

**Comparative Study of Electoral Systems  
Module 3: Macro Report**

Country: Brazil Date of Election: October 3 <sup>rd</sup> , 2010 (1 <sup>st</sup> round); October, 31 <sup>st</sup> , 2010 (2 <sup>nd</sup> round) Prepared by: Rachel Meneguello Date of Preparation: 15/11/2011
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NOTES TO COLLABORATORS:

- The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated! Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g., electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.
- Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.
- Where brackets [ ] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an "X" within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]
- If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

**Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered**

1a. Type of Election

- Parliamentary/Legislative
- Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential
- Presidential
- Other; please specify: \_\_\_also state governors\_\_\_\_\_

1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?

- Upper House
- Lower House
- Both
- Other; please specify: \_\_also for state legislatures\_\_\_\_\_

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election?

**Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers Party) .**

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election? **Not applicable**

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Cabinet Ministers</u>
PT	14
PMDB	6
PSB	1
PP	1
PCdoB	1
PV	1
PDT	1
PR	1

(composition Cabinet in October, 29, 2010)

There are 10 portfolios with ministers with no party affiliation

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

**37 portfolios**

3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election?

**Partido dos Trabalhadores**

3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election?

**Not applicable**

3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

Name of Political Party Number of Cabinet Ministers (new government elected in October, 31<sup>st</sup>)

PT	15
PMDB	6
PR	1
PSB	2
PP	1
PCdoB	1
PDT	1

(Composition cabinet in December, 2010)

There are 10 portfolios with ministers with no party affiliation

Source : [www.siorg.redegoverno.gov.br](http://www.siorg.redegoverno.gov.br)

3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count. Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have Cabinet voting rights.

**37 portfolios, the same size of the previous government**

4a. How many political parties received votes in the election? In this answer, we want political parties, not merely alliances or coalitions of political parties. Please include all parties that received votes, but do not include independents. Where coalitions are present, please count all member parties separately – for instance, a coalition of three parties would count as three parties in your answer, not as one party.

PT
PMDB
PSDB
PR
DEM
PSB
PP
PDT
PTB
PV
PSC
PCdo B
PPS
PRB
PSOL
PMN
PHS
PTdoB
PTC
PSL
PRTB
PRP
PSDC
PTN
PSTU
PCB
PCO

[www.tse.gov.br](http://www.tse.gov.br) (National Electoral Court)

Party name	Number of votes (valid votes for Chamber of Deputies)	% votes	Number seats	of	% seats
PT	16.461.336	16.9	88		17.2
PMDB	12.677.105	13.0	79		15.4
PSDB	11.636.068	11.9	53		10.3
PR	7.344.811	7.54	41		8.0
DEM	7.328.855	7.53	43		8.4
PSB	6.860.962	7.05	34		6.6
PP	6.358.720	6.53	41		8.0
PDT	4.849.424	4.98	28		5.5
PTB	4.060.094	4.17	21		4.1
PV	3.713.464	3.81	15		2.9
PSC	3.109.241	3.20	17		3.3
PCdo B	2.747.664	2.82	15		2.9
PPS	2.544.237	2.61	12		2.3
PRB	1.800.452	1.85	8		1.6
PSOL	1.152.427	1.18	3		0.6
PMN	1.098.356	1.13	4		0.8
PHS	773.184	0.79	2		0.4
PTdoB	637.938	0.66	3		0.6
PTC	596.708	0.61	1		0.2
PSL	496.537	0.51	1		0.2
PRTB	307.409	0.32	2		0.4
PRP	303.121	0.31	2		0.4
PSDC	189.511	0.19	0		0
PTN	178.745	0.18	0		0
PSTU	95.189	0.1	0		0
PCB	46.836	0.05	0		0
PCO	4.990	0.005	0		0
Total of votes	97.373.384		513		

Party name	Nominal votes	% of votes	Number of seats *
PT	30.849.626	29,2	11
PSDB	24.661.334	23,3	5
PMDB	18.904.349	17,9	16
PC do B	672.920	0,6	1
PP	5.455.548	5,2	4
PPS	5.125.455	4,9	1
PSB	4.730.835	4,5	3
PRB	3.332.886	3,2	1
PTB	3.142.930	3,0	1
DEM	3.117.703	3,0	2
PR	3.065.601	2,9	3
PDT	1.541.920	1,5	2
PSOL	203.259	0,2	2
PSC	625.959	0,6	1
PMN	199.956	0,2	1
	105.630.281		54

\* in 2010 there were 2 votes for senate, each state elected 2 senators in majoritarian elec. The composition for the Senate is 3 Senators each state, each 4 years there are elections to fill 1/3 and 2/3 of the House. Source: TSE

4c. Please list all parties who received at least 1% of the vote nationally, and the applicable electoral results for each, in the following table. Please indicate the source (even if the same as in Question 4b), and add additional rows to the table as necessary. Please provide party names both in English and in the original language, if applicable.

