

LLYC
IDEAS

First Round

POST-ELECTION POLITICAL
SCENARIO AND OUTLOOK
FOR THE RUNOFF.



BRAZIL
OCTOBER 2026

General Elections

BRAZIL ELECTIONS 2026

Flávio Bolsonaro and Lula will run for the presidency in the runoff

Right-wing and center-right candidates surprise with decisive victories in Congress and key states, setting the trend for the presidential runoff.

Flávio Bolsonaro tops Lula in first round of elections, surpassing 56 million votes

Defying major opinion polls, Flávio Bolsonaro (PL) finished ahead of President Lula (PT) in the first round of the Brazilian general elections, though neither candidate reached the majority required to decide the election outright. The PL candidate ended the first round with 47.1% of valid votes to the president's 45.1%. The outcome will be decided in a runoff on October 25.

The strong showing by the right and center-right was also reflected in state governorships and Congress. The PL secured the largest provisional share of seats in the Chamber of Deputies with 121, while also taking the top spot in the contest for the 54 Senate seats up for election, claiming 19. This makes building legislative majorities a critical factor for whichever government takes office in 2027. Added to the 9 seats it already held, the PL has consolidated its position as the dominant force in the Senate, holding 28 of the 81 seats.

In the Senate, the strength of the PL, combined with other right and center-right parties, could heighten pressure for judicial reforms, including initiating impeachment proceedings against Supreme Court justices and influencing the confirmation of nominees to the Federal Supreme Court (STF). Securing a majority for any given proposal will depend on individual voting stances and negotiations with incumbent senators whose terms continue.

Races decided in the first round

One of the surprises of these elections was the number of state governments decided in the first round: 20 federal units, compared to 15 in 2022; another seven races are headed to a

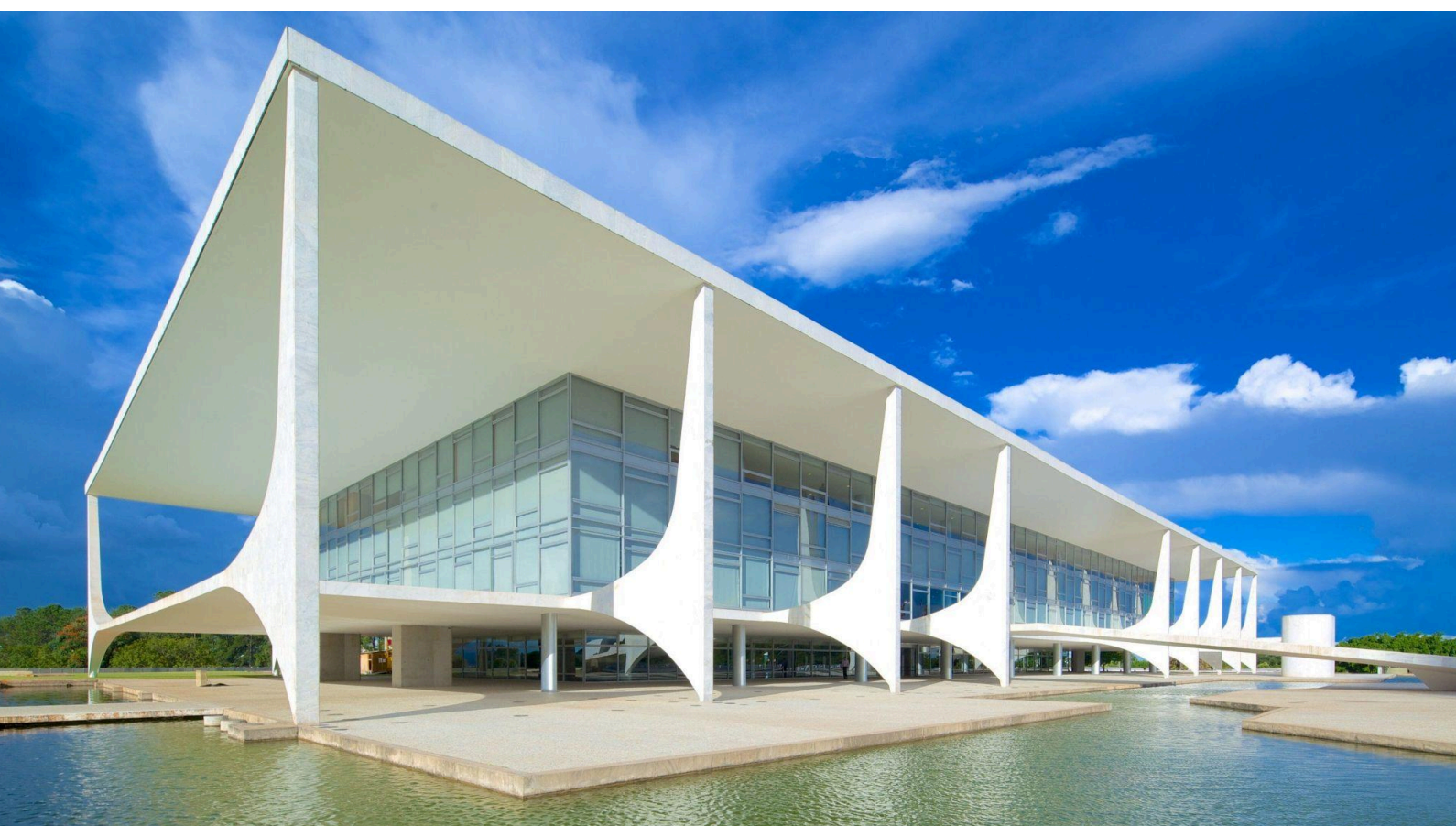
runoff. One of the main surprises was Rio de Janeiro, where Douglas Ruas (PL) appears ahead of Eduardo Paes (PSD), who was leading the polls.

