



**DIRECTORIO
LEGISLATIVO**

FORTALECEMOS
LAS DEMOCRACIAS
DE AMÉRICA LATINA

STRENGTHENING
DEMOCRACIES
IN LATIN AMERICA

OCTOBER 2022

Brazil

Presidential and legislative elections Post-election report



Executive Summary

On October 2, Brazilians went to the polls to elect their next president. In addition to the president and vice-president, these elections were at stake the total renewal of the Chamber of Deputies, one third of the Senate, governors and sub-national deputies. With **99.99% of the votes counted**, the **favorites** were **Lula da Silva with 48.43%** of the votes for the Brazil of Esperanza (in Spanish) federation Esperanza (Partido de los Trabajadores, Partido Comunista de Brasil y Partido Verde) and very close to this result, **Jair Bolsonaro with 43.20%**, for the Partido Liberal.

As none of them surpassed the threshold of votes needed to win in the first round, **they will face each other again in a runoff on Sunday, October 30**. On that occasion, the winner will be the one with the most votes.

Sunday's result also crystallizes the enormous political polarization of the country and the electoral strength of both candidates, being their rhetoric and political proposals practically opposed. What follows will not be easy for either of them: **between now and October 30, both will have to continue with an intense campaign** to convince those who voted for other candidates, the 4.41% of the electorate that voted blank or null and those who abstained from voting.

While Lula's performance was as expected, **Bolsonaro surprised and positioned himself only 5.23% behind the former president**. Both candidates obtained very good results: Lula's election obtained the highest number of votes in the first round in Brazil's history, gathering more than 57 million and Bolsonaro became the second, having increased by 1.7 million votes his 2018 election result. Added to this, the **percentage of invalid votes was lower than expected and the turnout revolved around 80%**. Bolsonaro's Liberal Party managed to attract a large number of votes in the Legislative branch, which positions it with an important number of legislators of its own in both chambers.

Regardless of who is elected in the second round, **the next president will have the challenge (and the need) to build consensus and alliances** with a significant number of non-aligned parties and coalitions. Congress will continue to have a large number of non-aligned parties and coalitions.

Key questions

What was voted?

Citizens went to the polls to elect the **president and vice-president of the Republic**, governors and vice-governors, the entire Chamber of Deputies, one third of the Senate and sub-national deputies.

How and who voted?

The **vote was direct, secret and universal**. It was mandatory for all citizens between 18 and 70 years of age and voluntary for illiterate people, young people between 16 and 17 years of age and those over 70 years of age. More than **156 million voters were entitled to vote** in these elections.

How is the new Executive Branch elected?

The **president and vice-president are elected for a period of 4 years through a second round absolute majority system**. This means that the candidate who obtains 50% of the valid votes will be elected in the first round. If no candidate reaches this percentage, a second round of elections will be held in which only the two candidates who obtain the most votes in the first round will participate. The same electoral system applies to governors and vice-governors. In this second round, whoever obtains the most votes will be elected.

As neither candidate surpassed 50% of the vote, **Lula and Bolsonaro will compete in a runoff on October 30**. Governors and vice governors of 12 states will also go to a runoff to define a winner.

When do the president and governors take office?

On January 1, 2023. They will have a term of office for 4 years as of that date.

When do deputies and senators take office?

Unlike the presidential election, the Legislative Branch was defined after this round of elections. Thus, **the elected legislators will occupy their positions as from February 1, 2023**. The term of office of the National Senators is 8 years, being partially renewed every four years at the rate of one third and two thirds alternately. In the case of Deputies, the term of office is 4 years with a proportional election system.

