profession burdened by labor overload, ethical conflicts, declining work quality, challenges in balancing professional and personal life, low wages, and job insecurity (Antunes et al.).

### Civil Society

Free Civil  
Society  
Score: 9

Portugal provides a wide range of civil and political rights and freedoms for its citizens, as outlined in the Portuguese constitution of 1976. This is exemplified by Article 45, which specifically addresses freedom of assembly, and Article 46, which centers on freedom of association.

Every citizen or legal entity can establish and operate an association without any government intervention or discrimination, both de jure and in practice. According to the World Justice Project Rule of Law Index in 2023, Portugal maintained a score above the global and regional averages (0.85/1) in effectively guaranteeing freedom of assembly and association (WJP, 2023).

The Portuguese legal framework strictly prohibits any form of intimidation, harassment, or threats against individuals exercising their right to assemble or associate. The process for establishing an association is transparent and accessible, with clear, non-discriminatory criteria for obtaining permits. This process merely requires citizens to present identification or a residence permit.

However, the constitution imposes certain restrictions, notably forbidding the formation of armed, military, or paramilitary groups, as well as racist or fascist organizations.

To further facilitate the formation of associations, Portugal has introduced “Associação na Hora” branches in all district capitals and other regions. Established under Law No. 40/2007, these branches expedite the creation of associations. Additionally, in recent years, incentives have been introduced specifically to foster youth associations.

Freedom of association is respected, and national and international NGOs, including human rights groups, operate freely without unwarranted state intrusion or interference.

Effective Civil Society Organizations (Capital and Labor)  
Score: 5

The capacity of CSOs to actively participate in shaping relevant policies in Portugal depends on a combination of legal, organizational, governmental, and societal factors.

Legally, prominent CSOs in social welfare and labor engage in the policymaking process through the Economic and Social Council (CES), particularly within the Permanent Commission for Social Concertation (CPCS). This constitutional body serves as a platform for negotiation and dialogue among sovereign bodies, economic entities, and social agents, contributing to policy formulation and decision-making.

In Portugal, civil society is primarily dominated by organizations advocating for specific group interests, such as those representing labor and capital, including trade unions, professional associations, pensioners’ groups, as well as business and financial organizations. In practice, these organizations often react to government measures rather than taking a proactive role in shaping policy debates.

While labor CSOs have recently garnered media attention for advocating the interests of both teaching and non-teaching staff, as well as healthcare professionals, through prominent protests and strikes in 2022 and 2023, the number of citizens reporting membership in organizations like trade unions has steadily decreased over time. This decline has been substantial, plummeting from 15% in 2002 to the lowest level documented in the post-election study conducted in 2022 (Serra-Silva & Oliveira, 2023). As a result, the overall influence and impact of major CSOs continue to be constrained and insufficient in Portugal.

Membership fees in CSOs, such as union dues, are tax-deductible. Similarly, citizens can choose to allocate 0.5% of their income tax to civil society organizations.

Effective Civil Society Organizations (Social Welfare)  
Score: 5

CSOs dedicated to social welfare hold limited sway over Portuguese society. Some of these organizations find representation within the Economic and Social Council (CES), particularly through participation in the Permanent Commission for Social Concertation (CPCS).

Prominent CSOs in this field include Social Economy Entities, such as Private Social Solidarity Institutions (IPSS), as well as various foundations and non-governmental organizations with a social focus, such as the Portuguese Red Cross, the Portuguese Association for Victim Support (APAV) and Caritas (the official social charity organization of the Church). These organizations can access and rely on government financial support, albeit often encountering insufficiencies. Nevertheless, they manage to maintain their independence and autonomy.

Only a select few associations have the capability to formulate policy proposals, and even among those, resources are severely constrained. An exception to this pattern is the Portuguese League Against Cancer, which stands out as a civil society institution closely collaborating with the health ministry on cancer screening initiatives.

Effective Civil Society Organizations (Environment)  
Score: 6

Portugal has a specific legislative framework in place to support CSOs with an environmental focus, specifically non-governmental environmental organizations (ONGAs), under Lei n.º 35/98. This law defines their status, including governmental financial and technical assistance, rights to partake in the development of relevant policies and environmental legislation, and opportunities for radio and television broadcasting.

Major environmental CSOs, including ZERO, Quercus, and the Portuguese Association for Environmental Education (ASPEA), have not significantly impacted policy formulation. Recently, protest-based and youth-led movements, such as Climáximo and the School Strike for Climate (Greve Climática Estudantil), have emerged and engaged in frontline activism against climate change. While they generate media attention through their protests, they do not participate in policy formulation.

Despite the growing prominence of climate change and environmental protection in contemporary society, Portuguese citizens exhibit a noticeable lack of participation in organizations and associations dedicated to these issues. However, a recent 2023 study reveals a paradox: While these

environmental associations are deemed trustworthy by the population, with about 40% of respondents rating them as the most reliable – the only category to surpass the average, compared to trade unions and others (Lisi & Oliveira, 2023) – active involvement remains surprisingly low (Serra-Silva & Oliveira, 2023).

### III. Horizontal Accountability

#### Independent Supervisory Bodies

Effective Public  
Auditing  
Score: 8

The primary national audit institution in Portugal is the Tribunal de Contas, which operates as a Supreme Audit Institution following the court model. According to the Portuguese constitution and the law, the Court of Auditors is a sovereign body and a Supreme Court with unique jurisdiction. Its primary mission is to externally and independently control public financial activities and enforce financial responsibilities, serving as a cornerstone of the country's financial governance.

This audit office operates independently from the government while remaining an integral part of the judicial system, as mandated by Lei n.º 98/97. The head of the audit office is appointed by the president of the republic, upon a proposal from the government, ensuring the preservation of its independence.

Additionally, the Tribunal de Contas possesses jurisdiction and financial control powers that enable it to make independent and autonomous decisions regarding the audit processes it undertakes. This court conducts its audits effectively despite encountering persistent challenges, notably the issue of workforce rejuvenation, characterized by a low percentage of employees under the age of 40.

The Organizational and Procedural Law specifies that the Court of Auditors is responsible for evaluating the legality and the economy, effectiveness, and efficiency, based on technical criteria, of the financial management of public entities, including the organization, functioning, and reliability of internal control systems. Article 11(2) also states that the court cooperates with other sovereign bodies – primarily through its support services – to disseminate necessary information for preventing and combating waste, illegality, fraud, and corruption concerning public funds and values at both the national and community levels.

Effective Data  
Protection  
Score: 7

The National Data Protection Commission (Comissão Nacional de Proteção de Dados – CNPD) serves as the primary authority responsible for overseeing and ensuring compliance with the General Data Protection Regulation (Regulamento Geral sobre a Proteção de Dados – GDPR). The GDPR aims to safeguard the protection and lawful processing of individuals’ personal data while facilitating its free movement.

Moreover, CNPD operates independently, diligently pursuing its responsibilities and competencies while enjoying administrative and financial autonomy. This autonomy is also reflected in the status of CNPD members and their respective roles within the organization.

The latest activity report from CNPD, published in 2022, reveals a substantial increase in their workload. The Commission investigated and initiated more inquiries (1,785) and tripled the number of prosecution cases (251) compared to the previous year (CNPD, 2022). The total fines imposed also significantly increased, surpassing €4.8 million, primarily due to a €4.3 million fine imposed on the National Institute of Statistics (INE) concerning the 2021 Census, which is currently under appeal (Público, 2023).

However, CNPD faces a concerning structural shortage of human resources. At the end of 2022, CNPD had only 28 employees, a modest increase from 25 workers in 2021. This number remains far from sufficient to meet all demands, as stated in their own assessment (CNPD, 2022). This shortage, coupled with a high number of requests for information and participation (8,310) and increased procedural activities, continues to pose significant obstacles to CNPD’s effectiveness.

### Rule of Law

Effective Judicial  
Oversight  
Score: 9

The national judiciary can be regarded as an independent system, accountable solely to the law and bolstered by a heightened level of independence perceived by the general public (European Commission, 2023). Portugal’s judiciary stands as a vital and sovereign entity actively ensuring that both the government and society adhere to the rule of law.

Within the realm of civil jurisdiction, the justice system encompasses the Judicial Courts. These include the Supreme Court – the apex body of the Portuguese judicial system – and the ordinary courts of first and second instance, which comprise courts of appeal, district courts, and specialized courts. The Supreme Court exercises jurisdiction in both civil and criminal matters and consists of 60 justices known as Conselheiros.

On the administrative jurisdiction front, the system includes the Supreme Administrative Court and the corresponding administrative and tax courts of first and second instance. Additionally, there is the Constitutional Court, which is primarily tasked with assessing the constitutionality or legality of legal norms, as well as the previously mentioned Court of Auditors.

All these legal institutions and judges operate independently and enjoy tenure. For example, when appointing judges to the Constitutional Court, 10 out of the total 13 are appointed by a qualified majority of two-thirds of the members of parliament, while the remaining three are co-opted by the elected judges. These factors potentially contribute to the selection of politically impartial judges (Tribunal Constitucional, n.d).

The judicial autonomy in Portugal has been prominently highlighted since Prime Minister António Costa began his third term in 2022. This period witnessed a surge in legal challenges against government actions, leading to significant resignations, including those of high-ranking officials such as the secretary of state and the minister of infrastructure, the secretary of state for agriculture, and the assistant secretary of state to the prime minister. The most notable political development was Costa's resignation in November 2023.

Costa's resignation was precipitated by allegations of his involvement in facilitating procedures related to the lithium and hydrogen industries (JN, 2023). The gravity of the situation was underscored when the attorney general confirmed that Costa was under a corruption investigation. This investigation was the first to lead to the resignation of a sitting prime minister. Although the investigation has yet to produce substantial results, it underscores its capacity to maintain independence from political influence.

Universal Civil  
Rights  
Score: 8

In addition to the 1976 ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Portuguese constitution delineates broad categories of fundamental rights and guarantees for the population, primarily found in Articles 12 to 27. These rights are generally upheld in practice. However, persistent challenges remain in achieving equal access to these rights and liberties for all citizens in Portugal. As a result, there is a growing trend of discriminatory situations disproportionately affecting marginalized groups, including those with lower socioeconomic status and ethnic minorities such as the Roma community, Afro-descendant, and migrant worker communities. Furthermore, discrimination persists and contributes to sexual and gender-based violence against women, as highlighted in the Amnesty International Report 2022/23 (2023: 302).

According to a 2019 report on racism, xenophobia, and ethnic-racial discrimination, constraints and inequalities persist in areas such as access to fair and decent housing, particularly affecting communities of African descent and Roma. Additionally, there are continuing issues related to school dropout rates among Roma girls due to early and forced marriages and a notably low rate of higher education enrollment within these communities. Gender-based violence remains a grave concern in Portuguese society, resulting in the tragic murders of 25 women since the beginning of 2023, with an estimated 15 of these cases classified as femicide (Agência Lusa, 2023).

In response to these challenges, the government has been implementing measures outlined in the National Strategy for Equality and Non-Discrimination, which was initially introduced in 2018. The most recent step in this effort is the approval of the 2023 – 2026 Action Plans, aimed at consolidating progress and implementing policies related to gender equality, preventing and combating violence against women, and addressing discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity (CIG, 2023).

Amnesty International has reported ongoing excessive use of force and mistreatment by police officers. Between May and June 2022, the Council of Europe (CoE) Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) visited various prisons and detention facilities in Portugal to assess the treatment and conditions of detainees. These visits revealed that instances of ill-treatment persist, with some individuals alleging mistreatment by officers from the Public Security Police (PSP) and the National Republican Guard (GNR) during apprehension and after they had been brought under control. Additionally, the committee found some prisoners living in degrading conditions, including dirty and deteriorated cells, broken windows, unpartitioned toilets in shared cells, and malfunctioning electrical installations. In response to these findings, the Portuguese government has initiated some procedures to address the committee's recommendations. However, further investigation is needed to assess the extent of their implementation.

Effective  
Corruption  
Prevention  
Score: 6

From a legal standpoint, the Portuguese Penal Code directly addresses the criminalization of power abuse and corruption in Articles 372° to 374°-B. Moreover, the implementation of public accounting standards, as per Annex II of the Accounting Standardization System for Public Administrations (SNC-AP), outlined in Decree-Law No. 192/2015, Article 6, aims to ensure financial oversight of public expenditure. This framework theoretically facilitates corruption detection. Additionally, the Law on the Financing of Political Parties and Electoral Campaigns, outlined in Law No. 19/2003, sets limits on private income for political parties while also providing public funds for election expenses and annual subsidies. Public officeholders convicted of

power abuse face penalties, including imprisonment for up to three years or fines, as stated in Decree-Law No. 48/95, Article 382. The enforcement of these regulations – encompassing reporting, oversight, and sanctions – is the responsibility of the Political Accounts and Financing Entity (ECFP), which, however, encounters significant operational challenges.

Despite these legal frameworks, three crucial issues arise. First, regarding party financing regulation, scholars note that political financing in Portugal was largely unregulated until a 2003 law (Law No. 19/2003, of June 20). This law, amended eight times, most recently in 2018, attempted to address these issues. Despite a 2000 ban on corporate donations, challenges remain due to companies disguising illegal contributions. The current framework lacks stringent penalties for those circumventing the law by indirectly covering campaign costs. While the law provides a functional regulatory structure, the primary issue lies in its implementation and adoption by parties and candidates.

The ECFP, tasked with monitoring financial information, faces legal and practical challenges. The 2018 amendment expanded its responsibilities without increasing resources, as highlighted by the ECFP's chairperson. The ECFP tends to focus more on formal account reporting than on substantive oversight. Additionally, the National Anti-Corruption Strategy 2020 – 2024 (ENAC) has emphasized the need for the publication of political parties' accounts to be more efficient, uniform, and accessible. However, these proposed measures lack specific details, such as deadlines, methodologies, or clear guidelines on their implementation.

Second, concerning gifts and hospitality, the codes of conduct for parliament and the executive suffer from low compliance, unclear hospitality limits, and a lack of oversight and sanctions. Access to gift and hospitality registers is problematic, with the parliamentary register difficult to access online and the ministerial register available only onsite.

Portugal's 2019 Transparency package reforms have introduced some improvements. For example, the regime governing the functions of political office holders and high public officials mandates that all such individuals, including judges, prosecutors, and senior public officials, must submit declarations of their interests and assets (Law No. 52/2019 of 31 July). However, these improvements are limited by inadequate enforcement mechanisms, oversight gaps, and insufficient regulation of post-office employment and gift acceptance.

Despite advancements, the system primarily serves as an initial vetting procedure and lacks mechanisms for ongoing supervision or enforcement. Verification of declarations, overseen by the Constitutional Court and the Transparency Entity (ET), faces issues like legal uncertainties, limited resources, and superficial examination processes. No effective internal body within the parliament is responsible for verifying MPs' declarations or addressing potential conflicts of interest.

Third, regarding the transparency of public procurement procedures, Portugal has seen significant progress, particularly with the development of the Portal BASE, a public procurement platform. This platform is designed to provide details on all contracts formed under the Public Procurement Code (CCP) and is further supported by the Observatory of Public Works, which offers statistical analysis of public procurement activities. Despite these advancements, the transparency level in Portugal's public procurement processes still does not meet expectations.

The Portal BASE, although aimed at increasing transparency, encounters several challenges. The platform is not particularly user-friendly for various stakeholders and falls short in ensuring the complete publication of all procedures and their associated information. In addition, many public bodies have not fully or properly adhered to their obligation to disclose information. Moreover, the enforcement of regulations and the application of sanctions related to public procurement transparency remains notably weak.

Corruption remains a significant issue in Portugal, affecting both the private and public sectors. The 2022 Transparency International Corruption Perception Index report indicates minimal progress in combating corruption, with 41% of surveyed individuals believing corruption had increased in the previous 12 months. The report criticizes the Portuguese government's National Anti-Corruption Strategy (ENAC) 2020 – 2024 for ineffective implementation and lack of progress. The European Commission's rule of law report also highlights issues such as insufficient resources for preventing, investigating, and prosecuting corruption cases in Portugal, along with a lack of effective implementation and monitoring of integrity mechanisms and regulations (EC, 2023).

Portugal's lack of investment in these areas is also evident in the 2022 GRECO Report from the Group of States Against Corruption. This report assesses the implementation of recommendations from the Fourth Evaluation Round and found that the majority of the recommendations (twelve out of fifteen) remain only partially implemented. Only three of the fifteen recommendations were satisfactorily implemented, labeling the overall

compliance as “globally unsatisfactory.” For example, regarding members of parliament, the report highlights the absence of rules or mechanisms to assess interactions between deputies and third parties, establish appropriate sanctions for improper actions, and evaluate the effectiveness of the conflict of interest prevention system (GRECO, 2022).

Finally, it is essential to acknowledge that Portugal experiences significant delays in the prosecution of corruption cases. These delays are particularly pronounced in the legal proceedings against prominent public figures and business leaders. Notably, the legal cases against former Prime Minister José Sócrates (2005 – 2011) and Ricardo Salgado, ex-head of Banco Espírito Santo (BES), are in danger of exceeding the statute of limitations for various crimes within the forthcoming two years (Expresso, 2023; Observador, 2022). These postponements not only impede the legal process but also amplify the challenges in combating corruption effectively.

Moreover, recent developments regarding the investment in human resources dedicated to fighting corruption within the Judiciary Police (Policia Judiciária, PJ) are noteworthy. The national director has emphasized that “The PJ now possesses unprecedented resources. These personnel are expected to serve for many years,” signaling a substantial step forward in Portugal’s commitment to addressing this widespread issue (DN/Lusa, 2023).

### Legislature

Sufficient  
Legislative  
Resources  
Score: 6

According to the Law on the Organization and Functioning of the Services of the Assembly of the Republic (LOFAR), Law No. 77/88, of July 1, members of parliament and their respective groups have the authority to establish offices staffed by individuals of their choosing. These offices are responsible for managing allocated funds, a duty that falls on each parliamentary group. Additionally, support is provided for parliamentary committees, and committee chairs can propose the requisition of technicians or other support staff to assist with advisory tasks.

Despite the ample funding available, with total subsidies amounting to €8.4 million in 2022 – a figure that has remained relatively stable in recent years – there continues to be a significant shortage of expert support staff, according to the latest report (Assembleia da República, 2022). This indicates that the parliament’s ability to oversee government activities largely depends on the expertise of its legislators.

Furthermore, the number of staff assigned to the support offices of parliamentary groups has been steadily decreasing, with only 216 workers in 2022 compared to 244 in 2021 (Assembleia da República, 2022).

Moreover, the parliament's website consistently publishes only a limited number of reports on government activities and statistical reviews of parliamentary activities.

Effective  
Legislative  
Oversight  
Score: 8

In assessing whether legislative committees effectively oversee government activities, the situation presents a mixed picture. According to the Assembleia da República (2023), parliamentary committees and members of parliament have the right to request information from the government, which is legally required to respond within 30 days. Although there is no specific dataset tracking the government's responsiveness to committee inquiries, individual parliament members frequently report experiencing delays or receiving incomplete information. This issue is highlighted in the most recent SGI report.

Nonetheless, there is evidence of progress in government responsiveness. Data from the first session of the 15th legislature (March 25, 2022 – July 20, 2023) reveals that 86% of inquiries made by parliament members were answered. This figure represents an improvement over previous periods and is detailed in the latest Assessment of Parliamentary Activity report by the Portuguese parliament (Assembleia da República, 2023).

Moreover, the rules mandate that government members must appear before committees at least four times each legislative session. Committees and parliamentary groups also have the authority to request additional hearings, although for committees, this requires agreement across different political parties. This mechanism is designed to facilitate greater oversight of government activities by the legislative branch.