Vote for president

	1st round	
	Valid vote	%
Dilma Roussef – PT	47.651.434	46.91
José Serra-PSDB	33.132.283	32.61
Marina da Silva –PV	19.636.359	19.33
Plínio Sampaio-PSOL	886.816	0.87
José Eymael -PSDC	89.350	0.09
José Maria-PSTU	84.609	0.08
Levy Fidelix-PRTB	57.960	0.06
Ivan Pinheiro-PCB	39.136	0.04
Rui Pimenta-PCO	12.206	0.01

Source: [www.tse.gov.br](http://www.tse.gov.br) (National Electoral Court)

4d. What was the voter turnout in the election?

**111.193. 747 (81,9%)**

Source: [www.tse.gov.br](http://www.tse.gov.br)

4e. Please provide the following six statistics for the country at the time of the election studied, so that we may calculate voter turnout in various ways. Some definitions, where provided, are based on those developed by International IDEA.

- Total Population:

Definition: The total population includes all inhabitants, of all ages, both citizens and non-citizens (including illegal aliens).

**190.732.694 inhabitants**

<http://www.ibge.gov.br> > 2010 Census results

- Total Number of Voting Age Citizens:

Definition: This number is meant to approximate the eligible voting population.

**Population at minimum age of 16 years old : aprox. 145.385.000**

<http://www.ibge.gov.br/>

**in Brazil voting is mandatory; it is not mandatory to people 16-17years old and above 70 years old**

- Total Vote:

Definition: The total number of votes cast in the relevant election (Presidential election). Total vote includes valid and invalid votes, as well as blank votes in cases where these are separated from invalid votes.

**111.193.747 votes**

Source: [www.tse.gov.br](http://www.tse.gov.br)

- Total Number of Invalid and Blank Votes:

**6.124.254 invalid votes (5.5%)**

**3.479.340 blank votes (3,14%)**

**101.590.153 valid votes (91,36%)**

Source: [www.tse.gov.br](http://www.tse.gov.br)

- Voting Age Population:

Definition: Includes all persons above the legal voting age.

**Population at minimum age of 16 years old : approximately 145.385.000**

Source: [www.tse.gov.br](http://www.tse.gov.br)

- Number of Registered Voters:

Definition: The figure represents the number of names on the voters' register at the time that the registration process closes, as reported by the electoral management body.

**135.604.041 voters**

Source: [www.tse.gov.br](http://www.tse.gov.br)

5. Ideological family of political parties. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

<b>Party Name *</b>	<b>Ideological Family</b>
DEM _ Democrats (previous named as PFL _ Liberal Front Party)	Conservative
PSDB- Brazilian Social Democratic Party	Social democratic
PDT _Democratic Worker's Party	Social democratic
PT _ Worker's Party	Social democratic
PC do B- Communist Party of Brazil	Communist
PMDB- Brazilian Democratic Movement Party	Liberal
PTB _Brazilian Worker's Party	Conservative
PMN _National Mobilization Party	Left liberal
PSTU- Unified Socialist Worker's Party	Socialist
PV _ Green Party	Ecology
PSC _ Christian Social Party	Right Liberal
PPS - Popular Socialist Party	Socialist
PP - Progressive Party	Conservative
PR -Republican Party (previously named as PL-Liberal Party)	Liberal
PSB- Brazilian Socialist Party	Socialist
PTC_ Christian Worker's Party	Right Liberal
PRP_ Progressive Republican Party	Right Liberal
PRTB_ Brazilian Renewal Worker's Party	Right Liberal
PTdoB_ Worker's Party of Brazil	Right Liberal
PHS_ Humanist Party of Solidarity	Right Liberal
PSDC_ Christian Social Democratic Party	Right Liberal
PCB _ Brazilian Communist Party	Communist
PCO _ Party of the Working Cause	Communist
PSOL _ Party of Socialism and Liberty	Socialist
PTN_ National Worker's Party	Right Liberal
PRB_ Brazilian Republican Party	Right Liberal
PSL_ Liberal Social Party	Right Liberal

\*Note: some party names do not express the real ideological family

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation.)

