



Ipsos Public Affairs



# The 2010 Brazilian Presidential Elections: Issues, Voter Demands, and Strategies

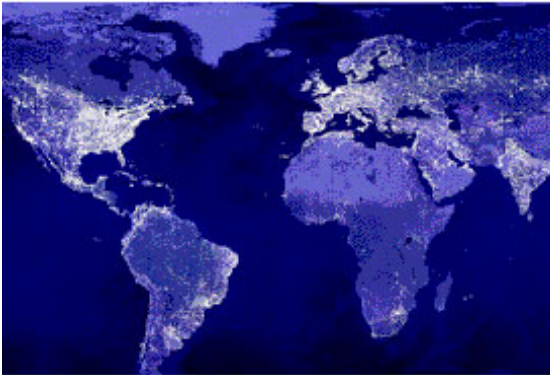
*Wilson Center, Brazil Institute*

*April 7th, Washington DC*



# Talking Points

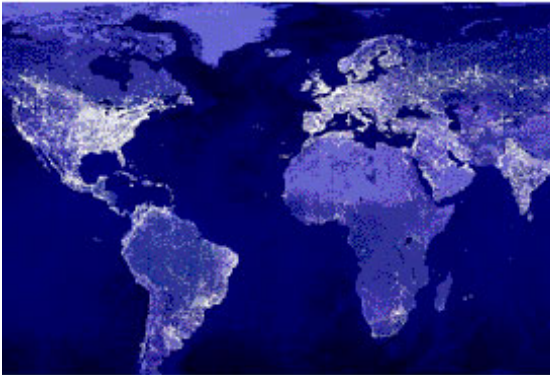
- **The Players**
- **16 Year Backdrop**
- **Proximate Context**
- **Campaign Themes: Change vs. Continuity**
- **Polling Numbers**
- **Match-ups**
- **Looking forward to a Post-2010 Agenda**