Effective  
Legislative  
Investigations  
Score: 8

Opposition parties can effectively initiate investigative processes by forming ad hoc parliamentary committees of inquiry. These committees are unique because they lack a predetermined role. According to procedural rules, the primary task of each new ad hoc committee is to define its purpose and competencies. This is a crucial aspect, as it requires political parties to negotiate to determine the committee's objectives. The outcome of these negotiations can significantly influence the committee's effectiveness and the results it achieves.

Over the past decade, ad hoc committees have become increasingly prominent and impactful in the legislative sphere (Fernandes 2016). Research suggests

that these committees are indispensable for oversight by Portuguese political parties, as they are typically established with the express goal of ensuring compliance with constitutional mandates and conducting thorough examinations of various aspects of government and administrative actions (Fernandes and Riera 2019). This underscores the critical role of ad hoc committees in fostering accountability and transparency within the legislative process.

During the evaluated period, the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into the Political Control of TAP (Portuguese Airlines) Management exemplified such an initiative. This committee's primary focus was examining the government's oversight of TAP's management. However, the final report produced by this committee was met with controversy. It garnered approval solely through the absolute majority vote of the PS (Socialist Party), prompting criticism from opposition parties. The opposition condemned the report as an insufficient and incomplete evaluation of the situation, alleging it to be an attempt to shield the government from accountability regarding TAP's management practices.

Legislative  
Capacity for  
Guiding Policy  
Score: 9

The committee system is pivotal to decision-making processes within the Portuguese Assembleia da República. These committees, essential in legislative lawmaking, have the authority to amend bills after their initial approval in the Plenum. Although changes made at the committee stage require a final floor vote, political parties often reach consensus on bill versions within the committees (Fernandes & Riera, 2019).

In the Portuguese legislative system, there are two distinct categories of committees: permanent (*comissões permanentes*) and ad hoc (*comissões eventuais*). These committees are designed to parallel the executive portfolios. Currently, the Assembleia da República includes 14 permanent specialized committees, each focusing on a unique policy area. Although there are 17 executive portfolios, the existing committee structure ensures comprehensive coverage of every policy domain.

These committees are supplemented by subcommittees and working groups, with the former requiring authorization from the Assembly's president. These groups focus on particular legislative aspects or monitor specific issues, including occasional committees of inquiry for government oversight.

Political parties play a crucial role in determining committee assignments. The allocation of committee positions follows a rule of proportionality, ensuring representation aligns with each party's size on the legislative floor. However, safeguards exist for smaller parties; regardless of their size, they are guaranteed at least one seat on every committee (Fernandes & Riera, 2019). In

the most recent legislative term, the PSD (Social Democratic Party), as the largest opposition party, chaired five major committees, while the PS (Socialist Party) maintained a substantial presence across these committees.

The regular meeting schedule, typically occurring several times a month, facilitates consistent oversight of executive activities. Regular sessions are scheduled for Tuesday and Wednesday mornings, with additional meetings as needed, indicating a system flexible enough to address emerging concerns (Assembly's Rules of Procedure, Article 57, Paragraph 7).

# Governing with Foresight

## I. Coordination

### Quality of Horizontal Coordination

Effective  
Coordination  
Mechanisms of  
the GO/PMO  
Score: 7

Effective coordination within a government necessitates a degree of organic stability. Since its inauguration in March 2022, the XXIII Constitutional Government of Portugal, with an absolute majority from the Socialist Party, has experienced this firsthand. Its organizational framework was established in May 2022, as per Decreto Lei 32/2022. Despite some minor crises leading to changes in ministerial and secretarial positions in September 2022 (Decreto Lei 65/2022), January 2023 (Decreto Lei 7/2023), February 2023 (Decreto Lei 17/2023), and November 2023 (Decreto Lei 108-A/2023), the core government structure has remained relatively stable. This core includes the prime minister, the Prime Minister's Office, and the prime minister's secretaries of state for digitalization and administrative modernization and for European affairs, as well as the minister of the presidency of the Council of Ministers along with their secretaries of state for planning and for public administration. Notably, the secretaries of state under the prime minister and the minister of the presidency are most effective at ensuring cross-governmental coordination, particularly in areas like digitalization and public administration reform.

Formally, two collegiate bodies facilitate government coordination: the Council of Ministers and the regular meetings of the secretaries of state from various ministries. These weekly meetings, attended by a representative from each ministry, are crucial for aligning policies before they are submitted to the Council of Ministers.

Line ministers typically forward their legislative proposals to the minister of the presidency, followed by bilateral discussions to refine the proposals. These are then forwarded for approval in the Council of Ministers and, if necessary, to parliament.

Unlike regular briefings from line ministries, the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) consistently receives updates on new developments that could influence the preparation of policy proposals.

In accordance with Decree-Law 21/2021, the establishment of the Public Administration's Planning, Policy, and Foresight Competence Centre (PlanAPP) is integral for high-quality public action. PlanAPP's mission is to align sectoral strategic planning with national plans through a cooperative network that shares knowledge, thereby enhancing policy coherence.

The prominence of the Ministry of Finance in the government structure is a testament to its pivotal role in addressing key issues such as economic growth, inflation, and fiscal sustainability.

Effective  
Coordination  
Mechanisms  
within the  
Ministerial  
Bureaucracy  
Score: 7

There are numerous interministerial commissions (ICs) addressing a wide array of subjects, ranging from the utilization of European Funds (Portugal 2030) to water management, cooperation, education, and professional training, among others (see references for details). Typically, these ICs involve civil servants from various ministries, each relevant to the specific topic, and occasionally members of the cabinets of line ministers. They also have the option to seek guidance from experts. This implies a significant level of coordination among bureaucratic units from different sectoral ministries.

In practice, these working groups exhibit a fluctuating composition, as the civil servants designated by ministers can vary. Their organizational structure is also unstable, and they often lack a designated meeting location. Unfortunately, very little information is disseminated about their proceedings.

Consider, for instance, the Interministerial Committee for Coordinating Education and Professional Training within the scope of the National Qualifications System (ICCEPF, as per Presidência do Conselho de Ministros et al. 2021). This committee involves six ministers, and its coordination changes every six months. The responsibility alternates between various government sectors: labor and training, education (primary and secondary), science and higher education, and the economy. The committee is supposed to convene once every six months, with technical and logistical support provided by the government office responsible for coordination. Unfortunately, the constant organizational changes and personnel turnover do not bode well for the effectiveness of these working groups.

With few exceptions, such as institutions related to managing the Resilient and Recovery Funds, there are no digital platforms to support these working

groups. These meetings, despite their challenges, prove highly effective in fostering policy coordination across the government. Moreover, the assessment of diverse proposals within each ministry extends beyond the attending secretaries of state to include ministerial advisers and, to some extent, senior officials of the public administration.

Complementary  
Informal  
Coordination  
Score: 7

Informal coordination mechanisms play a pivotal role in the functioning and coordination of the Portuguese government. At the highest levels of government, two primary informal coordination mechanisms are employed:

**Regular Coordination Meetings:** These meetings take place weekly, typically on Mondays, and involve the prime minister's inner circle. The composition may vary with changes in government but usually includes the minister of the presidency, the minister of finance, the minister of parliamentary affairs, and two additional ministers chosen by the prime minister for political insights. Additionally, the president of the prime minister's political party and the leader of the parliamentary group, who sometimes are the same individual, also participate.

**Occasional Coordination Meetings:** These meetings occur on an as-needed basis, bringing together a sectoral minister with the Office of the Prime Minister or the minister of the presidency. If the policy under consideration has financial implications, the minister of finance is also invited. These bilateral or trilateral discussions do not follow a fixed schedule but take place whenever a line ministry proposes a significant legislative initiative. These informal horizontal connections between ministries serve to compensate for the absence or rigidity of formal horizontal links.

When examining the relationship between top government officials and political parties, the absolute majority government of the Socialist Party (January 2022 – April 2024) has enabled the passage of legislation independently of other political parties. This implies that coordination primarily occurs within the Socialist Party, reducing the significance of informal coordination with other political parties. Nevertheless, even with an absolute majority government, dialogue with minor parties may still be pursued on special and crucial occasions, such as budget discussions and approval in parliament, to broaden support for the budget.

Quality of Vertical Coordination

Effectively  
Setting and  
Monitoring  
National  
(Minimum)  
Standards  
Score: 7

When competencies are centralized within the central government, national standards are largely applied uniformly due to the control and provision of most public services under central government guidance. Conversely, competencies decentralized to subnational governments (regional governments or local municipalities) allow for more diverse application.

According to the theory of fiscal federalism, if there are minimum standards that should be adhered to nationally, these competencies are generally centralized (e.g., national curriculum in education). Conversely, if there is a desire to adapt to local preferences, competencies should be decentralized (e.g., extracurricular activities).

Despite differences between municipalities in certain services, Decree-Law 36/2023 was approved under the “Closer Government” initiative, converting the Regional Coordination and Development Commissions (CCDR) into public institutes. This change at the regional level allows for the creation of a body to coordinate regional reforms, fostering alignment between national public policies and their regional implementation based on a program contract signed by the prime minister and the presidents of each CCDR. This reform aims to provide higher-quality public services and promote territorial cohesion through decentralization. It is still too early to evaluate whether this objective will be achieved.

Effective  
Multilevel  
Cooperation  
Score: 7

Portugal, recognized as one of the more centralized nations within the European Union, is undergoing a transformation in its approach to regional governance. Prime Minister António Costa has emphasized the importance of state reform regarding decentralization, a key element in improving the quality of public services.

This commitment to restructuring state services is evident in the transformation of the CCDRs (Comissões de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional) into public institutes, a move that constitutes a substantial reform in regional administration. These commissions now have a president elected by the mayors of the region rather than being chosen by the government. Only a single vice president, still appointed by the executive, remains, but this will no longer occur after the next municipal elections in 2025.

This reform is seen as a foundational step toward meeting the constitutional mandate of regionalization and creating favorable political conditions for enhanced local governance.

In 2023, this commitment was underscored by a 6.3% increase in financial transfers from the central administration to municipal budgets, marking a clear step toward greater fiscal empowerment of local authorities. However, the process of transferring powers from the central administration to local authorities has been long and complex, with advances and setbacks. According to the judges of the Court of Auditors (TdC), this process has also been characterized by a lack of clarity and transparency, as well as by the scarcity of funds accompanying the new responsibilities of local authorities (Público, 2024).

According to the “Self-Rule Index for Local Authorities in the EU, Council of Europe, and OECD” report, Portugal has seen one of the most notable rises in the Local Autonomy Index (LAI) scores, positioning its municipalities at a medium-high autonomy level. Despite this progress, Portuguese subnational government entities – municipalities, parishes (freguesias), and intermunicipal cooperative units – still possess fewer spending and revenue powers compared to their counterparts in other EU countries. This disparity is reflected in the Portuguese multilevel governance system, which appears considerably centralized when juxtaposed with other European and OECD countries (OECD, 2020).

To address these challenges and improve cooperation, Portugal has established 23 Intermunicipal Councils (CIMs in Portuguese, corresponding to the NUTS 3 level) and created metropolitan areas for Lisbon and Porto. These measures aim to manage tasks beneficial across municipal boundaries and to enhance sustainable mobility, housing, and the licensing process in collaboration with local authorities. However, the role of both metropolitan and non-metropolitan intermunicipal cooperation remains limited, with only a small portion of local spending currently allocated to the CIMs and MAs.

Prime Minister António Costa advocates for executing public policies in areas such as the licensing process, housing, and sustainable mobility in partnership with local authorities. This collaborative approach promises to streamline processes and elevate the standard of public services offered to citizens. The ongoing efforts to decentralize and enhance autonomy reflect a promising shift toward a more equitable distribution of power and responsibilities between the central government and local entities in Portugal. The impact of these initiatives on the centralized system remains to be seen.

## II. Consensus-Building

### Recourse to Scientific Knowledge

Harnessing Scientific Knowledge Effectively  
Score: 6

The government’s use of the best scientific knowledge in policy formulation varies by sector. Due to Portugal’s past financial crises, institutions like the independent Public Finances Fiscal Council (Conselho de Finanças Públicas) and UTAO, a parliamentary body that publicly discloses budgetary reports, have been established to prevent recurrence. However, in areas such as agriculture and water management, there are no comparable institutions to ensure policies are guided by scientific knowledge. This gap is present in several other governmental domains as well.

To address these shortcomings, the central government has created three state “competence centers”: PlanAPP (planning), JurisAPP (legal), and TicAPP (digital). These centers aim to provide a comprehensive and integrated approach to anticipate future needs.

PlanAPP is tasked with conducting analyses and prospective studies on economic, environmental, and social issues, as well as evaluating and monitoring relevant policies. This entity includes UTAIL (Technical Unit for Legislative Impact Assessment) from the Legal Center of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, established in 2017. UTAIL offers training and technical support to ministries and other public administration bodies and reviews assessment reports. Through this collaboration, PlanAPP integrates scientific knowledge into the public policy cycle, working with various entities to facilitate technical and scientific cooperation.

### Involvement of Civil Society in Policy Development

Effective Involvement of Civil Society Organizations (Capital and Labor)  
Score: 6

The government facilitates the engagement of trade unions and business organizations through the Economic and Social Council (CES), a constitutional body for consultation and social concertation, allowing their participation in decision-making. For instance, during the Social Dialogue meeting in September 2023, employers’ confederations presented their written opinions regarding considerations for the 2024 State Budget, specifically advocating for tax reductions for companies and workers.

However, critics argue that the involvement of business organizations and trade unions in public policymaking in Portugal is not substantial and tends to occur after the formulation of public policy proposals.

Effective  
Involvement of  
Civil Society  
Organizations  
(Social Welfare)  
Score: 6

Leading CSOs in social welfare participate in the policymaking process through the Economic and Social Council (CES), particularly within the Permanent Commission for Social Concertation (CPCS). This constitutional body serves as a platform for negotiation and dialogue among sovereign bodies, economic entities, and social agents, contributing to the formulation and decision-making of policies. Article 92 of the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic outlines the dual competencies of the Economic and Social Council: advisory and social concertation.

In accordance with Law No. 108/91, the CPCS incorporates representatives from diverse civil society organizations specializing in social welfare (Article 3), thereby strengthening the engagement of these organizations in the policymaking process. It is noteworthy that employer and trade union confederations, recognized as social partners, hold significant responsibilities in discussing major options in economic, labor, and social policy, albeit in a consultative capacity (Almeida et al. 2016).

However, both the CPCS and CES have faced criticism for excessive government influence on their agendas and a perceived lack of representativeness (Almeida et al., 2016). Concerns have been raised about the unclear selection process for representatives from both employers and employees, with some viewing this structure as a form of “selective corporatism” (Sá, 1999).

Furthermore, implementing public policies often involves the collaboration of other social agents, including specialized bodies, universities, and research centers. Despite this, there is considerable potential for broader engagement in this domain, allowing for the inclusion of a more diverse array of representatives from society in the development of executive measures.

Effective  
Involvement of  
Civil Society  
Organizations  
(Environment)  
Score: 6

Environmental civil society organizations, along with those focused on social welfare, are represented in the Economic and Social Council. However, in this constitutional entity, only a single representative from national environmental associations is present among its 56 members. This structure offers a forum for dialogue and enables environmental groups to engage in the political decision-making process, yet their representation is notably limited, which presents a significant challenge.

In the domain of environmental matters, numerous investment projects undergo public evaluation and discussion for a set period. For instance, consider the agroforestry venture in the municipality of Alcácer do Sal, in the Alentejo region of southern Portugal. This initiative aims to establish avocado orchards and involves creating 34 wells for water extraction. The public consultation phase for this venture concluded at the end of January 2024, with the Participa portal recording 341 submissions. Data indicate that the Alentejo and Algarve regions in southern Portugal are experiencing water scarcity.

A coalition of environmental organizations is voicing concerns about the project's ecological ramifications. ZERO, a prominent environmental CSO, warns that the project may jeopardize local water resources. The transformation of conservation areas – such as through agricultural intensification – is at odds with objectives to protect nature. The potential effects on water quality and availability in an already water-scarce region are alarming. Consequently, ZERO opposes the agroforestry project due to the risks it poses to the environment.

### Openness of Government

Open  
Government  
Score: 6

The provision of government data is pivotal for empowering citizens to hold their government accountable. Such data must encompass inputs, outputs, and outcomes; it should be disseminated regularly and promptly. To be effectively accessible, it needs to be user-friendly for both humans and machines, ideally in an open-source format.

When assessed by the OECD in 2020 with data from 2019, Portugal ranked below the OECD average on the “Open, Useful, and Re-usable Data Index: 2019” (OECD, 2020). This period falls before our current analysis. However, there have been strides forward in the interim. Portugal's accession to the Open Government Partnership (OGP) is one such step, designating the Agency for Administrative Modernization (AMA, Agência para a Modernização Administrativa) as the lead agency to execute OGP's directives. As part of this commitment, the AMA has developed the II Action Plan for Open Administration (2021). Additionally, the government has launched a portal for the distribution of public data (“Open platform for Portuguese public data”), though its user-friendliness leaves room for improvement.

In a sector-specific context, certain data sets, such as the Ministry of Finance's monthly budget execution reports, are regularly updated and readily accessible. Furthermore, there is a comprehensive portal that facilitates access to most public contracts in the public sector, enabling targeted searches for particular contracting entities.

Nevertheless, the situation is not universally satisfactory. In several sectors, the data is neither exhaustive nor updated with the necessary regularity. Finding specific information can be cumbersome due to its dispersion across a myriad of entities, including various agencies, ministries, QUANGOs, and other public bodies.

The Portuguese government has provided IT infrastructure that theoretically allows citizens to access data, but the practical utility of this data for enabling governmental accountability is, in some instances, debatable.

### III. Sensemaking

#### Preparedness

Capacity for Strategic Foresight and Anticipatory Innovation  
Score: 5

Exercising strategic foresight remains an underdeveloped practice within most of Portugal’s public administration. There is no central government unit with the robust capability to conduct strategic foresight. Evidence from the past few years – specifically from 2022 to 2024 – indicates a lack of comprehensive foresight analysis in Portugal. The most thorough recent analysis was a study conducted by Ribeiro in 2021 under the aegis of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, a private entity.

Within the central government, PlanAPP is currently building capacity in strategic foresight, but its capabilities are not yet fully developed. Currently, its activities are limited to organizing workshops on the subject (PlanAPP 2022).

Regarding policy implementation, particularly in innovation labs, LabX – the Centre for Innovation in the Public Sector, within the Administrative Modernization Agency (AMA, I.P.), plays a significant role. LabX’s mission is to foster an innovation ecosystem within public administration, aiming to rejuvenate public services to better align with the actual needs of citizens and businesses.

A noteworthy initiative by AMA/LabX, conducted in collaboration with the OECD’s Observatory of Public Sector Innovation, is the Anticipatory Innovation Starter Kit (AISK). Launched in early 2022, the AISK comprises guides, tools, and detailed instructions designed to equip users within the Portuguese public administration to adopt anticipatory and foresight practices.

By implementing the AISK, the central government aims to cultivate a culture oriented toward strategic planning and future preparedness, thereby integrating anticipatory innovation within public organizations.

LabX also aimed to establish a network of experimentation labs in public sector institutions. However, a recent review in January 2024 reveals that, after an initial project with Coimbra Municipality in 2019, there has been no significant progression.

In summary, despite some methodological analyses and capacity-building efforts during 2017 – 2020, the central government has seldom been able to effectively champion strategic foresight and innovation from 2022 to 2024.

