Brazilian Elections 2006

A panel organized by the Political Databases of the Americas and the Brazilian Studies Program

Center for Latin American Studies
Georgetown University

Presented by Valeria Buffo & Marcelo Khair
1964 -1985: Series of dictatorship governments
   1965-1979: Political Parties were banned
   1970: Pluripartidism was reestablished
1985: José Sarney becomes President (Indirect Election)
1988: New Constitution
1989: Fernando Collor is elected President
1992: Collor is impeached >>> Vice-President Itamar Franco
1993: “Real” economic plan
1994: Cardoso is elected President
1998: Cardoso is reelected President
2002: Lula is elected President
Brazil is a Federation of 27 states, including the Federal District, and more than 5,000 municipalities.

The 1988 Constitution provided a clear framework regarding hierarchical levels of decision and policy-making between federal, state and municipal levels; with interesting influences over the current electoral system.
Federal Political System

Executive = Presidency

- President is the head of the Government and the State
- 1 Vice President
- Cabinet of Ministries and State Secretaries
- 4-year term + 1 consecutive reelection + unlimited non-consecutive elections
- Minimum age: 35

Legislative = Bicameral Congress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senate</th>
<th>Chamber of Deputies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- 81 Senators</td>
<td>- 513 Deputies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 8-year term + unlimited reelections</td>
<td>- 4-year term + unlimited reelections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Minimum age: 35</td>
<td>- Minimum age: 18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Electoral System

- Universal voting rights

  Voluntary: between 16-18 or over 70
  Mandatory: between 18-70
  Prohibited: convicted citizens and military

- Nation-wide Elections

  President
  Governors
  State deputies
  Federal Deputies
  1/3 Senators

  2 years →
  Mayors
  City Counselors
  2 years

  President
  Governors
  State deputies
  Federal Deputies
  2/3 Senators
Electoral System

- Presidential elections
  1st round: > 50% of valid votes
  2nd round: Top-2 candidates

- Congressional elections
  Chamber of Deputies: Open-List + Proportional Representation system
  Senate: Open-List + Majority Representation system (Winner takes all)

Electoral Threshold for 2006:
  5% nation-wide + 2% in 9 states
- Political Parties: 29

- Continuous Representation in both Houses: 7 to 9

- Several parties are expected to be terminated after the 2006 election for not achieving the minimum threshold (5%)

- Party system is extremely fragmented with high levels of volatility among politicians
  
  +

- Weak history of ideological platforms
  
  +

- Most parties miss a clear and sustainable leadership, leading to…
  
  =

- Weak perception of real representativity by the electorate
Elections 2006

- President and Vice-President - 8 candidates
- 1/3 Senate - 27 new Senators
- Federal Chamber of Deputies - 513 new Deputies
- 27 new state governors
- 1,059 State Deputies
- 125 million eligible voters in Brazil
Congressional Elections

- 5,637 candidates on the ticket

- Change of political forces in Congress since 2002 elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Senate</th>
<th>Chamber of Deputies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>14 → 11</td>
<td>PT: 91 → 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSDB</td>
<td>11 → 16</td>
<td>PSDB: 70 → 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFL</td>
<td>19 → 16</td>
<td>PFL: 84 → 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMDB</td>
<td>19 → 21</td>
<td>PMDB: 75 → 83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- PMDB as a strategic party for governability


- PSDB: 994 → 1,155
PT - Partido dos Trabalhadores – Lula

- Leftist party emerged in the early 1980s. Consolidated itself as the “party of the difference”

- Increasing presence in cities and states but on national level, a traditional opposition party

- In 2003, PT wins Brazil’s presidency in a coalition involving 9 parties.

- PT → move towards a more center-left party

- June 2005: Mensalão scandal.
  Resigning of key PT figures.
  De-mystification of “the party of the difference”.

- Elections 2006 - Coalition “Força do Povo” with support of 5 parties
Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (PSDB) – Geraldo Alckmin

- The youngest of the major Brazilian parties. Created in 1988.

- PSDB as a center-left political party. Neo-liberal reforms under FHC → more center-rightist image

- Since 1994, has been sharing the national political scenario with PT Brazil as “de facto” two parties system in natl. level
  Nonetheless, still vulnerable to personalistic outsiders

- Elections 2006 - Coalition “Por um Brasil Decente” in a renewed coalition with PFL
Major Parties in Presidential Run

Partido Socialismo e Liberdade (P-SOL) – Heloisa Helena

- Created in 2004 by expelled/dissident members from PT
- A more radical leftist orientation. Tied to the original thinking of PT
- Elections 2006: Coalition “Frente das Esquerdas”, with 2 far left parties
- Inexpressive party, with only one seat in Congress
  Launch of a presidential candidate might help party to grow
Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (PMDB) – no candidate

- PMDB as a strategic party to assure governability of Brazil’s new President
- Largest party in both houses of Congress
- Strong party in Brazil’s backlands
- Party divided in its support for Lula
  Resentment over political appointments
# Past Presidential Elections

