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PARLIAMENTARY SURVEY

APRIL 22–MAY 16, 2019

The survey shows that representatives have a very negative assessment of the relationship between Congress and the Bolsonaro government. On a scale of 0 to 10, the average score was 3.9, exactly the same average among representatives in relation to the Dilma Rousseff government in March 2016, one month before she was impeached. Still, 79.5% of representatives believe a pension reform will be passed. The number is much higher than the 58% who said it would be approved back in April

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LEGISLATIVE FORECAST INDEX

PARLIAMENTARY SURVEY
APRIL 22–MAY 16, 2019
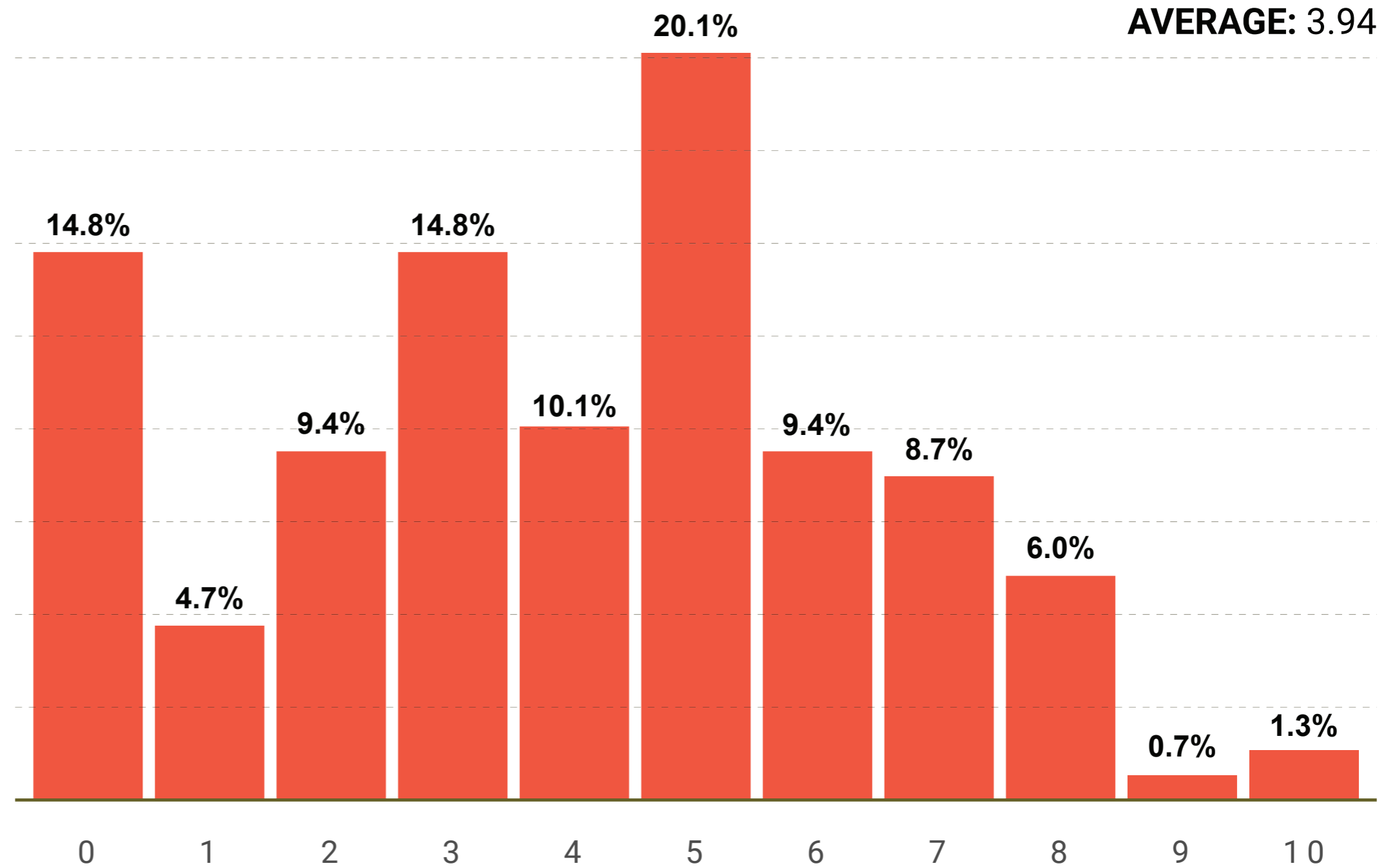
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
GENERAL

METHODOLOGY

The survey was held between April 22 and May 16. The sample was made at random and from three major party groups: opposition, government, and swing voters. The selection of representatives was made prior to the interviews to guarantee statistic validity. In total, 162 interviews were carried out.

The confidence interval is 95% and the margin of error is of 3 percentage points. In the sample, 15 of the selected representatives are full members of the pension reform special committee, and 14 are understudies. In other words, 18% of the sample is made up of special committee members

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LEGISLATIVE FORECAST INDEX

PARLIAMENTARY SURVEY
APRIL 22–MAY 16, 2019

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
GENERAL

FROM 0 TO 10, WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE BOLSONARO GOVERNMENT?