**Analytical Competence**

Effective  
Regulatory  
Impact  
Assessment  
Score: 4

According to the OECD’s Regulatory Policy and Governance 2022 indicators, stakeholder involvement in regulation in Portugal is lower than the OECD average in 2021. For example, there is no obligation to include business organizations and trade unions in the negotiation phase of the legislative process, and the government does not facilitate their involvement in the European Commission’s consultation process.

The Portuguese government approved a resolution (Resolution No. 44/2017 of the Council of Ministers on March 24, 2017) concerning a “Model for Legislative Impact Assessment.” In 2018, they invited an OECD team to produce a report titled “Reviewing and Supporting Regulatory Impact in Portugal.” A government institution was created to implement ex ante impact assessments of legislation: the Legislative Impact Assessment Technical Unit (UTAIL) within JurisAPP – Centro de Competências Jurídicas do Estado. However, the last report it produced, which referred to the 2018 year, was in 2019. This indicates that the initial impetus for impact assessment of legislation (2017 – 2018) seems to have vanished.

Effective  
Sustainability  
Checks  
Score: 4

The Sustainable Development Report indicates that Portugal has achieved an SDG (Sustainable Development Goals) Index Score of 80%, showing a positive trajectory in goals pertaining to gender equality, access to clean water and sanitation, and the eradication of poverty. Portugal has shown a 61% progression toward the development goals set by the United Nations.

However, sustainability assessments are not systematically incorporated into environmental impact studies. Their inclusion is left to the discretion of the assessing entity, resulting in an inconsistent approach. Consequently, while

some evaluations may consider sustainability, others might overlook it. This inconsistency is also evident in the use of sustainability-centric indicators and the consideration of long-term effects in the analyses.

Effective Ex Post  
Evaluation  
Score: 4

While there is no systematic institutionalization of ex post evaluations in Portugal, there have been improvements. In March 2021, the Legislative Impact Assessment Technical Unit (UTAIL), located within JurisAPP – Centro de Competências Jurídicas do Estado and tasked with oversight of ex post evaluations, was merged into PlanAPP. Since then, PlanAPP has become the body responsible for ex ante and ex post impact policy evaluation (Decree-Law 21/2021). During the period under analysis, PlanAPP has produced several evaluations.

The most recent OECD Indicators of Regulatory Policy and Governance 2022 scores Portugal close to the OECD average regarding ex post evaluation of subordinate regulations. However, the country remains below the OECD average in terms of primary laws. The report also recommends that Portugal adopt systematic ex post evaluation, which is not a current requirement.

# Sustainable Policymaking

## I. Economic Sustainability

### Circular Economy

Circular  
Economy Policy  
Efforts and  
Commitment  
Score: 5

Portugal has made significant progress in its legislative and planning framework, particularly following the introduction of Circular Economy Action Plans (CEAPs) since 2017. The country has effectively implemented national policies promoting the circular economy, ensuring alignment with European Commission guidelines and overarching climate policies (Geerken et al., 2022). These national policies are underpinned by green taxation, voluntary agreements, and frameworks such as the Portugal 2020 environmental network. They extend their influence to regional and sectoral levels. Support mechanisms include the Environmental Fund, the Fund for Technological Innovation and Circular Economy, and the Portugal 2020 framework.

This policy direction is encapsulated in a comprehensive strategy devised for the 2017 – 2020 period (not yet updated as of 2024) known as the Action Plan for Circular Economy (APCE). As outlined by the Ministry of Environment in 2017, the APCE strategy sets forth clear goals, indicators, and targets for the years 2030 and 2050. It is further detailed in sector-specific plans such as the strategic plan for urban waste management for 2030 (see Presidência do Conselho de Ministros, 2030).

A critical shortcoming is the monitoring of the strategy and the lack of effective interministerial coordination. Although the circular economy strategy falls within the purview of the Ministry of Environment, specifically under the Portuguese Environment Agency (Agência Portuguesa do Ambiente), it inherently requires collaboration across various government departments. To bolster interministerial coordination, governance of the APCE was envisaged to be overseen by an Interministerial Committee for Air and Climate Change (CIAAC, now known as the Climate Action Commission) and an APCE

coordination group that includes representatives from 12 ministries and local authorities. Despite this structure, these coordinating bodies have not been effective in monitoring the progress of the APCE.

Furthermore, an examination of recent data uncovers some concerning trends in the domain of the circular economy. A comprehensive study on environmental performance by the OECD in 2023 indicates that Portugal is trailing in terms of circular economy implementation (OECD, 2023). This shortfall is partly due to the fact that municipal waste generation increased at a faster pace than GDP until 2019 – stabilizing in 2020 – resulting in Portugal having one of the highest landfilling rates. Additionally, data from the European Environment Agency positions Portugal among the European countries with the lowest municipal recycling rates.

**Viable Critical Infrastructure**

Policy Efforts  
and Commitment  
to a Resilient  
Critical  
Infrastructure  
Score: 7

The principal strategic document governing the update and protection of critical infrastructure in Portugal is the National Investment Plan 2030 (PNI 2030). Responsibility for critical infrastructure spans various entities within the corporate public sector, which may outsource investments to private firms or engage in public-private partnerships. Notably, Infraestruturas de Portugal (IP) plays a crucial role in overseeing infrastructure quality – including roads, railways, and telecommunications – and has a direct management role, especially in road maintenance. IP oversees the operations of IP Telecom – Serviços de Comunicações SA, a public corporation handling telecommunications infrastructure. Concerning railways, the strategic direction is outlined in the National Railway Plan (Plano Ferroviário Nacional), as stated by the XXII Constitutional Government of the Portuguese Republic (2022). CP – Comboios de Portugal, the public railway company, is primarily responsible for managing rail services and infrastructure. All these public corporations are subject to the joint oversight of the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Infrastructure.

The PNI 2030 emphasizes the need to strengthen territorial cohesion, enhance national infrastructure, and promote sustainable climate action through adaptation to climate change and increased infrastructure resilience. The Recovery and Resilience Plan (PRR) investments in this sector are directed predominantly toward railway and road improvements, as well as advancements in the digital and telecommunications sectors. However, the implementation of the PNI 2030 has fallen well short of what was planned, particularly with regard to rail infrastructure, reflecting prior delays (Cipriano 2023).

In this framework, developing robust telecommunications infrastructure is vital to ensuring secure internet access and enabling daily online activities. According to the Global Cybersecurity Index 2020 (GCI), Portugal has instituted various cybersecurity measures across legal, technical, and collaborative domains. However, there is potential for advancement in organizational strategies and capacity-building. Globally, Portugal ranks 14th on the GCI and holds the eighth position among European nations.

**Decarbonized Energy System**

Policy Efforts and Commitment to Achieving a Decarbonized Energy System by 2050  
Score: 8

Portugal’s energy system is recognized as one of the most decarbonized within the European Union. By 2022, the country had successfully phased out coal from its energy mix and embarked on an ambitious path to secure 80% of its electricity from renewable sources by 2026. This would outpace its initial target by four years.

The strategic direction of Portugal in this area is guided by three pivotal documents: the Roadmap for Carbon Neutrality 2050, the National Plan for Energy and Climate 2021 – 2030, and the Climate Law (Lei 98/2021). These frameworks outline Portugal’s overarching strategy, which is further delineated into sector-specific objectives. The primary focus areas are energy, transportation, and industry, with explicit emission reduction targets set for 2030 and 2050.

Portugal’s energy portfolio features a renewable energy composition of 32%, significantly above the European Union average of 19%. To promote the shift toward renewable energy, the country has implemented various policies, including tax exemptions, subsidies, and quotas, with specialized incentives for the agricultural sector. While the adoption of renewable energy technologies is higher than average, the extent of tax exemptions is comparatively modest.

Within this framework, Portuguese energy policy establishes a clear foundation for achieving a fully decarbonized system by 2050.

**Adaptive Labor Markets**

Policies Targeting an Adaptive Labor Market  
Score: 6

Portugal has achieved a consistently low unemployment rate in recent years, remaining below 10% even during the pandemic, with a rate of 6.1% in 2022 (PORDATA, 2023). Policies such as the simplified layoff scheme have contributed to this stability by helping companies manage short-term

economic impacts. Furthermore, recent initiatives have been introduced to address contemporary needs and modernize the economic landscape.

Notably, the 2023 launch of the Green Skills & Jobs program aims to foster job creation in the context of accelerating the transition to energy efficiency. Additionally, the “Check-Training + Digital” measure supports workers’ development in digital skills through a €750 grant (IEFP, 2023). These programs are designed to promote employment retention, career advancement, skill enhancement, and preparedness for the digital transition across various sectors.

However, there is growing concern about structural unemployment in the near future. A misalignment is evident between company offerings and job market demands, particularly in light of rapid technological advances, including artificial intelligence. The disparity between current educational curricula and the evolving requirements of the workforce is apparent, with the level of workforce training deemed insufficient (Fundação José Neves 2023). From a business perspective, 48% of companies exhibit low digitalization, with less qualified workers and women underrepresented in digitally focused professions.

Recognizing that digitalization can enhance workers’ wages and boost company and national productivity, a funding initiative was launched in 2023 to support the digitalization of manufacturing and extractive industries. This initiative is backed by €60 million from the Recovery and Resilience Plan (RRP) (ECO, 2023). Additionally, the “Digital Commerce Accelerators” project was introduced to facilitate the digital transition of micro, small, and medium-sized commercial enterprises, accompanied by financial incentives for digitalizing business models. These efforts aim to adapt the Portuguese economy to the digital age, enhancing competitiveness and employment prospects.

Overall, Portugal’s labor market institutions are making strides in adapting to a changing economy; however, they face challenges in aligning workforce skills with evolving market demands and technological advancements.

Policies  
Targeting an  
Inclusive Labor  
Market  
Score: 7

The IEFP (Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional), Portugal’s national public employment agency, offers various employment support programs for citizens and businesses. Its mission is to improve job creation and quality while reducing unemployment through active employment policies and professional training. These programs cater to diverse groups, including young individuals, those seeking to enhance their professional skills, and those at

higher risk of labor market exclusion. To maintain eligibility for certain social benefits, beneficiaries must actively seek employment or engage in training sessions in collaboration with the IEFP.

A key objective of Portugal's employment policy is to facilitate the entry of young people into the workforce, particularly those with adequate education and professional qualifications. To this end, specific programs like "ATIVAR.PT Internships" and "Active Youth Employment" have been developed, offering distinct approaches to youth employment (IEFP, 2023).

The actual results of these measures are mixed. Portugal has a comparatively low proportion of young people who are not in employment, education, or training (NEET), below the EU average and the EU target of 10% to be achieved by 2030 (Eurostat, 2023). Yet, youth unemployment remains very high – 19% in 2022 – and well above the EU average, unlike general unemployment. Moreover, this high youth unemployment would be even higher if not for elevated levels of emigration. A recent study found Portugal to have one of the highest emigration rates in Europe, particularly among the young, with over a quarter of people born in Portugal and aged between 15 – 39 residing abroad.

Also on a less positive note, Portugal ranks ninth out of 29 OECD countries in terms of financial disincentives for the unemployed to return to work at the national minimum wage. In some cases, accepting a job at the minimum wage could result in a loss of income exceeding 80% due to increased taxes or reduced benefits (OECD, 2023). Additionally, the OECD's Going for Growth report from 2023 points out that resources allocated to active labor market policies and public employment services in Portugal are relatively low, suggesting a need for enhanced support in these areas.

Finally, in light of the changing work environment, especially post-pandemic, Portugal has updated regulations and rights for workers in hybrid work arrangements – a mix of in-person and remote work. This effort is part of the Decent Work Agenda, which aims to enhance working conditions and balance personal, family, and professional life for workers (Law 13/2023, DR 66/2023).

In Portugal, a mandatory social insurance scheme automatically covers all eligible workers. Those not required to join can opt into the voluntary social insurance scheme, which is designed for national citizens of legal age who are fit for work. This scheme is particularly important for social volunteers, scholarship recipients, high-performance athletes, professional interns, and informal caregivers, as it offers them access to social security benefits. The

system provides a range of benefits to mitigate various labor market risks, including unemployment, retirement, sickness, and disability.

Moreover, recent legislation has sought to expand the coverage of the Portuguese social security system, such as by criminalizing employers who did not report domestic service personnel, a development that took place in 2023.

For individuals who do not meet specific criteria for certain benefits, such as the minimum number of working years, the solidarity subsystem of social security offers means-tested social benefits. This subsystem is accessible to all national citizens and aims to ensure essential social rights, prevent and eradicate poverty and social exclusion, and provide assistance in situations of personal or family need. It also addresses social or economic imbalances resulting from deficiencies in the contributory social security system.

Additionally, workers and employers have collective representation structures, such as trade unions, to safeguard and promote their interests and rights. In Portugal, the current legal framework permits multiple worker representation structures, operating under principles of autonomy and independence. All workers, regardless of age or role, have the right to establish trade unions at any level to defend and enhance their socio-professional interests.

### Sustainable Taxation

Policies  
Targeting  
Adequate Tax  
Revenue  
Score: 6

In 2022, most OECD countries experienced a decline in the tax-to-GDP ratio (OECD, 2023). However, Portugal stood out as an exception, maintaining high levels of taxation on income and consumption, specifically at 36.5%. The government forecasts a further increase in the tax burden to 37.2% of GDP for 2023 (Ministry of Finance, 2023). If realized, this forecast would represent a rise compared to 2022 and establish a new historical peak. The government justifies this upward trend by citing inflation, increased job market dynamism (with more people employed), and the budgetary consolidation goals pursued by recent administrations. Nevertheless, Portugal's tax-to-GDP ratio remains below the EU-27 average (Eurostat, 2023).

The high tax burden in Portugal discourages companies from investing and families from allocating their income toward savings or consumption. Consistent recommendations urge Portugal to reduce contextual business costs and establish a taxation framework that offers greater predictability for investment.

Despite recent progress, the Portuguese tax authority still faces significant challenges in addressing offshore wealth accumulation and sophisticated tax evasion schemes. Although Portugal has a Strategic Plan to Combat Fraud and Tax Evasion, more than half of the plan's measures remain unimplemented. Notably, about 22% of Portugal's GDP was held offshore in 2022 (EU Tax Observatory, 2023).

To combat tax evasion and money laundering, more proactive and effective on-the-ground supervision is needed. However, the Portuguese tax authority is currently stretched thin in terms of human resources. The Tax Workers' Union has called for the immediate recruitment of an additional 2,000 employees and a reorganization of the entity's operations to enhance efficiency (Dinheiro Vivo, 2023). This situation underscores the need for strengthened capacity and resources to effectively manage and enforce tax regulations.

Policies  
Targeting Tax  
Equity  
Score: 5

Portugal has a progressive tax system for taxing income from work, meaning higher incomes are taxed at a higher average rate. However, the overall system penalizes workers and lower-income groups. This is because indirect taxes, such as VAT, are particularly high and have a greater impact on the income of the poorest.

To achieve budget consolidation, recent administrations have relied on indirect taxation by either maintaining high levels on certain indirect taxes, such as VAT, or raising rates on others. Although Portugal's overall tax-to-GDP ratio in 2022 was below the EU-27 average, the country's VAT-to-GDP ratio stood at 9.4%, surpassing the EU average of 7.5%. Notably, VAT and other indirect taxes are the primary sources of revenue for the Portuguese tax system, deviating from the norm observed in the EU. This substantial reliance on more regressive indirect taxation measures raises equity concerns. These taxes impose a higher effective tax rate on the poorest individuals, as they constitute a larger share of their income. Increasing indirect taxes while decreasing direct taxes, as has happened in recent years, has led to a reduction in the overall progressivity of the tax system.

A recent study suggests that Portugal's tax system places a relatively low burden on wealth, in contrast to higher taxation on labor and consumption. This system positions Portugal as the third OECD country with the most significant disparity between the taxation of wages and dividends, underscoring its lack of effective measures to address the nation's pronounced wealth inequality (Mergulhão, 2023). Despite the high progressivity of the Personal Income Tax (PIT) system, its impact is substantially diminished due to various "non-inclusion" options ("não englobamento") and the multitude of available tax benefits.

Policies Aimed at  
Minimizing  
Compliance  
Costs  
Score: 4

Portugal’s taxation system is often criticized for its complexity, partly due to the existence of over 500 tax benefits (Oliveira et al., 2019). The income tax system’s numerous “non-inclusive” options and diverse tax benefits contribute to this complexity and lack of transparency, favoring tax planning and consultancy firms and benefiting those who can afford their services. Key issues include the high number of tax benefits, the scattered nature of different regulations, overlapping objectives, and the difficulty in measuring impacts in terms of tax expenditure and the number of beneficiaries.

The profusion of tax benefits and the intricate rules surrounding them lead to increased costs in both compliance and administration of the tax system. These complexities burden tax authorities, who expend more resources explaining rules to taxpayers, and escalate compliance costs for taxpayers themselves. Additionally, there’s a higher likelihood of these benefits being exploited by unintended recipients, resulting in abuses and necessitating further administrative resources to address them.

In 2023, there was a noticeable increase in the perception of the Portuguese tax system as complex and ineffective, with the proportion of respondents holding this view rising from 68% to 72% (Deloitte, 2023). This growing negativity highlights the need for reform. Issues such as court efficiency, municipal licensing, authorizations, and general bureaucracy are identified as significant barriers to investment in Portugal. The implementation of electronic tax compliance systems, equipped with automatic error detection, is seen as a crucial step toward improving interactions between taxpayers and the tax authority, streamlining processes, and reducing complexities.

To enhance the competitiveness of the national economy, it is imperative to streamline the tax system by reducing complexity and ensuring greater stability. Ambiguity and frequent legislative changes are among the most commonly cited factors contributing to the complexity of the Portuguese tax system (Alves 2021).

Policies Aimed at  
Internalizing  
Negative and  
Positive  
Externalities  
Score: 7

Portugal’s tax policy internalizes positive externalities primarily through subsidies and tax benefits. One noteworthy initiative in terms of tax expenditure is the SIFIDE, the Tax Incentive System for Business R&D. This program aims to enhance the competitiveness of companies by supporting their research and development (R&D) efforts through the deduction of corresponding expenses from corporate taxes.

Since 2015, companies have reported increased R&D investment within the framework of SIFIDE (ANI, 2023). This tool facilitates greater

internationalization of national projects and businesses and simultaneously enhances Portugal's efficiency and attractiveness to international investors. The more a company invests in R&D, the higher the percentage of the incremental rate.

Taxes with environmental relevance accounted for 5.3% of total revenues from taxes and social contributions in 2022, reflecting efforts to internalize negative externalities (INE, 2023). This was higher than the EU-27 average of 5% (Eurostat, 2023). However, the 2022 ratio decreased from 2021, when it was 6.6%, marking the lowest percentage since 1995. Consequently, Portugal's gap with the EU-27 average narrowed from one percentage point in 2021 to 0.3 percentage points in 2022. Additionally, most of this tax revenue comes from taxes on oil, with minimal contributions from taxes on pollution and resources.

Portugal has recently increased its environmental subsidies to enhance its environmental footprint. The latest state budget introduces three new green taxation measures: a levy on ultralight plastic bags, incentives for scrapping end-of-life vehicles, and an increase in the Single Circulation Tax for older vehicles. These initiatives complement existing subsidies, such as tax incentives for energy rehabilitation works in buildings and the purchase of electric cars.

However, despite these proactive steps, the OECD has noted that Portugal's green tax policies still lack consistent incentives to effectively reduce energy and water consumption and divert waste from landfills (OECD, 2023). This observation suggests that while progress has been made, more comprehensive and impactful measures are still needed to achieve significant environmental improvements.

### Sustainable Budgeting

Sustainable  
Budgeting  
Policies  
Score: 7

Since the 2011 – 2014 bailout period, Portugal's budgetary policy has prioritized fiscal sustainability. This focus has resulted in a cumulative improvement of 5.4 percentage points of GDP in the budget balance over the past two years. The 2023 government forecast predicts a budget surplus of 0.8%, which could potentially mark the highest surplus in 50 years (Ministry of Finance, 2023).

