THE BRAZILIAN DILEMMA
BETWEEN DISBELIEF IN THE PRESENT AND HOPE FOR THE FUTURE
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THE BRAZILIAN DILEMMA
BETWEEN DISBELIEF IN THE PRESENT AND HOPE FOR THE FUTURE
Founded in 1944, Fundação Getulio Vargas was born aiming to promote the socioeconomic development of Brazil through the training of qualified administrators in the public and private sectors. Over time, FGV has extended its acting to other areas of knowledge, such as Social Sciences, Law, Economics, History and, recently, Applied Mathematics, becoming a reference in quality and excellence with its eight schools.

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THE BRAZILIAN DILEMMA

BETWEEN

DISBELIEF IN THE
PRESENT AND
HOPE FOR THE
FUTURE
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ABOUT FGV/DAPP
The Department of Public Policy Analysis at Fundação Getulio Vargas (FGV/DAPP) is a center for applied social research focused on innovation on public policies, producing innovative analyses with intensive use of social networks and interdisciplinary knowledge. Our mission is to improve the public administration in Brazil and to qualify the public debate in the networking society, through transparency and the debate between the State and the citizens.

FGV/DAPP develops a research agenda using its own methodologies of analysis, which have been improved since its creation in 2012 and which combines quantitative and qualitative traditional methods with innovative resources for processing and analyzing databases from public sources and from social networks. Ultimately, we provide the society with a set of tools for viewing and analyzing data that is easy to understand and to access.

The public policy analyses are produced by an interdisciplinary and diverse team, educated in areas such as Sociology, Political Science, Anthropology, Linguistics, Economics, Public Administration, International Relations, Statistics, Mathematics and Social Communication, allied with Information Technology and Design.

The line of applied research known as Political Transparency produces studies, analyses and interactive platforms on current Brazilian politics. The aim is to promote a qualified debate on topics of the public agenda and on the perception of the public opinion on Brazil.
THE BRAZILIAN DILEMMA

BETWEEN DISBELIEF IN THE PRESENT AND HOPE FOR THE FUTURE
A research on public opinion carried out by FGV/DAPP indicates that the dissatisfaction of Brazilians in the current context results in a generalized lack of trust in the president (83%), in politicians (78%) and in parties (78%), expressed in all regions and age and income brackets;

While political institutions are the target of wide rejection, Brazilians lend credibility to religion (61%), the military (46%) and the judges (42%);

Around 55% of interviewees stated that they would not vote again for the same candidate they voted for in the last presidential elections;

Among those, 30% intend to vote in a candidate outside the traditional politics in the next elections for president, and 29% said that they will vote blank or null;

Among all the interviewees, 63% stated that corruption is the issue that causes the most distress in Brazil, suggesting that the search for an “honest” representative will be important in the debates in 2018;

The dissatisfaction with the government, together with the disbelief and lack of identification with the politicians, also causes a crisis in political representation. Questioned about whether they agree or disagree that the parties are important and that we would be worse without them, 47% said no — among those, 33% said they completely disagree;

**These results indicate the perception of the society about a political system that is not working and requires changes to revert this rejection to its structure of representation;**

Even considering the lack of trust in general, the research shows that most of the individuals believes in the importance of their actions to determine the directions of the country: 74% agreed that the protests are important to change the behavior of the politicians — 58% stated that the politicians are afraid of the people on the streets;

Although Brazilians see the importance of protesting on the streets, they do not demonstrate individual interest in doing so, which indicates enormous expectations on the 2018 elections being the time to adjust the Brazilian political life;

A large part of the interviewees (65%) also considers debating on social networks important to change the behavior of the politicians. That is the third most frequently used source of information by the interviewees to learn about politics (22%), behind only television (69%) and news websites and portals (24%);
The data collection shows that Brazilians still feel the impact of this recession. Around 64% of the interviewees stated that they completely disagree that the worst part of the economic crisis has passed; When questioned, most of the interviewees said that they have not yet clearly perceived a decrease in unemployment, inflation and interest rates compared to a year ago; Brazilians show that they want the State acting on the economy (57%) while also supporting the reduction of inequality (70%), but rejecting tax increases (79%); Concerning the future, Brazilians are mostly optimistic, with 54% of interviewees agreeing that the quality of life in the next five years will be better than today; In addition, 64% partially or completely agreed that, despite the current politicians, it is up to each one of us to build a good life; Therefore, even considering the current context, the great majority of the interviewees (83%) still has hopes for Brazil in the long term; Overall, we notice that Brazilians remain polarized in opposing perceptions and fields. However, there are some points in common: they do not dismiss the role of the State in solving the issue of social inequalities, as well as improving the economy and guaranteeing basic protection to the population, such as health, security and education, but they do not want its interference with other issues; By looking at the present with extreme pessimism and criticism and, on the other hand, to the future with extreme hope, and by stating that they are tired of protests for now, Brazilians demonstrate that: • They place an enormous weight on the next elections, which will undoubtedly be the most important ones since 2002, defining the outcome of a standstill which came from the extreme polarization installed in the country; • We should see new candidates, not yet well-known, or at least well-known candidates who are absolutely clean of corruption; • It will be necessary to overcome the current situation in little time and this responsibility will fall on the shoulders of the next president, whose evaluation of success or failure will not be relativized; • The perception about democracy, in its importance and efficacy, may be put under tension in case of failure of the next president. Uniting the country will be the most important task, but with tangible results.
INTRODUCTION
This study is the result of the analyses of public opinion research data collected by FGV/DAPP over August this year. For the collection of field data, 1,568 people from various cities over the entire national territory were interviewed.