## 1989 Elections

### 1st Round

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th># of Votes</th>
<th>% of Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fernando Collor de Mello</td>
<td>PRN</td>
<td>22,611,011</td>
<td>28,52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luís Inácio Lula da Silva</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>11,622,673</td>
<td>16,08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonel Brizola</td>
<td>PDT</td>
<td>11,168,228</td>
<td>15,45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mário Covas</td>
<td>PSDB</td>
<td>7,790,392</td>
<td>10,78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2nd Round

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th># of Votes</th>
<th>% of Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fernando Collor de Mello</td>
<td>PRN</td>
<td>35,089,998</td>
<td>49,94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luís Inácio Lula da Silva</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>31,076,364</td>
<td>44,23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blank votes</td>
<td></td>
<td>986,446</td>
<td>1,40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Null Votes</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,107,893</td>
<td>4,42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Past Presidential Elections

### 1994 Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th># of Votes</th>
<th>% of Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fernando Henrique Cardoso</td>
<td>PSDB</td>
<td>34,364,961</td>
<td>54.27 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luís Inácio Lula da Silva</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>17,112,127</td>
<td>27.04 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enéas Ferreira Carneiro</td>
<td>PRONA</td>
<td>4,671,457</td>
<td>7.38 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orestes Quércia</td>
<td>PMDB</td>
<td>2,772,121</td>
<td>4.38 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1998 Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th># of Votes</th>
<th>% of Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fernando H. Cardoso</td>
<td>PSDB</td>
<td>35,936,540</td>
<td>53.06 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luís Inácio Lula da Silva</td>
<td>PT</td>
<td>21,475,218</td>
<td>31.71 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciro Pereira Gomes</td>
<td>PPS</td>
<td>7,426,190</td>
<td>10.97 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enéas Ferreira Carneiro</td>
<td>PRONA</td>
<td>1,447,090</td>
<td>2.14 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Past Presidential Elections

## 2002 Elections

### 1st Round

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th># of Votes</th>
<th>% of Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luís Inácio Lula da Silva</td>
<td>PT-PMDB</td>
<td>39,436,099</td>
<td>46.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Serra</td>
<td>PSDB-PFL</td>
<td>19,694,843</td>
<td>23.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony Garotinho</td>
<td>PSB</td>
<td>15,176,204</td>
<td>17.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ciro Gomes</td>
<td>PPS-PDT-PTB</td>
<td>10,166,324</td>
<td>11.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2nd Round

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th># of Votes</th>
<th>% of Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luís Inácio Lula da Silva</td>
<td>PT-PMDB</td>
<td>52,772,592</td>
<td>61.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Serra</td>
<td>PSDB-PFL</td>
<td>33,356,997</td>
<td>38.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Major Candidates in the Presidential Run

Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva - PT

- Started political career as union leader
- Ran in all presidential elections since 1989
  Radical leftist discourse
- 2006 Elections: Front-runner candidate, with over 50% of electorate’s vote intention
- Helped by economic stability, success of social programs, opposition inability to get traction and personal charisma
- Campaign Platform: Deepening of social programs, increase in the rate of economic growth, agenda of reforms
Geraldo Alckmin – PSDB

- Long political career in the state of São Paulo
  In 2001, becomes the state’s governor.
- Appointed presidential candidate for PSDB after internal dispute with Jose Serra.
- Stands in second place in the presidential race, oscillating between 27% and 29% of electorate’s vote intention.
- Inability to grow beyond: - little known outside the state of São Paulo
  - unable to connect with population
  - recent wave of violence in SP
- Campaign platform: Economic growth, probity, and an efficient state
Major Candidates in the Presidential Run

Heloisa Helena – P-SOL

- Starts political career as militant in radical leftist movements
  
  Strong links to popular movements

- Becomes nationally known for approaching controversial issues and for speaking up against corrupt politicians and neo-liberal policies

- Expelled from PT in 2003
  
  One of the founders of the far-left party P-SOL in 2004

- Third place in the presidential run. Reached 12% of the electorate’s vote Intention but is now declining.

- Campaign Platform: Ethical politics and re-direction of the current economic course
Opinion Polls

A PESQUISA CNT/SENSUS
Intenção de voto para Presidente

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Julho</th>
<th>1-6/ago</th>
<th>22-25/ago</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lula</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alckmin</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heloísa</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cristóvam Buarque teve 1,6%. Os demais candidatos tiveram menos de 1% das intenções de voto.

A PESQUISA IBOPE
Intenção de voto para Presidente

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>25 jul</th>
<th>4 ago</th>
<th>7 a 10 ago</th>
<th>18 ago</th>
<th>27 ago</th>
<th>1º set</th>
<th>8 set</th>
<th>9 a 11 set</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lula</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alckmin</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heloísa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Fonte: Datafolha
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THANK YOU !!!

Presented by Valeria Buffo & Marcelo Khair