The impact of the pandemic on public debt appears to have been mitigated, with a projected reduction to 98.9% of GDP in 2023, breaking the 100% barrier and distancing Portugal from the most indebted euro area countries.

This positive trend has bolstered Portugal's international credibility, leading to credit rating upgrades by Moody's and Fitch to "A" levels (IGCP, 2023). Additionally, it helps to safeguard future investment opportunities.

Notably, these achievements involve consistently low levels of government investment, below the EU average, and the implementation of "cativações" (blockings) within the budget, referring to allocated funds that cannot be spent (Eurostat, 2023; UTAO, 2023). While contributing to fiscal discipline, these measures inevitably impact the quality of public services.

Regarding the transparency of its budget process, Portugal scored 60 out of 100 in the latest edition of the Open Budget Survey. This survey assesses factors such as the online availability, timeliness, and comprehensiveness of eight key budget documents (IBP, 2022), indicating Portugal's moderate performance in budget transparency.

Significantly, the most recent State Budget Report from the Ministry of Finance (2023) includes, for the first time, a dedicated chapter on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This chapter aims to pinpoint specific actions contributing to the implementation of various SDGs, detailing the expenditures allocated to each goal. Various entities involved in coordinating the budget programs are responsible for providing this information. The adopted methodology involves allocating the budget of central administration entities across one or more SDGs based on their field of activity. This initiative reflects an effort to integrate sustainable development more thoroughly into the budgeting process and enhance transparency in how public funds are allocated toward achieving these global goals.

### Sustainability-oriented Research and Innovation

Research and  
Innovation Policy  
Score: 5

The National Innovation Agency (ANI) plays a pivotal role in advancing innovation in Portugal, aiming to transform the economy through science. It focuses on three key national objectives: energy transition, digital transition, and cohesion. ANI's responsibilities include promoting knowledge transfer to generate value for the national economy, setting priorities, and defining indicators to support the adoption of knowledge and technology by businesses and society. It also measures the performance of the National Innovation System and the impact of technology valorization and innovation policy promotion.

Furthermore, ANI oversees the National Research and Innovation Strategy for Smart Specialization (ENEI 2030), a strategic initiative aimed at fostering

national innovation. It ensures the effective coordination and monitoring of this strategy's implementation, maximizing complementarity and synergies across different territorial levels. The ENEI 2030, which is transversal in nature, focuses on six priority domains corresponding to the thematic priorities for the current decade: Digital Transition, Green Transition, Materials, Systems and Production Technologies, Society, Creativity and Heritage, Health, Biotechnology and Food, and Great Natural Assets (ANI, 2023).

The country achieved a record high in total R&D spending in 2022, reaching 1.7% of GDP, with the private sector as the major contributor, accounting for 62% of national R&D expenditure (PORDATA, 2023). However, this remains below the EU-27 average of 2.2%. Similarly, Portugal's government sector expenditure on R&D accounts for only 4% of total R&D expenditure, compared to an average of 11% in the EU (Eurostat, 2023).

Although the government emphasizes research and innovation, particularly in technology, public support has not significantly increased. Portugal's R&D investment is not only below the OECD average of 2.7% but also falls short of the Council of Ministers' 2030 target of 3%.

In the 2023 European Union Innovation Scoreboard, Portugal is categorized as a "moderate innovator," the second-lowest of four categories. Its performance is below the average for its category, with an increasing gap compared to the EU. Strengths include foreign doctoral students, government support for business R&D, public-private co-publications, broadband penetration, and international scientific co-publications. However, weaknesses are evident in areas like air emissions, innovation expenditure per employee, venture capital investments, environmental technologies, and resource productivity.

Despite these challenges, Portugal offers a somewhat favorable environment for startup development, including investments in "unicorn hubs" that support innovation communities in fields like AI, gaming, blue tech, fintech, sustainability, foodtech, and XR. This initiative began in 2023 with the launch of the Soft Launch and Scaling Up programs (ECO, 2023). Additionally, Lisbon has hosted the Web Summit – Europe's largest technology conference – since 2016.

### Stable Global Financial System

Portugal, as a peripheral country, faces limitations in contributing to the effective regulation and supervision of the international financial architecture. Portuguese policymakers primarily focus on the global financial system's impact on Portugal rather than its broader implications.

Despite its peripheral status, the country's high public debt risk has driven successive governments to prioritize fiscal sustainability and financial stability, particularly during the 2011 – 2014 bailout period. Nobel laureate Paul Krugman recently described Portugal as an “economic miracle,” noting its capacity to withstand the risk of high interest rates on debt due to robust economic growth (Jornal de Negócios, 2023).

Portugal actively supports policies that promote transparency in international financial markets. In the 2022 Financial Secrecy Index, which measures the extent to which countries aid individuals in hiding finances from legal oversight, Portugal ranked 57th out of 141 countries (Tax Justice Network, 2023). This ranking indicates that Portugal contributes only 0.59% to global financial secrecy, demonstrating its commitment to financial transparency.

Notably, Portugal played a key role during its Presidency of the Council of the European Union in advocating for the public disclosure of Country by Country Reporting, a directive that was subsequently approved in the European Parliament. This directive mandates that multinational companies in the EU with consolidated revenues exceeding €750 million disclose information about profits and income tax in each member state and in third countries listed by the EU as non-cooperative jurisdictions for tax purposes. The directive's objective is to combat tax havens by holding multinational companies accountable for their contributions to transparency and corporate social responsibility in taxation.

More recently, Portugal agreed to a new directive that establishes a minimum corporate tax rate of 15% worldwide for multinationals, applicable to groups with annual consolidated revenues of €750 million or more. Portugal is set to transpose these rules within the current year, further reinforcing its position in favor of greater corporate tax fairness and transparency on the international stage.

## II. Social Sustainability

### Sustainable Education System

Policies  
Targeting Quality  
Education  
Score: 5

The latest results from the PISA assessment reveal that over 60% of Portuguese students are enrolled in schools experiencing a teacher shortage (OECD, 2023b). This reflects the aging of the teacher population, an issue identified several years ago but largely unaddressed. Portugal now boasts one

of the oldest teaching populations in the OECD. Data for 2022 shows there were 1,397.5 teachers aged 50 or above for every 100 teachers aged under 35 at the post-primary level and 997 at the primary level (Pordata, 2023). This compares to 63.7 and 82.7 in 2002 and 186.7 and 150.2 in 2012 (Pordata, 2023). The aging demographic of the teaching workforce has resulted in a gradual rise in retirements, a trend not matched by an influx of younger teachers.

School directors have reported that the scarcity of educators adversely affects teaching capacity, which could partly account for the recent PISA findings. Frequent policy changes in the sector also contribute to this issue. The 2022 PISA assessment indicates a decline in education quality in terms of student performance, with the drop exceeding the average observed across OECD countries. This downturn marks a setback for Portugal, placing it below the levels achieved in 2009, despite consistent progress in preceding years.

Additionally, 27% of students attend schools where the quality of teaching is compromised by the presence of inadequate or underqualified teachers. Teachers' unions have been vocal in asserting that enhancing the attractiveness of the teaching profession and improving working conditions are crucial. However, to date, there has been no concrete action from the government to address these issues. This lack of response highlights the need for focused efforts to resolve the challenges facing the teaching profession in Portugal.

In terms of educational attainment, despite improvements since the turn of the millennium, Portugal continues to exhibit low levels. It ranks at the bottom of the OECD for the proportion of the population with upper secondary education, with only 28.9% of individuals aged 25 to 64 achieving this level in 2022 – a modest 1.7 percentage point improvement from 2020 (OECD, 2023a). While Portugal performs relatively better in tertiary education (31.5% in 2022), it still lags about 10 percentage points below the OECD average.

Policies  
Targeting  
Equitable Access  
to Education  
Score: 6

Portugal offers equitable free education to students regardless of their socioeconomic backgrounds. Textbooks are free for students in public schools throughout the 12 years of compulsory education. Monthly scholarships aim to curb dropout rates, enhance qualifications, and offset increased costs tied to mandatory attendance. Higher education features relatively affordable fees, accompanied by means-tested support for low-income students.

However, this contrasts with disparities in the quality of education between public and private schools. The average school scores in the 2022 national exams ranged from 15.11 (out of 20) in the highest-rated public school to 7.83 in the lowest-rated public school (Público, 2023a). Disparities are more

pronounced in private schools, where the top-performing school averaged 16.36 – over twice the average of the lowest-rated school, which was 7.09.

Additionally, the ongoing wave of teacher strikes is disproportionately impacting students in public schools. As of January, several public schools, particularly in the Lisbon and Algarve regions, are struggling to find teachers to fill remaining vacancies in their timetables. High rental prices in these areas are a significant deterrent for many teachers considering job postings. In response, the government has introduced an extraordinary income support measure: during 2024, teachers assigned to the Algarve and Lisbon regions who live more than 70 kilometers from their workplace will be eligible for a maximum monthly support of up to €200. This initiative aims to alleviate the financial burden for teachers and address the staffing challenges in these regions, although its actual effectiveness is constrained by the very high rent in these regions.

Regarding early childhood, the government has recently intensified efforts to ensure universal access to affordable and accessible childcare through the “Creche Feliz” program (DRE, 2022). However, stakeholders in the field have deemed these efforts insufficient (Público, 2023b).

**Sustainable Institutions Supporting Basic Human Needs**

Policies Targeting Equal Access to Essential Services and Basic Income Support  
Score: 6

Portugal offers a range of non-cash benefits to ensure equitable access to essential services for lower-income individuals. Families experiencing poverty can obtain food and meals from the Food Bank, a private institution of social solidarity. Additionally, the government provides social tariffs for water, gas, internet, electricity, and a social transport pass, all of which offer monthly discounts or exemptions to those in socioeconomic need. Social housing is also available, with rents tailored to the income levels of lower-income families. Furthermore, some municipalities offer occasional cash benefits for those facing economic hardship and social risk.

However, the rising number of homeless people – detailed under “Policies Targeting Quality of Essential Services and Basic Income Support” – indicates that the supply of these services is not sufficient to meet demand.

One of the most significant benefits available to all citizens is the social integration income, a cash benefit designed to provide individuals and their families with the resources needed for basic necessities. This benefit also aims to support gradual social and professional integration. It is one of Portugal’s key measures to ensure access to essential services and basic income support, benefiting more than 181,000 individuals.

To address the rising cost of living in 2022, the “Families First” program provided extraordinary support of €125 per adult and €50 per child and young person to low-income families and social benefit recipients. In 2023, the government introduced additional support for the most vulnerable families, offering €30 per month per household, paid three times throughout the year. Moreover, families with children and young people up to the fourth income bracket of the child benefit received an extra €15 per month for each child, also distributed quarterly. All these extraordinary support payments were made automatically, without the need for families to apply.

Despite the array of benefits for those in need, most institutions, including social security, adopt a reactive rather than proactive approach (without considering the above-mentioned extraordinary supports), failing to proactively reach out to eligible families and individuals. This results in high non-take-up rates, attributed to factors such as a lack of awareness of available benefits, stigma, reluctance to disclose personal information, feeling diminished by social security workers, difficulties in comprehending program requirements, or lack of time due to the complexity and time burden of participating in welfare programs (Barreiros, 2017).

Policies  
Targeting Quality  
of Essential  
Services and  
Basic Income  
Support  
Score: 6

While Portugal’s government social policies aim to reduce socioeconomic disparities and social exclusion, and benefits are available to those in need, these measures have been only partially effective in preventing poverty. As of 2022, the poverty risk rate after social transfers remained at 17% – an increase from both the previous year and 2019, the year before the pandemic (PORDATA, 2023). This statistic translates to about 1.78 million people living on less than €91 per month. Notably, children under 18 are the most vulnerable to poverty, whereas the working-age population faces the lowest risk. Additionally, women are disproportionately affected by poverty compared to men.

It is important to note that the social transfers considered in this statistic may not include all the cash transfers previously mentioned. The poverty rate before social transfers in the same year was more than double, with 41.8% of the population in Portugal at risk of poverty based solely on income from work, capital, and private transfers, without government support. While Portugal has made progress in addressing social exclusion and supporting basic human needs – as evidenced by the decrease in the population experiencing severe material deprivation to 5% over the last five years – significant challenges remain.

In Portugal, a range of essential public services, including water, energy, sanitation, transport, and digital services, is legally established at the national level. To ensure access to basic needs like water, gas, internet, electricity, and public transport, the government has implemented various social tariffs.

A “social tariff” system is in place for water and wastewater collection and treatment, aimed at assisting low-income households. However, this system is not uniformly enforced across all Portuguese municipalities. The adoption of the social tariff is left to the discretion of each municipality, allowing them to choose whether to implement this measure voluntarily. The government’s program for the 2019 – 2023 legislative period includes a strategic review of the water social tariff’s implementation. The objective of this review is “so that more people may, automatically, enjoy this benefit,” reflecting a commitment to expanding access to this essential service.

For energy, Portugal relies on reduced tariffs as the sole support mechanism for low-income households since no direct cash benefits are available for energy costs. There is also a gas social tariff, but it applies only to clients of piped natural gas, excluding clients of bottled gas (except those living in social housing). The government’s program for the legislative period 2019 – 2023 includes a plan to extend the gas social tariff to city gas and liquefied petroleum gas (bottled and piped).

In the realm of public transport, students under 23 benefit from discounted rates, which are further reduced for those participating in the school social action program. Additionally, recipients of social insertion income (MI scheme) and those receiving means-tested social solidarity payments for the elderly are eligible for a 50% reduction in transport fees, while other low-income individuals receive a 25% discount (Batista and Marlier, 2020).

In contrast, housing remains a critical and unmet need, particularly in Portugal’s large cities. The housing crisis, marked by a lack of available real estate and rising costs, poses a significant challenge. A substantial part of many families’ incomes is now consumed by housing expenses, with more than 50% of households struggling to afford monthly housing costs. The situation has led to a 78% increase in homelessness since 2018 (Expresso, 2023) – underscoring the pressing need for more effective and comprehensive housing solutions.

Policies  
Targeting Health  
System  
Resilience  
Score: 6

### Sustainable Health System

While the country effectively addressed the Covid-19 pandemic, the post-pandemic period has aggravated existing deficiencies in Portugal’s national health system, resulting in severe strain. Efforts to curb public expenditure over the past few decades have financially pressured the healthcare sector. This, combined with the failure to execute promised investments over the last decade, has led to significant reductions in some services, longer wait times for consultations and surgeries, and resignations by medical directors in protest. Consequently, hospitals across the country have faced significant constraints, with some services even occasionally closing (RTP, 2023).

The government is trying to increase the recruitment of doctors and nurses into the health system, seeking to implement a speedier, simpler, and less bureaucratic process. In December 2023, it opened nearly 1,000 new job openings for newly graduated specialist doctors. In April of the same year, it had already conducted a similar recruitment process (Público, 2023). However, past experience with recruiting programs like these shows that if working conditions and wages do not improve, many job opportunities will remain unfilled.

To address existing deficiencies and enhance the resilience of the health system, the Portuguese government is undertaking a significant reform in the use of technology within the national health service (NHS). This involves an investment of over €300 million from the Recovery and Resilience Plan for the digital transformation of health. This substantial investment aims to expedite the enhancement of infrastructures and data networks, develop new tools for citizens, value the work of healthcare professionals, and create more efficient systems for data storage and usage. A notable portion of this investment, €17 million, is allocated for acquiring advanced medical equipment. The goal is to modernize the technology available to healthcare providers and patients, with the anticipated benefit of increasing the production of diagnostic tests and reducing waiting times (Observador, 2023).

The utilization of Recovery and Resilience Plan (RRP) funds primarily focuses on overcoming challenges that hinder the digital transition in the NHS. These challenges include the scarcity of adequate hardware and software for health professionals, the need to standardize information systems, and the imperative to enhance user experience and data accessibility. The implementation plan encompasses several measures, including the integration of functionalities for telehealth and telemonitoring. If these initiatives are implemented, they may significantly contribute to modernizing the NHS, making healthcare more accessible and efficient for both healthcare providers and patients in Portugal.

However, to achieve this, the plan must avoid the large gap between what is idealized and what is actually delivered that plagues public policy across many areas.

Policies  
Targeting High-  
Quality  
Healthcare  
Score: 7

Portugal has achieved notable success in several health policy areas despite facing various challenges. This includes commendable life expectancy and infant mortality rates given the country’s level of public expenditure (OECD, 2023). Additionally, Portugal’s response to the COVID-19 pandemic, particularly its vaccination efforts, was remarkable. The country also established the National Integrated Continuing Care Network, which, although currently at full capacity and in need of expansion, provides essential ongoing and integrated support for individuals who are dependent and require continuous healthcare and social support due to acute illnesses or chronic disease management.

Portugal is shifting toward a more proactive, preventive approach in healthcare. A significant example is the breast cancer screening program, where 80% of women participated, a figure well above the OECD average of 55% (OECD, 2023). However, considerable progress is still needed in preventive healthcare. The number of healthy life years at age 65 in Portugal is below the OECD average, despite a higher overall life expectancy. With an aging population, the need for better diagnostic and preventive measures is increasingly critical. Yet, Portugal ranks as the fourth lowest in per capita spending on health prevention programs in the OECD and lags in the proportion of health spending dedicated to prevention. The Directorate-General for Health has prioritized programs focusing on the prevention and promotion of healthy lifestyles, but these initiatives have not received sufficient medium-term funding.

Enhancing the timely delivery of quality healthcare services necessitates addressing the shortage of family doctors. Currently, more than 1.7 million Portuguese people – 16% of those enrolled in primary healthcare – lack a family doctor, a figure that has been increasing in recent months (CNN, 2023). This shortage underscores the need for concerted efforts to improve the capacity and efficiency of primary healthcare services in Portugal.

Policies  
Targeting  
Equitable Access  
To Healthcare  
Score: 7

The Constitution of the Portuguese Republic explicitly guarantees the right to health protection through a universal and comprehensive national health service accessible to everyone across the country (CRP, Article 64). While there are more private hospitals, the majority of health services are still provided by hospitals in the national health service or through public-private partnerships (INE, 2023). Access to public hospitals generally involves low fees, with exemptions for certain groups such as lower-income households

from paying “user fees” (“taxas moderadoras”). The Ministry of Health has also introduced programs to ensure universal access to certain medications, including a recent initiative to provide new-generation insulin pumps through the NHS until 2026 (SNS, 2023).

Despite these provisions, there are challenges with access to primary healthcare. Approximately 1.7 million Portuguese lack a regular family doctor, a proportion that has risen by 29% in just one year, mainly due to the retirement of doctors that were not replaced (Diário de Notícias, 2023). This shortage has led to long queues for appointments at health centers and compromises timely medical care for some, especially those without access to private healthcare. Consequently, an increasing number of Portuguese are opting for health insurance and turning to the private sector. The challenge is further compounded by regional disparities, particularly in low-density areas like Alentejo, where there is a smaller network of public and private health facilities.

However, these challenges do not completely hinder access to healthcare. The OECD’s most recent health profile for Portugal, from 2021, indicates that only a small percentage of people reported unmet medical needs due to factors such as cost, distance, or waiting time (OECD, 2021). Existing evidence suggests a deterioration of this pattern since that report was published.

