

**“Brazil’s General Elections in October 2010:
Considerations and Analysis”**

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***“Beyond Lula: The Outlook for
the 2010 Brazilian Elections”***

**Brazil Institute
Woodrow Wilson Center
for International Scholars**

Washington, DC

April 7, 2010

Evaluation of the Performance of Pres. Lula
(Datafolha polls – March 2007 → March 2010)

<u>Evaluation</u>	<u>2 0 0 7</u>		<u>2 0 0 8</u>		<u>2 0 0 9</u>		<u>2 0 1 0</u>	
	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Mar</u>
Good/Excellent	48%	50%	55%	70%	65%	72%	73%	76%
Regular	37%	35%	33%	23%	27%	21%	20%	20%
Bad/Terrible	14%	14%	11%	6%	8%	6%	5%	4%
DK/NR	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%
"Good/Bad" <i>Spread</i>	<i>+34</i>	<i>+36</i>	<i>+56</i>	<i>+64</i>	<i>+53</i>	<i>+66</i>	<i>+68</i>	<i>+72</i>
"Score" (zero to ten)	<i>6.7</i>	<i>6.7</i>	<i>7.0</i>	<i>7.6</i>	<i>7.4</i>	<i>7.7</i>	<i>??</i>	<i>??</i>

Simulation 1st Round (2009-2010) → Datafolha

<u>Candidate (Party)</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Mar</u>	<u>Rejection</u>		
						<u>Dec</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Mar</u>
José Serra (PSDB)	38%	37%	37%	32%	36%	19%	25%	25%
Dilma (PT)	16%	16%	23%	28%	27%	21%	23%	23%
C. Gomes (PSB)	15%	15%	13%	12%	11%	18%	23%	26%
Marina (PV)	--	--	8%	8%	8%	17%	19%	22%
Null/Br./DK/NR	21%	20%	19%	19%	18%	--	--	--
PSDB - PT Spread	+22	+21	+14	+4	+9	--	--	--
Serra % Válid Vote	48.1%	46.3%	45.7%	39.5%	43.9%			

**First Round - by Region, Income, Education e Gender
(Datafolha - December/09→March/10)**

	Serra Dec→Feb→Mar	Dilma Dec→Feb→Mar
<u>Region</u>		
Southeast	41%→38%→40%	19%→24%→24%
South	39%→38%→48%	19%→24%→20%
Northeast	28%→22%→25%	31%→36%→35%
North/C-West	38%→32%→34%	24%→29%→29%
<u>Family Income*</u>		
Less than 2 MW	35%→30%→35%	23%→29%→26%
From 2 to 5 MW	37%→34%→37%	23%→29%→30%
From 5 to 10 MW	41%→36%→36%	24%→27%→29%
More than 10 MW	38%→44%→39%	30%→29%→28%
<u>Education Level</u>		
Primary	36%→31%→37%	21%→26%→26%
High School	38%→33%→37%	25%→30%→27%
College	33%→36%→31%	29%→29%→33%
<u>Gender</u>		
Male	36%→32%→35%	27%→32%→32%
Female	38%→33%→37%	20%→24%→22%

* - MW – In 2010, the Minimum Wage is R\$510,00.

Second Round Simulation: Serra *versus* Dilma

<u>Candidate/Party</u>	<u>Dec</u>	<u>→</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>→</u>	<u>Mar</u>
José Serra (PSDB)	49%	→	45%	→	48%
Dilma Rousseff (PT)	34%	→	41%	→	39%
Null/Blank/DK/NR	17%	→	14%	→	13%
Serra-Dilma <i>Spread</i>	+15	→	+4	→	+9

The Question of a Lula → Dilma “Transfer”

“Transfer” of Voter Preferences

**Would you vote for
Lula’s Candidate?**

	<u>Dec</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Mar</u>
“Yes”	38%	42%	40%
“Perhaps”	27%	26%	27%
“No”	21%	22%	23%
Other + DK/NR	13%	10%	10%

In the *Datafolha* first round simulation,

→ 27% preferred Dilma Rousseff

→ 73% would not vote for her.

However, of those 73%:

→ 19% certain to vote for Lula's candidate

- 5% knew Dilma was Lula's Candidate &

- 14% said they "didn't know"

→ 22% "might" vote for Lula's candidate

→ 23% said "perhaps"

→ 8% responded DK/NR

Datafolha projected another line of “transfer”

→ in the March poll,

→ of the 76% who approve Lula’s performance,

33% prefer Dilma and

32% prefer Serra (a “technical tie”).