AVERAGE: 3.94

BOLSONARO GOVERNMENT

On a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being bad and 10 being great, what is your assessment of the relationship between the Bolsonaro government and Congress?
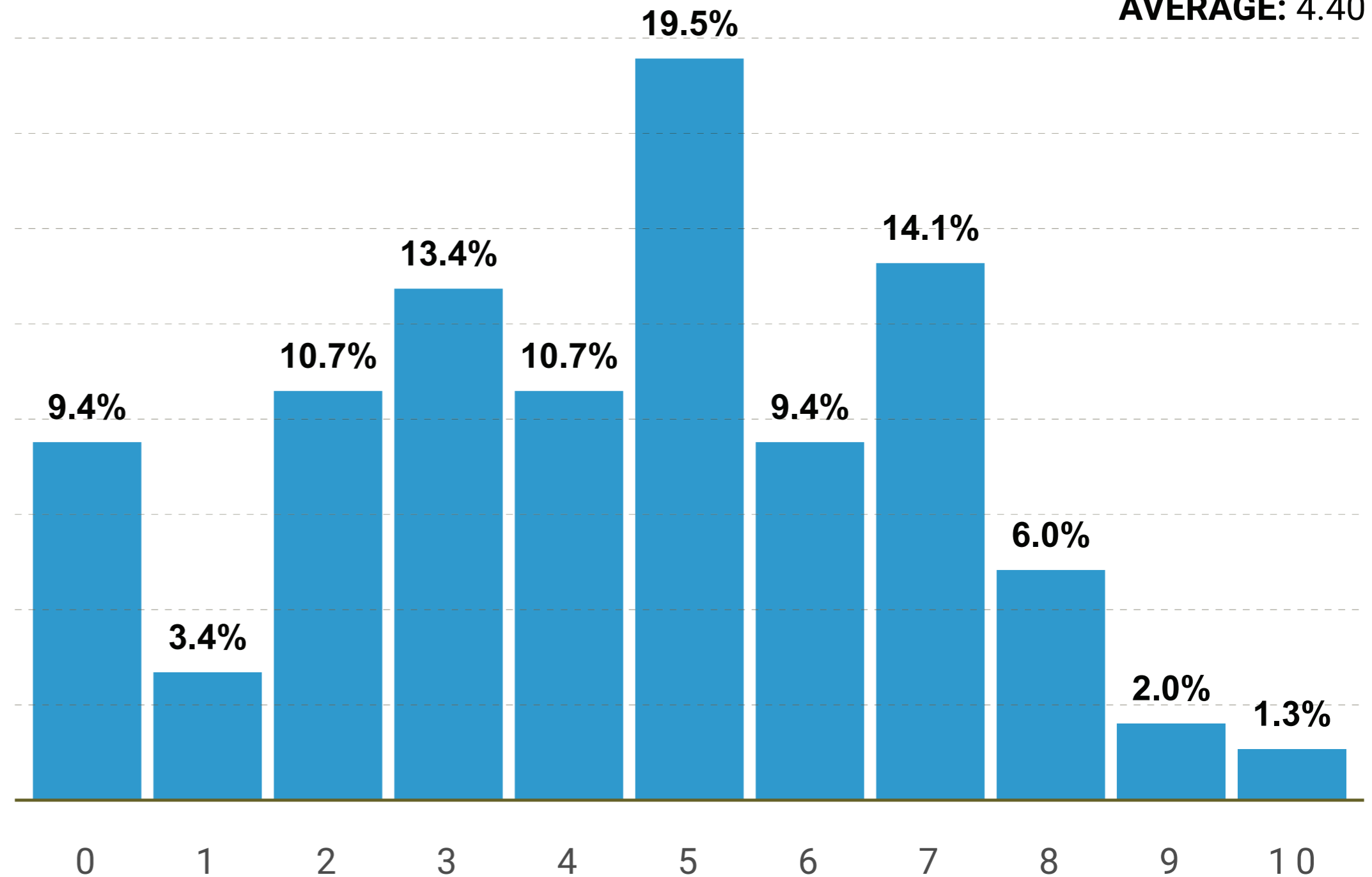

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
14.8%	4.7%	9.4%	14.8%	10.1%	20.1%	9.4%	8.7%	6.0%	0.7%	1.3%

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LEGISLATIVE FORECAST INDEX

PARLIAMENTARY SURVEY
APRIL 22–MAY 16, 2019

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
GENERAL

FROM 0 TO 10, WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT OF BOLSONARO'S GOVERNABILITY?

AVERAGE: 4.40

GOVERNABILITY

Using the same 0 to 10 scale, what is your assessment of the current degree of governability (i.e., the ability to approve bills) President Jair Bolsonaro has in the House of Representatives?

Bar chart:
- 0: 9.4%
- 1: 3.4%
- 2: 10.7%
- 3: 13.4%
- 4: 10.7%
- 5: 19.5%
- 6: 9.4%
- 7: 14.1%
- 8: 6.0%
- 9: 2.0%
- 10: 1.3%

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LEGISLATIVE FORECAST INDEX

PENSIONS, SANITATION MP
AND CENTRAL BANK INDEPENDENCE

The latest conflict between Jair Bolsonaro and Congress has had adverse effects on support for the pension reform, with representatives making a clear move from favorable to neutral. Inserting information from the stratified survey has an impact on the results: there are 190 votes in favor, 137 against, and 186 neutral. We also calculated support for the provisional decree to alter legislation on basic sanitation (the "Sanitation MP") and the proposal to make the Central Bank independent. The latter was an example of the prominence in the division between groups in favor and against in the House. We will explain the numbers in detail over the coming pages

