



# 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

# Chronology

1964 -1985: Series of dictatorship governments

1965-1979: Political Parties were banned

1970: Pluripartidarism 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



# Political Division

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

### Senate

- 81 Senators
- 8-year term + unlimited reelections
- Minimum age: 35

### Chamber of Deputies

- 513 Deputies
- 4-year term + unlimited reelections
- Minimum age: 18





# Electoral System

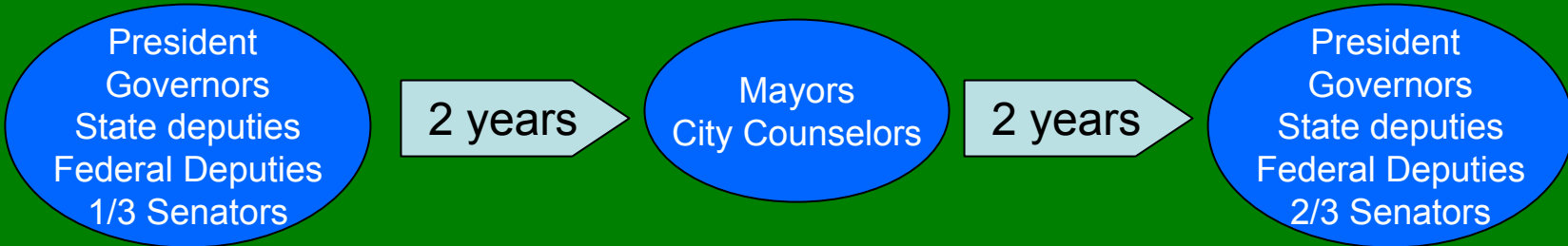
- Universal voting rights

Voluntary: between 16-18 or over 70

Mandatory: between 18-70

Prohibited: convicted citizens and military

- Nation-wide Elections



# 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



# Party System

- 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

## Senate

PT: 14 → 11  
PSDB: 11 → 16  
PFL: 19 → 16  
PMDB: 19 → 21

## Chamber of Deputies

PT: 91 → 81  
PSDB: 70 → 57  
PFL: 84 → 65  
PMDB: 75 → 83

- . PMDB as a strategic party for governability
- . PT filled fewer candidates: 1,505 (2002) → 1,207 (2006)
- . PSDB: 994 → 1,155





# Major Parties in Presidential Run

## 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





# Major Parties in Presidential Run

## 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





# Major Parties in Presidential Run

## 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

### 1<sup>st</sup> Round

Candidate	Political Party	# of Votes	% of Votes
Fernando Collor de Mello	PRN	22.611.011	28,52
Luís Inácio Lula da Silva	PT	11.622.673	16,08
Leonel Brizola	PDT	11.168.228	15,45
Mário Covas	PSDB	7.790.392	10,78

### 2<sup>nd</sup> Round

Fernando Collor de Mello	PRN	35.089.998	49,94%
Luís Inácio Lula da Silva	PT	31.076.364	44,23%
Blank votes		986.446	1,40%
Null Votes		3.107.893	4,42%





# Past Presidential Elections

## 1994 Elections

Candidate	Political Party	# of Votes	% of Votes
Fernando Henrique Cardoso	PSDB	34.364.961	54,27 %
Luís Inácio Lula da Silva	PT	17.112.127	27,04 %
Enéas Ferreira Carneiro	PRONA	4.671.457	7,38 %
Orestes Quércia	PMDB	2.772.121	4,38 %

## 1998 Elections

Candidate	Political Party	# of Votes	% of Votes
Fernando H. Cardoso	PSDB	35.936.540	53,06 %
Luís Inácio Lula da Silva	PT	21.475.218	31,71 %
Ciro Pereira Gomes	PPS	7.426.190	10,97 %
Enéas Ferreira Carneiro	PRONA	1.447.090	2,14 %





# Past Presidential Elections

## 2002 Elections

### 1<sup>st</sup> Round

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

### 2<sup>nd</sup> Round

Luís Inácio Lula da Silva	PT-PMDB	52,772,592	61.27
José Serra	PSDB-PFL	33,356,997	38.73