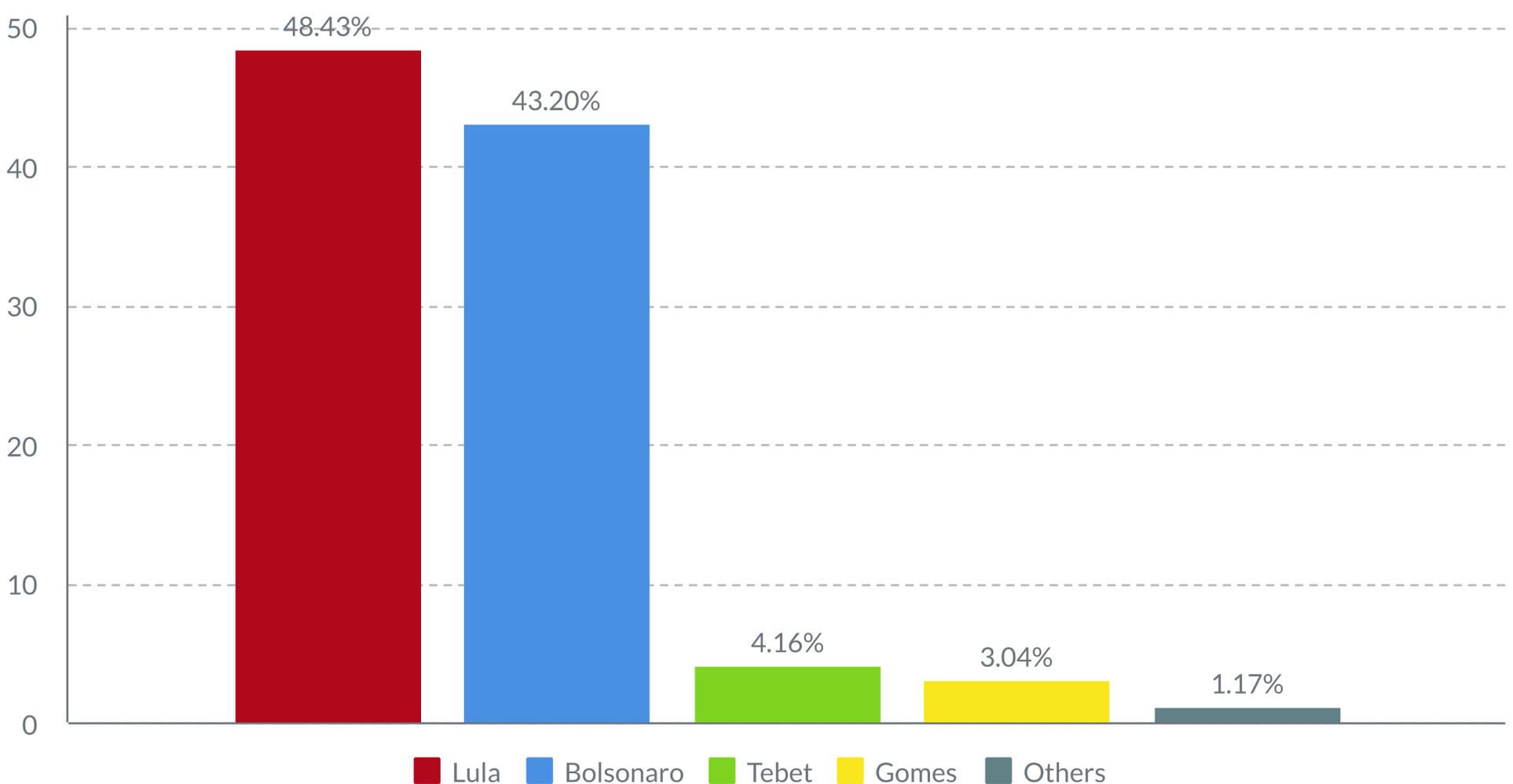
Results

With almost all the votes counted, the **Lula-Alckim formula won, obtaining 48.43%**. This is the best performance of a candidate in the first round in the history of Brazil. Despite this, **Lula was not elected in this first round**. On the other hand, his main rival, **Jair Bolsonaro, obtained the second highest number of votes in the history of elections in Brazil, obtaining 43.20%** together with his running mate, Walter Braga Netto.

One of the surprises of the election was the preference of **Brazilians for Simone Tebet (MDB) over Ciro Gomes (PDT)** who was ranked as the third candidate with the highest voting intentions by practically all polls. **Tebet obtained 4.16% of the votes while Ciro got 3.04%**, half of what was predicted.

Another significant data of the day was that 91.6% of the voters who participated in the elections chose only two options (Lula or Bolsonaro), evidencing the scenario of high polarization.

