This Week’s Lecture Covers:
• Mexico
  ➢ Current Policy Challenges
  ➢ Historical Perspectives
  ➢ Political Culture And Socialization
  ➢ Political Structure And Institutions
  ➢ Recruiting The Political Elite
  ➢ Interest Representation And Political Control
  ➢ Political Parties
  ➢ Government Performance
  ➢ Mexico’s Political Future
Course Lecture Topics (2)

• Brazil
  ➢ Current Policy Challenges
  ➢ Historical Perspectives
  ➢ Economy And Society
  ➢ Institutions And Structures Of Government
  ➢ Political Culture
  ➢ Socialization And Mass Communication
  ➢ Political Recruitment And Political Participation
  ➢ Interest Groups
  ➢ Political Parties And Elections
  ➢ The Policymaking Process
  ➢ Policy Performance
  ➢ International Relations
  ➢ Prospects For The Future
• Population: 106 million
• Territory: 761,602 sq. miles
• Year of Independence: 1810
• Year of Current Constitution: 1917

• Language: Spanish, various Mayan, Nahuati, Zapotec, and other regional indigenous languages
• Religion: Nominally Roman Catholic 89%, Protestant 6%
• 2006 presidential election- three strong candidates
  – Very close
  – Not typical; Usually election dominated by by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)
  – Economic crisis
• 1988 election brought a tidal wave of antigovernment voting
  • PRI got a bare majority
• 2000 election: Vincente Fox (PAN Party)
• 2006 PRI lost the presidency but retained control of half of the state governorships
• End result: Mexico has a more competitive, pluralistic political system, in which no single party is dominant but each of the three major parties has regional strongholds.
Table 14.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>% of Valid Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Felipe Calderón (PAN)</td>
<td>15,019,300</td>
<td>36.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrés Manuel López Obrador (PRD-PT-Convergencia)</td>
<td>14,767,438</td>
<td>36.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roberto Madrazo (PRI-PVEM)</td>
<td>9,302,801</td>
<td>22.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patricia Mercado (PASC)</td>
<td>1,129,737</td>
<td>2.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roberto Campa (Nueva Alianza)</td>
<td>401,932</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonregistered candidates</td>
<td>298,018</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invalid votes</td>
<td>937,735</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total votes</td>
<td>41,856,961</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Figure 14.2

States Won by Presidential Candidates in 2006 Election

- PAN: 16 States
- Alianza por el Bien de Todos (PRD, PT, Convergencia): 16 States
- Alianza por México (PRI, PVEM): 0 States
Current Policy Challenges (1)

• Mexico’s 21st century difficulties:
  – An economy that produces too few jobs to accommodate the number of people entering the job market
  – An educational system in need of modernization
  – A growing impoverished population
    • Half of Mexicans live below the official poverty line
  – Highly unequal distribution of income
  – Huge developmental gap between urban North, and rural, mostly indigenous South
  – Acute environmental problems
  – A criminal justice system that barely functions
Current Policy Challenges (2)

• Emerging policy challenges
  – Must catch up to its international trade partners/competitors
  – Modernize its agricultural sector
  – Renovate energy sector
  – Expand the tax base
  – Change election rules
    • Campaign finance
Historical Perspectives

• Colonial Perspectives
  – Indian civilizations
    • Decimated by disease; only small number left
  – Cortes and the Spanish Crown; Catholic Church
  – Conflict between church and state
  – Constitutions of 1857 and 1917 reduced this conflict
# Key Political Events in Mexico

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1810–1821</td>
<td>War of Independence against Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846–1848</td>
<td>War between Mexico and the United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910–1920</td>
<td>Mexican Revolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>New constitution issued, incorporating Revolutionary goals and ideals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924–1928</td>
<td>Presidency of Plutarco Elías Calles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927–1929</td>
<td>Cristero Rebellion (Catholic Church vs. State)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Alvaro Obregón elected president, assassinated a few months later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928–1934</td>
<td>“Jefe Mágico” Plutarco Elías Calles rules from behind the scenes, under several provisional presidents (the “Maximato” period)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Plutarco Elías Calles establishes Partido Nacional Revolucionario (PNR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934–1940</td>
<td>Presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>President Cárdenas reorganizes PNR, which becomes the Partido de la Revolución Mexicana (PRM); Cárdenas nationalizes oil industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) founded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940–1946</td>
<td>Presidency of Manuel Ávila Camacho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946–1952</td>
<td>Presidency of Miguel Alemán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>PRM is restructured, renamed the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952–1958</td>
<td>Presidency of Adolfo Ruiz Cortines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958–1964</td>
<td>Presidency of Adolfo López Mateos</td>
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<tr>
<td>1964–1970</td>
<td>Presidency of Gustavo Díaz Ordaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Student protest movement challenges the government and is violently repressed (the “Tlatelolco massacre”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970–1976</td>
<td>Presidency of Luis Echeverria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976–1982</td>
<td>Presidency of José López Portillo; period of the oil export boom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981–1982</td>
<td>Drop in world oil prices and rising interest rates cause economic collapse; Mexico unable to service its external debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982–1988</td>
<td>Presidency of Miguel de la Madrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988–1994</td>
<td>Presidency of Carlos Salinas de Gortari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) goes into effect; peasant rebellion erupts in the state of Chiapas; PRI presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio assassinated and replaced by Ernesto Zedillo; peso sharply devalued, provoking a deep economic crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994–2000</td>
<td>Presidency of Ernesto Zedillo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997–2000</td>
<td>PRI loses majority control in the Chamber of Deputies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>PRI loses the presidency for the first time in 71 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000–2006</td>
<td>Presidency of Vicente Fox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>PAN wins the presidency again and a plurality in both houses of Congress; closeness of the presidential result provokes large-scale protests and a partial recount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006–2012</td>
<td>Presidency of Felipe Calderón</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Historical Perspectives (1)