Photo: Marcos Corrêa/PR

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PREVISIBILIDADE LEGISLATIVA

CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS
3 A 7 DE JUNHO DE 2019

XXX
XXX

EVENTOS
A: APROVAÇÃO DA PREVIDÊNCIA SOB LULA
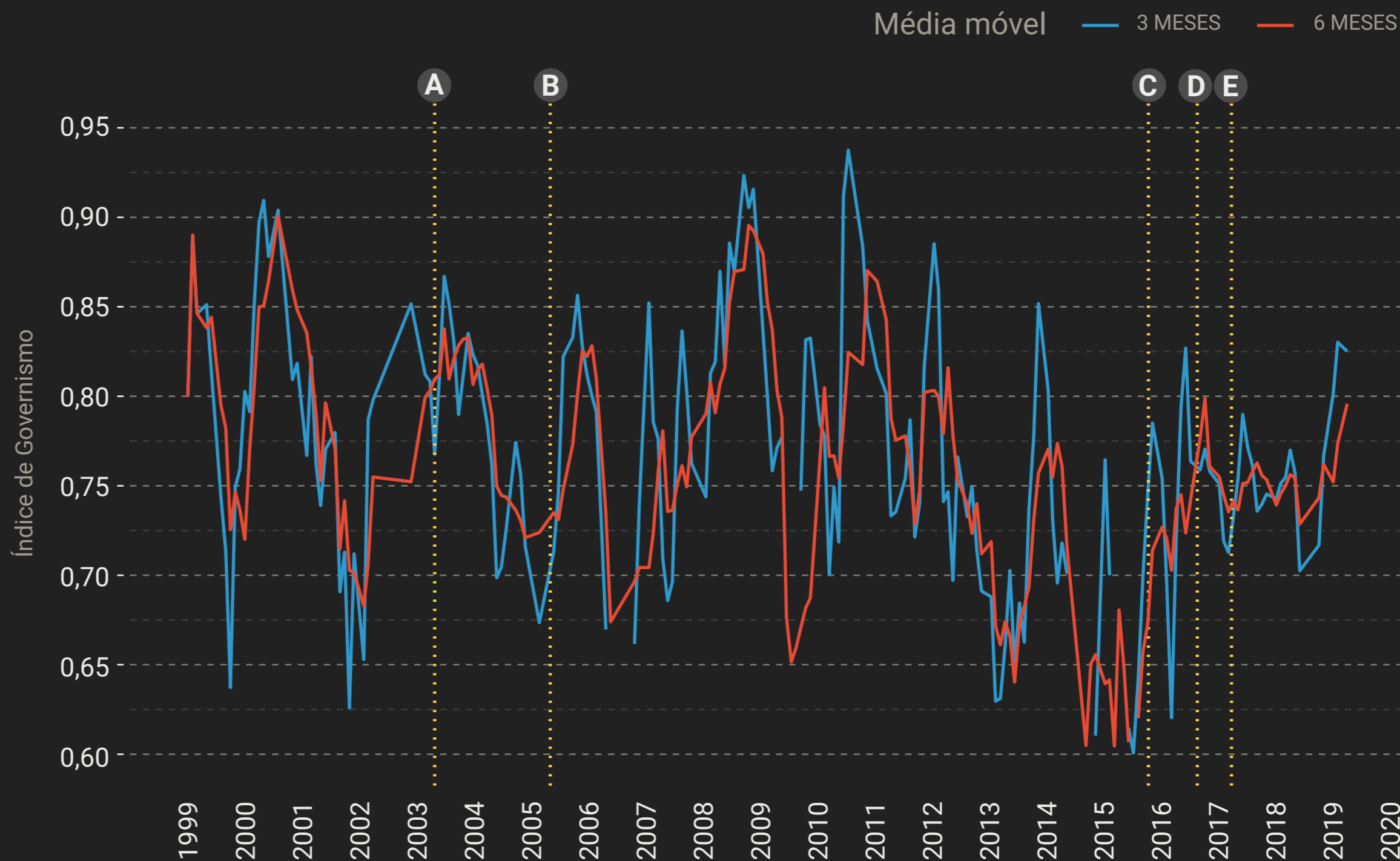## B: ENTREVISTA DO MENSALÃO
C: IMPEACHMENT DE DILMA
D: APROVAÇÃO DA PEC DO TETO
E: JOESLEY DAY

LINHA HISTÓRICA DE GOVERNISMO

A linha permite comparar o apoio ao governo Bolsonaro com todos os outros governos desde FHC 2. As linhas representam médias móveis de 3 e 6 meses

Média móvel — 3 MESES — 6 MESES

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PREVISIBILIDADE LEGISLATIVA

CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS
3 A 7 DE JUNHO DE 2019

ÍNDICE DE FREQUÊNCIA DAS VOTAÇÕES
GERAL

ÍNDICE DE GOVERNISMO

RECADOS DO CONGRESSO
O índice de frequência de votações (índice de governismo puro) mostra como o Congresso envia recados para o governo Bolsonaro em momentos de tensão entre os poderes. Essa instabilidade explica as variações no apoio a reformas

85,4%

GOVERNISMO

INCLUI SEMANA
DE 3 A 7 DE JUNHO

A SEMANA

The government support index went up for the second week in a row, but it is still not back to the best moments of the relationship between Congress and the Executive

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PREVISIBILIDADE LEGISLATIVA

CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS
3 A 7 DE JUNHO DE 2019

ÍNDICE DE FREQUÊNCIA DAS VOTAÇÕES
GERAL

350

## DEPUTADOS GOVERNISTAS

INCLUI SEMANA DE 3 A 7 DE JUNHO

ÍNDICE DE FREQUÊNCIA DE VOTAÇÕES

Number of deputies with governism

index above 80% - considering a moving average since the start of the current legislature