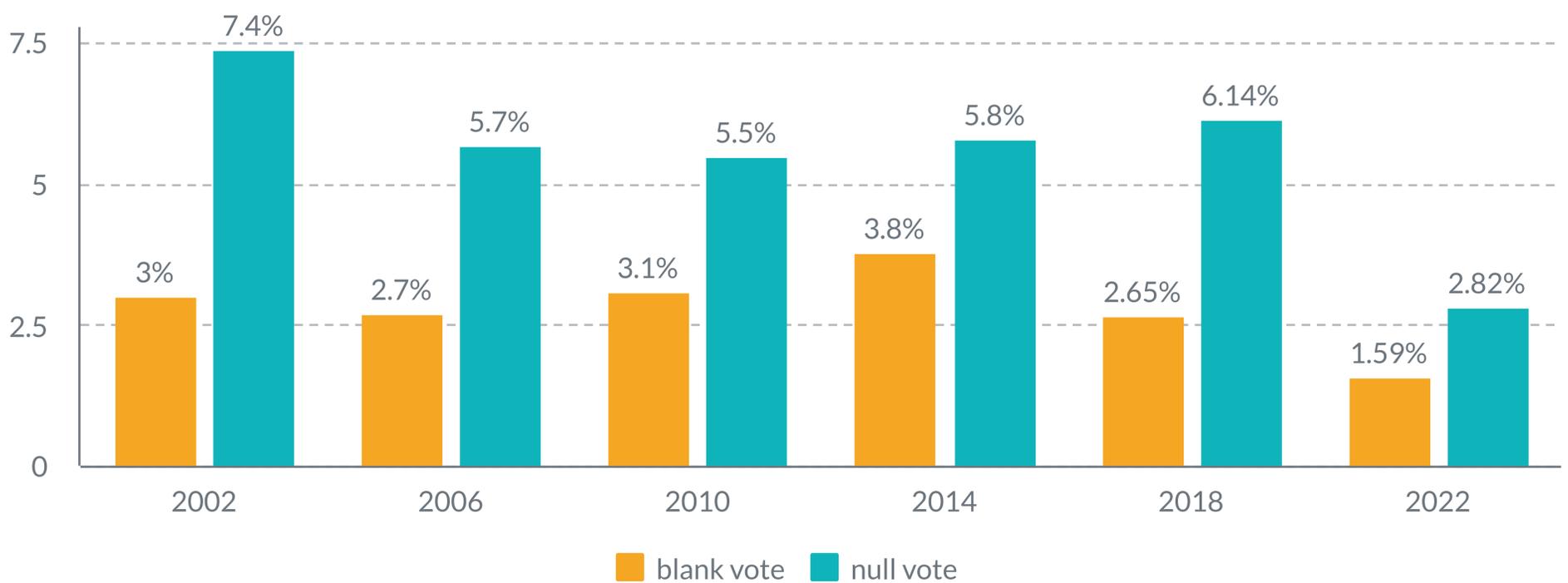
First-round election results



Source: Own elaboration based on information from the Superior Electoral Court. The calculation of total votes is made without counting the 4.41% of blank and invalid votes cast during the election day.

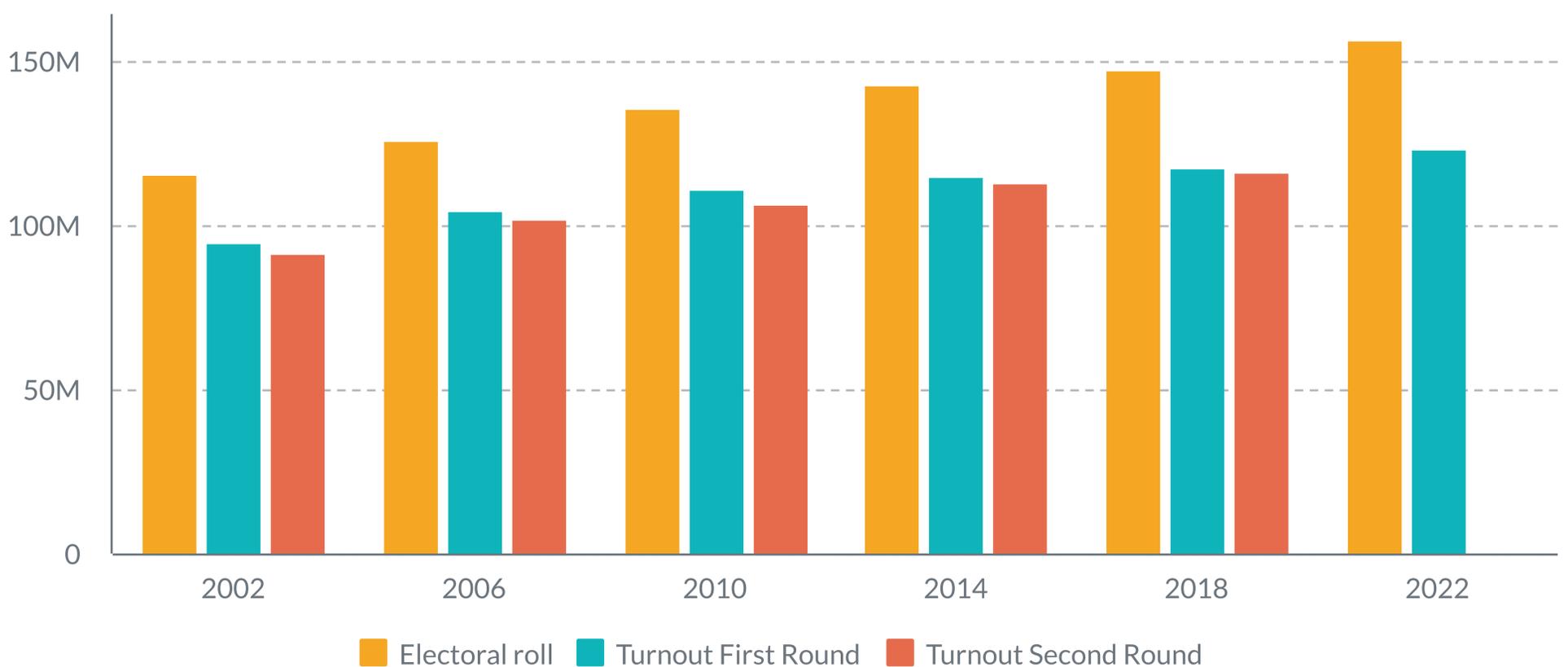
One of the key factors explaining the second round was the **low level of blank and invalid votes**. In the October 2 elections, a considerable decrease was evidenced. In all the elections that had taken place so far in the 21st Century, the combination of these non-affirmative votes had been approximately 9 percent of the votes cast. Had the traditional level of blank and null votes been maintained, Lula would probably have been elected president in the first round.