We favored an interpretation that is not frequently used for political and social monitoring research, opting to focus on the topic of trust for two basic reasons: 1) our daily monitoring of the public agenda and of big events through social networks points to a constant variable, that is, the extreme polarization of the country since 2002, but especially since the reelection of Dilma Rousseff; 2) trust as a fundamental sociological category seems to us a more efficient prognostic resource to measure expectations and difficulties for our country than simply listing names and preferences in this moment. For that purpose, we avoided the simple description and publishing of collected data, very common in traditional research on public opinion perceptions, and adopted a sociological interpretation focused on trust as the guide and indicator of the analysis and discussion of the field data collected.

After organizing the information we found, we noticed that we could divide the study into two central points: the first one, entitled The trust in Brazil, discusses the trust of individuals in politics, the economy and the social structure in general, associating these variables to the expectations of the Brazilian people about the expected future for the individuals themselves and for the society. The second point, entitled The heart of the Brazilian people, analyzes the behavior of the Brazilians regarding various issues of our social structure. We also seek to understand the values that guide the choices and preferences of individuals today and in the future.
The current period, with political and economic projects under intense debate in the search for lasting solutions for overcoming the crisis, can be seen as a privileged moment for discussing the future of Brazil. The analysis of the data shows us a worrying scenario, with a considerable amount of individuals affected by the political and economic crises, which ultimately results in a social arrangement marked by a concern with the future and a series of dissatisfactions. Other consequences produced in this context and observed by us are the disbelief and the lack of trust in the politicians currently acting in Brazil.

Because of these disbeliefs and dissatisfactions, we observe an intense process of polarization of the Brazilian society, increased in a definite way by the 2014 elections due to the two opposing forces in the Brazilian political debate, as can be seen in the following graphs. In recent years, this has been continuously observed by FGV/DAPP in the debate on social networks, with fragmented groups of different collectivities, relatively independent from each other (concerning their topics of discussion and positions), being replaced by a strong division into two large sides, and modulated by electoral preferences that include general views on democracy, public administration and social issues.

In 2014, during the second round of the elections between Dilma Rousseff (PT) and Aécio Neves (PSDB), we noticed an intense integration between profiles specifically aligned with each side of the election, with strong rejection of the values propagated by the opposing side and with few groups independent from either. This polarization remained with the demonstrations for and against Dilma’s impeachment, based on the support or rejection of her leaving office and maintaining the same actors of the 2014 debate. Similarly, it is also present in the debate between socioeconomic agendas, such as the Social Security Reform.

As a consequence of these disbeliefs and dissatisfactions, we observe an intense process of **POLARIZATION OF THE BRAZILIAN SOCIETY** [...]

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1 In the social network research with graph elaboration, the distributions of profiles and discourses in poles, ordered by the interactions between the profiles and influencing actors, does not necessarily imply the absolute equivalence of positions and opinions among the profiles joined together in a single group, and it also does not assume an alignment of profiles with a single sociopolitical or economic positioning. What the graph brings to light is the structure of relationships between the profiles inside the scope of the data analyzed. However, even inside a group organized under a single module, there are countless differences between agendas and perspectives, depending on what is being analyzed, and therefore there are distinct polarities identifiable. In the cases mentioned in this study, the polarizations stem from a homogeneity of the interactions between profiles of the two opposing groups. Therefore, it is possible to identify the profiles from two single aggregated poles, but without damaging a potential more specific (and fragmented) interpretation of each of these poles.
2nd round of the 2014 elections

The dispute marked the intensification of the political polarization that has dominated the recent years of Brazilian politics.

4,881,244 tweets
October 22 to 26, 2014

The map of retweets is formed by the interactions (edges) between profiles who engaged on the political debate in the week analyzed. The graph reveals the extreme polarization of the debate at that moment, evidencing the lack of a group of mediators between the two main groups, and also the inexistence of group that is "not aligned" with any side.
The protests for the impeachment
The last large demonstration before President Dilma Rousseff’s leave indicated the tensions persisted

826,494 tweets
March 13, 2016

The map of retweets on the day of the protests reveals the persistence of the political polarization, but also the emergence of a pole formed by profiles not directly aligned with any of the main poles. The phenomenon indicated a strengthening of a discourse of criticism both towards the ruling parties and the opposition, demonstrating a general discredit towards politics.
Social Security Reform

The debate during the debate about the Social Security Reform at the Chamber of Deputies again brought to light the intense polarization.

288,617 tweets
April 1st to 24, 2017

Profiles aligned with the opposition to the federal government and contrary to the Social Security Reform.

Profiles aligned with a position supporting reforms, although not necessarily supporting the government.