• Revolution and its aftermath
  – 1910 first of the great “social revolutions” that shook the world
    • In Mexico revolution originated with the ruling class
    • Anti-Porfirio Diaz and local bosses and landowners
    • Led by Francisco Madero
    • Zapata
    • Pancho Villa
  – Diaz’s dictatorship disintegrated into warlordism
After first decade of revolution progress made

- Constitution of 1917
  - Principle of state control over all natural resources
  - Subordination of the church to the state
  - The government’s right to redistribute land
  - Rights for labor
  - Took two decades to implement
Historical Perspectives: The Cardenas Upheaval

• Elites maintained control during the 1930s
  – But era of massive social and political upheaval
  – Lazaro Cardenas (1934-1940)
    • Encouraged urban workers and peasants to demand land and higher wages
    • Wave of strikes, protests, and petitions for breaking up large rural estates.
    • Most disputes settled by the government in favor of labor
    • Nationalization of oil companies
    • Creation of large organizations for labor and peasants
    • Fundamentally reshaped political institutions
      – Presidency: primary institution of the political system
      – Sweeping powers but limited six year term
      – By 1940 more Mexicans included in the national political system
Historical Perspectives:
The Era Of Hegemonic Party Rule

• Cardenas political system
  – Remarkably durable
  – PRI would become the world’s longest continuously ruling party (with the fall of the Soviet Communist Party)

• In the 1970s concerns arose
  – President Ordaz “dirty war”
  – Execution of more than 700 alleged enemies of the state
  – Good news: discovery of massive oil and natural gas resources, but this collapsed and so did support for reform
  – Economic crisis in the 1980s
  – Carlos Salinas
  – Chiapas rebellion; Colosio assassination
  – 1994 Zedillo: PRI retained control
Historical Perspectives:
The End Of PRI Dominance

• Shortly after the 1994 election, economic troubles returned
  – Capital flight
  – Deep recession
GDP Per Capita Growth

GDP per Capita Growth in Mexico and the United States 1960–2004

Historical Perspectives: The End Of PRI Dominance

• Ex-President Salinas publicly criticized Zedillo and his cabinet and went into de facto exile in Ireland
  – Zedillo made Salinas the scapegoat for the crisis
• PRI appeared to be in a state of decomposition
  – Defeat of its presidential candidate in 2000
  – Third place finish in presidential election in 2006
  – Retreated to its regional strongholds; status as a national party in jeopardy
Historical Perspectives: International Environment

• Proximity to the United States
  – A powerful presence in Mexico
  – 2,000 mile border
  – Labor and resources in Mexico

• History
  – Annexation of Texas in 1845
  – Mexican-American War
    • U.S. seized half of Mexico’s national territory
  – Railroads and mining
  – Intertwined economies
  – Immigration
  – NAFTA
Mexicans are highly supportive of the political institutions that evolved from the Mexican Revolution
Endorse the democratic principles of the Constitution of 1917
Critical of government performance
Pessimistic about their ability to affect election outcomes
Evaluate candidates on performance
Growing distrust of Congress and the political parties
• Mass Political Socialization
  – Pre-adult political learning
    • Family
    • Schools
    • Catholic Church
  – Adult political learning
    • Personal encounters with government functionaries and the police
  – Proliferation of popular movements
  – Mass media
    • Print media
    • Television
Political Culture And Socialization (3)

- Political participation is of two broad types:
  - Ritualistic, regime-supportive activities
    - Voting and attending campaign rallies, for example
  - Petitioning or contacting of public officials to influence the allocation of some public good or service
    - By law voting is obligatory
    - Voting turnout
    - Closeness of 2006 presidential vote
Turnout Of Registered Voters

Turnout of Registered Voters in National Elections, 1958–2006*

*Beginning in 1970, the legal voting age was lowered from 21 to 18.