# 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
- . 2002 Elections: “Lulinha Paz e Amor”
- . 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



# Major Candidates in the Presidential Run

## 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
- . Becomes State Deputy in 1994 and Senator in 1999.

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

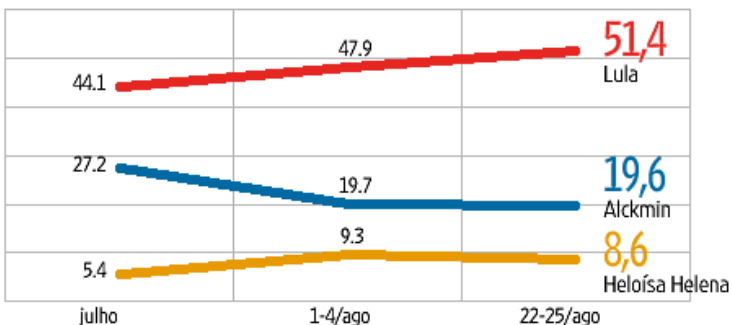




# Opinion Polls

## A PESQUISA CNT/SENSUS

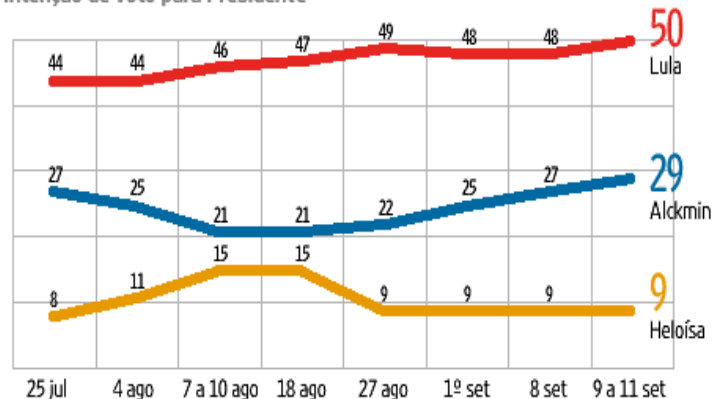
Intenção de voto para Presidente



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

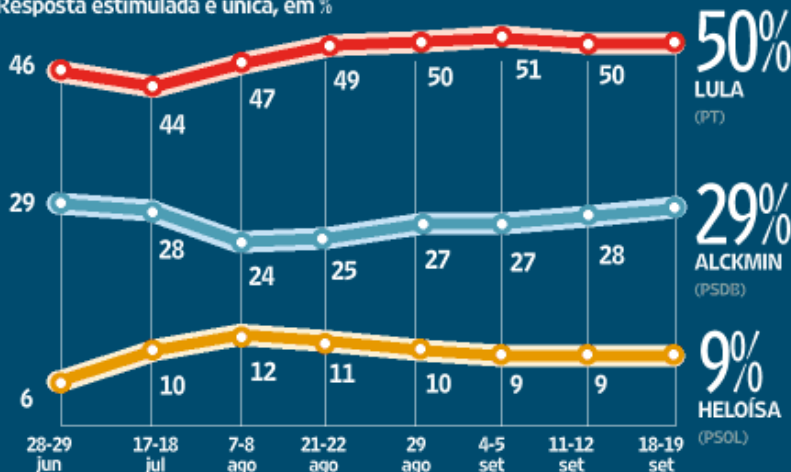
## A PESQUISA IBOPE

Intenção de voto para Presidente



## INTENÇÃO DE VOTO PARA PRESIDENTE

Resposta estimulada e única, em %



Cristovam Buarque: 2%. Brancos ou nulos: 4%. Indecisos: 5%

50%  
LULA  
(PT)

29%  
ALCKMIN  
(PSDB)

9%  
HELOÍSA  
(PSOL)



Fonte: Datafolha





# Brazilian Elections 2006

**THANK YOU !!!**