The map of retweets in April, during the debate about the Social Security Reform, evidenced once again the persistence of the political polarization, among profiles favorable to the agenda of reforms and the profiles aligned to the opposition to the federal government.
In March 23, 2016, the date of one of the main protests supporting Dilma Rousseff’s impeachment, a research by FGV/DAPP with 826 thousand mentions on Twitter attests the upcoming detachment of a considerable part of society regarding the two polarized extremes - which continue in evidence and without dialogue, concentrated under the two political axes of 2014. The data collection identified a large and dense group of profiles that does not identify with conventional political bases and, on social networks, rejects the political system itself, making use of jokes, irony and sharp criticism to the context that led to Dilma leaving the government. They also do not choose any side in the current spectrum of political parties in the country.

In this sense, the Brazilian political debate on the networks deserves special attention in this research, since results show that a significant part of the society believes in the importance of protesting in the streets as a way to put pressure on the governments and political actors, in addition to believing that these agents fear these demonstrations. However, almost half of the interviewees stated that, despite knowing the importance of the protests, they are not willing to participate on them. Although this result seems contradictory considering the issues we highlighted, it suggests a broader way of facing the issue, that is, that the field of discussion and political manifestation has been moving to new fronts, therefore expanding itself from the streets to the social networks and from the networks to the upcoming formal electoral process.

Considering this perspective, we must reflect on whether the mobilization we observe today on social networks, which comes from political dissatisfactions, happens as an alternative to those that historically happened in other public spaces such as the streets, for example. The results indicate that social networks have been an important environment, in which Brazilians not only become informed on political issues, but also pressure the political class to promote changes. This entire discussion corroborates with analyses developed by FGV/DAPP on the political debate on social networks in recent years.

Beyond conjunctural aspects of the current political reality, the research also reveals behavioral traits and values of the Brazilian people. Our findings show a more conservative profile. Most of them: agree with the reduction of the age of criminal responsibility to 16; disagree that criminality would decrease with the legalization of marijuana (the poorer they are, the more they disagree); and are against abortion under any circumstances. In that regard, Brazilian women aged between 35 and 44 are the group who disagrees the most. However, and contrary to a conservative mentality, most of them agree that homosexual couples should have the same rights as heterosexual ones, and that is more noticeable among young women aged between 16 and 24, and with higher education.

[...] SOCIAL NETWORKS have been an important environment, in which Brazilians not only become informed on political issues, but also pressure the political class to promote changes.

Brazilians are also mindful of the issue of public security, but mainly of corruption. The latter is the biggest reason for dissatisfaction, even more than inflation and unemployment, which are fundamental indicators for the well-being of any society. In this context where corruption is an element that deeply impacts different social groups, worrisome preferences and responses emerge, such as a majority of people who sympathize with authoritarian leaders (the less well-educated and poorer, the higher the sympathy); a belief that there is no democracy in Brazil; a questioning of the isonomy of the Judiciary towards individuals; a disagree-
ment that Brazil is going in the right direction and that political parties are important for the society; a high amount of people who wish to leave the country. To summarize, it is already possible to observe, in terms of the social perception of the Brazilian people, the consequences of the political, institutional end economic crisis to which we have been subjected.

Therefore, this dissatisfaction of the Brazilian people illustrates a country that needs to go through an institutional and transparency development in many dimensions of its structure, which could lead us to think that our prospects are condemned to a paralysis in face of potential alternatives and solutions for the crisis. However, contradictorily, the research also points towards a more optimistic direction: the solution for the crisis is institutional and comes from the votes of each voting citizen.

Even though a first look at the situation indicates what we initially considered naming “resentful Brazilian”, who is affected by a series of problems and dissatisfactions, we saw that 65% of interviewees place great importance on voting in the elections, and they choose the vote as the strategy for social change. It is important to note that the group who believes the most in this strategy is represented by young adults aged between 25 and 35, who are severely impacted by the crisis.

To achieve change through elections, respecting the institutional laws, Brazilians are betting on a different political profile from the traditional one; one that promotes an agenda aiming to rebuild the indicators and life conditions of the population. Considering these and other issues, the upcoming elections will require special attention from the political agents, strategic institutions and society as a whole, and they will be remembered for the importance they will represent for democracy.
PARTE 1
THE TRUST IN BRAZIL
TRUST IN THE INSTITUTIONS

The extreme polarization in the Brazilian society demonstrated in the elections in 2014, reinforced by discontentment with the ensuing governments and by an unprecedented economical crisis, culminated in a scenario of disbelief of the population in the institutions and even in the existence of a democracy in Brazil. According to the research, 42.4% of Brazilians partially or completely disagree that democracy is the best system of government. Analyzing by occupation, we verify that most of the civil servants (56.5%) disagree in some way that there is a democracy in Brazil. In a way, this result reflects the position that civil servants have been demonstrating by rejecting the Michel Temer administration.
I would like you to say how much you agree or disagree with this statement: **There is a democracy in Brazil.**

![Pie chart showing the percentage of responses to the question:](chart)