→ However, the 20% who consider Lula “regular”,

→ 51% prefer Serra but only 9% prefer Dilma. .

Ibope Election Polls: Sept. 2009 → Feb. 2010

<u>Candidate (Party)</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Mar</u>
Serra (PSDB)	35%	38%	36%	35%
Dilma (PT)	15%	17%	25%	30%
Ciro (PSB)	17%	13%	11%	11%
Marina (PV)	8%	6%	8%	6%
Blank/Null	14%	13%	11%	0%
DK/NR	10%	12%	9%	8%
Serra-Dilma <i>spread</i>	<i>+20</i>	<i>+21</i>	<i>+11</i>	<i>+5</i>
Serra % Valid Vote	46.1%	50.1%	45.0%	42.7%

Vox Populi Polls – January & March 2010

<u>Candidate (Party)</u>	<u>January</u>		<u>March</u>	
	<u>with Ciro</u>	<u>without Ciro</u>	<u>with Ciro</u>	<u>without Ciro</u>
Serra (PSDB)	34%	38%	34%	38%
Dilma (PT)	27%	29%	31%	33%
C. Gomes (PSB)	11%	--	10%	--
M. Silva (PV)	6%	8%	5%	7%
DK/NR/Null/Blank	24%	25%	20%	22%
Serra-Dilma Spread	+7	+9	+3	+5
Serra % Valid	47.5%	50.7%	42.5%	48.7%

Why do women seem to reject Dilma Rousseff (more than Serra)?

<u>Support by Gender</u>	<u>Datafolha</u>	<u>Sensus</u>	<u>Ibope</u>
<u>José Serra (PSDB)</u>			
Women	37%	33.4%	34%
Men	35%	33.0%	37%
<u>Dilma Rousseff (PT)</u>			
Women	22%	24.0%	25%
Men	32%	31.9%	36%

The Choice of Vice-Presidential Candidates

- Traditionally, regionally “balanced” (North-South) slates
 - 1989, T. Neves (PMDB-MG) + J. Sarney (PMDB-MA)
 - 1994, F. H. Cardoso (PSDB-SP) + M. Maciel (PFL-PE)

→ BUT

- 2002, Lula (PT-SP) + José Alencar (PL-MG)
- 2002, José Serra (PSDB-SP) + Rita Camata (PMDB-ES)
- 2006, G. Alckmin (PSDB-SP) + José Jorge (PFL-PE)

→ Other Criteria:

- José Alencar, successful self-made businessman from MG and PL a more conservative party
- Dilma Rousseff (PT) + Michel Temer (PMDB)???
- some preferred Henrique Meirelles (PMDB)

“Micro-Party” Candidates [*Nanicos*] for President (1989-2010)

<u>Election</u>	<u>Number of Cand.</u>	<u><i>Nanicos</i></u>	<u>Votes for <i>Nanicos</i></u>	
			<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
1989	21	14	3,970,388	5.5%
1994	8	3	2,365,195	4.0%
1998	12	9	2,884,523	4.3%
2002#	6	2	440,855	0.5%
2006#	7	4	2,790,606	2.9%
2010*	12	8	? ? ?	? ?

- Election with *verticalization* of coalitions.

* - Projection in March 2010.

→ Exceptions:

- 1989, Fernando Collor (PRN-AL)
 - began as a “*nanico*”, but won 1st and 2nd rounds
- 1994, Enéas Faria (Prona-RJ)
 - this “*nanico*” placed third with 7,671,540 votes (7,38%)
 - defeated Leonel Brizola (PDT) and Orestes Quéricia (PMDB)

Eight “micro-party” candidates in the 2010 elections

<u>Party</u>	<u>“Micro” Candidates</u>
PSL	Américo de Souza
PSDC	José Maria Eymael
PRTB	Levy Fidelix
PTdoB	Mário de Oliveira
PHS	Oscar Silva
PCO	Rui Costa Pimenta
PSTU	Zé Maria
PSoL	Not yet defined



➔ Can you recognize any of these “micro-party” candidates?

New Rules and Norms for the 2010 Election

- *Fichas Sujas* (“dirty records”)
- “Hidden” campaign contributions to political parties
- Absentee Ballot
- Campaign contributions via Internet
- Prisoners allowed to vote
- Reapportionment – TSE, only in 2014