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LEGISLATIVE FORECAST INDEX

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
MAY 13–17, 2019

VOTING FREQUENCY INDEX
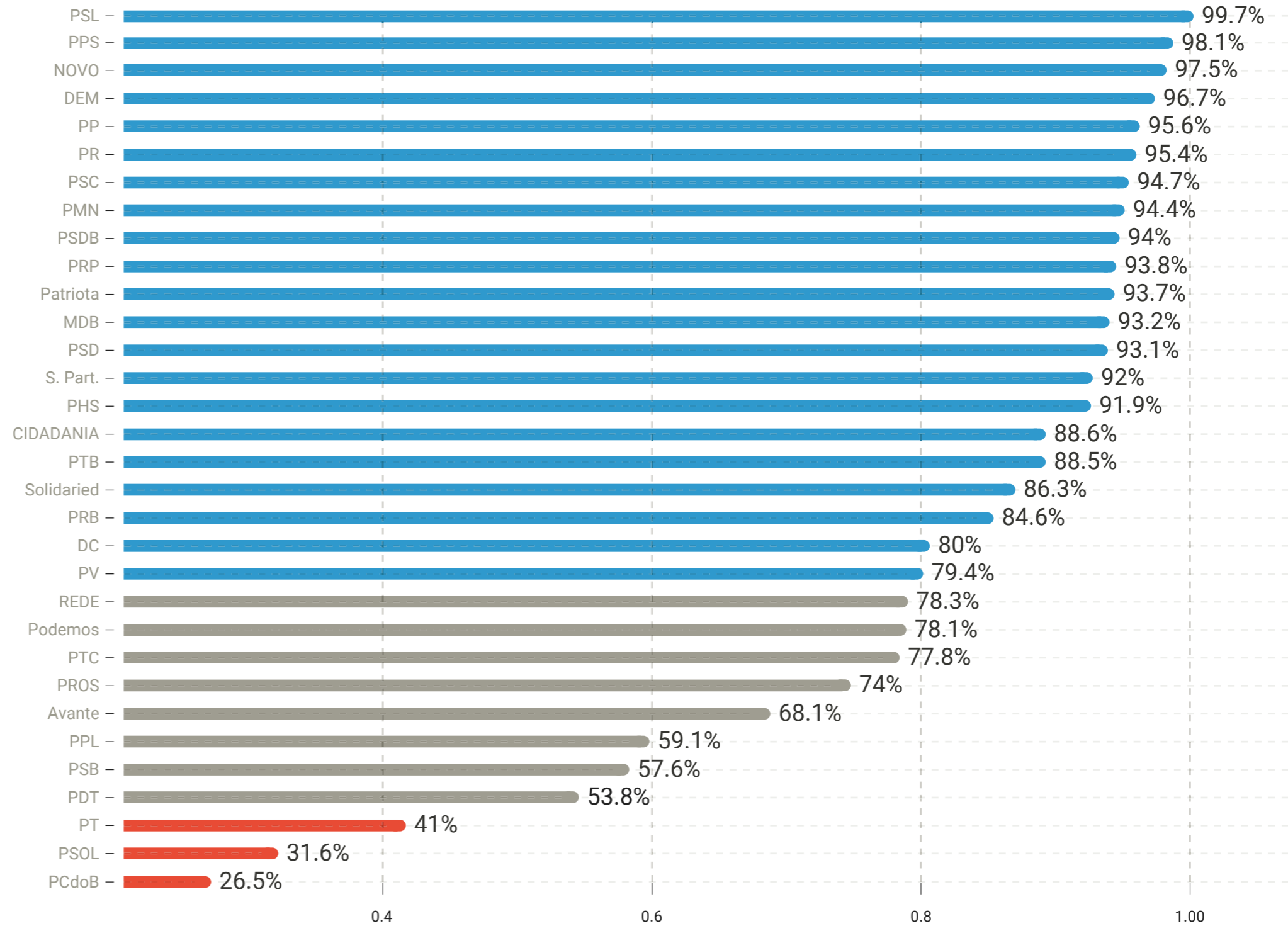**VETERANS V. NEWCOMERS**

VETERANS V. NEWCOMERS

First-term representatives – which make up the main source of support for the government – continue to vote in agreement with Bolsonaro more often than veterans. Last week's votes altered this index