### Brazil, by occupation

(Brazil, among those who knew the topic and answered)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Disagrees</th>
<th>Impartial</th>
<th>Agrees</th>
<th>Does not know / Did not answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employee (covered and not covered by Brazilian labor regulations)</td>
<td>42,18%</td>
<td>22,16%</td>
<td>31,18%</td>
<td>4,48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servant (including military)</td>
<td>56,53%</td>
<td>29,54%</td>
<td>13,93%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed, employer, business person, etc.</td>
<td>44,46%</td>
<td>20,30%</td>
<td>30,82%</td>
<td>5,22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>38,82%</td>
<td>16,97%</td>
<td>36,77%</td>
<td>7,44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife, retired worker, student and others</td>
<td>39,74%</td>
<td>19,90%</td>
<td>32,93%</td>
<td>7,43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Bar chart showing the percentage of responses by occupation](chart)
The dissatisfaction of Brazilians in the current context results in a generalized lack of trust in the president, in politicians and in parties, expressed in all regions and age and income brackets. Questioned on whether they trust the president of the Republic, 83.2% of interviewees said that they do not. This disbelief is even bigger for those with higher education, reaching 90.6% among those in this education level. 78.3% of Brazilians also mistrust elected politicians, a proportion that increases (87.1%) among richer interviewees (those with family income higher than five minimum wages). Similarly, 78.1% state that they do not trust political parties.

While political institutions are the target of wide rejection, Brazilians lend credibility to religion, the military and the judges. Although 60% of interviewees claimed to be partially or completely indifferent to religion, 61.5% stated that they trust the religious institutions. Among those less educated and poorer, this proportion reaches 74.4% and 69.9%, respectively. 45.8% of interviewees stated that they trust the military — among those, 26.2% trust completely. Among interviewees aged more than 55, 51.3% trust the military.

Judges are also considered trustworthy by 42.2% of the population, with slight regional variations. The North and the Midwest are the regions where the largest part of the interviewees stated that they trust judges: 51.6%. In the Southeast, the proportion of those who trust judges in some way is 37.8%.

We observe that in most of the institutions we researched, a portion of around one quarter of the interviewees chooses the middle point of the scale, that is, they demonstrate indifference on whether they trust or not.

While political institutions are the target of wide rejection, **BRAZILIANS LEND CREDIBILITY** to religion, the military and the judges.
In a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being I do not trust and 5 being I trust completely, how much do you trust:

Summary of trust in the institutions
(Brazil, among those who knew the topic and answered)

The context of mistrust also causes a lack of identification of the population with their representatives in the political instances. According to the research, 70.9% of Brazilians disagree that the current politicians represent the society. The richest and the portion with higher education disagree to an even higher proportion: 85.1% and 78.4%, respectively. The military police, despite a large proportion of mistrust (33.8%), also shows a majority who states that they completely or partially trust the institution: 39.4%. This percentage is higher than that of trust in NGOs (34.2%), the press (31%), and even banks (28.3%). These last figures highlight that mistrust reached up to 44.3%, only behind mistrust towards labor unions (50.1%) and the aforementioned political institutions.
This idea of identification detachment is strengthened when 55% of the interviewees affirmed they would not vote again for the same candidate they voted for in the last presidential elections. This proportion is even higher in the South of Brazil (65.2%), among graduate interviewees (67.3%), and richer interviewees (72.1%). Only in the Northeast the majority of interviewees said they would repeat their vote (58.7).

However, although most interviewees affirmed they agreed with Dilma’s impeachment, the proportion of those who were against it (41.6%) shows how polarized this context was at the time. Among the younger (58.4%), richer (65.6) and well-educated (58.2%) interviewees, the support to the impeachment was more expressive. In the Northeast (57.7%) and among the poorest interviewees (48.1%), the majority was against it. The Northeast is also the most dissatisfied region with Temer’s government currently: 68% say he made the scenario in the country worse when compared to Dilma’s government. Although to a smaller proportion, the rest of Brazil agrees with this perception.

This dissatisfaction with the government and the disbelief and non-identification with politics trigger a crisis in party representation. When questioned whether they agreed or not that parties are important and that our situation would be worse without them, 47.15% said no — out of them, 33.5% completely disagreed.
I would like you to say how much you agree or disagree with this statement:

Political parties are important; we would be worse without them

In this context, 29.8% intend to vote for a candidate outside the traditional politics in the next presidential elections, 29.3% said they will vote blank or null. Only 18% affirmed they will vote for a candidate of their favorite party.

This scenario of mistrust also indicates some skepticism regarding corruption scandals in Brazil. An example of it is that 51.4% of interviewees agreed that politicians who have committed corruption crimes investigated by Operation Car Wash escaped punishment. In addition, 45% of interviewees did not believe that politicians will stop committing crimes for fear of punishment in Operation Car Wash.
Despite this general mistrust in politics and politicians, the research shows that most interviewees believe in the importance of their actions to determine the country’s path. Among them, 73.7% agree that protest are important to change the behavior of politicians — 58.1% affirmed that politicians fear the people protesting. However, 74.1% of interviewees said that voting is more important than protesting. These perceptions are particularly shared by interviewees aged between 25 and 34.