### Gender Equality

Policy Efforts  
and Commitment  
to Achieving  
Gender Equality  
Score: 7

The Portuguese government’s commitment to ensuring gender equality is evidenced by the launch of the “Portugal + Igual (ENIND)” National Strategy for Equality and Non-Discrimination 2018 – 2030. Initiated in 2018, this strategy signifies a dedicated effort to address sex-based discrimination, prevent domestic violence, and foster equality between women and men in both policies and actions. It comprises three detailed action plans outlining specific objectives to be achieved by 2030 and the measures required to attain these goals. The implementation of these objectives is structured through defined indicators and the involvement of responsible entities, reflecting a systematic and committed approach to achieving gender equality in all respects.

In 2022, the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality (CIG), tasked with implementing gender equality policies, released a report on the first four years (2018 – 2021) of the strategy’s implementation. The report revealed that 85% of the measures in the action plan for equality between women and men and 79% of the measures in the action plan for preventing and combating

violence against women and domestic violence were executed (CIG, 2022). Currently, there is no available data for the years 2022 and 2023.

Following this evaluation, new action plans for the 2023 – 2026 cycle were developed based on public consultations and independent assessments. These plans aim to enhance reporting mechanisms, restructure governance, and strengthen the monitoring Technical Commissions for improved efficiency and operational effectiveness (DRE, 2023). The State Secretariat for Equality and Migrations oversees political coordination, while the CIG is responsible for technical coordination, supported by a Technical Committee to streamline the action plan monitoring process.

However, ongoing concerns persist. First, the tangible impact of these measures on societal attitudes and behaviors may take time to manifest. Second, despite a high rate of female workforce participation, Portugal continues to struggle with a widening gender pay gap, which increased to 11.4% in 2021 (PORDATA, 2023). This indicates persistent challenges in achieving full gender equality in the workplace.

### Strong Families

Family Policies  
Score: 7

In Portugal, the social security system provides various benefits related to parental leave aimed at ensuring job protection and adequate wages. These benefits include parental allowances, extended parental allowances, and parental social allowances to compensate parents with insufficient remuneration records. The family support system also offers paid leave for parents caring for sick children and elderly family members requiring assistance.

In 2023, as part of the “Decent Work Agenda” initiative, additional measures were implemented to harmonize the personal, family, and professional aspects of workers’ lives, primarily through modifications to parental leave (Law 53/2023, DR 129/2023). The approved changes now permit parents to stay home with children up to 12 months old, receiving allowances ranging from 90% to 40% of gross salary, with the option to combine parental leave with part-time work.

The government is intensifying efforts to achieve universal access to affordable and accessible childcare for preschool-aged children through the “Creche Feliz” program (DRE, 2022). Since 2022, children born after September 2021 have had access to free daycare. Initially applicable to public and social sector daycares, the program was later extended to the private

sector. However, challenges persist, as the program has yet to fully address existing needs, with a shortage of available daycare places – meeting only half of the demand (Expresso, 2023).

Furthermore, the government has expanded coverage and financial support for families intending to have children, promoting economic stability. This is achieved through child benefits, tax credits for taxpayers with dependent children (especially those with multiple children), and a recent addition for lower-income families known as the “Child Guarantee” (Social Security Institute, 2023).

However, as the country’s aging demographics reflects, a considerable gap remains in ensuring that policies provide sufficient economic and financial stability for families and individuals to have children. This issue is compounded by wage inequality between men and women, as a recent study indicates (Faria, 2023).

### Sustainable Pension System

Policies Aimed at  
Old-Age Poverty  
Prevention  
Score: 7

To address poverty among senior citizens, recent pension reforms in Portugal have introduced measures to ensure a basic level of financial security for new retirees. Eligible pensioners who have contributed to the mandatory social insurance scheme are guaranteed a minimum pension correlated with their career duration. This serves as a crucial safety net. Additionally, the Portuguese pension system aims to provide adequate income in old age for individuals with non-standard or interrupted employment histories through means-tested benefits. These benefits are a key component of the social security system’s solidarity subsystem. They represent the non-contributory segment designed to combat poverty and social exclusion, including among pensioners. These benefits cater to situations of verified need and aim to offset insufficiencies in contributions or other social security benefits.

Key examples of provisions for old-age income in Portugal include the old-age social pension and the solidarity supplement for the elderly. The old-age social pension is a non-contributory, means-tested pension designated for lower-income elderly individuals. It is available to those who reach the legal age for the old-age pension, are not eligible for the main benefit, and are in a state of economic need. However, the actual amount provided is small: €245.79 per month (Segurança Social, 2024). The solidarity supplement for the elderly is another non-contributory, means-tested benefit aimed at assisting pensioners with low incomes who have attained the legal retirement age. The value is €21.39 for pensioners aged below 70 and €42.78 for pensioners aged 70 or

above (Segurança Social, 2024). Recipients of this supplement may also qualify for additional health benefits and extraordinary social support for energy consumers, such as subsidized electricity and natural gas tariffs. These measures collectively demonstrate Portugal’s commitment to supporting its elderly population, particularly those who are most vulnerable.

The social security pension system also aims to help all citizens meet their basic needs through the social integration income – a cash benefit ensuring individuals and their family members have adequate resources for basic needs, facilitating their gradual social and professional integration, if applicable.

While pension benefits have increased in recent years, particularly for lower-income pensioners, they still fall short in effectively preventing a high rate of poverty among senior citizens. The poverty rate among individuals aged over 65 was 17% in 2022 (PORDATA, 2023).

Policies  
Targeting  
Intergenerational  
Equity  
Score: 6

Portugal’s pension policy aims to balance intergenerational equity, encourage continued employment, and maintain financial sustainability. However, it faces significant challenges regarding the long-term viability of the pension system. These challenges potentially compromise its goals and leave it vulnerable to future demographic and economic shifts.

In Portugal, workers who continue their professional activities at or beyond the legal retirement age are rewarded with a pension bonus, the value of which is contingent on their years of contributions. This creates a clear incentive for prolonged workforce participation. Conversely, early retirement is possible before reaching the legal age, but it usually comes with a penalty, resulting in a reduced pension.

Since 2016, the legal retirement age has been dynamically linked to changes in life expectancy at 65. This system, known as the sustainability factor, automatically adjusts the value of pensions based on demographic trends. It factors in the positive trajectory of average life expectancy, recalculating pension benefits downward to account for an extended retirement period. However, this penalty for increased life expectancy is designed to affect only those who do not proportionally delay their retirement. In 2023, the official retirement age was set at 66 years and four months, and this remains unchanged in 2024.

Despite implementing the sustainability factor, Portugal’s pension system faces medium- and long-term financial challenges, impacting its intergenerational equity. Between 1995 and 2021, pension expenditures as a percentage of GDP rose from 9.2% to 14.3% – one of the most significant

increases in the European Union. The Mercer Global Pension Index Report (2022) reflects this complexity, assigning Portugal an index value of 62.8 out of 100. This value indicates a system with commendable features but also considerable risks that threaten its long-term effectiveness and sustainability.

Looking ahead, the Bank of Portugal's Economic Bulletin (2023) suggests that pension expenditures might start to decline post-2035, despite an aging population. This anticipated decrease is attributed to a reduction in both the average pension amount and the pension replacement rate. Currently, Portugal's replacement rate, one of the highest in the Euro Zone, is projected to drop significantly by 2070, potentially aligning with the EU average. However, projections from the Portuguese Government's 2024 State Budget Proposal indicate these adjustments may not be enough to prevent an imminent financial imbalance in the social security system, where expenses are expected to exceed revenues in the coming decade. This scenario underscores the need for continual reassessment and adaptation of the pension system to ensure its long-term viability and fairness across generations (Ministry of Finance, 2023).

### Sustainable Inclusion of Migrants

Integration Policy  
Score: 9

Since 2015, Portugal has seen a significant and accelerating increase in its resident foreign population. According to PORDATA (2023), there was a 12% growth from 2021 to 2022, bringing the total number of foreigners living in Portugal to over 781,000 – nearly 400,000 more than in 2015. This increase is largely due to Portugal's inclusive policy framework for employed migrants, a result of concerted efforts by the state and civil society to ensure immigrants' human dignity and complete integration. This is achieved through principles of equity, respect for diversity, and equal opportunities. Crucial to this effort are the National Immigrant Support Centers, local centers, telephone support services offering simultaneous translation, and essential information resources.

In the 2023 Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), Portugal achieved an impressive third-place ranking with a score of 81 out of 100, distinguishing itself among nations with the most favorable policies for migrant integration. The country's integration strategy is notably comprehensive, focusing on ensuring equal rights, opportunities, and security for immigrants. The MIPEX report specifically points out that "Portugal has consistently improved since the first MIPEX edition. (...) Portugal also started to address its slight areas of weakness on migrant health and education: the healthcare system is improving access to healthcare and health information, while the education system is better supporting cultural diversity at school" (MIPEX, 2023). Additionally,

Portugal's policies on citizenship are acclaimed as among the best globally. This acclaim is further supported by the most recent European Social Survey, which observes that "Portugal is one of the countries in which respondents report greater openness to immigrants, and which... has seen this trend increase since the year 2000" (European Commission, 2023).

In Portugal, legal immigrants enjoy the same rights, opportunities, and security as citizens. They have the right to work, and their children have access to the education system regardless of their legal status. Moreover, if immigrants believe they have faced discrimination, they can file complaints with the Commission for Equality Against Racial Discrimination ("Comissão para a Igualdade e Contra a Discriminação Racial") – the institution responsible for enforcing anti-discrimination legislation. However, such complaints rarely lead to significant consequences. The most recent data indicates that in 2022, this Commission received 491 complaints, resulting in only five condemnations, with only four involving a fine. The largest of these fines, imposed on a bank, was a mere €857.80 (Expresso, 2023).

Coupled with the most recent amendments to the Nationality Law in 2018 and 2020 (Republic Diary, 2018 and 2020), which facilitated naturalization, there has been a notable increase in the number of naturalizations. Requests for Portuguese nationality surged by approximately 37% in 2022, reaching a new high of 74,506 requests (Immigration and Border Services, 2023).

### Effective Capacity-Building for Global Poverty Reduction

Management of  
Development  
Cooperation by  
Partner Country  
Score: 6

Approved in November 2022, the Portuguese Development Cooperation Strategy 2030 serves as the primary framework for guiding the country's public policy on international development cooperation. This comprehensive strategy, crucial in shaping Portugal's cooperation policy, addresses conceptual, political, and operational aspects. It is structured into three sections: an overview of the challenges to be addressed, a policy framework outlining principles and priorities, and a strategic action framework detailing specific action plans.

However, there has been no significant shift in the government's commitment to a global social policy focused on poverty reduction and social protection in low- and middle-income countries. Foreign aid remains a relatively minor aspect of Portugal's foreign policy, which primarily emphasizes economic diplomacy to stimulate the national economy and exports. Portugal is among the OECD countries contributing the least proportion of its income to development cooperation, falling well short of the international target for

Public Development Assistance by 2030 (Plataforma Portuguesa das ONGD, 2022).

Nonetheless, Portugal is not entirely disengaged from efforts to build capacity for poverty reduction in developing countries. The country continues to provide foreign aid, especially to Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa and East Timor. The 2030 Strategy maintains a focus on these nations, capitalizing on Portugal's unique relationship with them. In 2022, Portugal's official development assistance (ODA) amounted to USD 504.7 million, constituting 0.23% of its gross national income (GNI), marking a 17.5% real-term increase and a rise from 0.18% of GNI in 2021 (OECD, 2022a). However, Portugal's ODA volume remains modest compared to past performance and other OECD Development Assistance Committee members (OECD, 2022b).

Despite the increase in ODA, Portugal's involvement in shaping international policies and assuming leadership roles remains limited. The country typically follows rather than leads in international initiatives, and its resources are relatively modest compared to its European Union counterparts. Thus, while Portugal's intentions are commendable, its aid plays a marginal role in the overall design and implementation of foreign assistance.

Beyond financial and economic contributions, Portugal also participates in security tasks. Its involvement in UN, NATO, and EU security and humanitarian missions, though relatively modest, includes notable support, such as recent aid to Ukraine. In specific situations, like in Guinea-Bissau, Portugal actively contributes to stabilizing national governments, promoting security, and fostering development.

### III. Environmental Sustainability

#### Effective Climate Action

The Climate Change Performance Index 2023 (CCPI), an independent monitoring tool that evaluates countries' efforts in climate protection across categories such as greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, renewable energy, energy utilization, and climate policy, serves as a vital instrument for assessing the implementation of the Paris Agreement, which aims to limit global warming to 1.5°C. Portugal holds a notably favorable position in the CCPI, securing the 14th spot out of 63 countries with a score of 61.55, surpassing the EU27 average.

Policy Efforts  
and Commitment  
to Achieving  
Climate  
Neutrality by  
2050  
Score: 8

Moreover, Portugal anticipates that its current policies will result in emissions falling below the set limits by 2030, primarily due to a significant reduction in emissions within the energy supply sector since 2005. This positions the country on track to achieve carbon neutrality by 2050.

**Effective Environmental Health Protection**

Policy Efforts and Commitment to Minimizing Environmental Health Risks  
Score: 6

Between 2005 and 2022, Portugal actively aligned its policy instruments with European climate resilience standards. In recent years, the country has developed a comprehensive national and sectoral adaptation strategy (NAS and NAP), utilizing various reports (RAPs) for effective implementation.

The incorporation of Climate Risk Assessments into overarching adaptation governance frameworks is grounded in sectoral impact analyses outlined in monitoring reports. Like Greece, Portugal is committed to producing a comprehensive economic estimate of climate change damage and costs, enhancing sectoral evaluations of climate change impacts.

Furthermore, in line with several EU member states, Portugal aims to enact climate laws, demonstrating a political dedication to environmental protection and, consequently, public health. This commitment enhances the significance of adaptation policies, promoting a more coherent and coordinated implementation approach.

**Effective Ecosystem and Biodiversity Preservation**

Policy Efforts and Commitment to Preserving Ecosystems and Protecting Biodiversity  
Score: 7

In response to the complex challenge of preserving and protecting ecosystems and biodiversity, the Portuguese government initiated and funded a comprehensive biodiversity study titled “Biodiversity 2030: A New Agenda for Conservation in the Context of Climate Change.” Conducted between 2020 and 2022, this study represents a pivotal step in understanding the country’s biodiversity landscape. It revealed significant weaknesses that impede Portugal’s ability to achieve the goals outlined in the National Strategy for Nature Conservation and Biodiversity 2030, especially in the context of the European Biodiversity Strategy 2030.

The study identified several challenges, including a lack of effective intersectoral and interministerial coordination, difficulties in accessing relevant data, chronic underfunding of public conservation policies, and limited involvement of the private sector in biodiversity financing (Araújo et

al., 2022). These issues underscore the need for concerted efforts to address systemic shortcomings and enhance the overall effectiveness of environmental policies in safeguarding ecosystems and biodiversity.

While several biogeographical areas in Portugal, other EU member states, and the Alps region showcase commendable conservation efforts, challenges persist in certain regions. Some areas in Portugal face unfavorable conditions, indicating a lack of progress in the specific field under analysis.

**Effective Contributions to Global Environmental Protection**

Policy Efforts  
and Commitment  
to a Global  
Environmental  
Policy  
Score: 7

The Portuguese government is committed to formulating policies that contribute to global environmental sustainability, a fundamental challenge outlined in the 2030 Agenda. To promote sustainable development, the government has established a new interinstitutional mechanism and a control structure to monitor the agenda’s implementation. Internally, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers oversees and monitors the 2030 Agenda, while external coordination is managed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This control structure integrates these two government areas, bringing together various governmental and social organizations (Jornal de Negócios, 2023).

The translation of these efforts into concrete action remains to be seen. As highlighted in the National Voluntary Report, public policy planning has gradually incorporated the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs since 2017. However, most public policy instruments do not explicitly reference these frameworks.

Portugal has made significant commitments to addressing climate change in the international community, particularly through active participation in various United Nations conferences. Additionally, its role as the “Champion Country” of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration and its political dedication to the Second United Nations Conference on the Oceans exemplify Portugal’s active engagement on the global stage.

## Citations

### Executive Summary

Leitão, L. 2024. “Investimento público em 2023 ficou 25% abaixo da previsão do governo.” ECO. <https://eco.sapo.pt/2024/02/27/investimento-publico-em-2023-ficou-25-abaixo-da-previsao-do-governo>

### Key Challenges

Araújo, A. 2019. “The Distributional Effects of Indirect Taxes in Portugal.” Master Thesis in Economics from the NOVA – School of Business and Economics. <https://run.unl.pt/handle/10362/66382>

OECD. 2018. The Role and Design of Net Wealth Taxes in the OECD. Paris: OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264290303-en>

OECD. 2020. Innovative Citizen Participation and New Democratic Institutions: Catching the Deliberative Wave. Paris: OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/339306da-en>

### Free and Fair Political Competition

Law No. 14/79. 1979. Lei Eleitoral da Assembleia da República. [https://www.cne.pt/sites/default/files/dl/legis\\_lear\\_consolidada\\_2020-11.pdf](https://www.cne.pt/sites/default/files/dl/legis_lear_consolidada_2020-11.pdf)

Law No. 19/2003. 2003. Financing of Political Parties and Electoral Campaigns (Financiamento dos Partidos Políticos e das Campanhas Eleitorais). [https://www.parlamento.pt/Legislacao/Documents/Legislacao\\_Anotada/FinanciamentoPartidosPoliticospCampanhasEleitorais\\_Anotado.pdf](https://www.parlamento.pt/Legislacao/Documents/Legislacao_Anotada/FinanciamentoPartidosPoliticospCampanhasEleitorais_Anotado.pdf)

ECFP. 2023. “Relatório de Atividades 2022.” <https://www.tribunalconstitucional.pt/tc/file/RelatoriodeAtividades2022d.pdf?src=1&mid=7157&bid=5806>

MediaLAB Iscte. 2019. “Disinformation Risk in Portugal’s Election – More Brazil than Europe?”. [https://democracyreporting.s3.eu-central-1.amazonaws.com/images/27942019-10-01-Portugal\\_Disinformation\\_Risk-Assessment.pdf](https://democracyreporting.s3.eu-central-1.amazonaws.com/images/27942019-10-01-Portugal_Disinformation_Risk-Assessment.pdf)

Sapo. 2023. “Como o áudio Deepfake pode interferir nas eleições: Governos e cidadãos devem estar atentos à desinformação.” <https://tek.sapo.pt/noticias/computadores/artigos/como-o-audio-deepfake-pode-interferir-nas-eleicoes-governos-e-cidadaos-devem-estar-atentos-a-desinformacao>

Serra-Silva, Bruno, and João Crespo Santos. 2023. “Continuity and Change in Portuguese Politics: Towards a More Polarized Party System?” In *Portugal Since the 2008 Economic Crisis: Resilience and Change*, ed. António Costa Pinto, 129-155. New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351046916>

### Free and Fair Elections

Lei Eleitoral da Assembleia da República. Lei n.º 14/79, de 16 de maio. [https://www.cne.pt/sites/default/files/dl/legis\\_lear\\_consolidada\\_2020-11.pdf](https://www.cne.pt/sites/default/files/dl/legis_lear_consolidada_2020-11.pdf)

CNE. n.d. a. “Perguntas Frequentes: Recenseamento / Direito de Voto em Portugal.” <https://www.cne.pt/faq2/117/3>

CNE. n.d. b. “Perguntas Frequentes: Recenseamento / Direito de Voto em Portugal.” <https://www.cne.pt/faq2/95/90>

CNE. n.d. “Perguntas Frequentes: Votação em Portugal.” <https://www.cne.pt/faq2/108/3>

Observador. 2022. ““Milhares de portugueses na Europa” não receberam documentação para votar, acusa Rui Rio.” <https://observador.pt/2022/03/14/milhares-de-portugueses-na-europa-nao-receberam-documentacao-para-votar-acusa-rui-rio>

Observador. 2022b. “Tribunal Constitucional manda repetir eleições nas assembleias da Europa com irregularidades.” <https://observador.pt/2022/02/15/tribunal-constitucional-manda-repetir-eleicoes-nas-assembleias-da-europa-com-irregularidades>

DN/Lusa. 2022. “ACAPO denuncia irregularidades com matriz em Braille nas mesas de voto.” <https://www.dn.pt/politica/acapo-denuncia-irregularidades-com-matriz-em-braille-nas-mesas-de-voto-14542360.html>

### Socially Rooted Party System

Setenta e Quatro. 2022. “Todos os votos são iguais, mas alguns são mais iguais do que outros.” <https://setentaquatro.pt/ensaio/todos-os-votos-sao-iguais-mas-alguns-sao-mais-iguais-do-que-outros>

Expresso. 2022. “Mais de 671 mil votos foram ‘para o lixo’ nestas legislativas. Foi um em cada sete.” <https://expresso.pt/eleicoes/legislativas-2022/2022-01-31-Mais-de-671-mil-votos-foram-para-o-lixo-nestas-legislativas.-Foi-um-em-cada-sete-c2760589>

Serra-Silva, A., and M. Santos. 2023. “Continuity and Change in Portuguese Politics: Towards a More Polarized Party System?” In A. Costa Pinto eds., *Portugal Since the 2008 Economic Crisis: Resilience and Change*, 1st ed., 129-155. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351046916>

### Effective Cross-Party Cooperation

Serra-Silva, João, and Pedro Santos. 2023. “Continuity and Change in Portuguese Politics: Towards a More Polarized Party System?” In *Portugal Since the 2008 Economic Crisis: Resilience and Change*, eds. António Costa Pinto. 1st ed. 129-155. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351046916>

Fernandes, J., Magalhães, P., and Santana-Pereira, J. 2018. “Portugal’s Leftist Government: From Sick Man to Poster Boy?” *South European Society and Politics* 23 (4): 503-524. DOI: 10.1080/13608746.2018.1525914.