• Nature of the regime? One-party democracy evolving toward “true” democracy? Authoritarian regime?
  – Hybrid: part-free, part authoritarian
  – Democratic breakthrough election of 2000
• On paper: a presidential system, three autonomous branches of government with checks and balances, and federalism with considerable autonomy at the local level
• In practice: decision-making highly centralized; president dominated the legislative and judicial branches
Political Structure And Institutions (2)

- Federalism
  - Political centralism
  - 31 states and the Federal District
    - Each one divided into municipios headed by a mayor and a council
  - Each layer of government successively weaker
  - “Struggle against centralism”
  - New federalism
Political Structure And Institutions: The Legislative Branch

• Federal Congress has two houses:
  – A 128 member upper chamber, the Senate
  – A 500-member lower house, the Chamber of Deputies

• Both employ a mixed-member system
  – Some of the members are elected by plurality vote in SMD
  – Others are elected by a system of compensatory proportional representation on closed-party lists

• Electoral rules for Senate and Chamber of Deputies

• Mixed-member system effects on the party system
  – Complicates creating majorities

### Composition of the Mexican Congress, 2006–2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chamber of Deputies</th>
<th>Seats Won by Plurality Vote</th>
<th>Seats Won by P. R. System</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partido Acción Nacional (PAN)</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD)</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>20.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Partido Verde Ecologista de México (PVEM)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convergencia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Partido del Trabajo (PT)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nueva Alianza</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASC</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>300</strong></td>
<td><strong>200</strong></td>
<td><strong>500</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senate</th>
<th>Seats Won by Plurality Vote</th>
<th>Seats Won by P. R. System</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partido Acción Nacional (PAN)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>40.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Partido Verde Ecologista de México (PVEM)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Convergencia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Partido del Trabajo (PT)</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nueva Alianza</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>96</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>128</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
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</table>

1Alianza por el Bien de Todos  
2Alianza por México  
### Party Cohesion in the Chamber of Deputies: Party Votes, 1997–2006 (percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PRI</th>
<th>PAN</th>
<th>PRD</th>
<th>PVEM</th>
<th>PT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>57th Legislature</strong> (1997–2000)</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>92.2</td>
<td>92.8</td>
<td>97.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>58th Legislature</strong> (2000–2003)</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>94.3</td>
<td>91.5</td>
<td>95.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>59th Legislature</strong> (2003–2006)</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>90.5</td>
<td>98.4</td>
<td>95.2</td>
<td>96.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s.d.</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Data for the 57th Legislature begins October 8, 1988. Party votes are roll calls in which at least one party dissented from the rest. Party cohesion is the percentage of the party voting with the majority of that party; “s.d.” is the standard deviation.

Political Structure And Institutions: The Legislative Branch

• Presidential vetoes
  – Can take to forms
    • Regular veto, in which the president expresses his rejection of a bill
    • Corrective veto, in which the president requests that Congress amend the bill, usually because of technical errors in the text
    • In either case, Congress can insist on the original text of the bill by a two-thirds vote, after which the president must publish the legislation
### Table 14.4: Sponsorship and Approval of Public Bills in the Chamber of Deputies, 1988–2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legislature</th>
<th>% of Deputies from President’s Party</th>
<th>Sponsor*</th>
<th>% of Total New Bills Introduced</th>
<th>% of Total Bills Approved</th>
<th>% of Sponsor’s Bills Approved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54th (1988–1991)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>65.1</td>
<td>98.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Deputies</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>15.6</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55th (1991–1994)</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>98.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Deputies</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>36.5</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Other</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>56th (1994–1997)</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>74.2</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
<td>42.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>57th (1997–2000)</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>10.1</td>
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<td>90.0</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Other</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>32.2</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>58th (2000–2003)</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>6.8</td>
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<td>89.9</td>
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<td>Deputies</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>18.4</td>
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<td>Other</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>18.6</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>59th (2003–2006)</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>2.8</td>
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<td>19.4</td>
<td>38.0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**“Other” includes bills introduced by state legislatures, revenue bills presented in the lower chamber by senators, and bills that originated in the Senate that had been introduced there by senators. Executive bills that originated in the Senate are classified under the “Executive” category.**

Source: Diario de los Debates and the Gazeta Parlamentaria of the Chamber of Deputies. Data compiled at ITAM under the direction of Jeffrey Weldon.
Political Structure And Institutions: The Legislative Branch (1)

• Powers of the Chambers
  – Each has exclusive powers and areas of specialization

• Party discipline
  – Very strong; each party generally votes as a bloc
Political Structure And Institutions: The Executive Branch (2)

• More dominant political actor in Mexico for the greater part of the twentieth century.
• Possessed broad range of unwritten but generally recognized “metaconstitutional” powers.
During the PRI’s seven decades of rule at the national level, three factors were required to create strong presidentialism:

- The president’s party had to have a majority in both chambers of Congress.
- There must be high levels of discipline in the majority party of Congress.
- The president must be considered the leader of his party.

Zedillo and recasting of the presidency

Executive-legislative relations
- New dynamics emerge
- More combative
Support for PRI’s Presidential Candidate, 1946–2006

*Percentage base includes annulled votes and those cast for independent candidates.

Note: The 1976 PRI candidate, José López Portillo, ran virtually unopposed because the PAN failed to nominate a candidate. The only other significant candidate was Valentín Campa, representing the Communist Party, which was not legally registered to participate in the 1976 election. More than 5 percent of the votes were annulled.