Re-elected **82.**03%

Not re-elected **86.**08%

0.00   0.25   0.50   0.75   1.00
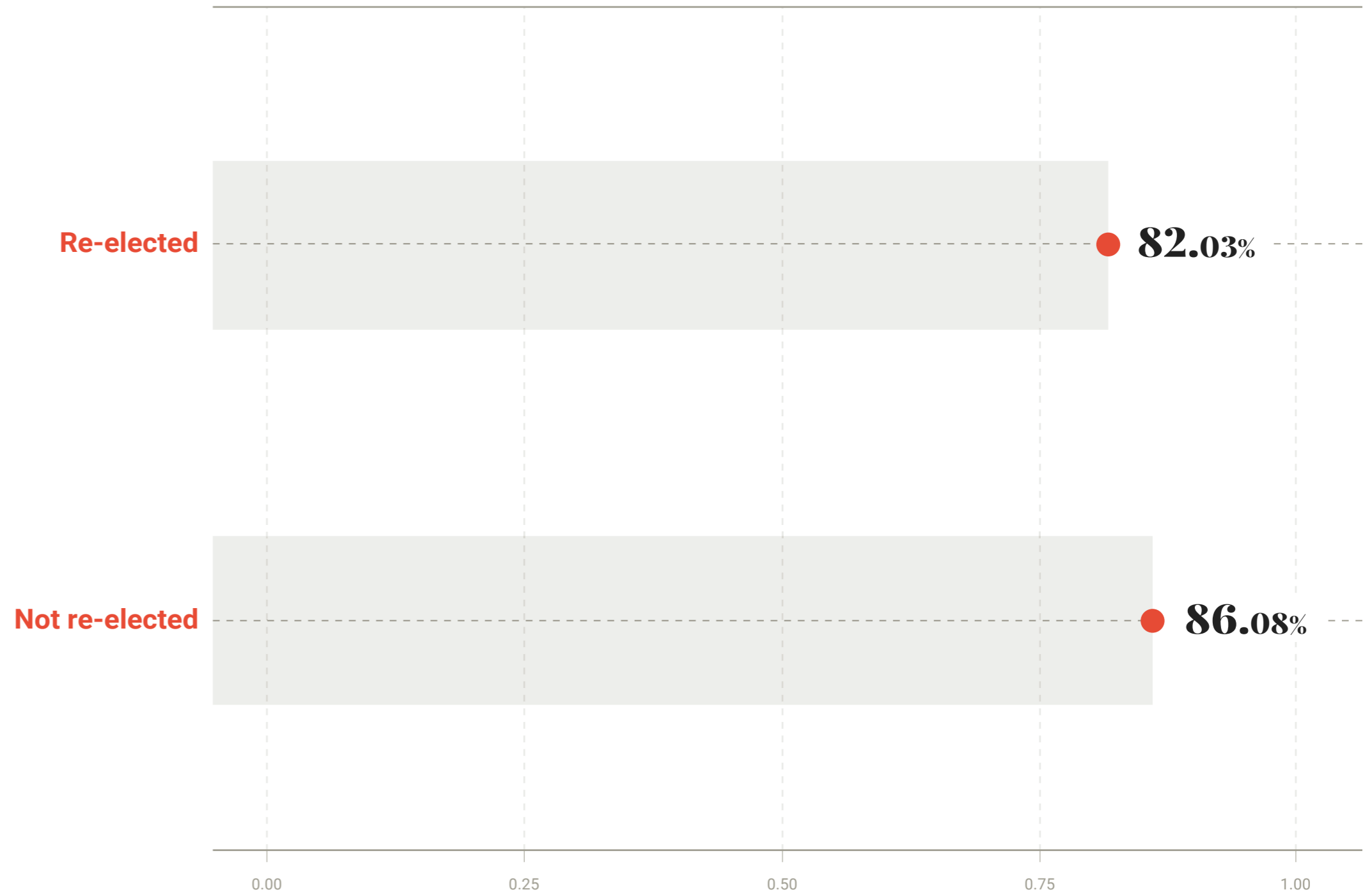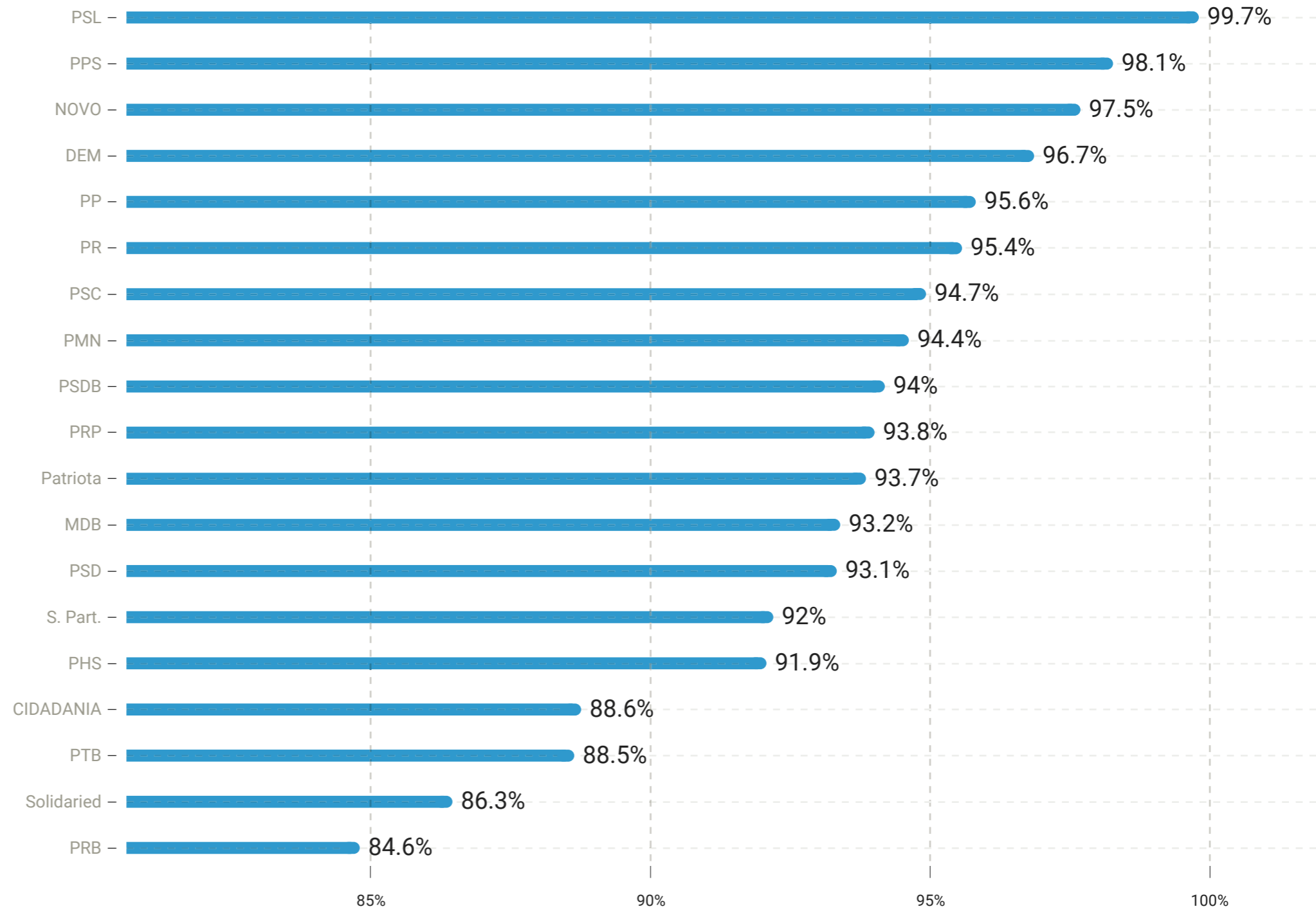
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PARTIES V. GOVERNABILITY

OVERVIEW

Regarding the thresholds used to classify political parties, JOTA's statistic model classified 21 parties as being part of the government's base, 8 as swing voters, and 2 as opposition. However, the PT is clearly also part of the opposition

Party	Value
PSL	99.7%
PPS	98.1%
NOVO	97.5%
DEM	96.7%
PP	95.6%
PR	95.4%
PSC	94.7%
PMN	94.4%
PSDB	94%
PRP	93.8%
Patriota	93.7%
MDB	93.2%
PSD	93.1%
S. Part.	92%
PHS	91.9%
CIDADANIA	88.6%
PTB	88.5%
Solidaried	86.3%
PRB	84.6%
DC	80%
PV	79.4%
REDE	78.3%
Podemos	78.1%
PTC	77.8%
PROS	74%
Avante	68.1%
PPL	59.1%
PSB	57.6%
PDT	53.8%
PT	41%
PSOL	31.6%
PCdoB	26.5%

