

Brazil Elections 2022

Analysis – After 1st round - October 2022

This report is part of a series of publications from Edelman Global Advisory on the 2022 Elections in Brazil

Opening Letter

On October 2nd general elections were held in Brazil to elect a new President, State Governors, and renew the House of Representatives and 1/3 of the Senate, as well as all state legislative assemblies. Lula (PT) and Bolsonaro (PL) will face off in the second runoff of the presidential election, on October 30th, as will do 24 candidates in 12 states where there will be second runoffs too.

The results of the elections points out a consolidation of the clash between the left- and right-wing forces, with a meaningful reduction in the representation of the political center. It is notable the growth of the right-wing parties, especially Bolsonaro's Partido Liberal (PL), which bench in Congress reached 99 representatives in the House of Representatives (out of 513 seats) and 13 representatives in the Federal Senate (out of 81 seats). The Partido Progressista (PP) achieved 47 seats in the House of Representatives and 7 in the Senate and the Republicans had 41 deputies and 3 senators elected.

On the other hand, in the left-wing spectrum, Lula's Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) won 68 seats in the House of Representatives and 9 in the Senate. Rede and Partido Socialismo e Liberdade (PSOL) won 14 seats in the House of Representatives and 1 seat in the Senate, however the PSB, the current party of Geraldo Alckmin (Lula's vice-president candidate), went from 24 to 14 seats in the House of Representatives and won only 1 additional seat in the Senate (totaling 2 party representatives in the higher house).

Especially in the Senate, the increase of representatives' supporters of Bolsonaro indicates that, if the president is re-elected, he will count on an important representation in a house in which he faced resistance during his first term. If former-president Lula is elected, both the Senate and the House of Representatives should be challenging houses for the purpose of governability.

Bolsonaro gained advantage in the support of states such as: São Paulo, with Tarcísio de Freitas, who's qualified for the second round ahead of Haddad (PT); Minas Gerais, with Romeu Zema re-elected; Rio de Janeiro, with the reelection of Cláudio Castro; Goiás, with the reelection of Ronaldo Caiado; and in the Federal District, with the reelection of Ibaneis Rocha, among others.

Lula consolidated the support of Simone Tebet, former-president Fernando Henrique Cardoso and the Partido Democrático Trabalhista (PDT), especially in the figure of Carlos Lupi (party president). In addition to the support of Fátima Bezerra, re-elected governor of Rio Grande do Norte, Elmano de Freitas, elected governor of Ceará and Rafael Fonteles, elected governor of Piauí.

This report opens with an overview of the final stretch of the first round of the elections on social networks, moving on to an analysis of the National Congress configuration and a discussion on governability scenarios in the face of the new compositions of the benches and concludes with a prospective look at the second runoff.

Enjoy your reading!

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Social media and Internet



Throughout September, the volume of searches for Lula and Bolsonaro, as well as mentions of the two candidates on social networks, grew until reaching a peak between the 29th and 30th. Research institutes were a frequent target of Bolsonaro and his militancy during the campaign, who claimed that the polls would not reflect reality.

The disclosure of each survey provoked criticism from his supporters on social networks, while it was celebrated by Lula supporters, who believed that the PT candidate could win the election in the first runoff.

Bolsonaro's participation in the debate on the 24th held by SBT - one of the most important television networks in the country, without Lula's presence, generated a spike in mentions on social networks, but the Globo network debate, on Thursday night (29), was the last one before the first round, triggered a sharp spike that far surpassed the peaks recorded in September. Lula did not attend to the second debate as a strategic campaign decision to reduce exposure to potential critics and focus on campaigning to targeted audiences.



The high number of posts continued throughout the 30th, with hashtags mentioning the participation of candidates and the debate itself (#debatenaglobo), showing the relevance of the event to guide social networks, even in a campaign marked by strong digital mobilization.



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Social Media and Internet

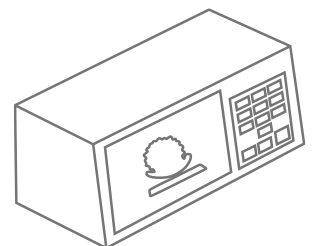
The number of mentions on social networks continued to grow during the debate and exploded on Sunday morning (02), falling again on Monday (03), after the vote in the first runoff. The debate and the approach of election day also caused spikes in searches for candidates, surpassing the volume of searches carried out throughout September.