Recruiting The Political Elite

• Who becomes one of Mexico’s political elite?
  – Recruited predominantly from the middle class
  – 1982-2000 mostly people born or raised in Mexico City
    • Postgraduate education, especially at elite foreign universities and in disciplines such as economics and public administration
      – Vincente Fox favored persons with nongovernmental experience and who had no political party affiliation.
      – Calderon had an MA in economics and public administration (latter from Harvard) and had extensive party experience.
    • Kinship ties
      – Political inbreeding?
• Corporatist system
• The official party itself was divided into three sectors:
  – Labor Sector
  – Peasant Sector
  – Popular Sector
  – Each sector dominated by one mass organization
• Some groups did not need representation through the major party, but dealt with government directly.
  – Military, Catholic Church, foreign and domestic entrepreneurs
• Patron-client relationships/networks
Political Parties

• The Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)
• The Partido Accion Nacional (PAN)
• The Partido de la Revolucion Democratica (PRD)
Political Parties: Shifting Social Bases (1)

- Dramatic shift in the 2006 election
- PRI’s most dependable base before 2006 was the rural voter; did well with women and older voters.
- In 2006 PRD’s Obrador did best among rural voters.
- PAN did best among urban voters prior to 2006, but in 2006 PRD finished ahead of PRI for the urban vote.
Political Parties: Shifting Social Bases (2)

- PRD did well among women in 2006. Women were focused on economic stability.
- Education mattered less in 2006.
- Social class mattered less as well.
- Regional divides seemed to define the 2006 election.
## Table 14.5

**Party Choice in 2006 Presidential Election, by Demographic Attribute (percentages)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Locality</th>
<th>PAN</th>
<th>PRI</th>
<th>PRD</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center-West</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Center</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Gender</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18–29</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>30–49</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
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<td>37</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>None and Primary</td>
<td>34</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>University</td>
<td>42</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Annual Income (dollars)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Under $2,161</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$2,162–$4,321</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,322–$7,021</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$7,022–$9,938</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above $9,939</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nationwide exit poll conducted by Reforma newspaper (Mexico City), 3 July 2006.
Government Performance (1)

• Promoting economic growth and reducing poverty
  – Under Mexico’s four most recent presidents, the government has implemented a neoliberal economic development model
    • Freer rein to market forces; objective- a technocratic free-market revolution
    • Privatization
    • Considerable spending on welfare at the same time
      – Safety net for short term “losers” from neoliberal economic policies
    • Segura Popular
Government Performance (2)

• Financing development and controlling inflation
  – Salinas’ financial problems
    • Created illusions of prosperity
  – Zedillo’s inexperienced and inept economic team
  – Fox: fiscal restrain and good fortune
Levels Of Social Well-Being

Levels of Social Well-Being by State, in 2000

Level 1: Chiapas, Guerrero, Oaxaca
Level 2: Campeche, Hidalgo, Puebla, San Luis Potosí, Tabasco, Veracruz
Level 3: Guanajuato, Michoacán, Zacatecas
Level 4: Colima, Durango, Jalisco, Morelos, Nayarit, Querétaro, Sinaloa, Tlaxcala, Yucatán
Level 5: Quintana Roo
Level 6: Aguascalientes, Baja California, Baja California Sur, Coahuila, Chihuahua, México, Nuevo León, Sonora, Tamaulipas.
Level 7: Distrito Federal

Note: Level of social well-being is measured by characteristics of dwellings (have electricity, refrigerator, television, concrete vs. dirt floors, sewage connection, private bathroom; number of rooms; use something other than firewood or coal for cooking) and population characteristics (percentage economically active; literate; 6–19-year-olds who attend school; receive health care; live in urban area; average number of children born to women over age 12).

Government Performance

- Establishing the rule of law
  - Greatest failure of all
  - Cannot deal with street crime
  - ¾’s of crimes go unreported; why? Citizens’ low expectations that the perpetrators will be caught and punished.
  - Remedies
    - Real progress only by addressing root causes
• Transition to democracy
  – Elections are as democratic and transparent as nearly any other country in the Americas
  – Talk of changing the Constitution of 1917 to weaken the presidency and strengthen the Congress
  – Should be classified a democracy
    • One of the best functioning in Latin America
Country Bio: Brazil (2)

- **Population:** 187.1 million
- **Territory:** 3,286,470 sq. miles
- **Year of Independence:** 1822
- **Year of Current Constitution:** 1988
- **Language:** Portuguese
- **Religion:**
  - Roman Catholic: 70%
  - Protestant: 15%
Current Policy Challenges

• Brazilians share:
  – A common identity
  – Allegiance to their government

• They:
  – Had no serious religious conflict
  – No large linguistic minority
  – And no recent history of conflict, either internally or externally
Current Policy Challenges (1)

• Challenges they face:
  – Compensate for past racial discrimination and exclusion
  – Improve educational and employment opportunities
  – Provide the full rights of citizenship to its small indigenous and substantial Afro-Brazilian populations

• Two other broad challenges:
  – Economic development
  – Deepening democracy
Current Policy Challenges (2)

• Some success in the recent past
• First Lula administration
  – Government’s priority for economic stability put other economic and social development problems on the backburner.
    • Health and education
    • Grotesque poverty
      – Has one of the most unequal distributions of income in the world
    • Environment
    • Drugs
    • Civil rights and rule of law
Timeline Of A Scandal

PTB president and Lula ally, Senator Roberto Jefferson, accused of extorting kickbacks from government contractors reveals a grand corruption scheme. Dubbed the mensalão (the big monthly), monthly bribes of $12,000 were funneled from funds skimmed from state-owned companies and kickbacks to legislators from other parties for supporting the president’s legislative initiatives.