Although 55% disagreed that protests were useless to promote changes, most interviewees (68%) said that protests against the federal government did not achieve the solutions needed. These issues are more common among interviewees with higher education. At the moment, although looking forward to vote, as present above, and agreeing that protests are necessary, 59% of interviewees said they do not intend to protest in the streets.
Summary of political actions
(Brazil, among those who knew the topic and answered)

Besides, the majority of interviewees affirmed they did not participate in political actions, such as meetings in their neighborhood, protests, strikes, and occupations since 2013 (69.1%). Among interviewees with basic education (4th grade of elementary school), this numbers reaches 86.3%. Only 9.9% said they have participated in some protest since 2013, most of them with an income higher than five minimum wages). Concerning recent protests — such as panelaços (banging cooking pots), protests against Michel Temer, in favor of Dilma’s impeachment, against corruption, or in favor of women’s rights —, 80.9% of interviewees affirmed they did not engage in any of them. Protests against the Pension Reform had the highest participation of interviewees (6.5%). Again, those with basic schooling presented the smallest participation (92.1%).

[...] most interviewees stated they **HAVE NOT PARTICIPATED** in political actions, such as meetings in their neighborhood, protests, strikes, and occupations, since 2013
From this list of political actions, I would like you to say if you have participated in any of them since 2013 until today: You can choose more than one alternative.

Did you participate in any of these protests? Which?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None of them (Specify)</td>
<td>69.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in a meeting at my neighborhood to discuss subjects of common interest</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complaining about daily or political problems in any social network</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in protests</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going on a strike</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protesting on a politician’s or party’s web page</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking over buildings, factories, lots, and schools</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not know / Did not answer</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Did not participate in any of them

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protest</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protests against the Social Security Reform</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protests against the Temer administration</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protests in favor of Dilma Rousseff’s impeachment</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protests against corruption</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protests in defense of women’s rights</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013 protests</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protests in favor of Operation Car Wash</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panelaço</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protests against Dilma Rousseff’s impeachment</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not know / Did not answer</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On one hand, the data show that Brazilians believe in the importance of protesting in the streets, but they do not see themselves acting for it individually. On the other hand, a large portion (64.6%) also considers that debating in social media is important to change the behavior of politicians. Interviewees also agreed that debating in social media is important to change the behavior of politicians; this was the third source of information most used by interviewees (22.5%) to be informed about politics, only behind television (69.2%) news websites and portals (23.8%).

Among these sources of information, choose two of them that you use the most to be informed about politics.
Among younger interviewees, aged between 16 and 24, social media appears as the second source of information (39.9%), only behind television (61.5%). The fact that Brazilians do not protest on the streets does not mean they are apathetic regarding the issues of our society, but the data suggests that the space for political expression has expanded from the streets into social media. By adding these results to the ones that indicate internet as a potential source of information via websites and portals, we have a definitive scenario for the next year:

THE WEB will be the great battlefield for hearts and minds.

The use of robots and the threat to the public debate

A recent study by FGV/DAPP has pointed out that automated profiles, called bots, have illegitimately interfered with public debates on Twitter in key moments of the Brazilian politics since the 2014 elections. These automated profiles allow the massification of posts and the creation of artificial discussions, becoming a potential manipulation tool in social media, mainly in relevant political moments.

FGV/DAPP’s research effort has warned about the necessity to understand, filtrate and report the use and dissemination of false or manipulative information through this type of technology. On the eve of the “electoral year” that will define the next Brazilian president, whose campaigns have announced to be extremely fierce, it is essential to pay attention and protect democratic spaces, including social media.

Study available at: www.dapp.fgv.br
Cycles of stability, growth and recession have alternated in the past two decades of the Brazilian economy. After a period of economic recovery, with price stability, significant advancements in the income distribution, enlargement of consumer market - and within a favorable international scenario for the commodity market -, Brazilians revisited terms such as unemployment, inflation, and deceleration in an environment with lower trust in the country.

Considering the growth of the GDP, the main thermometer of the economy, this crisis started in 2015 and remained for two years. However, this situation changed in the first quarter of 2017, when we registered the first positive variation since the last quarter of 2014. The unemployment rate decreased for the first time in April this year; the last drop was in November, 2014. This reduction continued until June (most recent data available at IBGE - Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), although it is still high. Economic activities in sectors such as industry, trade and agriculture have presented indicators of a systematic recovery.

Regarding these issues, the research showed that Brazilians are still feeling the impact of this recession. Around 63.9% of interviewees completely disagreed that the worst of the crisis is over. The percentage in the North/Midwest and Southeast reached 68.2% and 66.8%, respectively. That is, most Brazilians have not perceived the improvement in the economy, which has been gradually consolidating.
I would like you to say how much you agree or disagree with this statement:

**The worst of the economic crisis is over.**

When questioned whether unemployment, inflation and interest rates have decreased, increased or remained the same as one year ago, most of interviewees answered that they have increased. Regarding inflation, the percentage of answers was of 63.9% for increase, 27.3% for stabilization, and 6.8% for decreased. In the analysis by age, young people aged between 25 and 34 presented the highest percentage for the answer that indicated increase: 70.7%.

In your opinion, did inflation decrease, increase or remain the same compared to one year ago?
Regarding the perception of people on whether unemployment decreased, the general index that indicates the perception of an increase in the unemployment rate in the past year is even higher: 73.6%, against 13% and 13.1% for stabilization and decrease, respectively. In the Southeast, the percentage reached 78.4% for increase. Again, young people aged between 25 and 34 presented the highest percentage for the answer that indicated increase: 78.6%.