# The Players



- **The Players**
  - Serra
  - Dilma
  - **Ciro Gomes**
  - Marina
  
- **Obligatory Vote**
  
- **Free Television and Radio Time**
  
- **Run off Election if less than 50 + 1 in first round**
  
- **Serra ran against Lula in 2002**
  
- **PSDB v. PT**

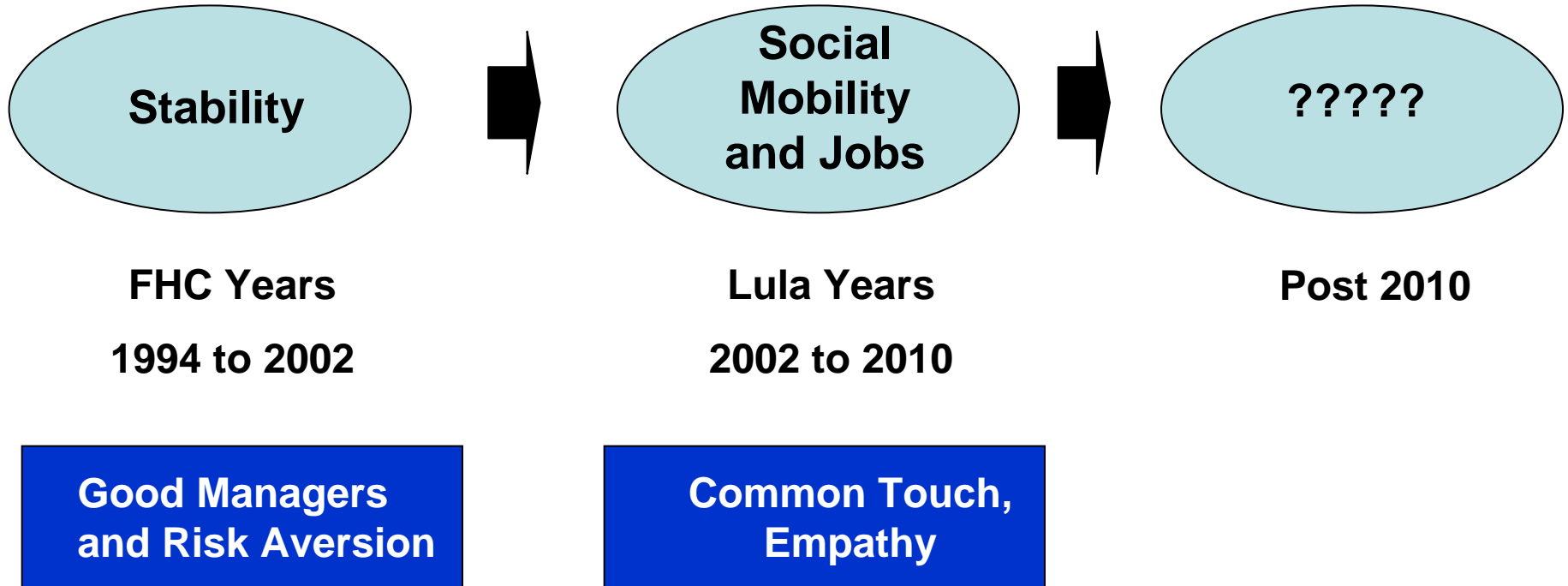


# 16 Year Backdrop

1994 to 2010



# Meta-Values Defining Presidential Eras





# FHC versus Lula Years



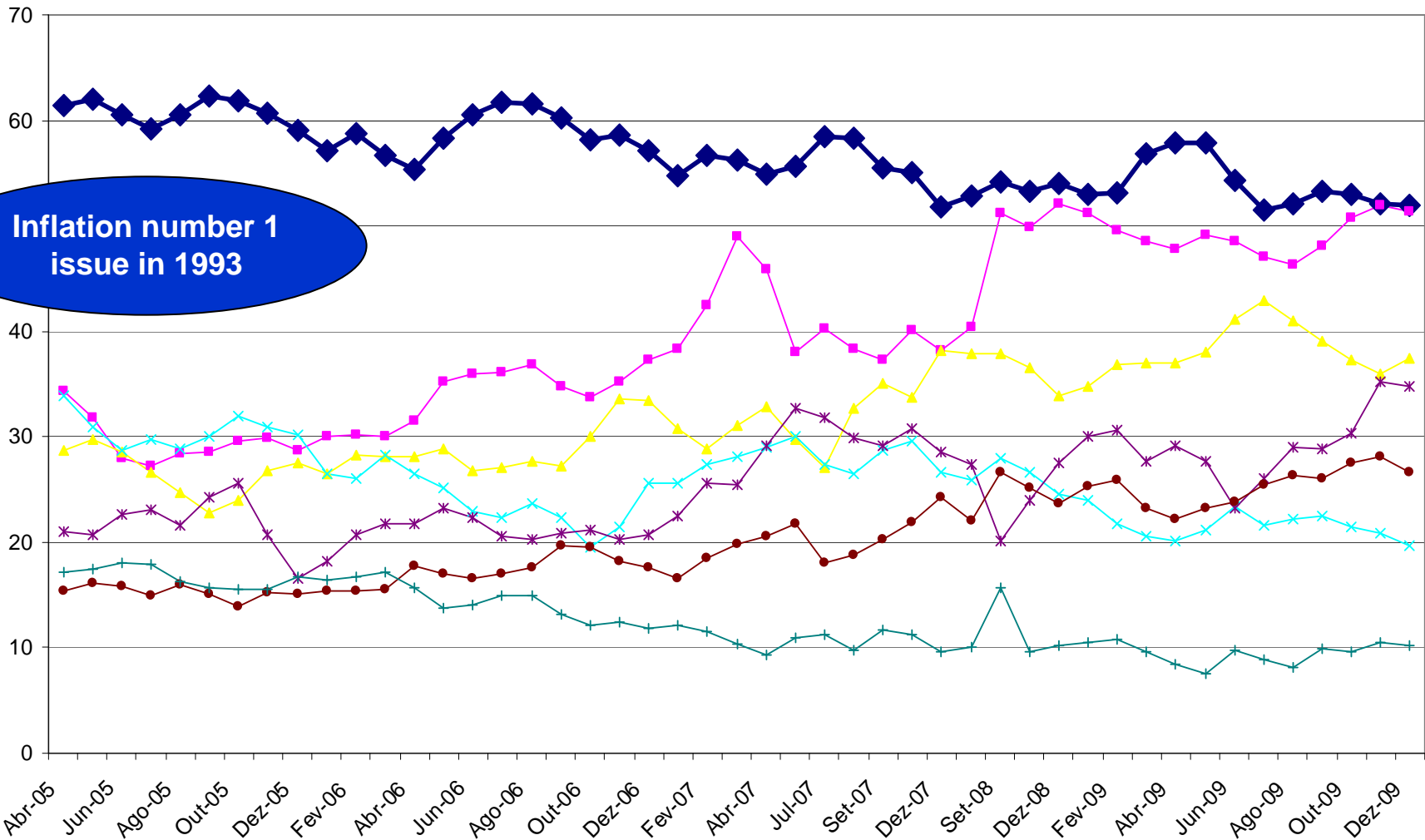
Positive Points of FHC's  
Administration 2002



Most Cited Programs of  
Lula's Administration 2010



# Lula Job's and Social Agenda



Inflation number 1 issue in 1993

- ◆ Falta de emprego
- ◆ Crimes e violência contra as pessoas
- ▲ Má qualidade da assistência médica
- ◆ Salários muito baixos
- ◆ Tráfico de drogas
- Má qualidade da educação
- + Falta de apoio aos mais pobres