June 2005

José Dirceu president Lula’s chief of staff and alleged mastermind, resigned his post and returned to his Chamber seat. He was later impeached for “breaking parliamentary decorum.”

July 2005

Four prominent PT leaders (José Genoino, president; Delubio Soares, treasurer, Silvio Pereira, general-secretary; and Marcelo Serenho, communications) resigned.

August 2005

Media reveals illegal campaign financing scheme, caixa dois (the second cash register). PT mayors, skimming from inflated contracts to garbage and transportation companies, provided kickbacks to PT campaign coffers.

December 2005

PT admits to and apologizes to the nation for illegal campaign financing.

March 2006

Finance Minister Antonio Palocci resigns, denying allegations he visited a mansion in Brasilia where government bribes were divided and prostitutes met.

May 2006

Though claiming ignorance of the mensalão scheme, Lula publicly apologizes to the Brazilian people and promises to punish all involved.

Federal investigators announce 72, mostly government-allied deputies, may be involved in a scam to skim from ambulances earmarked to municipalities. They become known as the “bloodsuckers.”

Historical Perspectives (1)

- Legacy of political order
- Several decades of competitive government
- Brazil became a republic in 1889
  - One year after slavery abolished
  - Military rule
  - Civilian elites
    - Decentralized federalism
Historical Perspectives (2)

• 1930 – Vargas
  – Centralized power; became a dictator
• Post-war democracy
  – Vargas reinstated representative government
  – More participation; competitive political parties, but...
1964- Military deposed Goulart
  - Wanted to stabilize the economy; bring in foreign investment
  - Centralized economic decision-making
  - Became hardline in 1967
    • Harshly repressive until 1981
    • Created parties
    • Liberalization within the military: General Geisel- soft-line military president
    • Helped invigorate civil society

Military regime ended in 1985
  - Democracy restored
  - Tancredo
  - New Constitution
## Brazilian Administrations

*Since 1945*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Nature of Government</th>
<th>President</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Civilian*</td>
<td>Eurico Dutra (PSD/PTB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>Getúlio Vargas (PTB/PSD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Civilian**</td>
<td>João Goulart (PTB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>Juscelino Kubitschek (PSD/PTB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>Jânio Quadros (UDN/PDC/PUP/PTN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Civilian**</td>
<td>João Goulart (PTB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>Humberto Castelo Branco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>Artur Costa e Silva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>Emílio Garrastazu Médici</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>Ernesto Geisel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td>João Figueiredo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Civilian**</td>
<td>José Sarney (PFL/PMDB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>Fernando Collor da Mello (PRN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Civilian**</td>
<td>Itamar Franco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>Fernando Henrique Cardoso (PSDB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>Fernando Henrique Cardoso (PSDB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (PT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (PT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

* Dutra, a general, was directly elected as a candidate of the PSD and headed a civilian government.

** Not directly elected.
Economy And Society

• Agricultural colony and a slave society transformed to one of the world’s major industrial countries
  – Transformation orchestrated by the state

• Economy
  – Until 1930 plantation agriculture organized Brazil’s economy and society
  – Sugar economy declined
  – Cultivation of coffee- success and then failure with the stock market crash of 1929
    – “import-substituting industrialization”

• Under military rule, the state promoted industrialization to an even greater degree.
    • Dependent for energy needs; drove debt up
Regional Inequality

**Figure 15.3**

Sources: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística; Instituto Nacional de Seguridade Social.

• Early 1990s, Brazil model of a heavily indebted producer-state
  • Protected and regulated market and produced high fiscal deficits and inflation; unstable
• Real Plan
  – Removal of barriers to direct foreign investment removed
• Cordosa administration
  • Limiting deficit spending
• Lula’s administration
Economy And Society (2)

• Society
  – Today only about 17 percent of Brazilians remain in the countryside.
  – 1940, 68 percent of the population lived in rural areas.
  – Women entered the workforce en masse in the 1970s.
  – Have greater exposure to modern means of communication.
  – Modernized but there are still problems such as illiteracy and an inadequate social security system.
• An unequal society
  – One of the most unequal distributions of wealth in the world
  – Inequality reproduced across the five regions of the country
    • But living standards vary dramatically across regions
    • Also there is stratification of color as well by class and region.
    • Black Brazilians are poor, suffer harsh treatment at the hands of the police, and their promotions are blocked in public and private life.
Support For Democracy