- (A) Ecology Parties
- (B) Communist Parties
- (C) Socialist Parties
- (D) Social Democratic Parties
- (E) Conservative Parties
- (F) Left Liberal Parties

- (G) Liberal Parties
- (H) Right Liberal Parties
- (I) Christian Democratic Parties
- (J) National Parties
- (K) Independents
- (L) Agrarian Parties

- (M) Ethnic Parties
- (N) Regional Parties
- (O) Other Parties





7. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)? Rank them according to their salience (1 = most salient).

**1. Continuity of President Lula's government. (At the time of election, President Lula had high levels of government approval, the highest in the 2 terms of mandate - 83% of approval)**

**2. Maintenance of federal social programs (specially the income transfer programs) and economic policy. Economic policy benefited middle classes and the consumption opportunities; in 2010 socioeconomic data revealed that the "C Class" was about 52% of the population.**

**3. Abortion and Religion. Near to the election day the campaign turned highly conservative, a strategy of the opposition to differentiate itself from the government electoral agenda. The government candidate \_Dilma Rousseff(Worker's Party) used to be a leftist militant in terrorist organizations during the military regime, and during the campaign publicly defined abortion as a public health problem, not a catholic or religious issue. The main adversary (PSDB-Jose Serra) emphasized the role of religion in public issues. Analysts agree to that was the main cause the Government's candidate did not win the election in the first round, she won in the second round.**

**4. Corruption crisis affecting the government. In 2010 there was scandals involving some ministries.**

8. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates:

In the table below, report the leader(s) of each party. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 3 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I). If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this.

Party Name	Name of Party Leader	Name of Presidential Candidate, if appropriate
A. "PT"/ PMDB/PDT/ PSB/PR/PCdoB/ PRB/PTN/PSC/ PTC	Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva (President - 2002-2010)	Dilma Rouseff
B. "PSDB"/ DEM/PPS/PTB/PMN/ PTdoB	Fernando Henrique Cardoso (President of Brazil-1994-2002)	Jose Serra
C. PCB	Ivan Pinheiro	Ivan Pinheiro
D. PV	Jose Luiz Penna	Marina Silva (past Ministry of Environment of President's Lula Government)
E. PSDC	José Maria Eymael	José Maria Eymael
F. PSOL	Plinio de Arruda Sampaio	Plinio de Arruda Sampaio
G. PRTB	Levy Fidelix	Levy Fidelix
H. PCO (Party of Working Cause)**	Rui Costa Pimenta	Rui Costa Pimenta
I. PSTU	Jose Maria de Almeida	Jose Maria de Almeida

**\*\* these parties are not in the list presented at the questionnaire.**

Note that on question 88

Aécio Neves	PSDB
Aloísio Mercadante	PT
Ciro Gomes	PSB
Eduardo Suplicy	PT
Fernando Henrique Cardoso	PSDB
Itamar Franco	PMDB
Jorge Bornhausen	DEM
José Aníbal	PSDB
José Dirceu	PT
José Sarney	PMDB
José Serra	PSDB
Lula	PT
Marco Maciel	DEM
Marina Silva	PV
Michel Temer	PMDB
Pedro Simon	PMDB

9a. Fairness of the Election

How impartial was the body that administered the election law?

- Very impartial
- Mostly impartial
- Not very impartial
- Not impartial at all

9b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?

- Yes
- No

9c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?

- Yes
- No
- No international election observers

9d. On what date was the election originally scheduled to be held?

**October 3<sup>st</sup>, 2010 (first round)**  
**October 31<sup>st</sup>, 2010 (second round)**

9e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 1d, please explain why.

**October 3<sup>st</sup>, 2010 (first round)**  
**October 31<sup>st</sup>, 2006 (second round)**

10a. Election Violence

To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation during the election campaign and the election day?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10c. Post-Election (and election-related) Violence

To what extent was there violence following the election?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

10d. Post-Election (and election-related) Protest

To what extent was there protest following the election?

- No protest at all
- Sporadic protest
- Significant protest

### Questions about the Possibilities of Electoral Alliance

**Definitions:** A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

#### 11. Joint Lists/Candidates

There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are explicitly interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.

Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

- Yes  
 No

Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

- Yes  
 No

If "Yes" was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

Alliance Name	Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an "**")
Alliance 1:	"PT" / PMDB/PDT/ PSB/PR/PCdoB/ PRB/PTN/PSC/ PTC
Alliance 2:	"PSDB" / DEM/PPS/PTB/PMN/ PTdoB
Alliance 3:	
Alliance 4:	
Alliance 5:	

12. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc.

(please mark all applicable responses)

- Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
- Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
- Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the regulations governing independent parties; please specify: \_\_\_\_\_
- No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
- Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

**M stands for the district magnitude**

**M >= 20**

**YES, when there is no joint list a political party can presents up to 1,5 candidates for each seat ;**

**when there is joint list a political party can presents up to 2 candidates for each seat.**

**M < 20**

**YES, when there is no joint list a political party can presents up to 2 candidates for each seat;**

**when there is joint list a political party can presents up to 2,5 candidates for each seat.**

13a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

- Yes
- No

~~13b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:~~

- ~~lists of the same party in the same constituency~~
- ~~lists of the same party from different constituencies~~
- ~~lists of different parties in the same constituency~~

14a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

- Yes
- No

14b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
- Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Data on Electoral Institutions**

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.

#### **Electoral Tier (Segment) and House**

15a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

#### **State and National Legislatives, President and Governors**

15b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

#### **Questions about Voting**

16a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

**In 2010 there were six votes: president, governor, federal deputy, state deputy, and 2 votes for senator. (The Senators have 8 year mandate, each four years there are elections to fill 1/3 and 2/3 of the upper chamber. In 2010, Brazilians elected 2/3 of the Senate.**

16b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)

(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)

- Candidates
- Party Lists
- Party Bloc Voting
- Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

**President: vote for candidate**

**Senators: vote for candidate**

**Governor: vote for candidate**

**Federal and State deputy: each political party presents a list of candidates.**

**Voters can vote for only one candidate or can vote for the party.**

16c. How many rounds of voting are there?

**For President and Governors > 2 round-system, if no candidate receives the required number of votes in the first round: 50% + 1 of valid votes**  
**For legislative in any segments> one round-system**

16d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting?

- Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)
- Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)
- Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)

17. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are *transferred* from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

- Yes  
 No

~~18. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?~~

~~(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)~~

- ~~Yes  
 No~~

19. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

- Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions  
 Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions  
 Yes; Without Sanction for Violation  
 No

20. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

Brazil has an electronic system of voting since 1996.

Voters may know the number of the selected candidate (or the number of the party), in order to fill the box on the screen. All the electoral sections where the electronic boxes are installed have lists with names and numbers of all the candidates. The campaign at the electoral sections is forbidden.

### Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

21a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

- Yes  
 No

21b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold?

Quota Hare

21c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b?

- Percent of total votes  
 Percent of valid votes  
 Percent of the total electorate  
 Other; please explain: \_\_\_\_\_

21d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

**Federal and State Deputies**

**Note: For the Senate, the election system is simple majority**

**Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature. Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.**

## **References**

22. Please provide an official source for district-level election results. English language sources are especially helpful. Include website links or contact information if applicable.

[www.tse.gov.br](http://www.tse.gov.br)

23. Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described. Include website links if applicable.

[www.tse.gov.br](http://www.tse.gov.br)

[www.ucam.edu/leex](http://www.ucam.edu/leex)

[www.ibge.gov.br](http://www.ibge.gov.br)

[www.siorg.redegoverno.gov.br](http://www.siorg.redegoverno.gov.br)

MAINWARING, Scott, MENEGUELLO, Rachel e POWER, Timothy. (2000), "Conservative Parties, Democracy, and Economic Reform in Contemporary Brazil", in K. J. Middlebrook (org.), *Conservative Parties, the Right, and Democracy in Latin America*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

NICOLAU, Jairo (2004) "Brazil: Democratizing with Majority Runoff", in Josep M. Colomer (ed.), *Handbook of Electoral System Choice*, London, Palgrave, MacMillan, 2004.

NICOLAU, Jairo. The open-list electoral system in Brazil. *Dados* [online]. 2007, vol.3 Selected edition [cited 2009-12-23], pp. 0-0 . Available from:  
<[http://socialsciences.scielo.org/scielo.php?script=sci\\_arttext&pid=S0011-52582007000100003&lng=en&nrm=iso](http://socialsciences.scielo.org/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0011-52582007000100003&lng=en&nrm=iso)>. ISSN 0011-5258.