# Proximate Context



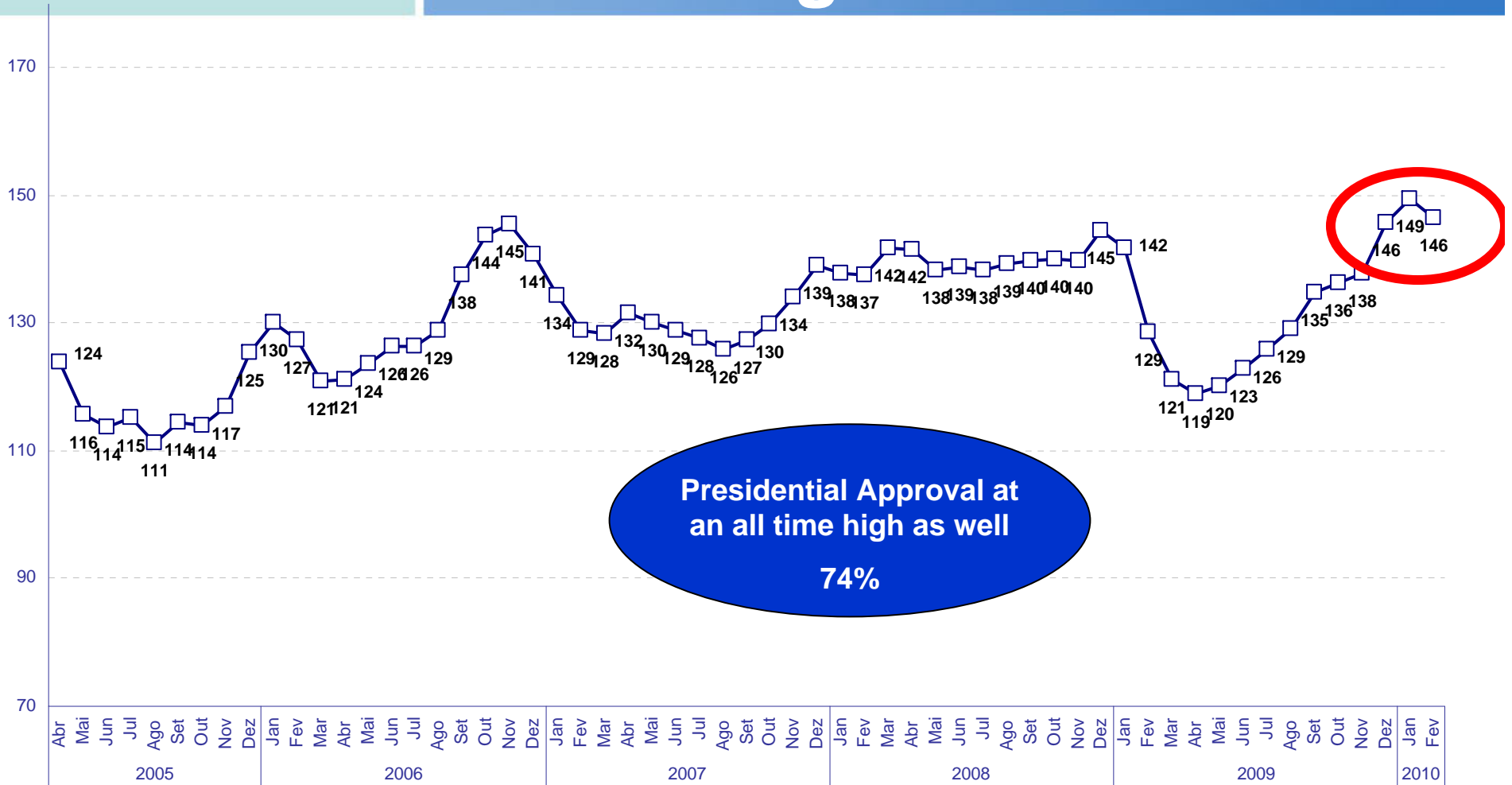
# Explosion in C Class

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
AB	26,421,172	32,809,554	28,078,466	29,377,015	30,217,541
<b>C</b>	<b>62,702,248</b>	<b>66,716,976</b>	<b>86,207,480</b>	<b>84,621,066</b>	<b>92,850,384</b>
DE	92,936,688	84,862,090	72,941,846	75,822,249	66,884,870
Total	182,060,108	184,388,620	187,227,792	189,820,330	189,952,795