Key:
- Q. In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied, or not satisfied at all with the functioning of democracy in Brazil? Here “very satisfied” and “somewhat satisfied.”
- Q. Democracy is preferable to any other form of government. In some circumstances, an authoritarian government can be preferable to a democratic one. For people like me, it doesn’t matter whether the regime is democratic or nondemocratic. Percent agreeing that “democracy is preferable to any other form of government.”
- Q. On a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 is “not democratic” and 10 is “totally democratic,” where would you put Brazil? (Mean response)
- Q. Are you very much in agreement, in disagreement, or very much in disagreement with the following statement: “Democracy is the only system under which Brazil can become developed.” Here “very much in agreement” and “in agreement.”
- Q. Would you support a military government as a replacement for the democratic government, if things became very difficult, or would you not support a military government under any circumstance? Here “under no circumstance would I support a military government.”
- Q. There are people who say that democracy can function without parties. Which phrase comes closer to your view?
- Q. There are people who say that without a national Congress there can be no democracy, while other people say that democracy can function without a national Congress. Which phrase comes closer to your view?
- Q. People often have different points of view on what are the most important characteristics of democracy. Choose only one characteristic, that to you, is the most essential feature of a democracy: regular, free, and fair elections; an economy that assures a just wage; freedom of expression to be openly critical; a judicial system that treats everyone equally; respect for minorities; government of the majority; members of a parliament that represent their voters; a competitive party system; don’t know, no response.


FIGURE 15.5
Public Attitude

Percent disagreeing that:

- A politician that delivers good government should be able to divert public money to finance his electoral campaign.
- Very honest politicians harm the functioning of the government.
- It doesn’t matter if a politician robs, as long as he gets done things that the population needs.
- It’s better for a politician to do many works, even if he robs a little, than for a politician to do few works and not rob at all.
- A politician that does a lot and robs a little deserves the vote of the population.
- An honest politician cannot be successful in politics.
- All politicians rob.

Since the establishment of the republic in 1889, the Brazilian state has been federal and presidential, with three branches of government – executive, legislative, and judicial.

The distribution of power, the limits on the states and governmental authority, and how policy is framed and executed have changed substantially with each regime and constitution.
Institutions And Structures Of Government (2)

• Federalism
  – Fiscal responsibility law

• Executive branch
  – President is both the head of state and the head of government.
  – President and vice president are elected jointly for four-year terms.
  – Military regime broadly amplified the powers of the executive branch.
Brazilian Federal Structure

Central government (Union)
- Elect president for four-year term by majority vote (in second round, runoff, if necessary)
- Elect 81 senators statewide by plurality for staggered, eight-year terms
- Elect 513 deputies statewide by proportional representation for four-year terms

States (26) and Federal District
- Elect governors for four-year term by majority vote (in second round, runoff, if necessary)
- Elect state deputies by proportional representation for four-year terms

County governments (5,564) (municipios)
- Elect mayors for four-year terms
- Elect local councilors in proportional elections for four-year terms
Institutions And Structures Of Government: Legislative Branch

• National Congress is made up of two houses that form a system of "balanced bicameralism" in that one house does not clearly dominate the other.
• Both can initiate legislation, and they share the power to review the national budget.
• Upper house has three senators from each state and the Federal District, for a total of 81. Elections are held every four years alternatively for one third and two-thirds of the Senate.
### Backgrounds of Brazilian Deputies, 2003–2007 (percentage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Experience</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Politics (Senator, Deputy, Councillor)</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer/Judge</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physician/Dentist</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical (Engineer, Agronomist, Economist)</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrialist, Merchant, Entrepreneur</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor/Teacher</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar (Manager, Accountant)</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Property Owner</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalist, Broadcaster</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Employee</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military/Police</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Collar</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
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<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Institutions And Structures Of Government: Legislative Branch

• Lower house, the Chamber of Deputies, comprises 513 representatives from 26 states and the Federal District
  – Size of each state’s delegation is determined in proportion to its population.
    • Constitution establishes a minimum of eight and a maximum of seventy deputies for each state.
    • These limits under-represents residents of the densely populated southeastern and southern states.

• Congress no longer a rubber stamp.
• Parliamentary Commissions of Inquiry (CPIs)
Party Representation

**FIGURE 15.7**

Party Representation in the Brazilian Congress, 2007–2010

**Left**
- PCdoB: Communist Party of Brazil
- PPS: Popular Socialist Party
- PSB: Brazilian Socialist Party
- PT: Workers' Party
- PDT: Democratic Labor Party
- PV: Green Party

**Center**
- PMDB: Party of Brazilian Democratic Movement
- PSDB: Party of Brazilian Social Democracy

**Right**
- PL: Liberal Party
- PFL: Party of the Liberal Front
- PTB: Brazilian Labor Party
- PPB: Brazilian Progressive Party

**Small Parties:**
- PRONASOL (Party for the Reconstruction of National Order)
- PSD (Social Democratic Party)
- PST (Social Labor Party)
- PMN (Party of National Mobilization)
- PSC (Social Christian Party)
- PSL (Social Liberal Party)
- PSDC (Social Christian Democratic Party)

*Brazilian Congress, 2007–2010*

**Left**
- PCdoB, PV, PSOL (32)
- PDT (29)
- PT (93)
- PSB (30)
- PL (29)

**Center**
- MD (27)
- PMDB (107)
- PSDB (78)
- PFL (53)
- PTB (27)

**Right**
- PTC, PRB (5)
- PR (29)
- PSC, PRTB (10)
- PP (43)

*Other Left:* PCdoB (Communist Party of Brazil), PV (Green Party), and PSOL (Socialism and Liberty Party)

*Other Center:* PSC (Social Christian Party), PRTB (Brazilian Labor Renewal Party)

*Other Right:* PTC (Christian Labor Party), and PRB (Brazilian Republican Party)
Institutions And Structures Of Government: The Judiciary (1)

• Comprised of the Supreme Court, the Superior Court, five regional federal appeals courts, labor courts, electoral courts, military courts, and state courts.