The victories of Tarcísio de Freitas (Republicanos) in São Paulo, Cleitinho (Republicanos) in Minas Gerais, and Sérgio Moro (PL) in Paraná give the right and center-right key positions in the main electoral strongholds. The PT retains the state governments of Bahia, Ceará, and Piauí, and Lula maintains a nationwide vote share close to 45%. Polarization persists, with congressional caucuses and state governments that will participate in political negotiations for the upcoming term.

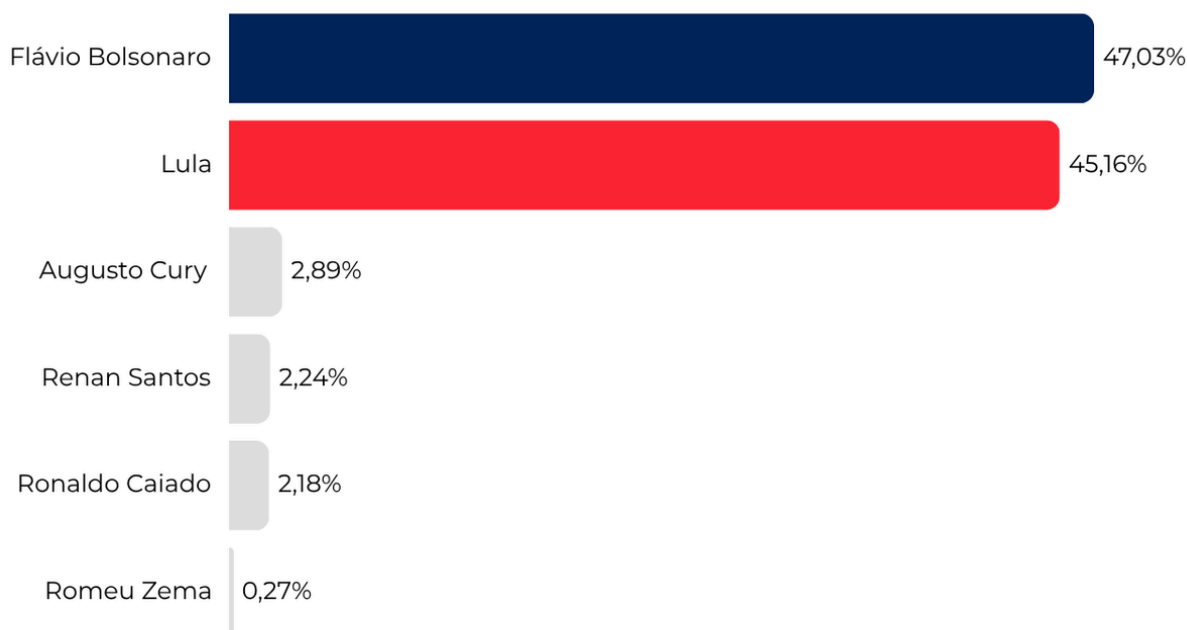
The central point is that the presidency still depends on a runoff vote, while a large portion of state and legislative key players has already been determined. Governability will have to be evaluated by the actual composition of coalitions, rather than solely by the elected president's party.

Flávio Bolsonaro, the winner of the first round

All first-round projections agreed on a "tight" result, pointing to a runoff scenario. But none of them anticipated a victory for Flávio Bolsonaro by 2 percentage points (approx. 2.3 million votes), surpassing 56 million votes—well beyond the 51 million obtained by his father, former president Jair Bolsonaro, in the first round of 2022.



Results of the first round of the 2026 presidential election



Although the runoff marks a new dynamic of alliances and a fierce campaign, Lula's unexpected first-round defeat highlights a key fact: historically, the candidate who leads the first round tends to win the presidential election in Brazil.

The alternative candidacies of Augusto Cury (Avante), Renan Santos (Missão), Ronaldo Caiado (PSD), and Romeu Zema (Novo) did not break the concentration of the race, and their voters will be up for grabs in the runoff, without any automatic transfer of votes resulting from a potential party endorsement, even though all four candidates are right-wing or center-right.