Blank and null votes 2002-2022



One factor where **no major changes were observed with respect to the past elections was in turnout**. Although the number of voters grew with respect to previous years, the level of citizens who went to the polls remained relatively stable. In 2018, 117 million Brazilians voted, compared to 123 million in the first round in 2022.

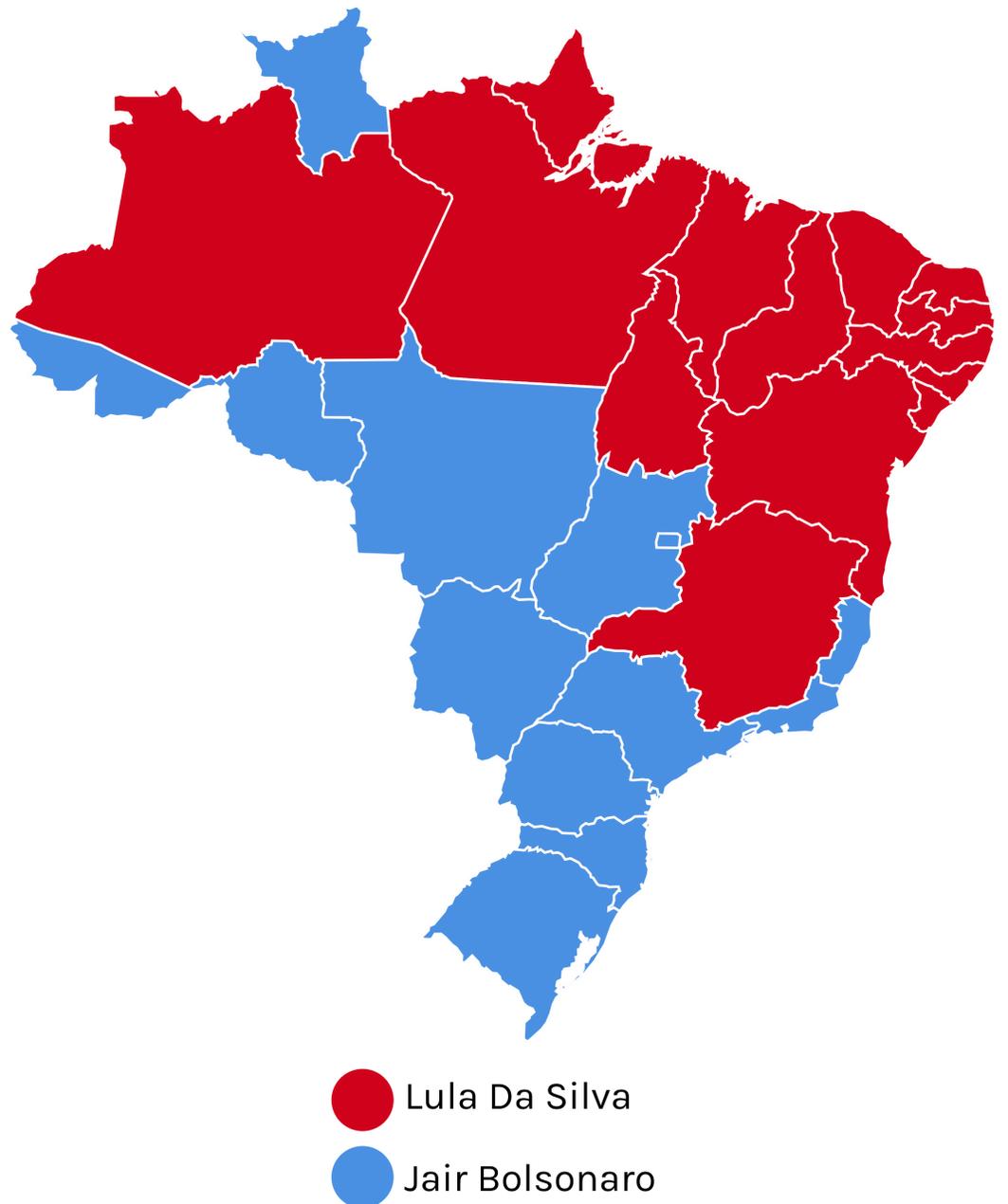
Turnout 2002-2022



What the regions said?

Lula was the most voted in 14 states and among the votes of Brazilians abroad, while **Bolsonaro had the advantage in 12 states** and in the Federal District (Brasília). Lula was the winner in all northeastern states and in Minas Gerais. Bolsonaro had a better election in the center-west and in the south, also, in the southeast, he was ahead in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo. The north was the most disparate region, Bolsonaro won in Acre, Rondônia and Roraima and Lula in Amapá, Amazonas, Pará and Tocantins.

Ciro Gomes came in third place in the state where he has had his political career, Ceará. In the last three elections in which he ran for president he had also led the race in the state where he was governor, but in this case this was not the case. This drop in his image in Ceará may explain his poor performance at the national level.



The importance of Minas Gerais

In Minas Gerais, an important state in terms of number of voters and because of its "Miniature Brazil" profile, **Lula came out first with 48.29% followed by Bolsonaro with 43.60%**. Since 1950, with the victory of Getúlio Vargas, it was the last time that an elected president did not also win the preference of the Mineiros.

Presidential elections

Candidates for the run-off

Eleven candidates participated in the election, but Lula and Bolsonaro came out on top and will compete in the second round.



LULA DA SILVA

**Brasil of
Hope** | *Opposition*



JAIR BOLSONARO

Liberal Party | *Ruling
party*

Brasil of Hope | *Opposition*

Lula Da Silva

Candidate for vice-president:
Geraldo Alckim

Born in Pernambuco, in northeastern Brazil, in his youth he was a metal worker and trade unionist. He began his political involvement by opposing the dictatorship in the 1980s and was the leader of one of the most important strikes during this period.

He ran for president three times until he finally won in 2002 and was re-elected in 2006 after defeating his running mate, Geraldo Alckim. During his administrations, he achieved solid economic and social results, on which he relies today to promote his candidacy.