The perception of interviewees with higher education is even worse regarding the employment rate, reaching 79.9%. The percentage of interviewees with complete secondary education for the same item was of 78.2%. Considering income, the negative perception of the employment rate is higher among interviewees who earn 2-3 minimum wages (80.1%) and 3-5 (76.8%).

In your opinion, did unemployment decrease, increase or remain the same compared to one year ago?

Regarding the tax police, 77.8% stated that, against the facts, interest rates increased compared to one year ago. Young interviewees aged between 25 and 34 presented the highest percentage for the answer that indicates higher over-taxation (84.9%), as well as for interviewees with secondary education (80.5%) and income of up to 2-3 minimum wages (83.1%).
In your opinion, did interest rates decrease, increase, or remain the same compared to one year ago?

The analysis suggests that there is a general perception of worsening of these three economic indicators, despite the more positive prospects of recent economic results, which indicate a recovery of the Brazilian economy from an unprecedented crisis. These topics are even more sensitive to young people, the part of the population who, having grown up in a period of economical abundance, was one of the most affected by the crisis; and also to middle class workers, who, in turn, experienced the boom of internal consumption in the previous years, an important economic engine for the country.
THE ROLE OF THE STATE

Brazilians show that they want protection from the State and the end of inequalities, but they refuse tax increases. Maintaining the social protection system of the State is something most of the interviewees agree on. According to the research, 58.6% completely or partially agreed that programs such as Bolsa Família, for example, are good for the country because they help decrease inequality — 20.8% disagree with this statement. In the analysis by region, 74.7% of interviewees in the Northeast completely or partially agree, the highest proportion, and 49% in the Southeast, the lowest among the regions of the country.

The proportion of answers in favor of the income transference policy is even higher among women (60%), young people (62.4% of those aged between 16 and 24), the least educated (74.3%) and the poorest (71.8% of those making up to one minimum wage) — while only 35.5% of the richest (more than five minimum wages) agree.
I would like you to say how much you agree or disagree with this statement: Programs such as Bolsa Família are good for the country, because they help decrease inequality.

Most of the interviewees (69.8%) also completely or partially agree that, in a country such as Brazil, it is the government’s duty to reduce the inequality between the rich and the poor. For 68.2% of them, help from the government is, in fact, the best way to solve the problems faced by the poor — opinions on this topic are only divided when it comes to the group with the highest income bracket; among those, 46.3% completely or partially agree and 31.5% completely or partially disagree.

I would like you to say how much you agree or disagree with this statement: In a country like Brazil, it is the government’s duty to reduce the inequality between the very rich and the very poor.
I would like you to say how much you agree or disagree with this statement: The best way to solve the problems faced by the poor is with help from the government.

It is important to note that the most recent cycle of economic recovery in the country happened in a context of improvement of income distribution indicators and reduction of poverty, helped by social programs such as Bolsa Família, which had a fundamental role in expanding credit and increasing formal jobs and the minimum wage.

In this sense, the analysis of the data suggests that the population is not willing to part with the social achievements accomplished so far, even considering the perception that the negative effects of the crisis are still in force.

The role of the State in this process of recovery is seen as fundamental by a majority of the people. 56.8% of the interviewees stated that interference from the State with the economy is necessary to contain the crisis. This percentage reaches 63% of complete or partial agreement with the stated among those aged between 45 and 54 and 60.8% among those earning up to one minimum wage. Opinions on this topic are more divided in the analysis of the South region (with 52.7% in favor, 22% impartial, and 21.4% against) and of the higher education group (with 52.1% in favor, 27.1% impartial, and 18.8 against).
I would like you to say how much you agree or disagree with this statement: *To contain the economic crisis, the State must interfere more with the economy.*

However, 78.7% do not accept that the actions of the State lead to tax increases. Among interviewees with higher education, rejection to an increase in tributes reaches 84.9%, and among those with family income above five minimum wages, 87.5%. In the Southeast and South regions, rejection is 82.8% and 83% respectively.

On the other hand, reducing taxes by giving up public services in areas such as public health, education and infrastructure in favor of hiring private services is not an option accepted by 49.8% of interviewees.

Opinions are more divided regarding whether the State should have more control only over the areas of public security, health and education, leaving the other areas under the responsibility of the private sector: 41.9% completely or partially disagree and 40.4% completely or partially agree. The highest proportion of agreement (50.2%) appears among the least educated and with lower income (44.9%), while 52.2% of those with higher education and 48.7% of the richest disagree.
I would like you to say how much you agree or disagree with this statement:

The State should have control only over the areas of public security, health and education, leaving the other areas under the responsibility of the private sector.

Concerning education, however, 60.7% stated that public universities should charge a monthly fee for those who are able to pay for it. Those aged 55 or older agree to an even greater proportion: 66.6%. It is interesting to note that among interviewees with higher education, the complete or partial approval of this strategy drops to 56.5%, the lowest percentage among the education levels analyzed.

I would like you to say how much you agree or disagree with this statement:

Public universities should charge a monthly fee for those who are able to pay for it.
The research also indicates that Brazilians expect to be protected by the State. For 46.3% of interviewees, the government should protect national companies from international competition as a way to retain jobs, even if this increases product prices. In the Southeast, this percentage reaches 49.3%, the highest among all regions. Complete or partial agreement is also high among those aged 55 or older: 51.3%.