The turnaround last week

Flávio Bolsonaro's turnaround in the final stretch of the first round appears to have been driven primarily by the concentration of the right-wing vote. The tactical voting strategy reduced space for alternative candidates (who yielded unimpressive results) and allowed

Flávio to consolidate the conservative electorate, while performing better than projected by polls, particularly in the Southeast and North. The result also occurred in an environment broadly favorable to the right and center-right in state government and congressional races.

Comparison of 2022–2026 First-Round Results by State

1ST ROUND 2022



Lula (PT)
57,259,504 votes
48,43% of the valid votes



Jair Bolsonaro (PL)
51,072,345 votes
43,20% of the valid votes

1ST ROUND 2026



Flávio Bolsonaro (PL)
56,104,049 votes
47,03% of the valid votes



Lula (PT)
53,876,219 votes
45,16% of the valid votes

- Flávio leads in the three main states of the Southeast, while Lula retains wide margins in Bahia and Pernambuco. The net vote margin in the most populous states will be more decisive for the outcome than the number of states won by each candidate.
- In 2022, Lula obtained 48.4% and Jair Bolsonaro 43.2% in the first round. A comparison with the 2026 snapshot indicates a 7-point shift in the gap between the candidates

toward the Bolsonarista camp, even though these are distinct candidacies and contexts, and the comparison does not necessarily measure individual voter migration.

Abstention also reached a significant level: 21.08% of the electorate, or about 33 million people, did not turn out to vote, compared to 20.95% in 2022. This was the highest rate recorded in a presidential election since 1998. Although it is still too early to determine its impact on each candidacy, the profile and territorial distribution of these voters will be key to understanding the outcome and make mobilizing non-voters a central variable for the final stretch. It is a fact that both Flávio and Lula will seek to attract these votes in the runoff.

Comparison of First-Round Results for 2022–2026

1ST TURN 2022



Lula
(PT)

48,43%



Jair Bolsonaro
(PL)

43,20%

1ST TURN 2026



Flávio Bolsonaro
(PL)

47,03%



Lula
(PT)

45,16%

CONGRESS: THE RIGHT WINS IN THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The polls consolidate a new balance of power in Congress, with a direct impact on the next administration's political and economic agenda. The right and center-right hold 56% of the House and 62% of the Senate.

Congressional elections reinforced the advance of the right and center-right observed in state races, returning to a scenario similar to that of 2018. The result expands the weight of these groups in the Legislature and points to a Congress even more relevant in shaping the political and economic agenda of the next administration, regardless of who wins the presidency in the runoff.

The City Council that emerges from the polls

In the Chamber of Deputies, the provisional distribution of the 513 seats places the PL in first place, with 121 deputies. The PT-PCdoB-PV and PP-União Brasil federations appear with 88 and 87 seats, respectively. None of these groupings reaches an absolute majority of 257 seats on its own. In the new political cycle, negotiation with other caucuses will be necessary to sustain the Executive's agenda.

Nikolas Ferreira (PL-MG) and Lucas Pavanato (PL-SP) secured the highest individual vote counts for federal deputy, reaching the 3 million vote mark. Meanwhile, Erika Hilton (PSOL-SP) also stood out with a significant turnout of approximately 1.6 million votes. In the Federal District, Fábio Félix (PSOL) was the most voted federal deputy, with 224,224 votes—a highly significant figure proportionally. The vote expands the projection of these leaders, but does not, by itself, determine their parliamentary bargaining power.

The new legislature will also mark the return and arrival in the Chamber of figures with national prominence. Marcelo Freixo (PT-RJ) returned to the House after four years, while Anielle Franco (PT-RJ) and former Minister of Health Nísia Trindade (PT-RJ) won their first terms as federal deputies.

There will also be notable absences among traditional names in Brazilian politics. Lawmakers such as Rui Falcão (PT), Paulo Teixeira (PT), and Marcelo Crivella (Republicanos) will not return to the Chamber, while Aécio Neves (PSDB) and Benedita da Silva (PT) will leave the House after unsuccessful attempts to reach the Senate. Among those who tried to

return to the Chamber, a notable figure was José Dirceu (PT-SP), former Chief of Staff during Lula's first administration and former national president of the PT. Back on the ballot after more than two decades, Dirceu received around 78,000 votes, but was not elected, remaining as an alternate.

Federal Senate: New Composition and Balance of Power

The election renewed 54 of the 81 Senate seats for eight-year terms, significantly reinforcing the weight of the right in the upper house. The PL won 19 of the seats in contention, followed by the MDB with seven, and the PT with six.

With this result, the PL will have the largest caucus in the Senate starting in 2027, holding 28 of the 81 seats. Following are PT (9), MDB (8), Republicanos (6), PP (6), União Brasil (5), PSD (5), PSB (4), Novo (3), Podemos (2), PSDB (2), Rede (1), and PDT (1), in addition to one independent senator.

In São Paulo, Guilherme Derrite (PP) and André do Prado (PL) were elected, handing a harsh defeat to cabinet ministers Simone Tebet (PSB) and Marina Silva (Rede). In the South, Carol de Toni and Carlos Bolsonaro—Flávio's brother, both from PL—won in Santa Catarina, while Sanderson (PL) and Marcel van Hattem (Novo) were elected in Rio Grande do Sul. In Paraná, Filipe Barros (PL) and Deltan Dallagnol (Novo) captured both seats, although Deltan's candidacy registration remained sub judice, pending a final decision by the TSE.