**C Class Increases by 30 million  
From 34% to 49% of the Brazilian  
Adult population**



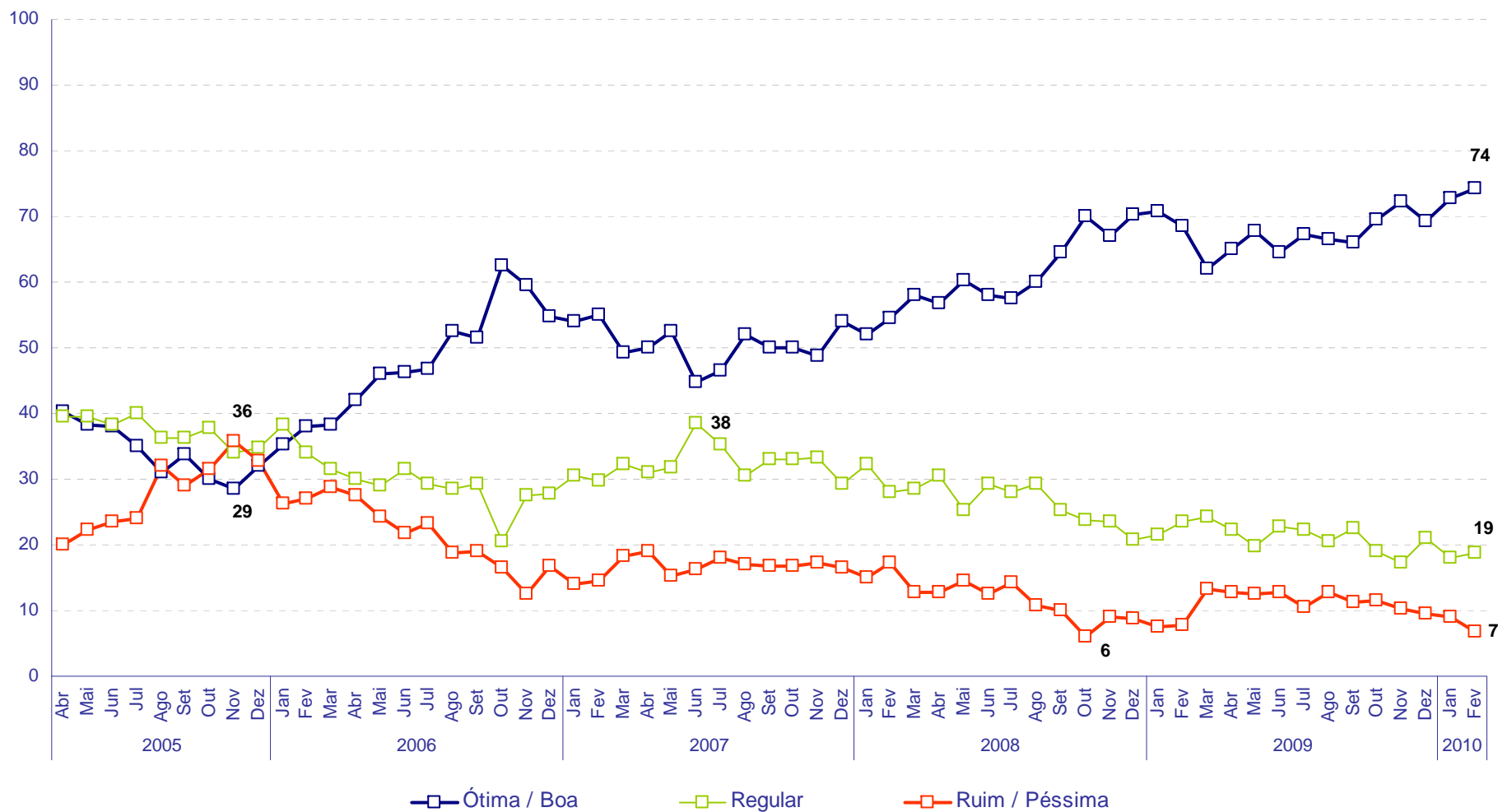
# Consumer Confidence at all time high



**Presidential Approval at an all time high as well**  
**74%**



# Presidential Approval at All time High

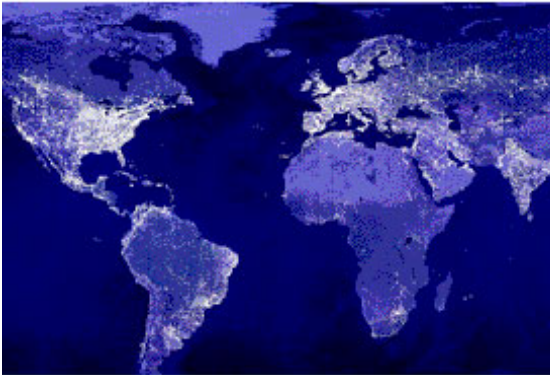




- **Brazilians are optimistic about their present conditions**
  
- **Desire for “More of the Same”**



# What does this mean?



**Campaign Themes:**

**Change v. Continuity**



- **Presidential Elections are usually about BIG ideas**
  - **Voter Decision Making quite simple**
    - Change versus Continuity
  