I would like you to say how much you agree or disagree with this statement:

The government should protect Brazilian companies from international competition to retain jobs, even if this increases the prices of certain products for Brazilians.

Therefore, this analysis offers a few clues on how the economical decisions of the country are currently being understood. In general, we observe that despite perceiving the current scenario as adverse and still affecting purchasing power and employability, Brazilians, especially young Brazilians and the middle class, are not willing to give up the protection of the State in favor of a solution for the crisis. As such, they demand the maintenance of basic services, such as health, education and infrastructure, by the State. However, they do not reject the option of giving control of secondary areas under public management to the private sector, nor the option of broadening financing methods for public universities.
PART 2
THE HEARTS OF
THE BRAZILIAN
PEOPLE
Given the current scenario, this research sought to identify the perceptions of people about broader issues of their reality, treated here as less tangible elements but which have, nevertheless, been affecting the hearts of the Brazilian people. As previously demonstrated, there is great mistrust in the country’s political and economical system, but this scenario does not completely answer the questions we will ask in this section: what are the greatest fears and concerns of the Brazilian people? How much do Brazilians believe that their individual actions can impact their own lives? What do they think about the direction the country is following? Is there still something that gives Brazilians hope and makes them never give up? Or is it that, surrounded by the current pessimism towards the political institutions of the country, Brazilians do not see the light in the end of the tunnel anymore?

According to research data, we see that Brazilians, although divided when questioned about whether their lives have improved compared to five years ago, are hopeful for the future. The data shows that 38.3% consider that life has become worse over the past five years, but these represent only a little over one third of the respondents. Among the rest, 34.8% consider that the quality of life has become better over the past five years and 26.1% consider that it has remained the same.
Would you say that nowadays your quality of life is better, the same or worse compared to five years ago?

Concerning the future, Brazilians are generally optimistic. This result gains more weight and relevance when we take into account the upcoming elections next year. Observing the details of the analysis, we see that 53.7% consider that quality of life in the next five years will be better than nowadays, 16.4% consider that everything will remain the same and 18.5% consider that the next five years could be worse than current times.

In the next five years, would you say that your quality of life will be better, the same or worse than today?
Although hopeful for the future, Brazilians seem worried about the current situation; in a scale from one to five, 51.2% of the sample stated that they would leave the country if they had the opportunity to do so (45.3% completely agree and 5.9% partially agree). These percentages are even higher for Brazilians whose income is higher than 5 minimum wages: among those, 64% would leave the country (56.9% completely agree and 7.1% partially agree). However, the population is divided concerning this topic, too: 41.6% stated that they would not leave the country even if they could (36.4% completely disagreed and 5.2% partially disagreed). Among those whose income is more than or equal to 10 minimum wages, 71.6% completely agreed with the idea of leaving the country.

### If possible, I would leave Brazil
(By regions of Brazil and for those who earn more than 10 MW)

Concerning the future, Brazilians are generally **optimistic**.
The difficulty to build trust in the political system is one of the most important challenges to be faced. As verified by this research, the lack of trust in the political institutions of the country, specifically in acting politicians and in the parties, is almost unanimous in the sample. The impression that the system is corrupt is so widespread that corruption is currently indicated as the biggest culprit for causing distress in Brazilians, regardless of age, level of education, income and region of the country.

In addition, for 76.6% of the sample, the way politics work in Brazil prevents an honest and committed leader to rise (63.9% completely agree and 12.7% partially agree).
The way politics work in Brazil prevents a leader that is honest and committed to the people to rise.

Another interesting finding was the fact that Brazilians are suspicious about the offering of equal opportunities by the country considering a system that is mistrusted and often seen as unfair. That is because in the eyes of 80% of the sample, Brazil seems to favor the rich and powerful people instead of providing opportunities for those who need them (70.3% completely agree and 9.8% partially agree).

The research suggests that the population perceives social ascension in the country to be an exception to the rule. That is, in a structure historically marked by deep social inequality, ascending social mobility in certain sectors is perceived as unlikely. In this sense, taking into account that most of the interviewees believe that it is the duty of the State to reduce the inequality between the very rich and the very poor (as seen in the previous chapter), there will be great pressure for the new elected president to address this issue.

[...] the population perceives **SOCIAL ASCENSION** in the country to be an exception to the rule.
Brazil favors the rich and powerful people and does not provide opportunities for those who need them.

This viewpoint is confirmed when we verify that 85.6% (76.3% completely agreeing and 9.3% partially agreeing) of Brazilians think that the Brazilian justice system treats the rich and the poor differently, although 42.2% trust judges. This contradiction illustrates how the population sees the inequality materialized in their daily lives, much more than when dealing with broad topics, which, once again, suggests that this issue will have great weight on the choices for 2018.

The Brazilian justice system treats the rich and the poor differently.

Another relevant statistic was the overwhelming majority of 88.7% of the sample who completely (83.9%) or partially (4.8%) agree with the statement that, while the people work hard, the politicians become richer than they deserve.
While the people work hard to pay their bills, politicians become richer than they deserve.