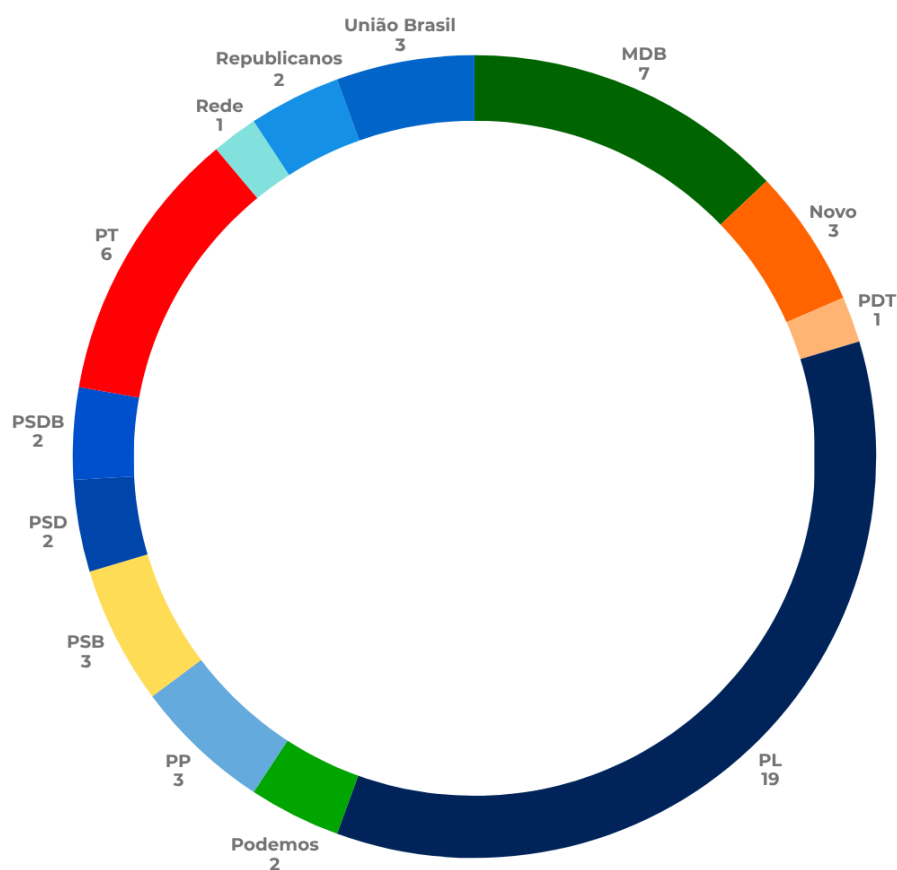
The right-wing wave also hit hard in Rio de Janeiro, where the PL won both Senate seats with Carlos Portinho (26.77%) and Carlos Jordy (24.56%), defying final-stretch polling. On the eve of the election, Datafolha showed Benedita da Silva (PT) in the lead with 26% of valid votes, followed by Jordy (19%) and Portinho (18%).

In Paraíba, João Azevêdo (PSB) and Veneziano Vital do Rêgo (MDB) were elected, leaving out Nabor Wanderley, father of Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies Hugo Motta. In Pará, Helder Barbalho (MDB) secured the first seat and Chicão (União Brasil) beat Delegado Éder Mauro (PL) in the race for the second seat.

In Alagoas, Arthur Lira (PP) won the first seat and Marina JHC (PSDB), wife of governor-elect JHC (PSDB), took the second, leaving the Calheiros political clan out of the Senate. Among

the most politically significant defeats was also that of Randolfe Rodrigues (PT), who finished in third place in Amapá, behind Lucas Barreto (PSD) and Rayssa Furlan (Podemos).