- **Rarely do voters pay attention to the policy detail**





# Desire Change Scenario Typology

Change

Change with  
Continuity  
*Middling Scenario*

Continuity

Scenario favorable to the  
Opposition Candidate

Scenario favorable to the  
Government Candidate

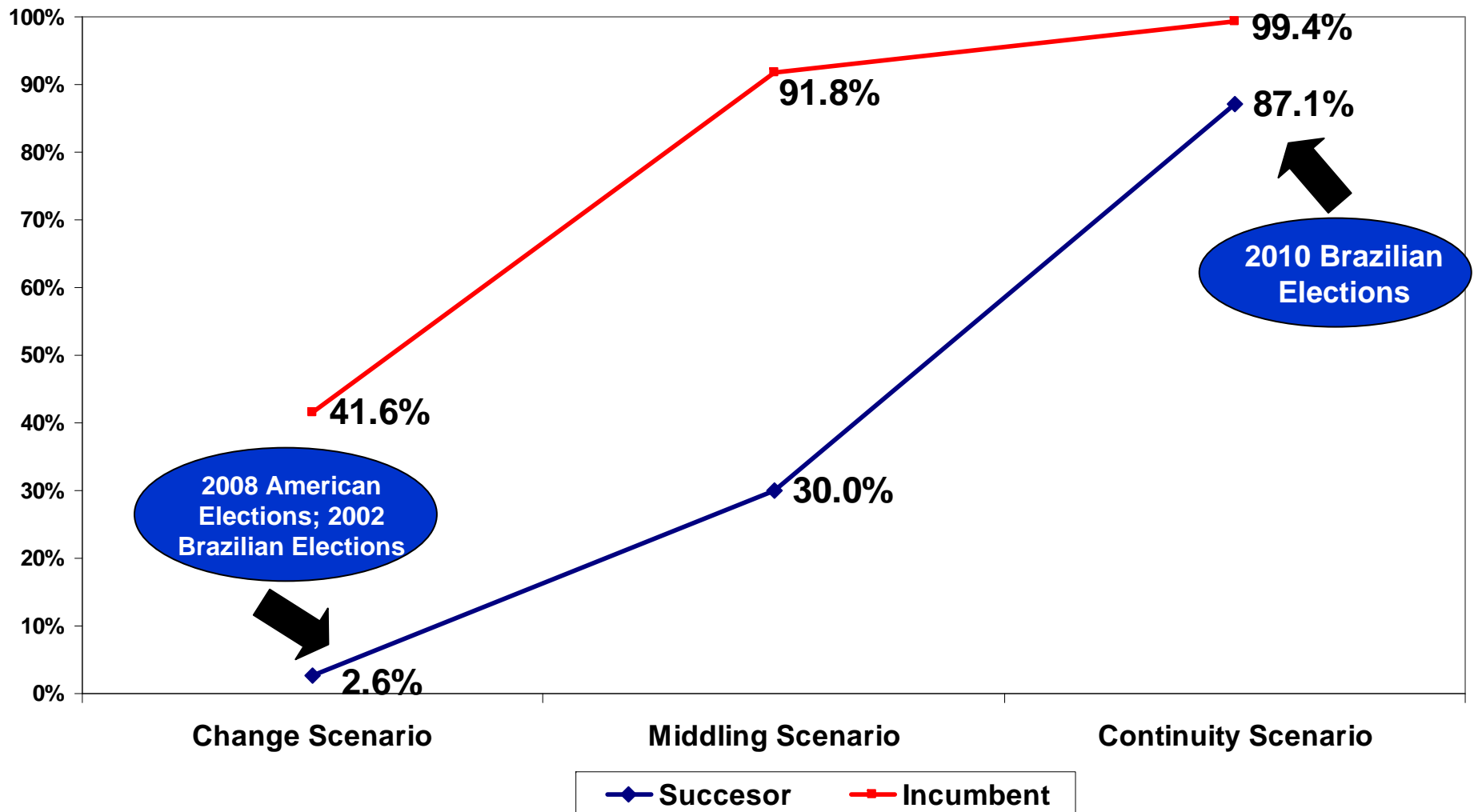
Government Approval  
More Negative

Government Approval  
More Positive



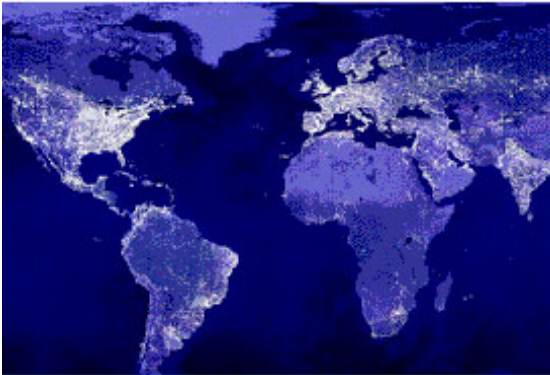
# Elections in International Perspective

(Probability of Electoral Victory for government candidate)





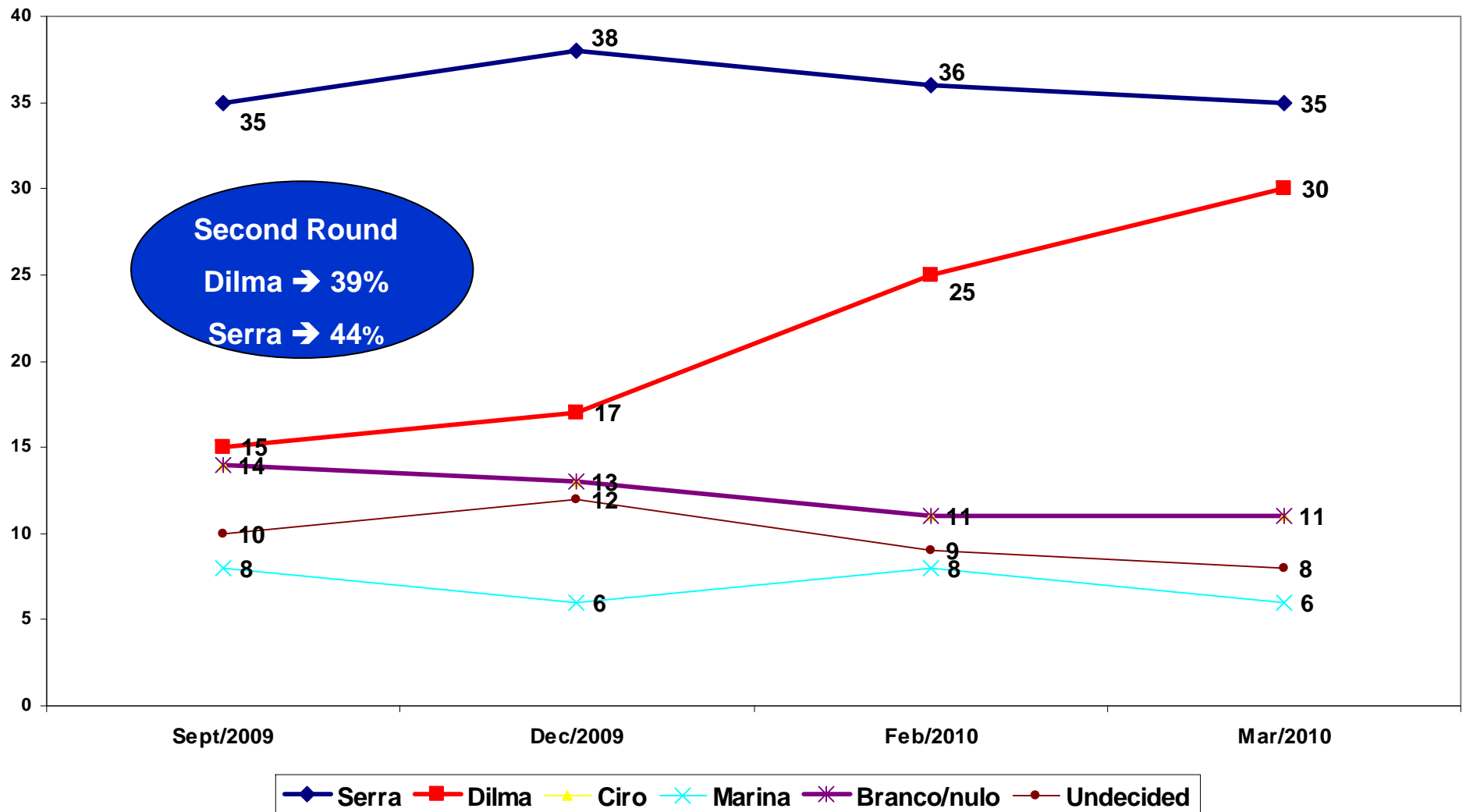
- **Nothing is Deterministic !!!!**
  - Gore-Bush
  - Successor higher bar than Incumbent
  