0.4   0.6   0.8   1.00

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LEGISLATIVE FORECAST INDEX

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
MAY 13–17, 2019

VOTING FREQUENCY INDEX
PARTIES

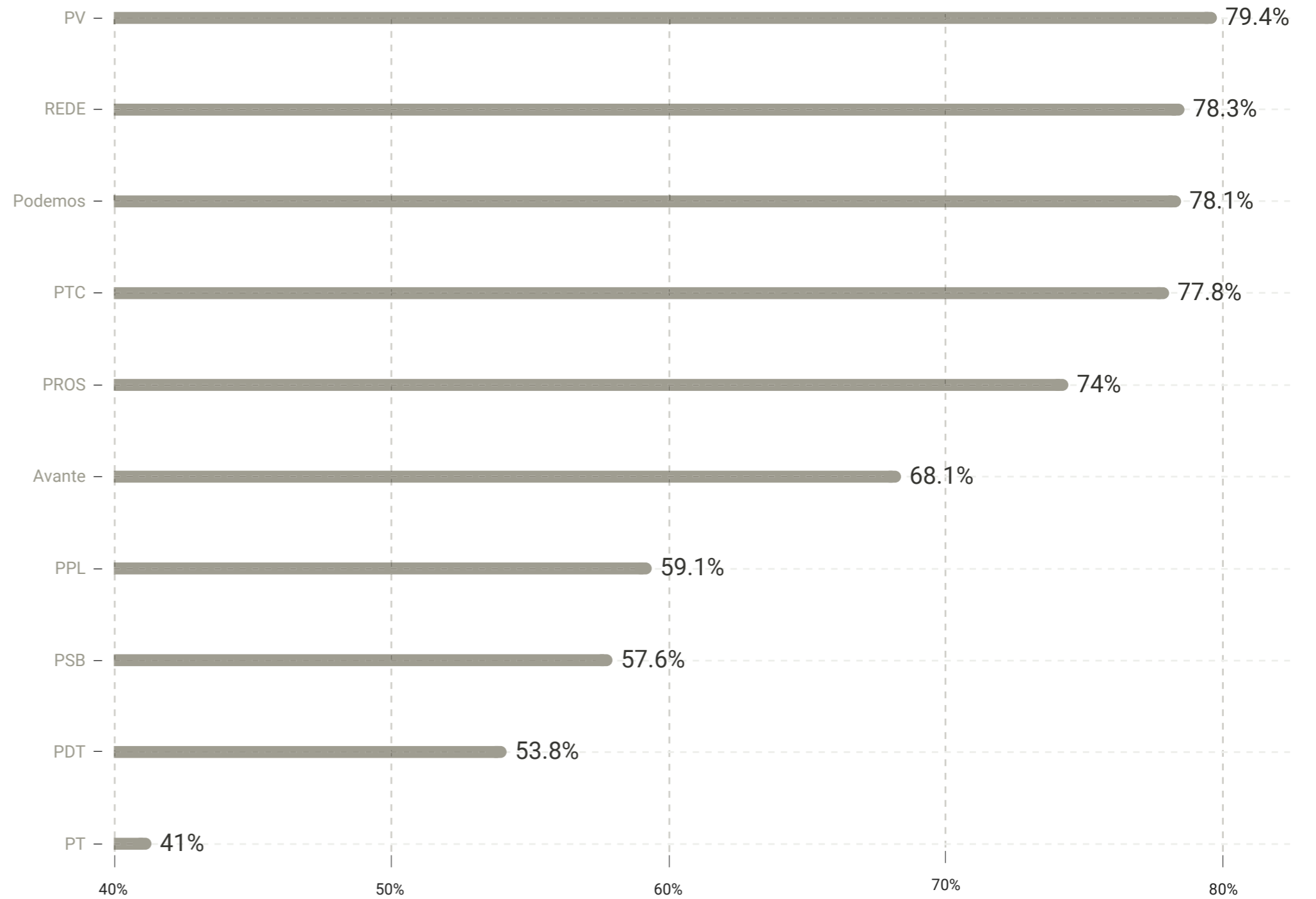# PARTIES V. GOVERNABILITY

GOVERNMENT BASE

PSL remains at the top of the government's support base, now followed by DEM. In the week that NOVO was rumored to be in line to oversee the pension bill in the Committee of Constitution and Justice, DEM fell five positions in its government support
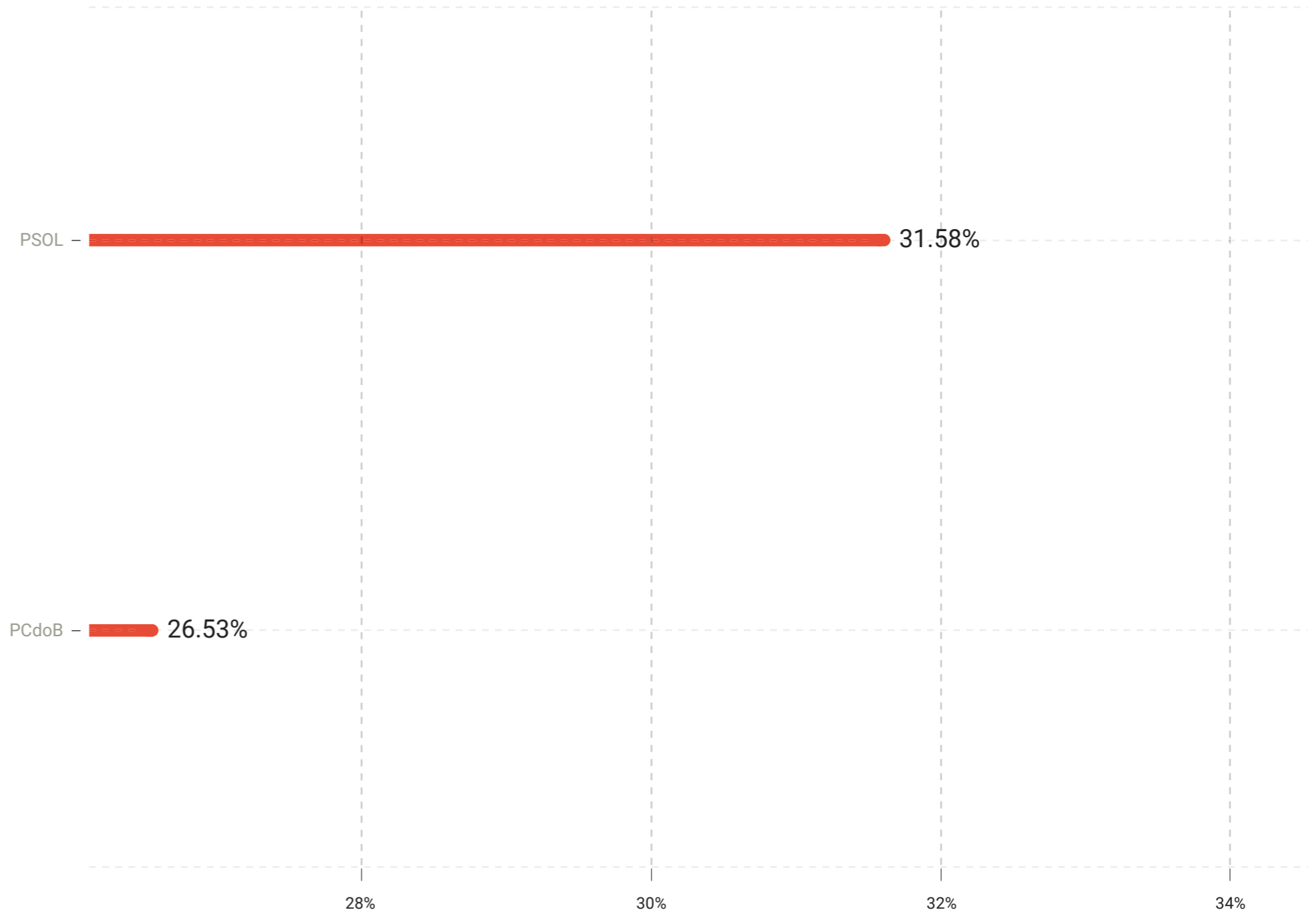
Party	%
PSL	99.7%
PPS	98.1%
NOVO	97.5%
DEM	96.7%
PP	95.6%
PR	95.4%
PSC	94.7%
PMN	94.4%
PSDB	94%
PRP	93.8%
Patriota	93.7%
MDB	93.2%
PSD	93.1%
S. Part.	92%
PHS	91.9%
CIDADANIA	88.6%
PTB	88.5%
Solidaried	86.3%
PRB	84.6%