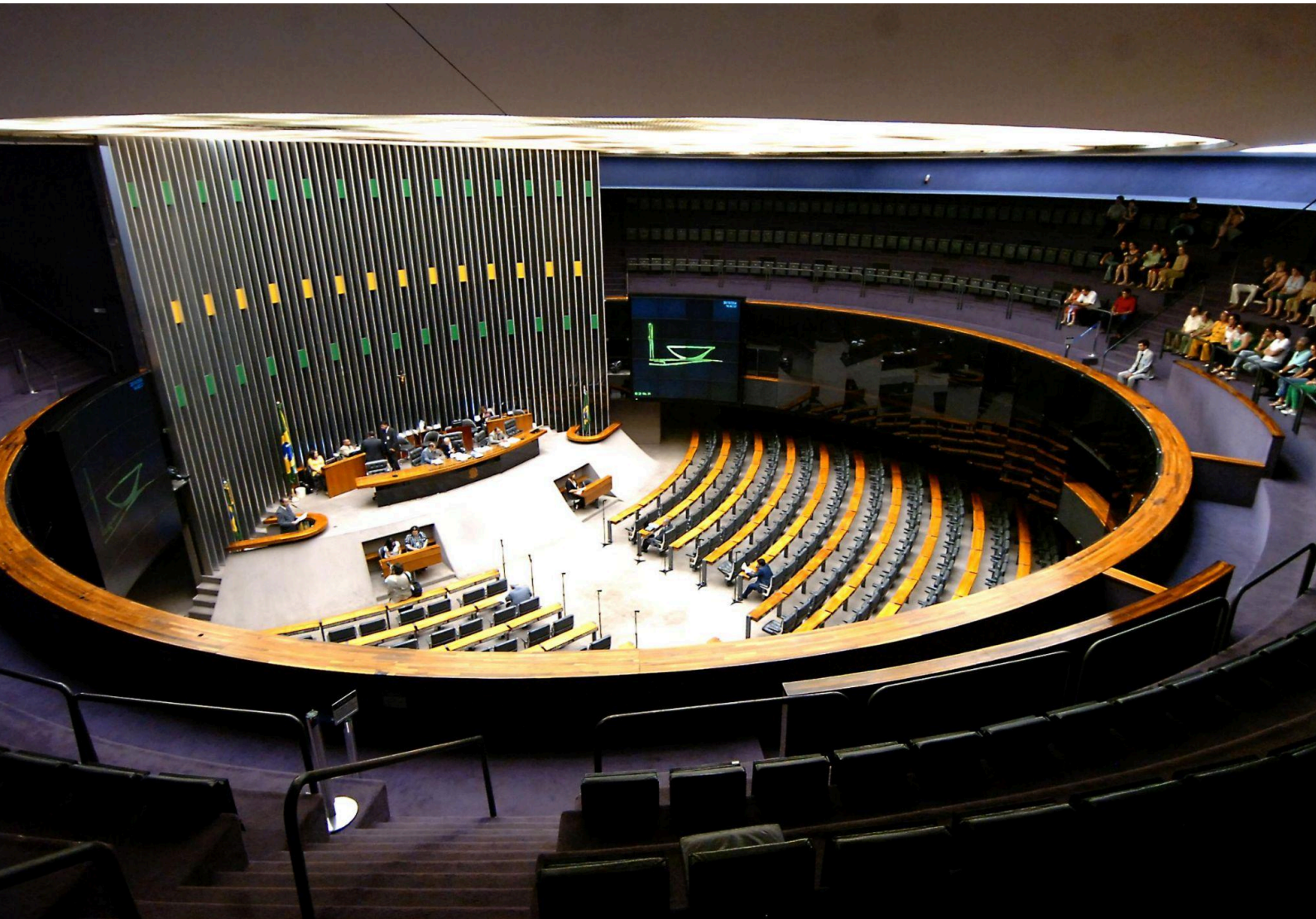
Preliminary Seats Allocation for the Federal Senate (2026 Election)



LLYC IDEAS

The new composition of the Senate will also be marked by the absence of figures with national prominence. Renan Calheiros (MDB-AL) failed to secure re-election after more than three consecutive decades in the upper house, as did Ciro Nogueira (PP-PI), a senator since 2011 and national president of Progressistas. Gleisi Hoffmann (PT-PR), former national president of the PT and former cabinet minister, was unable to return to the Senate. In addition, Randolfe Rodrigues (PT-AP), Marina Silva (Rede-SP), Simone Tebet (PSB-SP), Benedita da Silva (PT-RJ), and Manuela D'Ávila (PSOL-RS) were left out.

The election, in turn, expanded female presence in the Senate. Of the 54 seats in contention, 12 were won by women—the highest number of female senators elected in a single election since redemocratization. With this result, the women's caucus is expected to reach 18 of the 81 seats starting in 2027 (22.2%), compared to the current 15, while men will occupy 63 seats (77.8%).



In the states, 20 of the 27 races were decided in the first round

Of the state gubernatorial elections decided in the first round, the PT (President Lula's party) won only three, all in the Northeast—Bahia, Ceará, and Piauí—while candidates backed by Flávio Bolsonaro won in 11 of the 27 states.

The dominance of right and center-right parties was also reflected in the gubernatorial elections. Highlights include the victories of Tarcísio de Freitas (Republicanos) in São Paulo, former judge Sérgio Moro (PL) in Paraná, and Cleitinho (Republicanos) in Minas Gerais.

In São Paulo, Tarcísio de Freitas—one of the potential presidential candidates for 2030—confirmed poll predictions with a record number of votes, exceeding 14 million (62.65%) over the PT candidate, Fernando Haddad (36.42%). With this decisive victory, Tarcísio positions himself as one of Flávio Bolsonaro's key electoral allies in the presidential runoff.

Meanwhile, Sérgio Moro (known for his role as the Operation Car Wash judge) was one of the election's major surprises, securing the governorship of the state of Paraná in the first round by defeating Sandro Alex (PSD) with nearly double the votes.