- **Though Opposition Candidate needs UNIQUE circumstances to win**
  - Importance of Name Recognition
  - More Continuity than “Continuity Candidate”



# Some Polling Numbers and Campaign effects

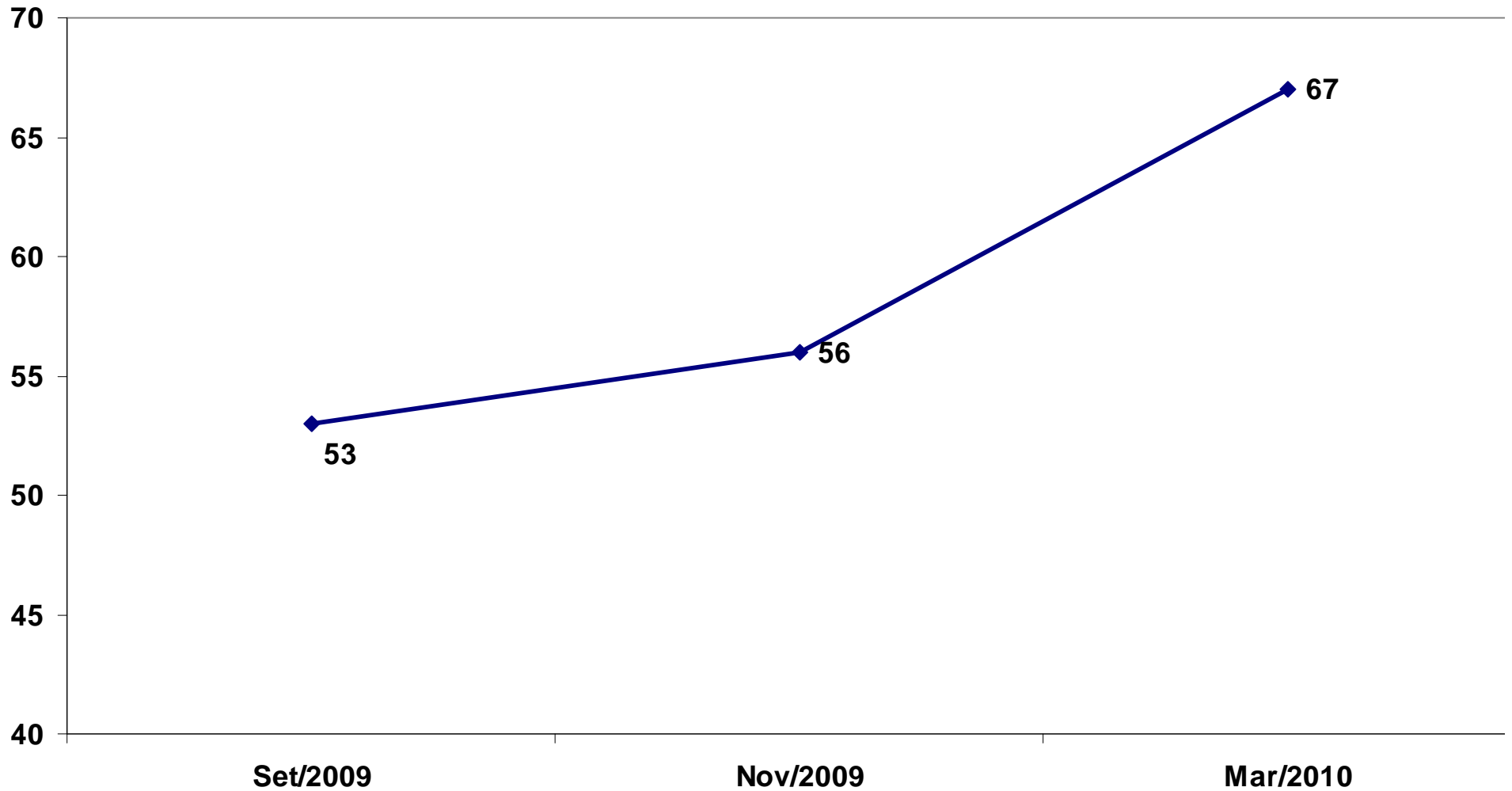


# Some Voting Intention Numbers (First Round)





# Strong Increase in Dilma's Familiarity





**What do these numbers  
really mean at this stage of  
the game?**



- **Strong “Campaign Effects”**
- **There will be “Ups and Down” but underlying structure the same**