Jalali, C. 2019. “The Portuguese Party System: Evolution in Continuity?” In Costa Pinto, A. and Teixeira, C. P., eds. *Political Institutions and Democracy in Portugal*. London: Palgrave.

Rádio Renascença. 2021. “Ana Gomes avança com participação para ilegalização do Chega.” <https://rr.sapo.pt/noticia/politica/2021/02/04/ana-gomes-avanca-com-participacao-para-ilegalizacao-do-chega/225347>

### Transparent Government

Law No. 26/2016. 2016. *Diário da República* no. 160/2016, Série I de 2016. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/legislacao-consolidada/lei/2016-106603618>

Simplex. n.d. ” <https://www.simplex.gov.pt>”

### Free Media

CRP, *Constituição da República Portuguesa* (1976)

Law No. 2/99. 1999. *Lei de Imprensa*. [https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei\\_mostra\\_articulado.php?nid=138&tabela=leis](https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=138&tabela=leis)

Lusa. 2022. “Presidente da República promulga alteração à Carta de Direitos Humanos na Era Digital.” <https://expresso.pt/politica/2022-08-03-Presidente-da-Republica-promulga-alteracao-a-Carta-de-Direitos-Humanos-na-Era-Digital-55edd616>

Código Penal de 1982 versão consolidada posterior a 1995, DL n.º 48/95, de 15 de Março. [https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei\\_mostra\\_articulado.php?artigo\\_id=109A0132&nid=109&tabela=leis&pagina=1&ficha=1&so\\_miolo=&nversao=#artigo](https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?artigo_id=109A0132&nid=109&tabela=leis&pagina=1&ficha=1&so_miolo=&nversao=#artigo)

Expresso. 2018. “O romantismo do jornalismo acaba aos 30 anos.” <https://expresso.pt/sociedade/2018-05-03-O-romantismo-do-jornalismo-acaba-aos-30-anos>

Público. 2017. “A independência da regulação da comunicação social.” <https://www.publico.pt/2017/01/25/sociedade/opiniao/a-independencia-da-regulacao-da-comunicacao-social-1759480>

ECO. 2023. “ERC reforça necessidade de uma ‘verdadeira independência financeira.’” <https://eco.sapo.pt/2023/05/10/erc-reforca-necessidade-de-uma-verdadeira-independencia-financeira/>

Freedom House. 2023. “Portugal 2023.” <https://freedomhouse.org/country/portugal/freedom-world/2023>

### Pluralism of Opinions

Antunes, J., Areosa, J., Rolo, D., Santa, R., Silveira, H., and Varela, R. (coord). 2023. *Inquérito Nacional às Condições de Vida e de Trabalho dos Jornalistas em Portugal*. Observatório para as condições de vida e trabalho. <https://jornalistas.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Inquerito-Nacional-as-Condicoes-de-Vida-e-de-Trabalho-dos-Jornalistas-em-Portugal-03-11-2023-c.pdf>

Law No. 53/2005. 2005. [https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei\\_mostra\\_articulado.php?nid=588&tabela=leis](https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=588&tabela=leis)

Média Alternativos. n.d. “Os projectos.” <https://mediaalternativos.pt/projectos/>

Setenta e Quatro. 2021. “Os desafios do jornalismo de investigação: a responsabilidade do jornalista.” <https://setentaquatro.pt/ensaio/os-desafios-do-jornalismo-de-investigacao-responsabilidade-do-jornalista>

Público. 2020. “Partidos e líderes políticos nos media: quem aparece mais?” <https://www.publico.pt/2020/09/20/politica/noticia/partidos-lideres-politicos-media-aparece-1931798>

#### Free Civil Society

Constituição da República Portuguesa. 1976. [https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei\\_mostra\\_articulado.php?nid=4&tabela=leis](https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=4&tabela=leis)

Freedom House. 2023. “2023 Freedom of the World Data: Portugal.” <https://freedomhouse.org/country/portugal/freedom-world/2023>

WJP. 2023. “World Justice Project Rule of Law Index: Portugal.” <https://worldjusticeproject.org/rule-of-law-index/country/Portugal>

Criar uma associação na hora. n.d. “Criar uma associação na hora.” <https://eportugal.gov.pt/servicos/criar-uma-associacao-na-hora>

#### Effective Civil Society Organizations (Capital and Labor)

Conselho Económico e Social. n.d. <https://ces.pt/concertacao-social/>

Serra-Silva, S. and Oliveira, R. 2023. “Associational Involvement and Political Participation in Portugal: Insights from a Longitudinal and Comparative Study.” In Lisi, M., ed. *Interest Groups and Political Representation in Portugal and Beyond*. London: Routledge, 47-88.

#### Effective Civil Society Organizations (Environment)

Organizações Não-Governamentais do Ambiente. 1998. Lei n.º 35/98, de 18 de Julho. [https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei\\_mostra\\_articulado.php?nid=755&tabela=leis&so\\_miolo=](https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=755&tabela=leis&so_miolo=)

Lisi, M., and Oliveira, R. 2023. “Interest Groups, Political Representation and Citizen Preferences.” In Lisi, M., ed. *Interest Groups and Political Representation in Portugal and Beyond*. London: Routledge, 89-116.

Serra-Silva, S., and Oliveira, R. 2023. “Associational Involvement and Political Participation in Portugal: Insights from a Longitudinal and Comparative Study.” In Lisi, M., ed. *Interest Groups and Political Representation in Portugal and Beyond*. London: Routledge, 47-88.

#### Effective Public Auditing

Law on Organisation and Procedural Law of the Court of Auditors (LOPTC) (Lei de Organização e Processo do Tribunal de Contas). 1997. [https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/lei/98-1997-193663?\\_ts=1703762058332](https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/lei/98-1997-193663?_ts=1703762058332)

#### Effective Data Protection

CNPD. 2022. “Relatório de Atividades 2022.” [https://www.cnpd.pt/media/tutpevyh/relato-rio\\_2022.pdf](https://www.cnpd.pt/media/tutpevyh/relato-rio_2022.pdf)

Law No. 58/2019, of August 8, Personal Data Protection Law (Lei da Proteção de Dados Pessoais). 2019. Available at [https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei\\_mostra\\_articulado.php?artigo\\_id=3118A0001&nid=3118&tabela=leis&pagina=1&ficha=1&so\\_miolo=&nversao=#artigo](https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?artigo_id=3118A0001&nid=3118&tabela=leis&pagina=1&ficha=1&so_miolo=&nversao=#artigo)

Público. 2023. “Apesar das condicionantes dos ciberataques, Protecção de Dados averiguou e acusou mais.” <https://www.publico.pt/2023/03/15/sociedade/noticia/apesar-condicionantes-ciberataques-proteccao-dados-averiguou-acusou-2042209>

#### Effective Judicial Oversight

European Commission. 2023. “2023 Rule of Law Report: Country Chapter on the Rule of Law Situation in Portugal.” [https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2023-07/50\\_1\\_52628\\_coun\\_chap\\_portugal\\_en.pdf](https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2023-07/50_1_52628_coun_chap_portugal_en.pdf)

Law on the Organization of the Judicial System (Lei da Organização do Sistema Judiciário). 2013. Law No. 62/2013, of August 26. [https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei\\_mostra\\_articulado.php?nid=1974&tabela=leis](https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=1974&tabela=leis)

Tribunal Constitucional. n.d. “Estatuto dos juízes.” <https://www.tribunalconstitucional.pt/tc/tribunal-estatutojuizes.html>

Jornal de Negócios. 2023. “Aberto inquérito no Supremo por alegado envolvimento de Costa nos processos do lítio e hidrogénio.” <https://www.jornaldenegocios.pt/economia/politica/detalhe/aberto-inquerito-no-supremo-por-alegado-envolvimento-de-costa-nos-processos-do-litio-e-hidrogenio>

#### Universal Civil Rights

Agência Lusa. 2023. “Assassinadas 25 mulheres em Portugal desde o início do ano.” <https://observador.pt/2023/11/22/assassinadas-25-mulheres-em-portugal-desde-o-inicio-do-ano/>

Amnesty International. 2023. “Amnesty International Report 2022/23: The state of the world’s human rights.” <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol10/5670/2023/en>

Assembleia da República. 2019. “Relatório sobre Racismo, Xenofobia e Discriminação Étnico-racial em Portugal.”  
<https://app.parlamento.pt/webutils/docs/doc.pdf?path=6148523063446f764c324679626d56304c334e706447567a4c31684a53556c4d5a5763765130394e4c7a464451554e455445637655306c4f5243394562324e31625756756447397a51574e3061585a705a47466bZa554e7662576c7a633246764c7a45335a6a637a4d4455784c574d305a5759744e47497a4e5331684e7a67314c574d78596a63355a6a526d595442684d6935775a47593d&fich=17f73051-c4ef-4b35-a785-c1b79f4fa0a2.pdf&Inline=true>

CIG. 2023. “Aprovados os Planos de Ação 2023-2026 da ‘Estratégia Nacional para a Igualdade e a Não Discriminação – Portugal+Igual.’”  
[https://www.cig.gov.pt/2023/06/aprovados-os-planos-de-acao-2023-2026-da-estrategia-nacional-para-a-igualdade-e-a-nao-discriminacao-portugaligual/?fbclid=IwAR1ertTIREGzpcHL06k9bqIMPVDJWO\\_\\_A7P80RPj\\_Ib5q99ScMjpKVhSeA](https://www.cig.gov.pt/2023/06/aprovados-os-planos-de-acao-2023-2026-da-estrategia-nacional-para-a-igualdade-e-a-nao-discriminacao-portugaligual/?fbclid=IwAR1ertTIREGzpcHL06k9bqIMPVDJWO__A7P80RPj_Ib5q99ScMjpKVhSeA)

CPT. 2023a. “Report to the Portuguese Government on the periodic visit to Portugal carried out by the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT).” <https://rm.coe.int/1680adcb76>

CPT. 2023b. “Response of the Portuguese Government to the report of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT) on its visit to Portugal.” <https://rm.coe.int/1680adcb8d>

#### Effective Corruption Prevention

Código Penal. 1995. DL n.º 48/95, de 15 de Março.

[https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei\\_mostra\\_articulado.php?artigo\\_id=109A0373&nid=109&tabela=leis&pagina=1&ficha=1&so\\_miolo=&nversao=#artigo](https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?artigo_id=109A0373&nid=109&tabela=leis&pagina=1&ficha=1&so_miolo=&nversao=#artigo)

Law No. 19/2003. June 20. [https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei\\_mostra\\_articulado.php?nid=747&tabela=leis&so\\_miolo=](https://www.pgdlisboa.pt/leis/lei_mostra_articulado.php?nid=747&tabela=leis&so_miolo=)

Law No. 52/2019 of 31 July. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/lei/52-2019-123610180>

GRECO. 2022. “Fourth Evaluation Round – Second Compliance Report 2022.” <https://rm.coe.int/fourth-evaluation-round-corruption-prevention-in-respect-of-members-of/1680a7d87a>

EC. 2023. “2023 Rule of Law Report Country Chapter on the rule of law situation in Portugal.”  
[https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2023-07/50\\_1\\_52628\\_coun\\_chap\\_portugal\\_en.pdf](https://commission.europa.eu/system/files/2023-07/50_1_52628_coun_chap_portugal_en.pdf)

Oliveira, H. 2021. “A Estratégia Nacional de Combate à Corrupção poderia e deveria ir muito mais longe.” <https://ver.pt/a-estrategia-nacional-de-combate-a-corrupcao-poderia-e-deveria-ir-muito-mais-longo>

Transparência Internacional. 2022. “Índice de Perceção da Corrupção 2022.” <https://transparencia.pt/indice-de-percecao-da-corrupcao-2022/>

2020-2024 National Anticorruption Strategy. <https://justica.gov.pt/Estrategia-Nacional-Anticorrupcao-2020-2024#:~:text=O%20programa%20do%20XXII%20Governo,e%20fomentando%20o%20crescimento%20económico>

Council of Ministers Resolution No. 143/2021. Available at <https://files.dre.pt/1s/2021/11/21300/0002300024.pdf>

Expresso. 2023. “Operação Marquês: Sócrates já não será julgado por crimes de falsificação.” <https://expresso.pt/sociedade/justica/2023-04-20-Operacao-Marques-Socrates-ja-nao-sera-julgado-por-crimes-de-falsificacao-82675944>

DN/Lusa. 2023. “Diretor da PJ diz que nunca esta polícia teve tantos meios para combater a corrupção.”  
<https://www.dn.pt/sociedade/diretor-da-pj-diz-que-nunca-esta-policia-teve-tantos-meios-para-combater-a-corrupcao-17240260.html>

Observador. 2022. “Cerca de 40 crimes do megaprocissão BES/GES em risco de prescrever. Ricardo Salgado pode ver cair 15 dos 65 crimes de que está acusado.” <https://observador.pt/especiais/cerca-de-40-crimes-do-megaprocissão-bes-ges-em-risco-de-prescrever-ricardo-salgado-pode-ver-cair-15-dos-65-crimes-de-que-esta-acusado/>

#### Sufficient Legislative Resources

Law on the Organization and Functioning of the Services of the Assembly of the Republic (LOFAR). 1988. Lei de Organização e Funcionamento dos Serviços da Assembleia da República (LOFAR).  
[https://www.parlamento.pt/Legislacao/Documents/Legislacao\\_Anotada/LOFAR\\_Anotada.pdf](https://www.parlamento.pt/Legislacao/Documents/Legislacao_Anotada/LOFAR_Anotada.pdf)

Assembleia da República. 2022. “Relatório da Conta de Gerência da Assembleia da República – 2022.”  
<https://www.parlamento.pt/GestaoAR/Documents/oar/RelCGAR2022.pdf>

#### Effective Legislative Oversight

Assembleia da República. 2023. “Balanço da Atividade Parlamentar – 1.ª Sessão Legislativa da XV Legislatura.”  
[https://www.parlamento.pt/ActividadeParlamentar/Documents/RelatorioActidadeAR/RA\\_AR\\_XV\\_1\\_final.pdf](https://www.parlamento.pt/ActividadeParlamentar/Documents/RelatorioActidadeAR/RA_AR_XV_1_final.pdf)

#### Effective Legislative Investigations

Assembleia da República. n.d. “Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito à Tutela Política da Gestão da TAP.”  
<https://www.parlamento.pt/sites/COM/XVLeg/CPITAP/Paginas/Relatorio-da-Comissao.aspx>

Fernandes, J., and P. Riera. 2019. "Committee systems in Portugal and Spain." In Fernandes, J., and C. Leston-Bandeira, eds., *The Iberian Legislatures in Comparative Perspective*. London: Routledge.

Fernandes, J. 2016. "Intra-party Delegation in the Portuguese Legislature: Assigning Committee Chairs and Party Coordination Positions." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 22 (1): 108–128.

Regimento da Assembleia da República n.º 1/2020, de 31 de Agosto.  
[https://www.parlamento.pt/Legislacao/Documents/Legislacao\\_Anotada/RegimentoAR\\_Simples.pdf](https://www.parlamento.pt/Legislacao/Documents/Legislacao_Anotada/RegimentoAR_Simples.pdf)

#### Legislative Capacity for Guiding Policy

Assembleia da República. n.d. "Comissões – Competências." <https://www.parlamento.pt/sites/COM/XIIILeg/Paginas/Competencias.aspx>

Fernandes, J., and P. Riera. 2019. "Committee Systems in Portugal and Spain." In Fernandes, J., and C. Leston-Bandeira, eds., *The Iberian Legislatures in Comparative Perspective*. London: Routledge.