He was sentenced in 2017 to prison, having spent 580 days in detention for the corruption case known as Lava Jato. However, his sentence was overturned in 2021 by the Supreme Court. Thanks to that sentence, he was able to run in this year's elections.

For these elections, his leftist prose is complemented by a moderate discourse due to the type of alliances he has built, especially with his vice-presidential candidate. It also incorporates environmental demands underpinned by the incorporation of the Green Party to the coalition.



Proposals

- Repeal the labor reform passed during Temer's administration and propose a new one that "strengthens collective negotiation and union representation with special attention to informal and app workers."
- Turn Brazil into a world ecological power, with emphasis on the protection of the Amazon
- Make the digital, energetic and ecological transition to achieve a new productive structure of greater technological density and low carbon
- Build an environment of greater diversity and plurality in the media with legal and institutional frameworks in favor of democracy, human rights and national sovereignty.
- Propose a pension reform with an eye to the expansion of the system, as well as its coverage and financing.

[> Click here](#) to see his full Government Plan.

Liberal Party | *Ruling Party*

Jair Bolsonaro

Candidate for vice-president:
Walter Braga Netto

He was born in São Paulo and served in the Army, reaching the position of captain. In 1988 he began his political career, having obtained the position of councilman of Rio de Janeiro with the Christian Democratic Party. Later, he served seven terms as national deputy, also for Rio de Janeiro, where he began to outline his political profile, although without a strong party affiliation, since he changed parties several times.

His distinctive speech became tougher as a result of the Lava Jato case and the subsequent impeachment of Dilma Rousseff, where he voted in favor. He ran for president in 2018 with the Social Liberal Party and won in the second round against the Partido de los Trabajadores candidate, Fernando Haddad, with 55.13% of the votes.

As in those elections, his space is defined by embodying a pro-market liberal option with conservative characteristics in social terms. In this sense, his proposals are focused on reducing the state apparatus and promoting the freedom of productive factors in the market. Its power base is complemented by the support of a good part of the country's armed forces, demonstrated in the election of its vice presidential candidate, a recently retired general.