# Match-Ups: Dilma v. Serra



# Dilma v. Serra

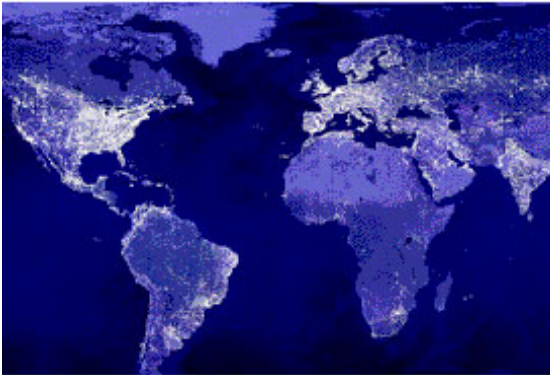
## ▪ Social Access:

- Personal Loans
- Greater Buying Power
- Decrease in Illiteracy
- Increase in Access to Higher Education
- Increase in Home Telephone and Own home
- Etc ...

## ▪ Good Manager

- **Healthcare**
- We can do more of the same BUT better????
- Better Continuity Candidate than Dilma
- Scare Tactics → Dilma may undermine stability

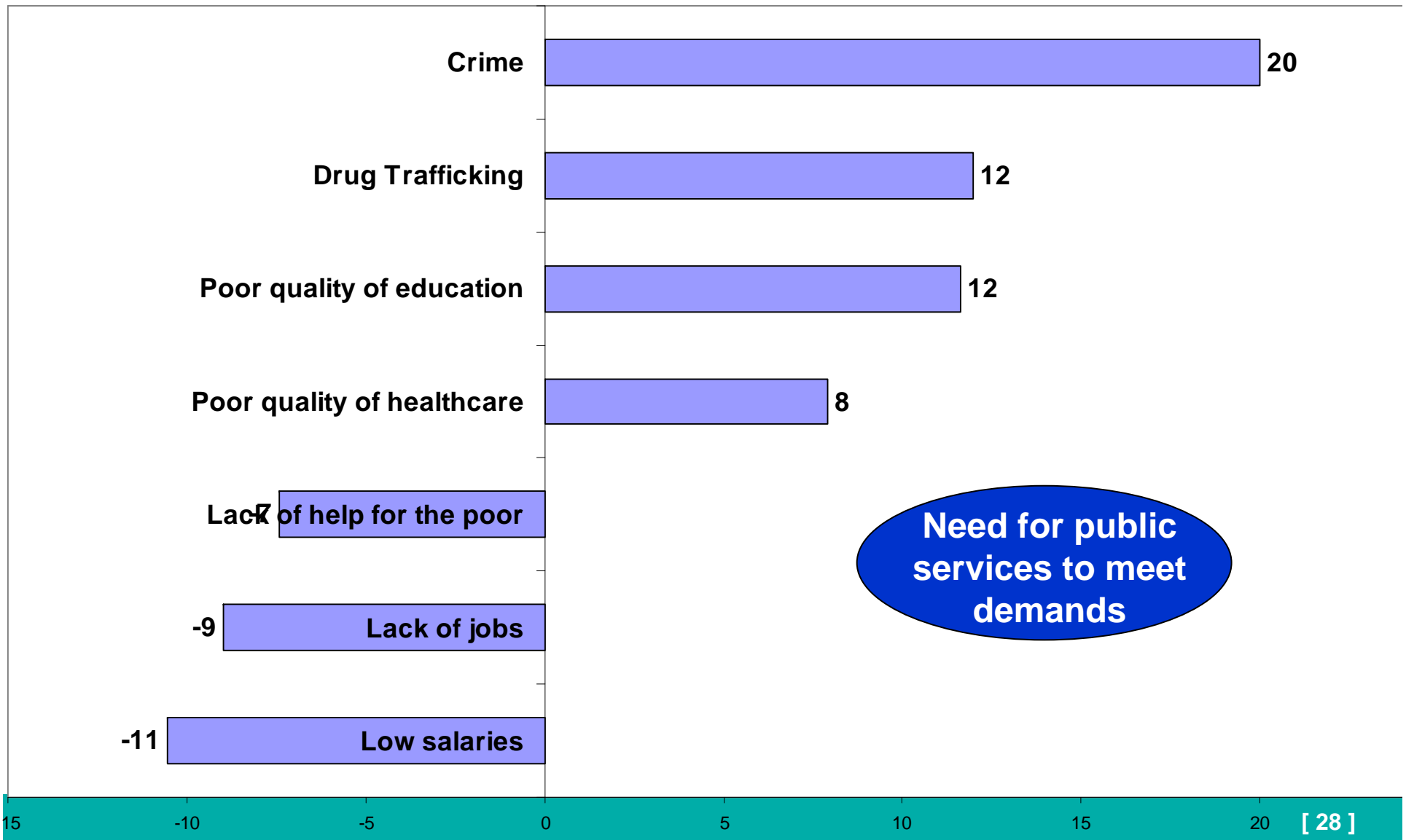
Increased Affluence: It's "more of the same", Stupid?!