Bolsonaro's statements on September 7th (Brazil's Independence Day) spurred searches for the president's name associated with the term "imbrochável", a vulgar Portuguese word. The president's name was also associated in searches for the decree mourning the death of Queen Elizabeth II. Searches for sensitive topics for Bolsonaro's campaign focused mainly on states in the Northeast, where Lula won the most votes in the first round.

On the weekend of the election, influencers linked to the North American extreme right related to former US President Donald Trump began to post on social networks about alleged fraud that would be happening in the Brazilian presidential elections. The posts were shared by Brazilian Bolsonaro supporters, influencers and politicians.

Throughout the campaign, Bolsonaro at various times made unproved accusations about the possibility of fraud in the elections. The topic generated a spike in interest that grew rapidly on Sunday night, then waned throughout Monday. The volume of searches for terms linked to fraud was higher in some states where Bolsonaro won the most votes in the first round.



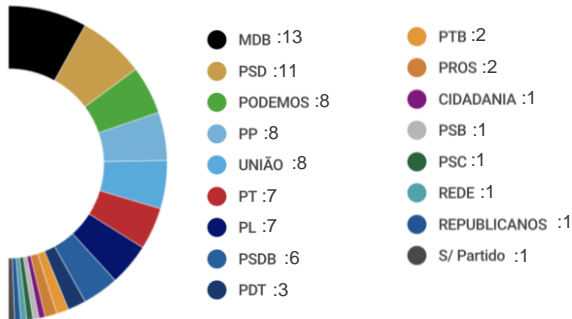
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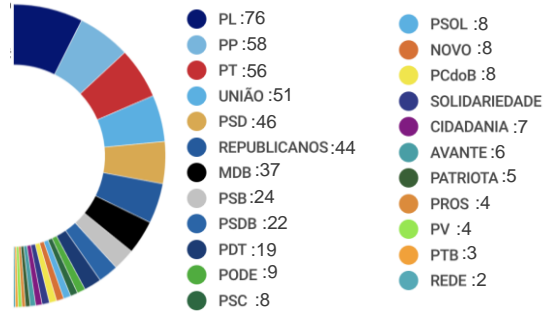
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National Congress Composition

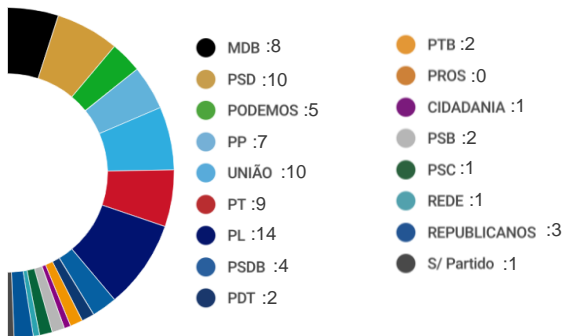
Senate – Currently



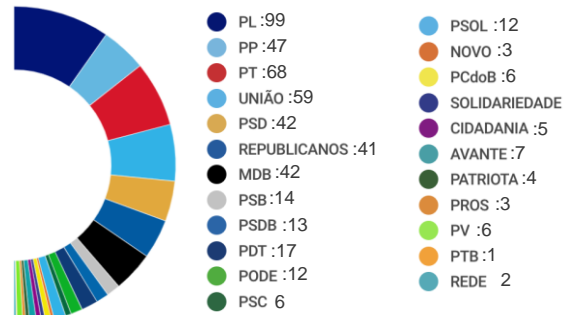
House of Representatives - Currently



Senate – New composition



House of Representatives - New composition



The self-proclaimed independent forces that supported presidential candidates that did not advance to the second round or remained neutral in the presidential elections maintained large representation in parliament, especially União Brasil, which increased its seats from 51 to 59 deputies and from 8 to 10 senators. The Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB) and the Social Democratic Party (PSD) remain major forces in both houses, while Podemos remains strong in the Senate.

The evident shift of voters to the left and right represented a great loss for parties such as the Brazilian Social-Democracy Party (PSDB), which will have fewer representatives in the House of Representatives and Senate. In the House, the representation dropped from 23 to 13 deputies while in the Senate it went from 6 to 4, with the possibility of reaching 5 members depending on the state elections. It is the worst result for the party since 1998, indicating a hollowing out of the democratic and programmatic center-right forces.