• Constitution stipulates criteria for
  – Entry into judicial service = competitive exam
  – Promotion = by seniority and merit
  – Mandatory retirement = age of 70 or after 30 years of service

• Eleven justices, or “ministers,” are named by the president to the Supreme (constitutional Court, - Supremo Tribunal Federal (STP) –and approved by the Senate, as are thirty-three ministers to the Superior (Civil) Court.

• Tribunal Superior Eleitoral
• Labor Courts created by the Consolidated Labor Code of 1943
• Military justice system also retained in the 1988 Constitution
• Courts stronger today than every before
• Overloaded docket
  – Lower courts’ decisions are not binding or final, cases are appealed repeatedly until they finally reach the STF.
  – Direct action of unconstitutionality (ADIN)
Institutions And Structures Of Government: Limited Authority

• The Constitution
  – Extends the traditional guarantees of individual rights to social groups
  – Prohibits discrimination against minorities
  – Grants parties, unions, and civic associations legal recourse against the actions of other social actors and permits them to challenge before the Supreme Court the constitutionality of legislation and administrative rulings.
  – Presidential limits when invoking a state of siege
  – Judicial review
  – Ministerio Publico (Public Prosecution)
  – Tribunal de Contas

Political Culture (1)

- Elite dominated
- Legacy of patrimonialism
- Civil society
  - Emerged in response to authoritarian rule
- Religion
  - Catholic nation; largest number of Catholics in the world
  - Religious observance traditionally low; not important factor in elections
  - Liberation theology
  - Ecclesial base communities
  - National Conference of Brazilian Bishops
  - Competition from other religions
  - Catholics and Protestants are equally likely to participate in politics; no real difference in voting patterns
Political Culture (2)

- Gender relations
  - Machismo and marianismo
  - Under military rule, the traditional image and orientations towards politics of women began to change.
    - Political opportunity followed educational and occupational opportunity.
  - Authoritarianism had an economic impact on women: had to take the lead in their communities’ struggles for health care and sanitation, and even against the rising cost of living.
- Political liberalization in the 1970s
- Recent policy developments
  - Response by parties
  - Constitution substituted the concept of pater familiae with the concept of equal and shared authority.
• Race
  – “racial democracy” myth
  – Racial prejudice in Brazil is pervasive.
  – Movimento Negro Unificado-The Unified Black Movement Against Racial Discrimination
• How democratic are Brazilians?
  – Not tolerant of authoritarianism
  – No single vision of what kind of democracy they supported
  – They distrust politicians, political parties, and democratic institutions more than in the recent past.
  – They distrust democratic institutions today more than other Latin Americans.
  – Also less aware of their civic rights and responsibilities than most Latin Americans
  – But they behave in more democratic ways than their answers to surveys may imply
    • Turn out to vote at higher rates and believe their vote matters more than on average across Latin America
• Political learning in Brazil
  – Religious
  – Neighborhood
  – Workplace associations
• Mass media
  – Impact of television
    • Brings politics into Brazilian homes via the horario gratuito, free television time set aside during the election campaigns for the political parties to advertise their candidates and messages
    • Individual candidates and parties receive coverage during television news and any televised debates.
    • Telenovelas (prime-time soap operas) project themes that subtly influence the ways in which people view politicians and institutions.
• Politics at the elite level: recruitment
  – Elite dominated
  – Military regime: openings for middle and upper-middle classes
    • Technical credentials and competence became the greater criteria for jobs.
  – Political liberalization
    • Technocratic expertise still prized, but politicians more involved
  – Women
  – Racial discrimination
    • Lula named four Afro-Brazilians to his Cabinet, appointed the country’s first Afro-Brazilian Supreme Court justice, and pledged that Afro-Brazilians should make up at least one-third of the federal government within five years.
    • The Supreme Court and the Ministry of Justice have introduced quotas for black employees.
Political Recruitment And Political Participation (2)

• Mass level
  – Citizen politics
    • Blossoming of associations – 8,000 associations in the late 1970s
    • Organized movements around various identities, single issues, and political and social rights, most notably those to protect indigenous peoples, the environment, and human rights and to gain land for the landless
    • Tactics
      – International allies
      – Direct confrontation
      – Use of the courts
  – Role of NGOs
Political Recruitment And Political Participation (3)

• Mass political participation
  – Staggering amount of participation
    • Elections
    • Participatory budgeting
      – Process by which hundreds of thousands of citizens meet in a series of open, public assemblies before the legislative budget cycle begins in order to establish spending priorities
### Election Results, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parties</th>
<th>Chamber of Deputies (seats)</th>
<th>Senate (seats)</th>
<th>Congress</th>
<th>Governors’ State Assemblies (seats)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PMDB Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT Workers’ Party</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFL Party of the Liberal Front</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>119</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSDB Party of Brazilian Social Democracy</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP Progressive Party</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSB Brazilian Socialist Party</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDT Democratic Labor Party</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR Party of the Republic</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MD Democratic Mobilization</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTB Brazilian Labor Party</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC do B Communist Party of Brazil</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>PV Green Party</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>PSC Christian Social Party</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor parties</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>513</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1,035</td>
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</table>

*One-third of the Senate, or 27 seats, were up for election in 2006.
*Total congressional delegation, comprising all senators, including those not up for election in 2006, plus all deputies elected.