Regimento da Assembleia da República n.º 1/2020. 2020. Available at  
[https://www.parlamento.pt/Legislacao/Documents/Legislacao\\_Anotada/RegimentoAR\\_Simples.pdf](https://www.parlamento.pt/Legislacao/Documents/Legislacao_Anotada/RegimentoAR_Simples.pdf)

#### Effective Coordination Mechanisms of the GO/PMO

Decreto-Lei no. 32/2022. Diário da República. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/decreto-lei/32-2022-183159328>

Decreto-Lei no. 65/2022. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/decreto-lei/65-2022-201509739>

Decreto no. 7/2023. Diário da República. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/decreto/7-2023-213345453>

Decreto no. 17/2023. Diário da República. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/decreto/17-2023-215647912>

Decreto-Lei no. 108-A/2023. Diário da República. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/decreto-lei/108-a-2023-224661323>

Decreto-Lei no. 21/2021. Diário da República. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/decreto-lei/21-2021-159432384>

#### Effective Coordination Mechanisms within the Ministerial Bureaucracy

Governo de Portugal. 2023. "Interministerial Commission of Coordination: Portugal 2030."  
<https://portugal2030.pt/2023/03/10/regulamento-interno-da-comissao-interministerial-de-coordenacao-do-portugal-2030>

Presidência do Conselho de Ministros et al. 2021. Despacho 12818/2021 Creates the Interministerial committee for coordinating the education and professional training within the scope of the National Qualifications System.  
<https://files.dre.pt/2s/2021/12/252000000/0002200024.pdf>

Direção-Geral de Política do Mar. "Interministerial Commission of Mar Affairs (Comissão Interministerial de Assuntos do Mar)."  
<https://www.dgpm.mm.gov.pt/ciam>

Minister of Environment. "Interministerial Commission of Water Management." <https://apambiente.pt/agua/comissao-interministerial-de-coordenacao-da-agua>

Camões: Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua. "Interministerial Commission for Cooperation." <https://www.instituto-camoes.pt/activity/o-que-fazemos/cooperacao/atuacao/coordenamos/cic>

#### Effectively Setting and Monitoring National (Minimum) Standards

Governo de Portugal. "Descentralização é «o caminho para a coesão territorial»."  
<https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc23/comunicacao/noticia?i=descentralizacao-e-o-caminho-para-a-coesao-territorial>  
(02.03.2023)

DRE. 2023. Decreto-Lei n.º 36/2023. 1ª série, N.º 102, May 20. <https://files.dre.pt/1s/2023/05/10200/0000600027.pdf>

Governo de Portugal. "Novos passos no processo de descentralização."  
<https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc23/comunicacao/noticia?i=novos-passos-no-processo-de-descentralizacao> (24.05.2023)

#### Effective Multilevel Cooperation

Decreto-Lei n.º 36/2023. 2023. DR, 1ª série, N.º 102, p. 6. <https://files.dre.pt/1s/2023/05/10200/0000600027.pdf>

OECD. 2020. Decentralisation and Regionalisation in Portugal. What Reform Scenarios? <https://doi.org/10.1787/fea62108-en>

Público. 2024. "Tribunal de Contas: Financiamento para descentralização insuficiente e não claro."  
<https://www.publico.pt/2024/01/29/local/noticia/tribunal-contas-financiamento-descentralizacao-insuficiente-claro-2022-2078556>

Harnessing Scientific Knowledge Effectively

Conselho de Finanças Públicas. n.d. “.” <https://www.cfp.pt>

Unidade Técnica de apoio Orçamental (UTAO). n.d. ” [https://www.parlamento.pt/OrcamentoEstado/Paginas/UTAO\\_UnidadeTecnicaDeApoioOrcamental.aspx](https://www.parlamento.pt/OrcamentoEstado/Paginas/UTAO_UnidadeTecnicaDeApoioOrcamental.aspx)”

Centro de Competências de Planeamento, de Políticas e de Prospetiva da Administração Pública (PlanAPP). n.d. ” <https://www.planapp.gov.pt/faqs/>”

Centro de Competências Jurídicas do Estado (JurisAPP). n.d. ” <https://www.jurisapp.gov.pt>

Centro de Competências Digitais da Administração Pública (ticAPP). n.d. “<https://ticapp.gov.pt/pt/o-que-fazemos/>”

Effective Involvement of Civil Society Organizations (Capital and Labor)

Lusa. “Confederações patronais querem redução da carga fiscal em 2024.” Eco Sapó. <https://eco.sapo.pt/2023/09/13/confederacoes-patronais-querem-reducao-da-carga-fiscal-em-2024/> (13.09.2023)

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). “Indicators of Regulatory Policy and Governance EUROPE 2022 Portugal.” <https://www.oecd.org/gov/regulatory-policy/Portugal-country-profile-EU-report-2022.pdf>

Frazão, J. P. 2023. “Cinco décadas de democracia em Portugal. ‘Ponto mais negativo é a falta de participação da sociedade civil.’” Rádio Renascença. <https://rr.sapo.pt/noticia/politica/2023/04/24/cinco-decadas-de-democracia-em-portugal-ponto-mais-negativo-e-a-falta-de-participacao-da-sociedade-civil/328833/>

Conselho Económico e Social. 2021. “Acordo sobre formação profissional e qualificação: um desígnio estratégico para as pessoas, para as empresas e para o país.” <https://ces.pt/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/acordo-2021.pdf>

Frazão, J. P. 2023. “Cinco décadas de democracia em Portugal. ‘Ponto mais negativo é a falta de participação da sociedade civil.’” Rádio Renascença. <https://rr.sapo.pt/noticia/politica/2023/04/24/cinco-decadas-de-democracia-em-portugal-ponto-mais-negativo-e-a-falta-de-participacao-da-sociedade-civil/328833/>

Conselho Económico e Social. 2021. Acordo sobre formação profissional e qualificação: um desígnio estratégico para as pessoas, para as empresas e para o país. <https://ces.pt/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/acordo-2021.pdf>

Effective Involvement of Civil Society Organizations (Social Welfare)

Conselho Económico e Social (CES), <https://ces.pt/conselho-economico-e-social/>

DRE. 1991. Law nº 108/91. Série I-A, nº 188, August 17. 4199. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/legislacao-consolidada/lei/1991-58928557>

Luis. 1999. “Concertação Social e ‘corporativismo selectivo’ e Questões Laborais.” 14: 162-173.

Almeida, J. R., Silva, M. C., Ferreira, A. C., Costa, H. 2016. Concertação Social: A actividade da CPCS DE 2009 A 2015 – ecos das políticas europeias. Centro de Estudos Sociais, Universidade de Coimbra. [https://www.ces.uc.pt/observatorios/crisalt/documentos/cadernos/Caderno\\_9\\_Concertacao\\_Social.pdf](https://www.ces.uc.pt/observatorios/crisalt/documentos/cadernos/Caderno_9_Concertacao_Social.pdf)

Effective Involvement of Civil Society Organizations (Environment)

Law nº 108/91. Diário da República, nº 188, Série I-A, p. 4199. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/lei/108-1991-674430>

RTP. 2024. “Plantação de 722 hectares de pera-abacate em Alcácer do Sal em consulta pública.” [https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/economia/plantacao-de-722-hectares-de-pera-abacate-em-alcacer-do-sal-em-consulta-publica\\_n1541176](https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/economia/plantacao-de-722-hectares-de-pera-abacate-em-alcacer-do-sal-em-consulta-publica_n1541176)

SAPO. 2024. “Zero diz que plantação de abacates em Alcácer do Sal pode ser ‘machadada’ na conservação.” <https://greensavers.sapo.pt/zero-diz-que-plantacao-de-abacates-em-alcacer-do-sal-pode-ser-machadada-na-conservacao/>

Participa. (n.d.). “Portal <https://participa.pt/pt/consulta/projeto-agricola-de-producao-de-abacates>”

Open Government

OECD. 2020. “Open, Useful and Re-usable data (OURdata) Index: 2019.” OECD Policy Papers on Public Governance No. 1. <https://www.oecd.org/gov/digital-government/policy-paper-ourdata-index-2019.htm>

AMA. 2021. “II Plano de Ação de Administração Aberta.” <https://ogp.eportugal.gov.pt/documents/48760/321053/Documenta%C3%A7%C3%A3o+de+apoio.pdf/9001443e-d80f-b6cf-a5eb-76f691d0bf2a>

<https://www.oecd.org/gov/digital-government/open-government-data.htm>

<https://dados.gov.pt/en/>

Direção-Geral do Orçamento (DGO). ” [www.dgo.gov.pt](http://www.dgo.gov.pt)”

Direção-Geral do Orçamento. 2023. “Síntese da Execução Orçamental Mensal (SEO), Novembro de 2023.” <https://www.dgo.gov.pt/execucaoorcamental/Paginas/Sintese-da-Execucao-Orcamental-Mensal.aspx?Ano=2023&Mes=Novembro>  
<https://www.base.gov.pt/Base4/pt/>

#### Capacity for Strategic Foresight and Anticipatory Innovation

Ribeiro, F., ed. 2021. Foresight Portugal 2030, cenários de evolução para Portugal. Vol. 2. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. [https://cdn.gulbenkian.pt/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/FCG\\_FutureForum\\_VOLUME\\_02.pdf](https://cdn.gulbenkian.pt/wp-content/uploads/2022/02/FCG_FutureForum_VOLUME_02.pdf)

PlanAPP. 2022. “How Strategic Foresight can Shape Public Policies.” <https://www.planapp.gov.pt/en/how-strategic-foresight-can-shape-public-policies/>

Administrative Modernization Agency. 2021. “Anticipatory Innovation Starter Kit.” [https://labx.gov.pt/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/ama\\_LabX\\_AISK0.2EN\\_Fev2022.pdf](https://labx.gov.pt/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/ama_LabX_AISK0.2EN_Fev2022.pdf)

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). n.d. “Anticipatory Innovation Starter Kit Portugal.” <https://oecd-opsi.org/air/case/anticipatory-innovation-starter-kit>

#### Effective Regulatory Impact Assessment

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). “Indicators of Regulatory Policy and Governance EUROPE 2022 Portugal.” <https://web-archiv.e.oecd.org/2022-08-03/638949-Portugal-country-profile-EU-report-2022.pdf>

JurisAPP Unidade Técnica de Avaliação de Impacto Legislativo. 2019. Relatório de Atividade – Ano de 2018. [https://jurisapp.gov.pt/media/1113/utail-relatorio-2018\\_final\\_15042019\\_publica.pdf](https://jurisapp.gov.pt/media/1113/utail-relatorio-2018_final_15042019_publica.pdf)

#### Effective Sustainability Checks

Sustainable Development Solutions Network. n.d. “Sustainable Development Report – Portugal.” <https://dashboards.sdgindex.org/profiles/portugal>

Jornal de Negócios. 2024. “Portugal apresenta na ONU melhoria de 61% em indicadores dos Objetivos do Desenvolvimento.” <https://www.jornaldenegocios.pt/economia/detalhe/portugal-apresenta-na-onu-melhoria-de-61-em-indicadores-dos-objetivos-desenvolvimento>

#### Effective Ex Post Evaluation

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). 2022. “Indicators of Regulatory Policy and Governance EUROPE 2022 Portugal.” <https://web-archiv.e.oecd.org/2022-08-03/638949-Portugal-country-profile-EU-report-2022.pdf>

Decree-Law 21/2021. 2021. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/decreto-lei/21-2021-159432384>  
<https://www.planapp.gov.pt/estudos-de-avaliacao/>

#### Circular Economy Policy Efforts and Commitment

Ministry of Environment. 2017. “Leading the Transition: Action Plan for Circular Economy Portugal (2017-20).” <https://eco.nomia.pt/contents/ficheiros/paec-en-version-4.pdf>

Presidência do Conselho de Ministros. 2023. Resolução do Conselho de Ministros 30/2023 Plano Estratégico para os Resíduos Urbanos 2030. <https://files.diariodarepublica.pt/1s/2023/03/06000/0000700139.pdf>

OECD. 2023. OECD Environmental Performance Reviews: Portugal 2023. Paris: OECD Publishing. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1787/d9783cbf-en>

Eurostat. (n.d.). “Municipal waste statistics.” [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Municipal\\_waste\\_statistics](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Municipal_waste_statistics)

European Environment Agency. n.d. “Waste Recycling in Europe.” <https://www.eea.europa.eu/en/analysis/indicators/waste-recycling-in-europe>

Geerken, T., Manoochehri, S., and Di Francesco, E. 2022. Circular Economy Policy Innovation and Good Practice in Member States. European Environment Agency. [https://www.eionet.europa.eu/etcs/etc-ce/products/draft-report-for-dg-env\\_final.pdf](https://www.eionet.europa.eu/etcs/etc-ce/products/draft-report-for-dg-env_final.pdf)

#### Policy Efforts and Commitment to a Resilient Critical Infrastructure

Cipriano, C. 2023. “Governo falha metas PNI 2030 em projetos ferroviários.” Público online April 4. <https://www.publico.pt/2023/04/04/economia/noticia/governo-falha-metas-pni-2030-projectos-ferroviarios-2044793>

International Telecommunication Union (Development Sector). 2020. “Global Index Security 2020.” [https://www.itu.int/dms\\_pub/itu-d/opb/str/D-STR-GCI.01-2021-PDF-E.pdf](https://www.itu.int/dms_pub/itu-d/opb/str/D-STR-GCI.01-2021-PDF-E.pdf)

XXII Governo República Portuguesa. n.d. “Plano Nacional de Investimentos 2030 (PNI 2030).” <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc22/comunicacao/documento?i=apresentacao-do-programa-nacional-de-investimentos-para-2030>

XXII Governo República Portuguesa. 2022. “Plano Ferroviário Nacional.” <https://pfn.gov.pt/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/plano-ferroviario-nacional-20221117.pdf>

Governo de Portugal. 2023. “Projetos do PRR das Infraestruturas estão em andamento.” <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc23/comunicacao/noticia?i=projetos-do-prr-das-infraestruturas-estao-em-andamento>

Infraestruturas de Portugal. n.d. “2030 Investment Plan (PNI 2030).” <https://www.infraestruturasdeportugal.pt/pt-pt/planos-estrategicos>

#### Policy Efforts and Commitment to Achieving a Decarbonized Energy System by 2050

European Commission (EC). 2023. “State of the Energy Union 2023 Portugal.” [https://energy.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2023-10/PT\\_SoEU%20Fiche%202023.pdf](https://energy.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2023-10/PT_SoEU%20Fiche%202023.pdf)

European Environment Agency (EEA). 2014. “Energy Support Measures and Their Impact on Innovation in the Renewable Energy Sector in Europe.” <https://www.eea.europa.eu/publications/energy-support-measures>

OECD. 2023. OECD Environmental Performance Reviews: Portugal 2023. OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/d9783cbf-en>

Governo de Portugal. 2019. “Roadmap for Carbon Neutrality 2050.” <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/download-ficheiros/ficheiro.aspx?v=%3d%3dBAAAAB%2bLCAAAAAAABACzMDexBAC4h9DRBAAAAA%3d%3d>

Governo de Portugal. 2020. “Plano Nacional Energia e Clima 2021-2030.” <https://www.portugalenergia.pt/setor-energetico/bloco-3>

Lei de Bases do Clima. 2021. Diário da República n.º 251/2021, Série I. <https://dre.pt/web/guest/pesquisa/-/search/170291204/details/maximized>

#### Policies Targeting an Adaptive Labor Market

PORDATA. 2023. “Taxa de desemprego: total e por sexo (%).” [https://www.pordata.pt/portugal/taxa+de+desemprego+total+e+por+sexo+\(percentagem\)-550](https://www.pordata.pt/portugal/taxa+de+desemprego+total+e+por+sexo+(percentagem)-550)

Fundação José Neves. 2023. “Estado da Nação: Educação, Emprego e Competências em Portugal.” <https://www.joseneves.org/estado-da-nacao-2023>

IEFP. 2023. “Formação.” <https://www.iefp.pt/formacao>

ECO. 2023. “Concurso para apoiar digitalização da indústria com 60 milhões do PRR abre nos próximos dias.” ECO, November 15. <https://eco.sapo.pt/2023/11/15/concurso-para-apoiar-digitalizacao-da-industria-com-60-milhoes-do-prr-abre-nos-proximos-dias/>

#### Policies Targeting an Inclusive Labor Market

IEFP. 2023. “Apoios.” <https://www.iefp.pt/apoios>

Eurostat. 2023. “Young people neither in employment nor in education or training.” [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Vis2-young-people-neither-in-employment-nor-in-education-or-training\\_260523.png](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=File:Vis2-young-people-neither-in-employment-nor-in-education-or-training_260523.png)

Law n.º 13/2023. 2023. Diário da República n.º 66/2023, Série I de 2023-04-03. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/legislacao-consolidada/lei/2023-211366691>

Observatório da Emigração. 2023. Atlas da Emigração Portuguesa. Editora Mundos Sociais. Retrieved from [https://observatorioemigracao.pt/np4/file/9573/Atlas\\_Emig\\_Port\\_EBOOK.pdf](https://observatorioemigracao.pt/np4/file/9573/Atlas_Emig_Port_EBOOK.pdf)

OECD. 2023. “Economic Policy Reforms 2023 – Going for Growth.” <https://www.oecd.org/publication/going-for-growth/2023>

#### Policies Targeting Labor Market Risks

Expresso. 2023. “Novas regras para o trabalho doméstico: saiba como calcular as contribuições sociais e quanto terá de pagar.” Expresso, May 12. <https://expresso.pt/economia/trabalho/2023-05-12-Novas-regras-para-o-trabalho-domestico-saiba-como-calculas-contribuicoes-sociais-e-quanto-tera-de-pagar-9ce3906e>

#### Policies Targeting Adequate Tax Revenue

OECD. 2023. Revenue Statistics 2023: Tax Revenue Buoyancy in OECD Countries. Paris: OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/9d0453d5-enhttps://www.oecd.org/tax/revenue-statistics-2522770x.htm>

Ministry of Finance. 2023. “Relatório do Orçamento do Estado 2024.” <https://www.portugal.gov.pt/download-ficheiros/ficheiro.aspx?v=%3D%3DBQAAAB%2BLCAAAAAABAAzNLY0NAQA8%2BjEBAUAAAA%3D>

Eurostat. 2023. “Main National Accounts Tax Aggregates.”  
[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/gov\\_10a\\_taxag/default/table?lang=en](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/gov_10a_taxag/default/table?lang=en)

EU Tax Observatory. 2023. “Offshore Financial Wealth Database.”  
<https://atlas-offshore.world/download-data/>

Dinheiro Vivo. 2023. “Ana Gamboa: ‘Autoridade Tributária está num ponto de rutura extrema ao nível dos recursos humanos’.” Dinheiro Vivo, September 23. <https://www.dinheirovivo.pt/entrevistas/ana-gamboa-autoridade-tributaria-esta-num-ponto-de-rutura-extrema-ao-nivel-dos-recursos-humanos-17068466.html>

#### Policies Targeting Tax Equity

Eurostat. 2023. “Main National Accounts Tax Aggregates.”  
[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/gov\\_10a\\_taxag/default/table?lang=en](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/gov_10a_taxag/default/table?lang=en)

Mergulhão, Alexandre. 2023. “A fiscalidade em Portugal.” <https://causapublica.org/estudos/a-fiscalidade-em-portugal/>

#### Policies Aimed at Minimizing Compliance Costs

Deloitte. 2023. “Observatório da Competitividade Fiscal 2023.”  
<https://www2.deloitte.com/pt/pt/pages/tax/articles/observatorio-competitividade-fiscal-2023.html>

Alves, Andreia. 2021. The Complexity of the Tax System and Its Impact on the Practice of Accounting Professionals in Portugal. Dissertação de Mestrado, Universidade do Minho.  
<https://repositorium.sdum.uminho.pt/handle/1822/73708>

Oliveira, Francisca et al. 2019. Os benefícios fiscais em Portugal. Grupo de Trabalho para o Estudo dos Benefícios Fiscais.  
<https://www.portugal.gov.pt/download-ficheiros/ficheiro.aspx?v=%3D%3DBAAAAB%2BLCAAAAAABACzMDQwAgCG5%2BMmBAAAA%3D%3D>

#### Policies Aimed at Internalizing Negative and Positive Externalities

ANI – Agência Nacional de Inovação. 2023. “Indicadores do SIFIDE.”  
<https://www.ani.pt/pt/financiamento/incentivos-fiscais/sifide/>

INE – Instituto Nacional de Estatística. 2023. “Impostos e taxas com relevância ambiental 2022.”  
[https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine\\_destaques&DESTAQUESdest\\_boui=593750697&DESTAQUESmodo=2](https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_destaques&DESTAQUESdest_boui=593750697&DESTAQUESmodo=2)

Eurostat. 2023. “Environmental tax revenues.”  
[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/env\\_ac\\_tax/default/table?lang=en](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/env_ac_tax/default/table?lang=en)

OECD. 2023. “OECD Environmental Performance Reviews: Portugal 2023.” <https://www.oecd.org/environment/country-reviews/oecd-environmental-performance-reviews-portugal-2023-d9783cbf-en.htm>

#### Sustainable Budgeting Policies

Ministry of Finance. 2023. “Relatório do Orçamento do Estado 2024.”  
<https://www.portugal.gov.pt/download-ficheiros/ficheiro.aspx?v=%3D%3DBQAAAB%2BLCAAAAAABAAzNLY0NAQA8%2BjEBAUAAAA%3D>

IGCP. 2023. “Agência de Gestão da Tesouraria e da Dívida Pública – Ratings.”  
<https://www.igcp.pt/pt/menu-lateral/gestao-da-divida-publica/ratings/>

Eurostat. 2023. “Investment Share of GDP by Institutional Sectors.”  
[https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/sdg\\_08\\_11/default/table](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/sdg_08_11/default/table)