Progressive Party (PP) and Republicans, who are also part of the so-called “Centrão” and Bolsonaro’s coalition, suffered small decreases in their seats in the House of Representatives, but advanced in the Senate, and continue to appear with strong representation, with seats of 47 deputies and 7 senators, in the case of the PP, and 41 deputies and 3 senators, for the Republicans.

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National Congress Composition



Direitos da Imagem: Poder 360.

After the 2022 elections, the Liberal Party (PL), of Bolsonaro, saw its bench grow significantly in the Congress. The party will have, as of 2023, the largest number of representatives in the House and Senate. In the House of Representatives, the group will have 99 members and, in the Senate, the party reached 13 of a total of 81 senators, a number that could reach 15, depending on the result of the second runoff of state elections in which two senators from the party are running for state governments.

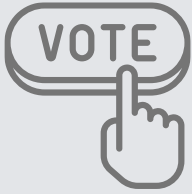
PL's growth demonstrates Bolsonaro's strength, also showcased by the election of prominent names in his government and strong allies of the president who won seats in Congress. Among them are Marcos Pontes (SP), Tereza Cristina (MS) and Damaraes Alves (DF), who won seats in the Senate, and Ricardo Salles (SP), who was elected federal deputy.

On the left-wing spectrum, the Workers' Party (PT), of candidate Lula, also grew and became the second largest bench in the House of Representatives, rising from the current 56 deputies to a total of 68. Considering the "Brasil da Esperança" Federation, which includes PT, PV and PCdoB, the coalition will hold 80 seats in the House. In the Senate, PT went from 7 to 9 senators, the fourth largest bench in the House. The Socialism and Freedom Party (PSOL) and Rede Sustentabilidade, which also formed a federation, expanded their bench in the House of Representatives, from 10 to 14 deputies, with 1 seat in the Senate. The biggest losses in this political spectrum were due to the performance of the Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB), of the vice-presidential candidate of Lula, Geraldo Alckmin, in the election for the House of Representatives. The party bench dropped from 24 to 14 deputies. In the Senate, the party secured one more seat, reaching 2 representatives.

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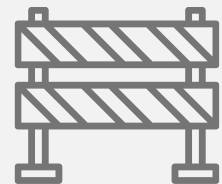
New Electoral Rules and its impacts

The 2022 general elections took on an even more exceptional character, in addition to the current political situation, as new rules established by TSE (electoral court) and the National Congress in the 2021 electoral reform were in force for the first time.

Elevation of the Performance Clause and Party Dynamics

This year's elections mark the elevation of the party performance clause, requiring parties to reach at least 2% of valid votes in the election for the House of Representatives and elect 11 federal deputies in 9 states to guarantee access to Party and Electoral Funds in the next four years.

Of the 23 parties that managed to guarantee representation in the House of Representatives from 2023 onwards, 6 did not meet the requirements on that occasion, namely: PTB, Novo, Solidariedade, PROS, PSC and Patriota. They join a second group, formed by parties that had either not been able to meet the requirements in 2018 or did not yet exist by the time: PCB, PCO, PMB, PMN, PRTB, PSTU, UP, Agir and Christian Democracy.



The parties already admit to discuss mergers to guarantee access to resources that would be dammed up due to their performances at the polls.



A prominent merger, which is already under discussion, would be between the progressive Party(PP) with União Brasil, which would result in a super-bench in the National Congress. Such a process would aim to further strengthen the Centrão, bringing União Brasil definitively to this bloc. The party had already been the result of a merge between the Democrats and the Social Liberal Party (PSL).

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End of Coalitions and new Party Federations

Party coalitions in proportional elections have not been allowed since 2020, however beginning this year a new system of party federations was implemented. Federations are associations between two or more parties for a minimum period of four years, valid in all national territory. The goal of this new rule approved in 2021 would be to avoid the formation of merely electoral coalitions, but also to guarantee the survival of smaller parties in the face of the increase in the performance clause.

The effects of the new federations still need to be evaluated over time, under aspects such as party loyalty and the possible incorporation of smaller parties by larger ones. Immediately, it is possible to identify the benefits of this new model for small parties in terms of their survival. PCdoB, PV, Rede and Cidadania exceeded the performance clause criteria in 2022 due to the strength of their federations, with PT (in the case of the first two), PSOL and PSDB.

Diversity and Distribution of Electoral and Party Funds

The 2021 electoral mini-reform established that from 2022' election (and until 2030) the votes given to women and black people, for the House of Representatives, will be counted twice for the purpose of distributing resources from party and electoral funds. Also starting this year, parties must proportionally distribute resources from the electoral fund and radio and TV times to black candidates, as determined by a 2020 TSE decision. Both measures would aim to ensure more gender and racial diversity among the elect.