85%   90%   95%   100%

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LEGISLATIVE FORECAST INDEX

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
MAY 13–17, 2019

VOTING FREQUENCY INDEX
PARTIES

PARTIES V. GOVERNABILITY

SWING VOTERS

PSB and PDT began voting more in favor of the government, but are opposed to the pension reform

PV — 79.4%
REDE — 78.3%
Podemos — 78.1%
PTC — 77.8%
PROS — 74%
Avante — 68.1%
PPL — 59.1%
PSB — 57.6%
PDT — 53.8%
PT — 41%

40%   50%   60%   70%   80%

JOTA

LEGISLATIVE FORECAST INDEX

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
MAY 13–17, 2019

VOTING FREQUENCY INDEX
PARTIES

PARTIES V. GOVERNABILITY

PSOL — ——————————————————————————— 31.58%

PCdoB — ——— 26.53%

28%   30%   32%   34%

OPPOSITION

PSOL and PCdoB are alone in the isolated opposition to the government, but the PT clearly is also a part of this group

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LEGISLATIVE FORECAST INDEX

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
MAY 13–17, 2019

PREDICTIVE MODEL
GENERAL

PREDICTIVE MODEL

The probability index of the pension reform vote is a statistical model which estimates how the 513 representatives will vote on the reform bill.

The calculation is made based on the number of times each member of Congress votes in favor or against the government, as well as field research with the politicians, their posts on social media, and JOTA's journalistic reporting.

With this data, the model generates an index between 0 and 1 for each representative, with 0 being against the reform and 1 in favor. Above 0.80, the representative is considered to be in favor of the reform, while those below 0.20 are classed as against. The rest are defined as neutral

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TIMELINE OF SUPPORT

**POLITICAL CRISIS AFFECTS REFORM**

Last week, the number of representatives in favor overtook the neutrals, but this latest political crisis has brought down the numbers in favor, while the number of neutrals has risen once again. The number of those against remained stable at 137. Next week will be crucial to see if this drop is maintained

Legend: IN FAVOR — NEUTRAL — AGAINST

WEEK MAR 11–15 · WEEK MAR 18–23 · WEEK MAR 25–29 · WEEK APR 1–5 · WEEK APR 8–12 · WEEK APR 15–19 · WEEK APR 22–26 · WEEK APR 28–MAY 3 · WEEK MAY 6–10 · WEEK MAY 13–17