Source: Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (available at www.tse.gov.br).
# Social Bases of Voting in Brazil, 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT)</th>
<th>Gerardo Alckmin (PSDB)</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>(blank/null/none, don’t know)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>16–24</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>45–59</td>
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<td>More than 60</td>
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<td>Education</td>
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<td>Elementary</td>
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<td>Secondary</td>
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<td>College</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>Region</td>
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<td>Southeast</td>
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<tr>
<td>South</td>
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<td>Capital</td>
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<tr>
<td>Periphery</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interior</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Household Income (in minimum salaries)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Up to 2</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>2–5</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>5–10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>More than 10</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brazilian Average</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Voting intentions for first round presidential election revealed in nationwide sample of 6,279 adults.

Interest Groups

- Corporatism
- Labor unions
- Business associations
- Agrarian elites
- Consumer lobby
- Military
Political Parties And Elections

• Historic strains of clientelism and personalism
• Brazil’s contemporary party system
  – The left
  – The center
  – The right
• Social cleavages and voting
• The electoral system
• Still weak?
  – Parties in congress
  – Parties in the electorate
The Policymaking Process (1)

- The legislative process
  - Ordinary law process
  - Popular initiative requires 1% of the national electorate, representing no less than 0.3% of the electors in at least five states, to launch the legislative process.
  - In practice, most laws originate from the Executive Branch, especially those in the economic and administrative areas.
The Policymaking Process (2)

• Presidential legislative powers
  – Brazilian president dominates the legislative process through various prerogatives and measures.
  – One of the most important is the exclusive right the Constitution gives to the Executive Branch to set the legislative process in motion in several important areas:
    • Fixing or modifying the size of the armed forces
    • Creating public posts and reorganizing the Cabinet
    • Setting pay levels for public employees
    • Initiating appropriation measures
  – “Urgent” measures
The Policymaking Process (3)

• The cabinet and bureaucracy
  – In making Cabinet appointments, presidents balance their needs.
    • Technical competence
    • Partisan and regional political support
  – Bureaucracy has remained highly politicized.
Policy Performance

• The economic record
  – Dramatic success
  – Failure: inflation
  – Cardoso: Real Plan
  – Deregulation of financial and labor markets
  – Pension reform
  – Extractive capacity
  – Taxes
    • Tax on the Circulation of Goods and Services
    • Single value-added tax
Sources of Public Revenue, 2003

Policy Performance

• Social welfare outputs
  – Education
    • New Basic Federal Law on Education Finance
  – Health
  – Racial equality
    • Special Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality
  – Crime, the law, and civil liberties
    • Drugs and crimes cited as the most important problems facing Brazil.
    • Only unemployment and health considered more important.
    • National Coordination for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders
International Relations

• Foreign service
  – Cadoso: stronger role on world stage
  – Lula: lurch to the left? Unfounded worry
    • Honored its international financial obligations
    • Has not joined forces with Venezuela’s Chavez

• Trade
  – Member of Mercosur- the Common Market of the South
  – Dragged feet deliberately on Free Trade Area of the Americas

• Would like to join the United Nations Security Council
  – Brazil a member of the G-4 – nations want to enlarge the UN Security Council
Prospects For The Future

• In 2005, 67 percent of Brazilians believed their children would live better than they had lived.
• Lula reelected
• Optimism from better government performance
• Cardoso presidency: stability, but shattered by scandal
• Hopes rest with Lula administration
## The Rising Performance of Brazilian Governments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economy</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth(^a)</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inflation(^b)</td>
<td>1365.6</td>
<td>9.25</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Minimum Wage(^c)</td>
<td>-26%</td>
<td>+42%</td>
<td>+44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income Inequality-Gini coefficient(^d)</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.57</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Welfare</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Percentage Minimally Literate(^e)</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Years of School(^f)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Infant Mortality Rate(^g)</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>26.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Percent Indigent(^h)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Liberty(^i)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Political Freedom</td>
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<td>2.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil Liberties</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Average annual percent change in gross domestic product; Lula government through 2005.
\(^b\)Annual average increase in extended consumer price index; Lula government through 2005.
\(^c\)Percent change over period; Lula administration through September 2006.
\(^e\)Figures are for the population age 15 and older, 1990, 2000, and 2005.
\(^f\)Figures are for 1995 and 2005.
\(^g\)Figures are for 1991, 2000, and 2004.