Proposals

- Deepen the work for Brazil to join the OECD in order to ease international business.
- Continue with the privatization of state-owned companies as was the case with Eletrobras
- **Reduce and simplify taxes**
- Stimulate the creation of micro-enterprises.
- Promote sustainable food production systems and implementation of agricultural practices that increase productivity and production
- Increase domestic fertilizer production

> [Click here](#) to see his full Government plan.

Legislative Elections

As expected, Congress will continue to have a **large number of non-aligned parties and coalitions**. Thus, both Lula and Bolsonaro will have to build broad consensus in a Legislative Branch that will maintain a high level of political fragmentation.

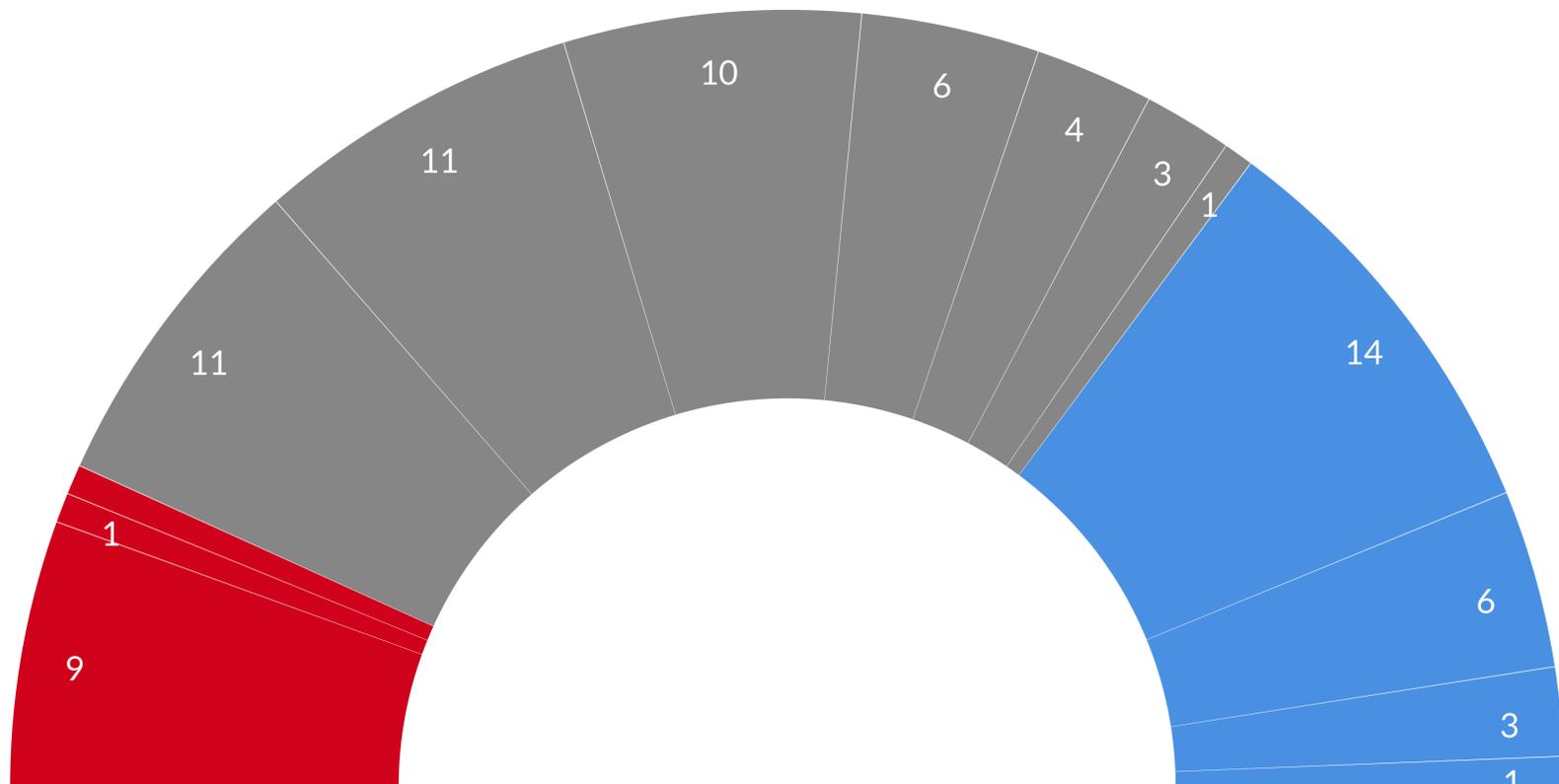
Thus, **the winner will have the challenge of building legitimacy before a new Congress that is projected to be fragmented and a divided population** in order to turn his campaign promises into public policies. However, in this opportunity the traditional fragmentation seems to have diminished with the polarization generated by the presidential candidates.