UTAO. 2023. “Apreciação final da Proposta de Orçamento do Estado para 2024.” Relatório UTAO n.º 16/2023, 12 de novembro de 2023.  
<https://app.parlamento.pt/webutils/docs/doc.pdf?path=CymYKvjXhWaiXdTjxWTVBGLy4eOAUe3JkUNoj8QdSwiaB1Vcyx53SuPyyizwFncv6rWxetEUdJXykyFYNa15yXDnl%2fRHvP2qaz6zF7TwiIE5rSPOiyNCO4%2fBJaCTYIWkc7tkA6ajenGZSjkVII09GVZ9X0Qy6Mudk%2bGxX%2fwSyJxDARML0y40R2iLUSy6fROhLNpkeEQSisfMY6QWFFzdQQY5p%2fbvEfVmkhgg89ugihnpNePdX6WdMwNIEUkkC%2bv0vlp78IBN69K%2f0QNOsgRyBMyiWnbekXvk%2ffWa%2fJcfcia%2fhdEyD5ftbIQJ9Yu5Wqe7dFQKQ6lVSAI2oDFo0lPg9z5rtvIojvtPnhFuCGQ0vRlnU1WMgiUd%2fN3lj3NqSvIyyQlkvfKhAQSBRE1bRYgJ3dms8DqW7MA6PCNASSpUpWkVQAvu8GYQllhCInirxwuQLqJ%2bvert1NSFDTx%2baDFBK%2fJVMCPbCTJPj5qzeE4DzXGb%2bIcvUYnVkv05u6Z5Vzwx%2bG05PJD%2b7jDHI5OtHdbw%3d%3d&fich=UTAO-Rel-16-2023-POE2024.pdf&Inline=true>

#### Research and Innovation Policy

ANI. 2023. “ENEI – Estratégia Nacional de Especialização Inteligente.” <https://www.ani.pt/pt/valorizacao-conhecimento/valoriza%C3%A7%C3%A3o-de-pol%C3%ADticas/enei-estrat%C3%A9gia-nacional-de-especializa%C3%A7%C3%A3o-inteligente/>

ECO. 2023. “Depois do Beato, fábrica de unicórnios aposta em novos hubs de inovação.” ECO, November 14.  
<https://eco.sapo.pt/2023/11/14/depois-do-beato-fabrica-de-unicornios-aposta-em-novos-hubs-de-inovacao/>

European Commission. 2023. “European Innovation Scoreboard 2023 – Country profile Portugal.” Directorate-General for Research and Innovation, June 2023.  
[https://ec.europa.eu/assets/rtd/eis/2023/ec\\_rtd\\_eis-country-profile-pt.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/assets/rtd/eis/2023/ec_rtd_eis-country-profile-pt.pdf)

Eurostat. 2023. “R&D Expenditure.” [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=R%26D\\_expenditure&oldid=551418](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=R%26D_expenditure&oldid=551418)  
PORTDATA. 2023. “Despesas em atividades de investigação e desenvolvimento (I&D) em % do PIB: por setor de execução.”  
[https://www.pordata.pt/portugal/despesas+em+atividades+de+investigacao+e+desenvolvimento+\(i+d\)+em+percentagem+do+pib+por+setor+de+execucao-1133](https://www.pordata.pt/portugal/despesas+em+atividades+de+investigacao+e+desenvolvimento+(i+d)+em+percentagem+do+pib+por+setor+de+execucao-1133)

#### Global Financial Policies

Jornal de Negócios. 2023. “Paul Krugman: ‘Portugal é uma espécie de milagre económico.’”  
<https://www.jornaldenegocios.pt/o-poder-de-fazer-acontecer/entrevistas/detalhe/paul-krugman-portugal-e-uma-especie-de-milagre-economico>

Tax Justice Network. 2023. “Financial Secrecy Index 2022.”  
<https://fsi.taxjustice.net/>

#### Policies Targeting Quality Education

OECD. 2023. “Adult education level (indicator).” doi: 10.1787/36bce3fe-en  
<https://data.oecd.org/eduatt/adult-education-level.htm>

OECD. 2023. PISA 2022 Results (Volume I): The State of Learning and Equity in Education. Paris: OECD Publishing.  
[https://doi.org/10.1787/53f23881-enhttps://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/education/pisa-2022-results-volume-i\\_53f23881-en](https://doi.org/10.1787/53f23881-enhttps://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/education/pisa-2022-results-volume-i_53f23881-en)

PORTDATA. 2023. “Índice de envelhecimento dos docentes em exercício nos ensinos pré-escolar, básico e secundário: por nível de ensino – Continente.”  
<https://www.pordata.pt/portugal/indice+de+envelhecimento+dos+docentes+em+exercicio++nos+ensinos+pre+escolar++basico+e+secundario+por+nivel+de+ensino+++continente-944-7743>

#### Policies Targeting Equitable Access to Education

DRE. 2022. Ordinance No. 198/2022 – Regulamenta as condições específicas de concretização da medida da gratuidade das creches e creches familiares, integradas no sistema de cooperação, bem como das amas do Instituto da Segurança Social, I. P.  
<https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/portaria/198-2022-186721643>

Público. 2023a. “Ranking das escolas: veja em que lugar ficou a sua.”  
<https://www.publico.pt/rankings-escolas-2022/lugar-sua-escola>

Projeto de Lei 120/XV/1 – Propõe a criação de uma rede pública de creches como forma de garantir os direitos das crianças.  
<https://www.parlamento.pt/ActividadeParlamentar/Paginas/DetalheIniciativa.aspx?BID=121557>

Público. 2023. “Creche Feliz: ‘Não estávamos preparados para este aumento de crianças.’”  
<https://www.publico.pt/2023/10/25/sociedade/noticia/creche-feliz-nao-estavamos-preparados-aumento-criancas-2067969?reloaded&rnd=0.5856044468316948>

#### Policies Targeting Equal Access to Essential Services and Basic Income Support

Barreiros, Mónica. 2017. “Shame on you – the stigma of social welfare benefits.”  
[https://run.unl.pt/bitstream/10362/32394/1/Barreiros\\_2018.pdf](https://run.unl.pt/bitstream/10362/32394/1/Barreiros_2018.pdf)

#### Policies Targeting Quality of Essential Services and Basic Income Support

PORTDATA. 2023. “Taxa de risco de pobreza por grupo etário: antes e após transferências sociais.”  
<https://www.pordata.pt/portugal/taxa+de+risco+de+pobreza+por+grupo+etario+antes+e+apos+transferencias+sociais-3009>

Expresso. 2023. “Sem-abrigo aumentam 78% em quatro anos.” Semanário, October 20.  
<https://leitor.expresso.pt/semanario/semanario2660/html/primeiro-caderno/investigacao/sem-abrigo-aumentam-78-em-quatro-anos>

Batista, I., and E. Marlier. 2020. “Access to Essential Services for People on Low Incomes in Europe: An Analysis of Policies in 35 Countries.” European Social Policy Network (ESPN), European Commission. <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/9b16d965-090e-11eb-bc07-01aa75ed71a1>

### Policies Targeting Health System Resilience

RTP. 2023. “Constrangimentos no SNS. Médicos mantêm escusas, enfermeiros entram em greve.” RTP Notícias, November 3. [https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/pais/constrangimentos-no-sns-medicos-mantem-escusas-enfermeiros-entram-em-greve\\_n1526668](https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/pais/constrangimentos-no-sns-medicos-mantem-escusas-enfermeiros-entram-em-greve_n1526668)

Público. 2023. “Governo abre quase 1000 vagas no SNS para médicos especialistas recém-formados.” Público, December 2. <https://www.publico.pt/2023/12/02/sociedade/noticia/governo-abre-quase-1000-vagas-sns-medicos-recemespecialistas-2072330>

Observador. 2023. “Governo anuncia 117 milhões para modernização tecnológica do SNS.” Observador, November 23. <https://observador.pt/2023/11/23/governo-anuncia-117-milhoes-para-modernizacao-tecnologica-do-sns/>

### Policies Targeting High-Quality Healthcare

OECD. 2023. “OECD Health at a Glance 2023 Country Note – Portugal.” <https://www.oecd.org/portugal/health-at-a-glance-Portugal-EN.pdf>

CNN. 2023. “Há mais de 1,7 milhões de portugueses sem médico de família. E anúncio para contratar quase mil médicos arrisca ser mais um ‘fracasso’.” CNN Portugal, December 26.

<https://cnnportugal.iol.pt/medico-de-familia/medicina-geral-e-familiar/ha-mais-de-1-7-milhoes-de-portugueses-sem-medico-de-familia-e-anuncio-para-contratar-quase-mil-medicos-arrisca-ser-mais-um-fracasso/20231226/658311b5d34e65afa2f8e05d>

### Policies Targeting Equitable Access To Healthcare

CRP, Constituição da República Portuguesa, artigo 64º (Capítulo II, Parte I).

Diário de Notícias. 2023. “Utentes sem médico de família aumentam 29% num ano.” <https://www.dn.pt/sociedade/utentes-sem-medico-de-familia-aumentam-29-num-ano-16375028.html>

OECD. 2021. Portugal: Country Health Profile 2021, State of Health in the EU. Paris: OECD Publishing/European Observatory on Health Systems and Policies, Brussels. [https://health.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2021-12/2021\\_chp\\_pt\\_english.pdf](https://health.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2021-12/2021_chp_pt_english.pdf)

INE. 2023. “Indicadores da Saúde.” [https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine\\_indicadores&userLoadSave=Load&userTableOrder=11485&tipoSelecao=1&contexto=pq&selTab=tab1&submitLoad=true](https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&userLoadSave=Load&userTableOrder=11485&tipoSelecao=1&contexto=pq&selTab=tab1&submitLoad=true)

SNS. 2023. “Governo cria programa de acesso universal a bombas de insulina de nova geração.” <https://www.sns.gov.pt/noticias/2023/05/31/governo-cria-programa-de-acesso-universal-a-bombas-de-insulina-de-nova-geracao/>

### Policy Efforts and Commitment to Achieving Gender Equality

INE. 2023. “Indicadores da Saúde.” [https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine\\_indicadores&userLoadSave=Load&userTableOrder=11485&tipoSelecao=1&contexto=pq&selTab=tab1&submitLoad=true](https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_indicadores&userLoadSave=Load&userTableOrder=11485&tipoSelecao=1&contexto=pq&selTab=tab1&submitLoad=true)

SNS. 2023. “Governo cria programa de acesso universal a bombas de insulina de nova geração.” <https://www.sns.gov.pt/noticias/2023/05/31/governo-cria-programa-de-acesso-universal-a-bombas-de-insulina-de-nova-geracao/>

CRP, Constituição da República Portuguesa, artigo 64º (Capítulo II, Parte I).

Diário de Notícias. 2023. “Utentes sem médico de família aumentam 29% num ano.” <https://www.dn.pt/sociedade/utentes-sem-medico-de-familia-aumentam-29-num-ano-16375028.html>

OECD. 2021. Portugal: Country Health Profile 2021, State of Health in the EU. Paris: OECD Publishing/Brussels: European Observatory on Health Systems and Policies. [https://health.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2021-12/2021\\_chp\\_pt\\_english.pdf](https://health.ec.europa.eu/system/files/2021-12/2021_chp_pt_english.pdf)

DRE. 2023. Resolution of the Council of Ministers no. 92/2023 – Aprova os Planos de Ação no âmbito da Estratégia Nacional para a Igualdade e a Não Discriminação – Portugal + Igual, para o período de 2023-2026. <https://files.diariodarepublica.pt/1s/2023/08/15700/0001200092.pdf>

### Family Policies

DRE. 2023. Lei n.º 53/2023: Procede à regulamentação da Agenda do Trabalho Digno. Diário da República n.º 129/2023, Série I de 2023-07-05. <https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/decreto-lei/53-2023-215210816>

Expresso. 2023. “Não há vagas nas creches e pais já equacionam despedir-se para ficar com filhos.” 05 de setembro de 2023. <https://expresso.pt/sociedade/ensino/2023-09-05-Nao-ha-vagas-nas-creches-e-pais-ja-equacionam-despedir-se-para-ficar-com-filhos-7d51356c>

Social Security Institute. 2023. “Guia prático – garantia para a infância.” Departamento de Prestações e Contribuições, 26 de janeiro de 2023.

<https://www.seg-social.pt/documents/10152/19882026/4004+-+Garantia+para+a+infancia/6126c563-7fcc-4695-a0f2-0b5af03c113d>

DRE. 2022. Ordinance No. 198/2022 – Regulamenta as condições específicas de concretização da medida da gratuidade das creches e creches familiares, integradas no sistema de cooperação, bem como das amas do Instituto da Segurança Social, I. P.

<https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/portaria/198-2022-186721643>

#### Policies Aimed at Old-Age Poverty Prevention

PORDATA. 2023. “Taxa de risco de pobreza por grupo etário: antes e após transferências sociais.”

<https://www.pordata.pt/portugal/taxa+de+risco+de+pobreza+por+grupo+etario+antes+e+apos+transferencias+sociais-3009>

Segurança Social, I.P. 2024. “Pensão Social de Velhice.” <https://www.seg-social.pt/pensao-social-de-velhice1>

#### Policies Targeting Intergenerational Equity

PORDATA. 2023. “Pensões: despesa total em % do PIB.”

<https://www.pordata.pt/Europa/Pens%C3%B5es+despesa+total+em+percentagem+do+PIB-1579>

Mercer. 2022. “Mercer CFA Institute Global Pension Index 2022.”

<https://www.mercer.com/assets/global/en/shared-assets/global/attachments/attachment-2022-global-pension-index-full-report.pdf>

Bank of Portugal. 2023. Boletim Económico outubro 2023. Lisboa: Departamento de Estudos Económicos.

[https://www.bportugal.pt/sites/default/files/anexos/pdf-boletim/be\\_out2023\\_p.pdf](https://www.bportugal.pt/sites/default/files/anexos/pdf-boletim/be_out2023_p.pdf)

Ministry of Finance. 2023. “Relatório do Orçamento do Estado 2024.”

<https://www.portugal.gov.pt/download-ficheiros/ficheiro.aspx?v=%3D%3DBQAAAB%2BLCAAAAAAABAAzNLY0NAQA8%2BjEBAUAAAA%3D>

#### Integration Policy

PORDATA. 2023. “População estrangeira com estatuto legal de residente: total e por algumas nacionalidades.”

<https://www.pordata.pt/portugal/populacao+estrangeira+com+estatuto+legal+de+residente+total+e+por+algumas+nacionalidades-24>

Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX). 2020. “Key Findings – Portugal, 2019.”

<https://www.mipex.eu/portugal>

European Commission. 2023. “Portugal: Survey Finds Public Increasingly Tolerant of Migrants.”

[https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/portugal-survey-finds-public-increasingly-tolerant-migrants\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/portugal-survey-finds-public-increasingly-tolerant-migrants_en)

Republic Diary. 2018. Organic Law No. 2/2018 – Nona alteração à Lei n.º 37/81, de 3 de outubro, que aprova a Lei da Nacionalidade.

<https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/lei-organica/2-2020-148086464>

Republic Diary. 2020. Organic Law No. 2/2020 – Alarga o acesso à nacionalidade originária e à naturalização às pessoas nascidas em território português, procedendo à oitava alteração à Lei n.º 37/81, de 3 de outubro, que aprova a Lei da Nacionalidade.

<https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/lei-organica/2-2018-115643970>

Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras. 2023. “Relatório de Imigração, Fronteiras e Asilo 2022.”

<https://www.sef.pt/pt/Documents/RIFA2022%20vF2a.pdf>

Expresso. 2023. “Queixas por discriminação racial aumentam em Portugal.” <https://expresso.pt/sociedade/2023-03-03-Queixas-por-discriminacao-racial-aumentam-em-Portugal-f4d5dc21>

#### Management of Development Cooperation by Partner Country

DRE. 2022. Resolution of the Council of Ministers no. 121/2022 – Aprova a Estratégia da Cooperação Portuguesa 2030.

<https://www.portugal.gov.pt/download-ficheiros/ficheiro.aspx?v=%3d%3dBQAAAB%2BLCAAAAAAABAAzNDYxNQcAkRsTgQUAAAA%3d>

Plataforma Portuguesa das ONGD. 2022. Financiamento do Desenvolvimento em tempos de incerteza: o contributo da Cooperação Portuguesa. Lisboa, Dezembro. ISBN 978-989-53439-1-1. <https://www.plataformaongd.pt/noticias/relatorio-financiamento-do-desenvolvimento-em-tempos-de-incerteza-o-contributo-da-cooperacao-portuguesa>

OECD. 2022a. “Development Co-operation Profiles: Portugal.” <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/12c61cf7-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/12c61cf7-en#:~:text=Portugal%20allocated%20the%20highest%20share,equal%20to%20USD%209.8%20million>

OECD. 2022b. “Development Co-operation Peer Reviews: Portugal 2022.” <https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/550fb40e-en/index.html?itemId=/content/publication/550fb40e-en>

Policy Efforts and Commitment to Achieving Climate Neutrality by 2050

European Environment Agency (EEA). 2023. "Trends and Projections in Europe 2023." <https://www.eea.europa.eu/publications/trends-and-projections-in-europe-2023>

Climate Change Performance Index 2023. 2023. <https://ccpi.org/wp-content/uploads/CCPI-2023-Results-3.pdf>

Policy Efforts and Commitment to Minimizing Environmental Health Risks

European Environment Agency (EEA). 2022. "Advancing towards climate resilience in Europe – Status of reported national adaptation actions in 2021." <https://www.eea.europa.eu/publications/advancing-towards-climate-resilience-in-europe>

Policy Efforts and Commitment to Preserving Ecosystems and Protecting Biodiversity

EEA Report No 10/2020. State of nature in the EU Results from reporting under the nature directives 2013-2018. <https://www.eea.europa.eu/publications/state-of-nature-in-the-eu-2020>

Araújo, M.B., Antunes, S., Gonçalves, E.J., Oliveira, R., Santos, S., and Sousa Pinto, I. 2022. Biodiversidade 2030: Nova agenda para a conservação em contexto de alterações climáticas. Lisboa: Universidade de Évora & Fundo Ambiental, Ministério do Ambiente e da Ação Climática. <https://www.dropbox.com/s/iq6d3easnr77cdn/Biodiversidade%202030%20-%20Vol%201.pdf?dl=0>

Policy Efforts and Commitment to a Global Environmental Policy

Jornal de Negócios. 2023. "Para onde caminha o país no roteiro da sustentabilidade?" Jornal de Negócios <https://www.jornaldenegocios.pt/sustentabilidade/detalhe/20230920-0934-para-onde-caminha-o-pais-no-roteiro-da-sustentabilidade>

Voluntary National Review Portugal. 2023. "Voluntary National Review Portugal." [https://hlpf.un.org/sites/default/files/vnrs/2023/Portugal\\_VNR\\_Report.pdf](https://hlpf.un.org/sites/default/files/vnrs/2023/Portugal_VNR_Report.pdf)

## Address | Contact

### **Bertelsmann Stiftung**

Carl-Bertelsmann-Straße 256  
33311 Gütersloh  
Germany  
Phone +49 5241 81-0

### **Dr. Christof Schiller**

Phone +49 30 275788-138  
christof.schiller@bertelsmann-stiftung.de

### **Dr. Thorsten Hellmann**

Phone +49 5241 81-81236  
thorsten.hellmann@bertelsmann-stiftung.de

Sofia Serra da Silva, Paulo Trigo Pereira, Páuda L.,  
Vicente J., Januário C., Jalali C. & C. Colino  
Portugal Report: Sustainable Governance Indicators.  
Bertelsmann Stiftung: Gütersloh.  
<https://doi.org/10.11586/2024139>

[www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de](http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de)  
[www.sgi-network.org](http://www.sgi-network.org)