# Looking forward: Quality of Life Agenda

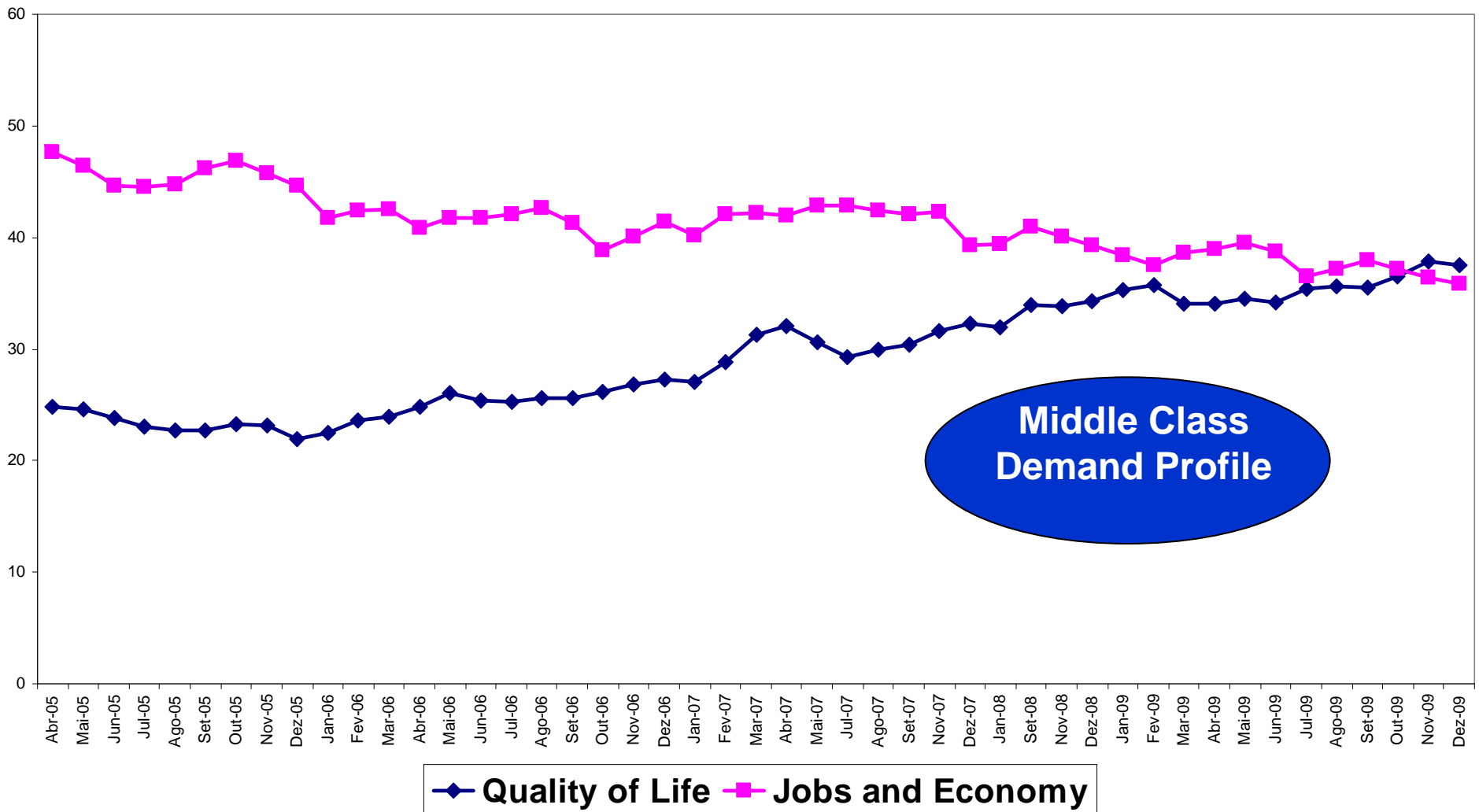


# Rise of the “Quality of Life Agenda” 2005 vs. 2010





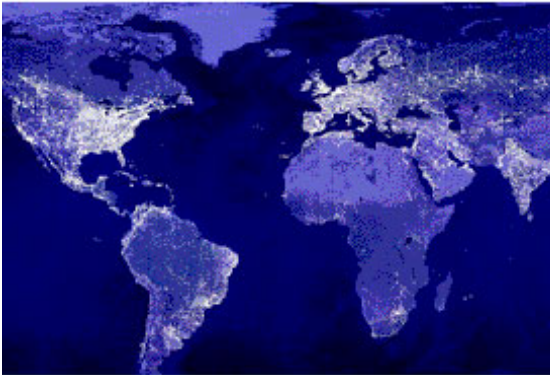
# Rise of the Quality of Life Agenda: 2005 vs. 2010





# Rise of the Quality of Life Agenda: 2005 vs. 2010

- **Important for local and state elections more than national**
- **Changing voter demands will condition the next crop of politicians**
- **Voter Demands more middle-class-like**



# Final Thoughts



- **What will be the theme of the election?**
- **Generational Change within the Political Class**
- **Quality of Life Agenda → will be most felt at the municipal and state levels**
  - **Important: because will select the next generation of politicians**
- **Generation E (16 to 32 years of age)**
  - **Most educated generation**
  - **Formative years not during the Dictatorship or Hyper-Inflation**