Passing 90% of the vote count for legislative seats, the largest benches will be those of the Partido Liberal (PL), Jair Bolsonaro's party, el Partido de los Trabajadores (PT), Lula da Silva's party, Unión, Progresistas (PP), Movimiento Democrático Brasileño (MDB) y Republicanos.



Senate

New projected composition of the chamber



■ PT (11.11%) ■ Pros (1.23%) ■ PSB (1.23%) ■ União Brasil (13.58%) ■ PSD (13.58%) ■ MDB (12.35%)
 ■ Podemos (7.41%) ■ PSDB (4.94%) ■ PDT (3.7%) ■ Cidadania (1.23%) ■ PL (17.28%) ■ PP (7.41%)
 ■ Republicanos (3.7%) ■ PSC (1.23%)

Note: In red are listed the senators of the senatorial spaces or those aligned with Lula. In light blue are the senators who support Bolsonaro, while in gray are the senators who are not fully aligned to one or the other.

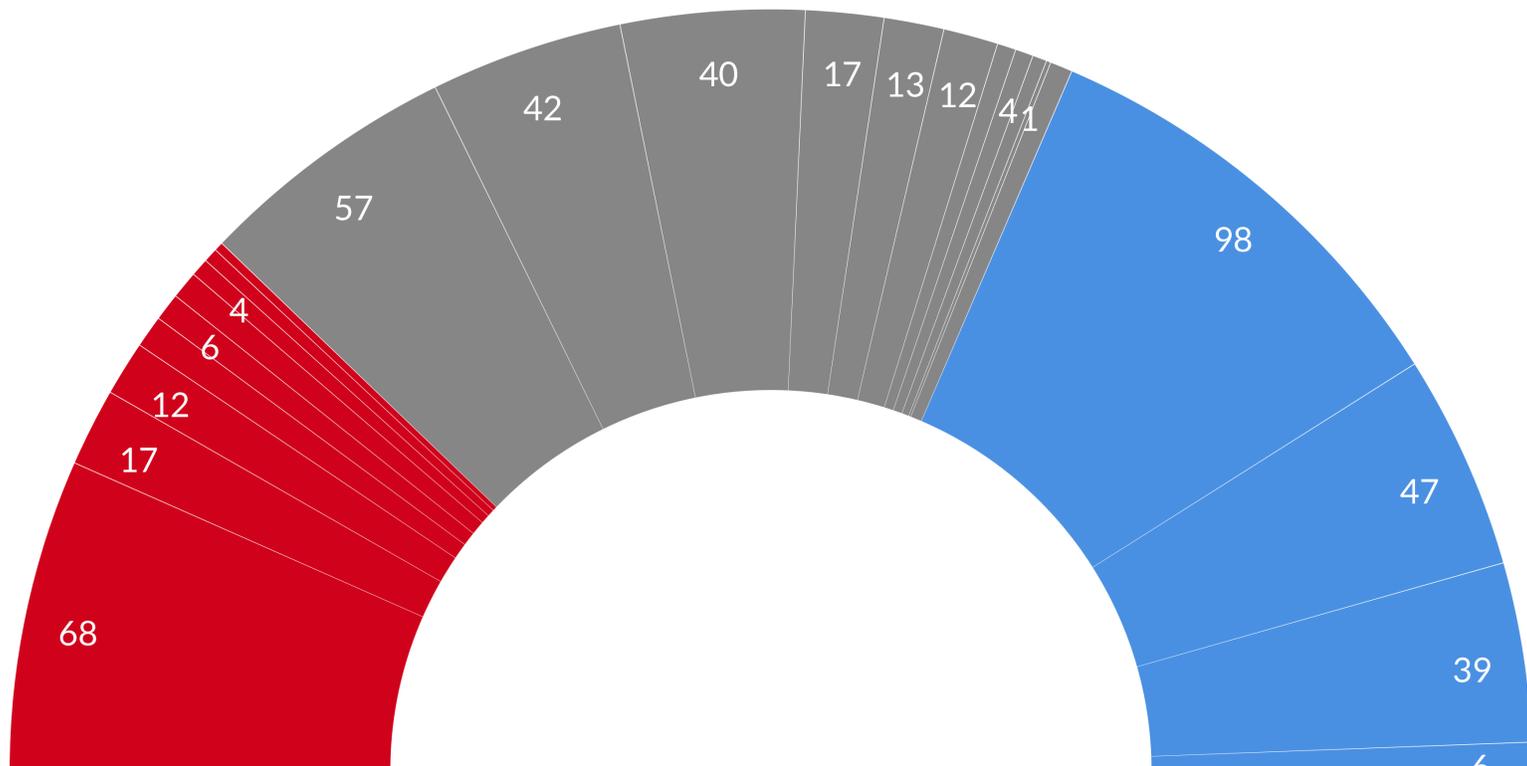
In the Senate, Bolsonaro's party, the **Partido Liberal (PL)**, will have the largest seat in the Senate, which will occupy 14 of the 81 Senate seats. If the União y Progresistas Party (PP) formalize their merger, they would have the largest bench, which would consist of 16 senators. On the other hand, **the Partido de los Trabajadores (PT) will increase from seven to nine seats.** There are no senators from its allies in the Brazil of Hope Federation, the Communist Party of Brazil and the Green Party.