In Minas Gerais, the country's second-largest electoral district, poll predictions held true with a first-round victory for Cleitinho (Republicanos), who won 55% of the vote against PT candidate Patrus Ananias (26%). As in São Paulo, Flávio Bolsonaro's campaign for the runoff will have the support of an already-elected Cleitinho, which could prove decisive for the final outcome.

Another notable result was the victory of Raquel Lyra (PSD), who was re-elected governor of Pernambuco with 53.27% of the vote over João Campos (PSB), who received 44.82%. In this case, Lyra's endorsement of Lula's candidacy in the presidential runoff remains uncertain.

The PT concentrated its victories in its traditional strongholds in the Northeast. In Bahia, Jerônimo Rodrigues secured re-election as governor with over 55% of the vote, defeating ACM Neto (União Brasil), who reached 43.78%. The PT's other two victories came in Piauí

(Rafael Fonteles) and Ceará, where Elmano de Freitas defeated Ciro Gomes (PSDB), a veteran regional politician and former presidential candidate.

And in Rio de Janeiro, the runoff election—for now—

Among the states advancing to the runoff, the most notable case is Rio de Janeiro. Defying the polls, Douglas Ruas, the PL candidate backed by Flávio Bolsonaro, received 49.27% of the vote, ahead of former Rio mayor Eduardo Paes, who reached 42.67%.

The issue here is that Anthony Garotinho (Republicanos), who finished third with 3.17% of the vote, has his candidacy *sub judice*, and the Superior Electoral Court (TSE) has yet to decide whether it is valid.

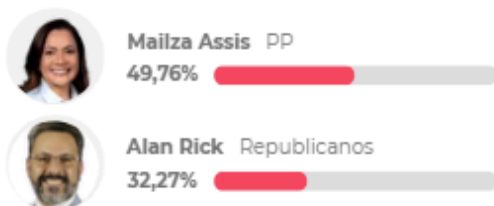
For now, the TSE considers these votes valid, sending the race to a runoff. However, if his candidacy is declared invalid (and consequently, his votes are annulled) before the second round (October 25), Douglas Ruas would be declared the first-round winner based on the recalculated valid votes.

In addition to Rio de Janeiro, the other six federal units heading to a runoff on October 25 are:

- **Acre:** Mailza Assis (PP) vs. Alan Rick (Republicanos)
- **Amazonas:** Omar Aziz (PSD) vs. Maria do Carmo (PL)
- **Federal District:** Celina Leão (PP) vs. Leandro Grass (PT)
- **Espírito Santo:** Lorenzo Pazolini (Republicanos) vs. Ricardo Ferraço (MDB)
- **Rio Grande do Norte:** Allyson (União) vs. Cadu de Lula (PT)
- **Tocantins:** Professora Dorinha (União) vs. Vicentinho Júnior (PSDB)