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LEGISLATIVE FORECAST INDEX

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
MAY 13–17, 2019

PREDICTIVE MODEL
REFORM BILL
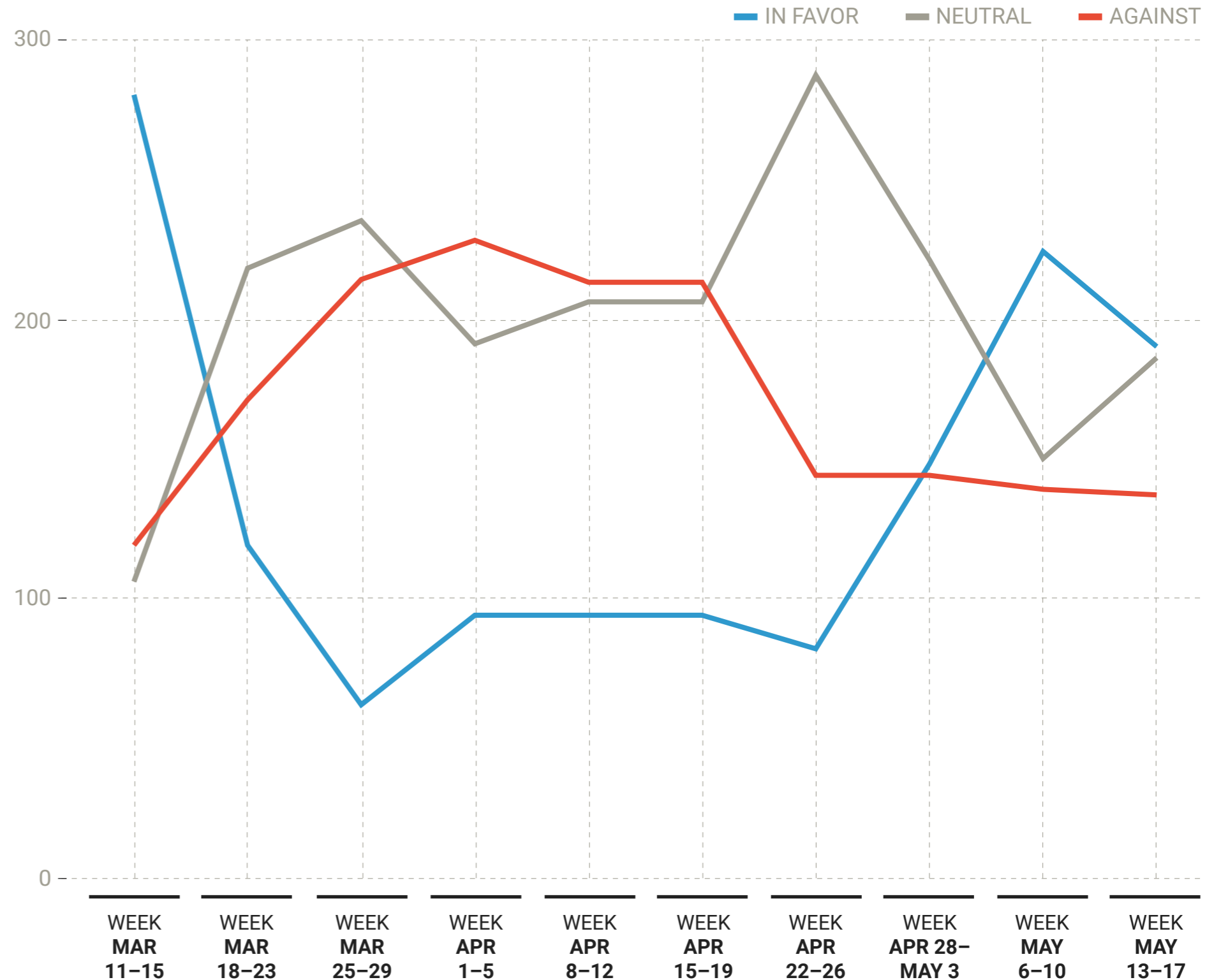
SUPPORT FOR REFORM BILL
50%–50% THRESHOLD

SPLIT DECISION

When we use the 50% to 50% threshold — it is always harder to predict representatives close to 50% — we have 241 votes in favor and 272 votes against. It is no coincidence that centrist leaders are already evaluating submitting their own bill, to avoid a political win for the government

● AGAINST ● NEUTRAL ● IN FAVOR

D2 (ECONOMIC POSITION)

D1 (IDEOLOGY)
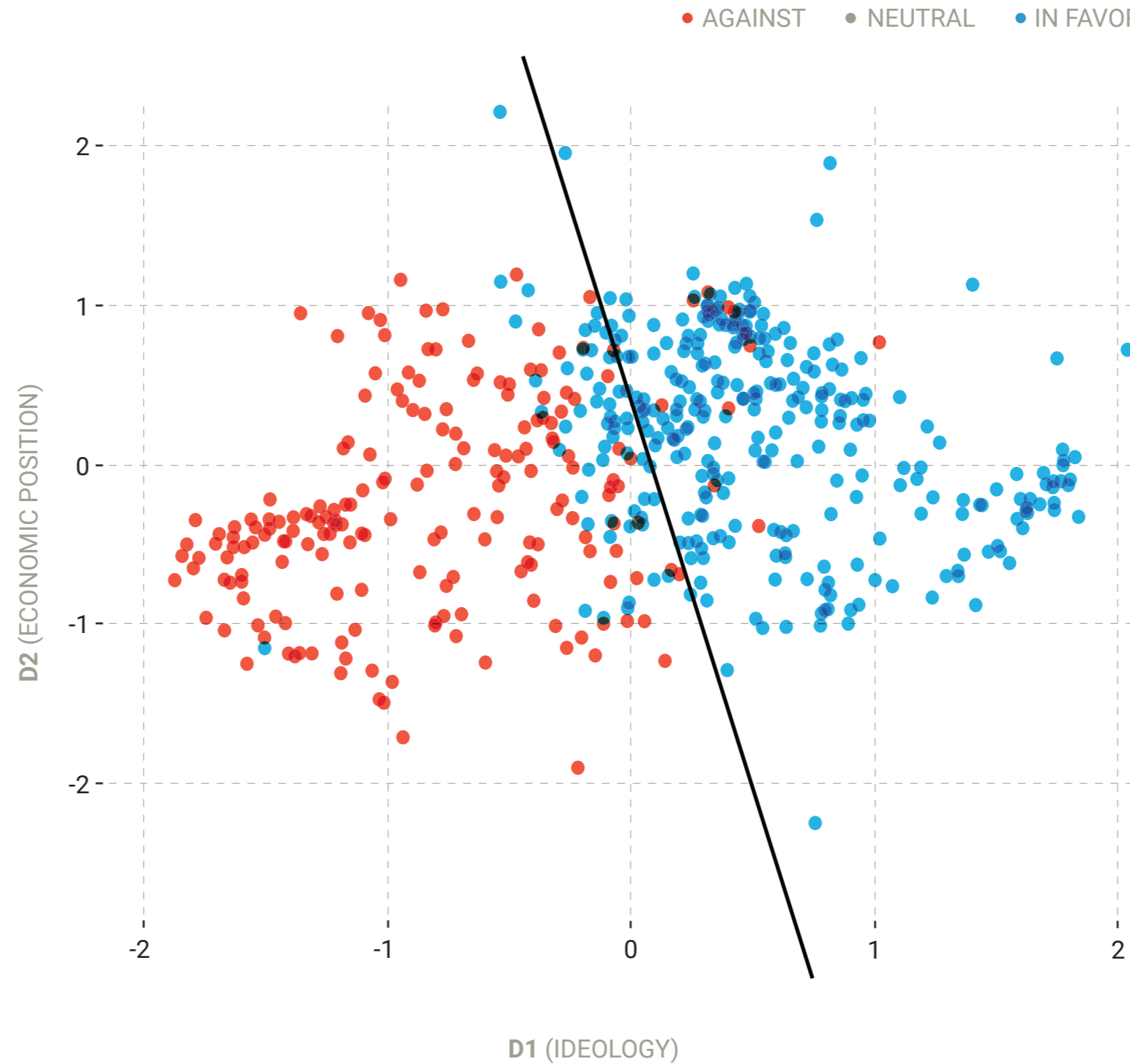
241
IN FAVOR

0
NEUTRAL

272
AGAINST

Want to know more?

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