The situation of **five senators who will run for governor in the second round remains to be defined:** Jorginho Mello (PL-SC), Rogério Carvalho (PT-SE), Marcos Rogério (PL-RO), Eduardo Braga (MDB-AM) and Rodrigo Cunha (União-AL). If they are not elected, they may continue to hold their seats in the Senate since they have a mandate until 2027. Two other senators ran for deputies, José Serra (PSDB-SP) and Elmano Ferrer (PP-PI), their mandates end in 2023.

It should be noted that in the Senate in the coming months, after the October 2 elections, no single force will be able to set its own agenda. The negotiation between spaces will be significant.

Chamber of Deputies

New projected composition of the chamber



■ PT (13.26%) ■ PSB (3.31%) ■ PSOL (2.34%) ■ Avante (1.36%) ■ PCdoB (1.17%) ■ PV (1.17%)
 ■ SD (0.78%) ■ Pros (0.58%) ■ Rede (0.39%) ■ União Brasil (11.11%) ■ MDB (8.19%) ■ PSD (7.8%)
 ■ PDT (3.31%) ■ PSDB (2.53%) ■ Podemos (2.34%) ■ Cidadania (0.78%) ■ Patriota (0.78%) ■ Novo (0.58%)
 ■ PTB (0.19%) ■ * Sin asignar (0.97%) ■ PL (19.1%) ■ PP (9.16%) ■ Republicanos (7.6%) ■ PSC (1.17%)

At the moment, the Superior Electoral Tribunal has not finished the necessary calculation to obtain the final results of the bench in the Chamber of Deputies, renewed in its totality. However, the **favorable election of the Liberal Party, which in this space will have 98 deputies, is replicated.** On the other hand, other spaces allied to Bolsonaro such as Republicans and the Social Christian Party reduced their presence in this chamber.

Meanwhile, União has 57 deputies and Progresistas has 47, but if the merger between the two parties proposed by their main leaders becomes effective, this new coalition could become the majority bloc. It is likely that the agenda of this new space will be more in line with Bolsonaro's agenda than with that of Lula. **In addition, the Workers' Party's bench grew by twelve seats, counting from next year onwards with 68 deputies and adding the seats obtained by the Green Party, the Communist Party of Brazil and Avante.**

In short, about half of the deputies in the Chamber would not be aligned with either of the two candidates for president. The relevance of forming alliances and consensus will remain intact in the new Chamber of Deputies.

Conclusions

- The trend in the country whereby the election is resolved in the second round is consolidated. The last time a candidate won in the first round was in 1998, when Fernando Henrique Cardoso beat Lula da Silva with more than 53% of the votes.
- It will be a challenge for the winners of this first round to try to appeal to those who abstained from voting in this instance. **The percentage of participation is within the historical values (close to 80%) and the usual for Brazilian ballots is that the participation is lower.**
- The votes that will define the election are those who voted for Simone Tebet, Ciro Gomes or other candidates and for the 4.41% who voted blank or null. **It is unlikely that those who prefer Lula or Bolsonaro will change their choice.**
- Neither Tebet nor Gomes have announced yet whom they officially support in the second round of elections, although it is expected that both will lean towards Lula. **However, it should be noted that the support of the leaders does not translate into an automatic transfer of the will of their voters, who will consider other factors for the second round.**
- The **Congress will continue to be fragmented**, but there were some relevant movements in its composition. However, the traditional fragmentation of both chambers diminished with these elections, where those elected at the Executive level also influenced the legislative election more than in other opportunities.

Otros informes de Directorio Legislativo



Imagen del Poder
Julio-Agosto 2022

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Agosto 2022

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