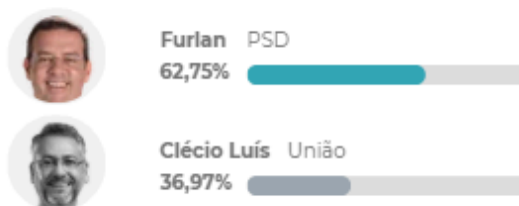
NORTH REGION

ACRE 2º T

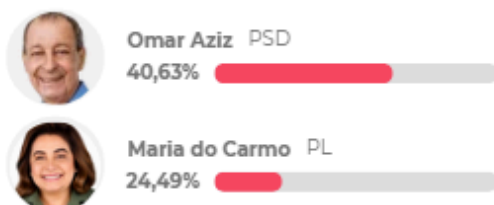


AMAPÁ E

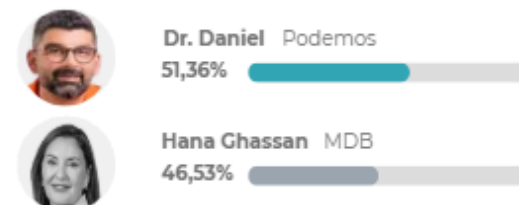
AMAPÁ E



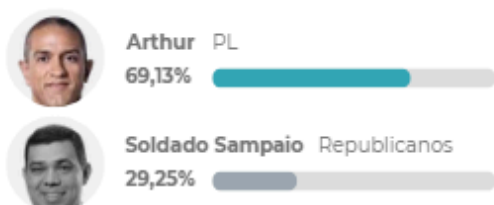
AMAZONAS 2º T



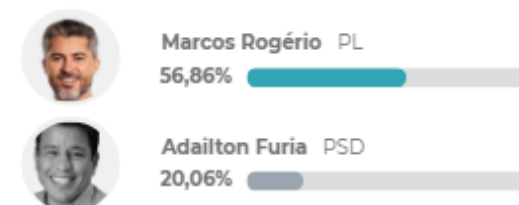
PARÁ E



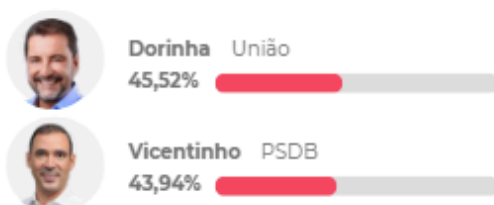
RORAIMA E



RONDÔNIA E



TOCANTINS 2º T

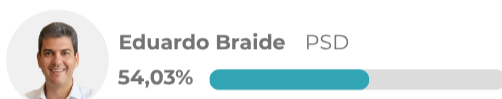


NORTHEAST REGION

ALAGOAS E



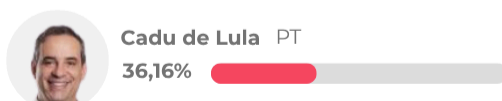
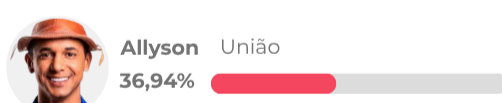
MARANHÃO E



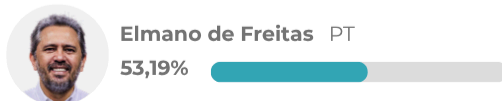
PERNAMBUCO E



RIO GRANDE DO NORTE 2ND R

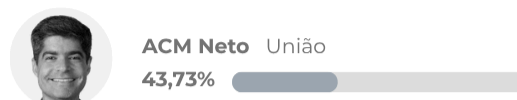
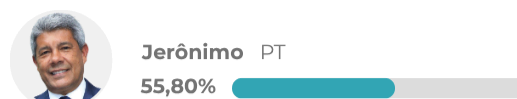


CEARÁ E

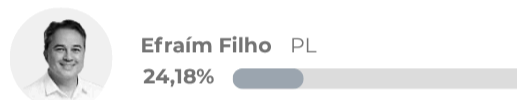
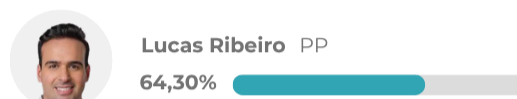