According to TSE, based on the results of Sunday's election (2), the representation of blacks and women in the House of Representatives from 2023 onwards saw a small increase compared to the previous legislature. The proportion of women in the House of Representatives grew by 3% (from 15% to 18% of the total of representatives in the house), while the representation of blacks and indigenous peoples grew by 2.8% (from 24.2% to 27%).

Even before the first round of the elections, the press already reported that most parties were not complying with the rules regarding the distribution of resources established by the TSE. Some self-declarations of race also generated controversy, which could indicate an attempt by politicians and parties to subvert the logic implemented by such measures. Therefore, it will be necessary to follow up on the developments in the implementation of these measures after the elections, in order to understand their effectiveness and whether adjustments to their form will be proposed.

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Governability Scenarios



- The electoral coalitions of Lula (PT) and Bolsonaro (PL) did not guarantee a parliamentary majority in the House of Representatives and Senate, which means that regardless of who is elected, the future president must build a majority in the Congress to guarantee governability.
- Both candidates would need alliances with parties that are not part of their base.
- The block called Centrão will occupy 47% of the seats in the House of Representatives and remains decisive for the governability of the elected president. Congress must be strengthened and set up as an independent and negotiating legislature.
- The new composition indicates an advantageous scenario for Bolsonaro (PL) and reveals a center/right parliament.
- If Bolsonaro is reelected, the new composition of the Congress facilitates the assembly of a support base for his second term, strengthening his agenda. In this scenario, there is also a predisposition for the reelection of Arthur Lira in the House of Representatives and there is resistance to the reelection of Pacheco in the Senate.
- Despite representing a support group for the current president, there is a great chance that a PT administration will obtain adhesions between different parties, especially among parties that identify themselves as being independent.
- If the PT is elected, with all the parties in its coalition united, Lula would have the support of 26% of deputies and 16% of senators. To strengthen a possible third term, in addition to more intuitive alliances from the left, parties from the center would also be sought.

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Insights for the Second Round



Both sides elected important figures from their respective governments, and both also elected governors they supported in key states. This demonstrates capillarity and support at the local level. It is much needed to understand the impact of these alliances as a platform for them in the upcoming second phase of the electoral race.

Of the 24 candidates vying for the second round in 12 states, ten announced their support for PT and Lula, nine will join Bolsonaro's campaign, and another five have not yet indicated their position. Among the governors elected in the first runoff, 8 announced their support for Bolsonaro, while 6 will be in favor of Lula and 1 of them did not show support for either of them.

In Rio de Janeiro, the re-elected governor is from the same party as Bolsonaro, representing an important support for the president over the next few weeks. Lula's candidate in the state performed poorly, but the mayor of the capital of Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo Paes, has increased engagement in Lula's campaign and hopes to promote the PT in the capital. Rio de Janeiro was one of the states in which Bolsonaro had the greatest advantage over Lula.

Considered a key state in the analysis of the electoral scenario, Minas Gerais was the only state in the Southeast region in which Lula obtained the highest number of votes in the first runoff. However, Governor Romeu Zema, re-elected with 56.18% of votes, has already declared support for Bolsonaro.

The articulation under discussion by the PT also includes an alliance with the PSDB in Rio Grande do Sul, Pernambuco, and São Paulo. Rio Grande do Sul presents a challenge, as it is a state with high rejection of the Workers Party. In São Paulo, Lula will focus on the countryside and seek votes for the state electoral race as well. Rodrigo Garcia, the defeated PSDB candidate, already declared support for Bolsonaro.



The PSDB-Citizenship Party Federation will not officially support any candidate in the second runoff of the presidential elections. Historic members PSDB, such as former-president Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Serra declared their support for Lula. Doria, former governor of São Paulo, announced that he will annul his vote.

Among the other parties that had presidential candidates in the first round, the PDT, with the endorsement of Ciro Gomes, supported Lula's candidacy. Also, Simone Tebet declared support for Lula. Novo criticized the PT and invited members to vote consciously, without declaring support for any of the candidates.