LLORENTE Y CUENCA

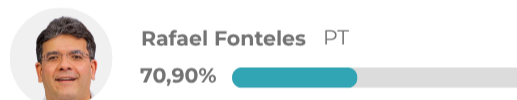
BAHIA E



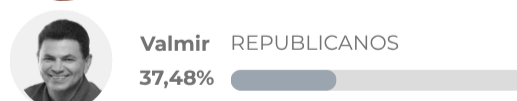
PARAÍBA E



PIAUÍ E

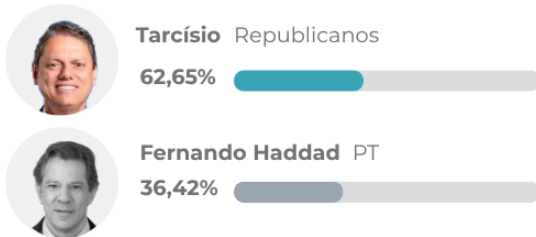


SERGIPE E

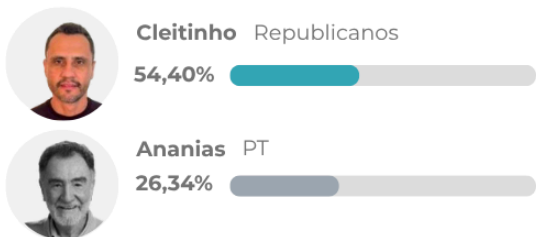


SOUTHEAST REGION

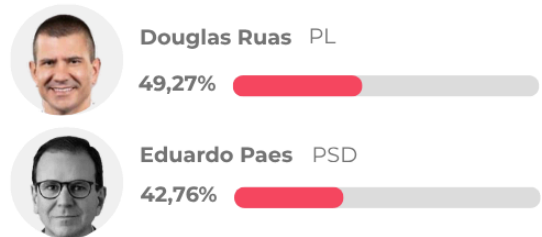
SÃO PAULO E



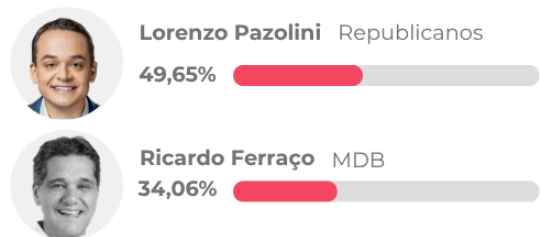
MINAS GERAIS E



RIO DE JANEIRO 2ND R

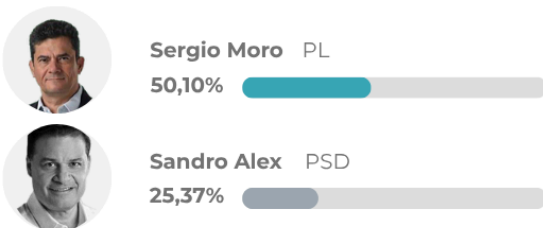


ESPÍRITO SANTO 2ND R

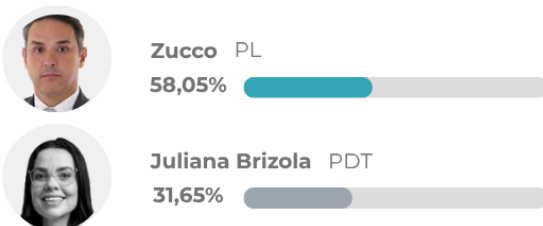


SOUTH REGION

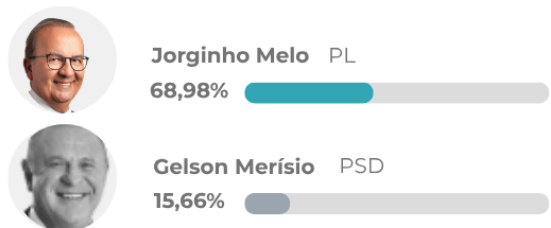
PARANÁ E



RIO GRANDE DO SUL E



SANTA CATARINA E



CENTER-WEST REGION

DISTRITO FEDERAL 2ND R



Celina Leão PP

49,93%



Leandro Grass PT

34,47%

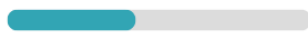


MATO GROSSO E



Otaviano Pivetta Republicanos

60,77%



Wellington Fagundes PL

23,19%



GOIÁS E



Daniel Vilela MDB

59,17%



Marconi PSDB

21,96%

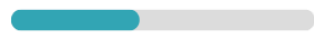


MATO GROSSO DO SUL E



Eduardo Riedel PP

67,07%



Fábio Trad PT

23,68%



Glossary

Institutions and Electoral Justice

- **TSE (Superior Electoral Court):** The body responsible for organizing, regulating, and adjudicating the electoral process at the national level.
- **STF (Supreme Federal Court):** The highest court of the Brazilian Judiciary, responsible for interpreting the Constitution and ruling on issues with major political and legal impact in the country. Additional information can be consulted on the Supreme Federal Court (STF) portal.
- **TRE (Regional Electoral Court):** State-level courts responsible for organizing voting, managing polling stations, and counting votes at the regional level. The role of political offices can be reviewed in the publication by the Regional Electoral Court of São Paulo (TRE-SP).

Parties

- **AGIR:** Agir (antigo PTC)
- **AVANTE:** Avante
- **CIDADANIA:** Cidadania (antigo PPS)
- **DC:** Democracia Cristã
- **DEMOCRATA:** Democrata (antigo PMB - Partido da Mulher Brasileira)
- **MDB:** Movimento Democrático Brasileiro
- **MISSÃO:** Partido Missão
- **MOBILIZA:** Mobilização Nacional (antigo PMN)
- **NOVO:** Partido Novo
- **PCB:** Partido Comunista Brasileiro
- **PCdoB:** Partido Comunista do Brasil
- **PCO:** Partido da Causa Operária
- **PDT:** Partido Democrático Trabalhista
- **PL:** Partido Liberal
- **PODE:** Podemos (incorporou o antigo PSC)
- **PP:** Progressistas
- **PRD:** Partido Renovação Democrática (surgiu da fusão entre PTB e Patriota)

- **PRTB:** Partido Renovador Trabalhista Brasileiro
- **PSB:** Partido Socialista Brasileiro
- **PSD:** Partido Social Democrático
- **PSDB:** Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira
- **PSOL:** Partido Socialismo e Liberdade
- **PSTU:** Partido Socialista dos Trabalhadores Unificado
- **PT:** Partido dos Trabalhadores
- **PV:** Partido Verde
- **REDE:** Rede Sustentabilidade
- **REPUBLICANOS:** Republicanos (antigo PRB)
- **SOLIDARIEDADE:** Solidariedade (incorporou o antigo PROS)
- **UNIÃO:** União Brasil (surgiu da fusão entre DEM e PSL)
- **UP:** Unidade Popular

Party Federations (acting as a single bloc)

- **Federação Brasil da Esperança (FE Brasil):** Union between PT, PCdoB, and PV.
- **Federação PSDB Cidadania:** Union between PSDB and Cidadania.
- **Federação PSOL REDE:** Union between PSOL and REDE.
- **Federação União Progressista:** Union between UNIÃO and PP.
- **Federação Renovação Solidária:** Union between PRD and Solidariedade.

Key Concepts of the Brazilian Political System

- **Party Federation (*Federação Partidária*):** A framework in which two or more parties unite permanently for a minimum of four years, operating as a single caucus in Congress and during elections. The rules for this model are available in the TSE's Registered Federations repository.
- **Performance Threshold (*Cláusula de Barreira*):** A rule requiring a minimum percentage of national votes or distributed seats in the Chamber of Deputies for a party to qualify for Party Fund resources and free radio and TV broadcast time.
- **Parliamentary Bench / Caucus (*Bancada*):** The group of parliamentarians (federal deputies or senators) belonging to the same party or federation in the Chamber of Deputies or the Senate.
- **Party Fund (*Fundo Partidário*) and FEFC (*Electoral Campaign Fund*):** Public funds designated for the ongoing maintenance of political parties and the financing of electoral campaigns.

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