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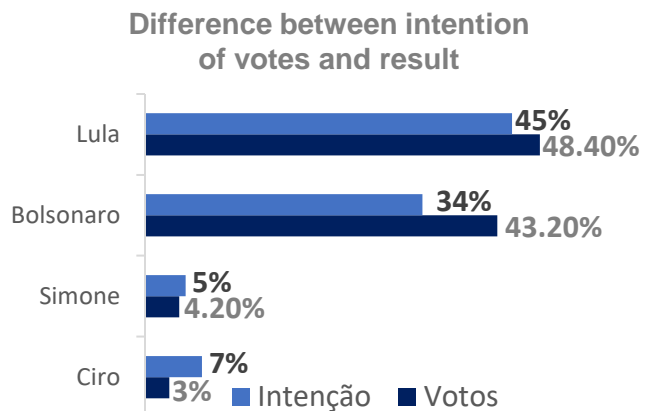
A relevant fact in the results of the first round was the gap between the opinion polls results presented prior to the elections and the actual results of election day.

President Bolsonaro showed better performance than indicated by polls, with almost 7% more votes than expected, while Lula performance showed a difference of -2%. The actual difference between the two rivals was of 5.23 percentage points, while in the opinion polls it reached up to 14 percentage points. The candidate Ciro Gomes, who was in 3rd place in the opinion polls and obtained almost 10% of the voting intentions in surveys, got only 3.2% of the valid votes and Simone Tebet, stood out in 3rd place in the elections with 4.2% but keeping the score that had been projected by polling institutes.

It is worth noting that, according to a Datafolha opinion poll carried out shortly before the 2018 presidential election, 12% of voters define their vote on the final day of the electoral race. Therefore, this portion of the population is not considered in polls, and leaves a gap that, in a competitive election like this makes all the difference in the results of surveys. Regardless of why the poll results are not entirely accurate, this fact reinforces the narrative that research and scientific knowledge in general is worthless.

For the second round, the gap between the polls and the results of the elections can be used in favor of both candidates, but especially Bolsonaro, who showed a more expressive performance on election day than expected and who endorses the narrative that the polls do not have value or validity.

The topic has already reverberated among representatives at the National Congress, especially among Bolsonaro's political supporters, such as the president of the House of Representatives, Arthur Lira (PP-AL), who informed that he plans to put in vote a new regulation of polling institutes. Bolsonaro's son and re-elected representative, Eduardo Bolsonaro (PL-SP), defended the installation of a parliamentary commission of inquiry (CPI) to investigate polling institutes.



Fonte: Datafolha, 9 de Setembro, 2022.

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Topics that have risen since 2018, such as Fake News and misinformation, use of robots in social networks, and the use of social networks in general, will continue to be a focus this month.

Connections outside the country also aired their views on social media. The day after the election, former Donald Trump strategist and Bolsonaro family's friend, Steve Bannon, and Project Veritas board member Matthew Tyrmand, raised suspicions of fraud over election results on the War Room podcast..

The fraud narrative has been getting stronger on Twitter, but also possibly on platforms like Kwai, TikTok, Telegram, WhatsApp and Gettr, founded by former Trump spokesman Jason Miller.

Debates and research dissemination guided social networks and caused spikes in mentions during the campaign.



Strengthening campaigns in the final stretch. Observing how each candidate uses their tools to gain more votes, especially from the portion that abstained or voted in the "third way".

It is important to analyze how Bolsonaro will use government resources to strengthen his campaign. He confirmed this week that he will pay the 13th installment of Auxílio Brasil for women in advance if elected. He also confirmed the continuity of the R\$ 600 aid throughout the next term. He added that he did not advance the payment for this year because it is prohibited by electoral law. However, he changed the aid payment schedule, that will finish right before the second runoff.

Former President Lula, on the other hand, should articulate to gain political support from center forces and from well-known media personalities, to try to get the votes of the so-called "third way" voters. The 3rd and 4th places, Tebet and Gomes, who totaled 7.2%

of the valid votes in the first round have already formalized their support for his candidacy.

The use of religious beliefs as a form of political mobilization has been increasingly strong, with photos and videos of Bolsonaro in Freemasonry houses and with Lula's campaign trying to get closer to Christian sectors, especially protestant public figures that historically supports Bolsonaro. The PT invested in social networks posts reaffirming that Lula is a Christian and with testimonies from evangelicals.

It is also important to note the abstention greater than 20%, a constant in the 2018, 2020 and now in 2022 elections. White and nulled votes in this first runoff summed up to 5.4 million voters, that will also be the target of campaigns in this final sprint.