In addition, even considering the current context, the great majority of the respondents, 83%, still has hopes for Brazil in the long term, against 15.7% of Brazilians who are not hopeful, and 69.3% completely (55%) or partially (14.3%) believe that their children will have a better life than their generation, while only 10.6% have no optimistic perspective at all and 3.8% have a slightly optimistic perspective about the future of their children.

Considering the current context, do you have hopes for Brazil or not?
In general, I believe that my children will have a better life than I did.

The data shows that there is still hope that Brazil can become a better country in the future, with less inequality and better life conditions, if it can make the necessary changes.

Therefore, despite the representativeness crisis, Brazilians are not completely without hope for the future. However, it is worth pointing out that, as shown in the research, Brazilians are, indeed, skeptical about their current leaders’ capabilities of changing the country (45.9%), even if a considerable amount (39.3%) do believe that there are leaderships capable of promoting the necessary changes. The current political scenario seems favorable to accepting new political actors, depending, of course, on who it is and their credibility.

I believe that our current leaders can change the country.
There seems to be strong hopes that a charismatic leader will appear, which would not be unheard of in the history of politics in the country should we overlook the following facts: 29.8% of individuals intend to vote for a new candidate, outside the traditional political field, 29.3% intend to vote blank or null, while 18% intend to vote for candidates from their preferred political party, and 16.1% for a certain candidate, regardless of their party. In other words, 59.1% seem to reject the idea of voting for traditional politicians in the next elections.

In the next Brazilian presidential elections, you intend to:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brazil</th>
<th>Vote for candidates of my preferred party</th>
<th>Vote for a specific candidate regardless of their party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North / Midwest</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What we can observe is that Brazilians seem to be tired of the traditional politicians and see hope in a candidate that seems to be removed from the recurring problems of the current political universe, weakened by the many corruption scandals, as well as by the economic crisis.

Therefore, in a surprising and paradoxical way, hope for the future seems to come from the confidence in the institutional processes of politics. There is complete (74.8%) or partial (12.5%) agreement in the sample that, in order for Brazil to change, people should mobilize.
In order for Brazil to change, people must mobilize.

Despite there being a certain level of agreement about the importance of protesting (60.9% agrees completely and 12.8%, partially), to Brazilians, the most important tool in the task of changing the country and putting it on tracks seems to be the electoral process. We highlight that 65% of respondents completely believe that voting in the elections is more important than protesting on the streets. 9.1% partially believe in that, while only 11.8% completely disagree with this statement, leaving 4.4% who only partially disagree with it, and 9.1% who have remained neutral.

Protesting on the streets is important to change the behavior of politicians.
Voting in the elections is more important than protesting on the streets.

Through these findings, we ask: which is the electoral agenda that will be capable of conquering the hearts of Brazilians? How to convince them that a candidate has the necessary leadership skills in order to promote the expected change?

In the political spectrum, we verify that, between the respondents of the research, 64.5% completely (55.3%) or partially (9.2%) agree that the reduction of the age of criminal responsibility to 16 years of age would reduce criminality, while 26.8% completely (21.4%) or partially (5.4%) disagrees that this measure would affect criminality at all.

The reduction of the age of criminal responsibility to 16 years of age would reduce criminality.
Concerning the legalization of marijuana, 57.4% of respondents chose the first level of the scale, 8.4% the second, 7.8% the third, 5% the fourth, and 20.2% the last. In other words, most people do not agree that legalizing marijuana would reduce criminality.

Marijuana use should be legalized because it would reduce criminality.

The legalization of abortions, under any circumstances, is also heavily opposed by the majority of the respondents, with 68.4% placing in the first level of the scale, 8.7% in the second, 8.3% in the third, 3.6% in the fourth, and 10% in the fifth.

Abortions should be allowed in Brazil under any circumstances.
The equality of rights between homosexual and heterosexual couples is the item with the least resistance between the respondents, with 31% of them placing in the first level of the scale, 7.2% in the second level, 9.6% in the third, 9.8% in the fourth, and 39.2% in the highest agreement level.

Homosexual couples should have the same rights as heterosexual couples.
SUMMARY
Using the research data performed by the FGV/DAPP, we have proposed a distinct reading of the gathered data from the usual social perception researches. Here, the research was focused on offering a sociological viewpoint of the perception of Brazilians about recent political and public agendas. Following this approach, we have identified and highlighted in the respondents’ answers two possible interpretative paths, entitled The trust in Brazil and The hearts of Brazilian people.

The findings suggest that Brazilians are outraged with the political, institutional, and economic crisis that we are going through, and, as consequence of that, they are distrustful of politics, political parties and politicians who are in charge nowadays. In result, several forms of political protests have taken place, with the strength of social media rising on this field.

It is possible to observe on these protests a significant, yet worrying, mobilization around support manifestations of leadership figures with very controversial profiles, such as those who sympathize with authoritarian measures.

However, the data also shows that this kind of profile seems to not have enough stamina in an electoral dynamic, as well as it shows that Brazilians, besides being optimistic, believe that changes will occur through vote, in an institutionalized-legal path leaded by a politician who is different from the usual profiles that are currently in charge. The next elections hold a great deal of challenges to the Brazilian society.
TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Conception, design, financing and analysis: FGV/DAPP
Field data collection: IBOPE (under FGV)

LOCATION
Brazil.

PERIOD OF RESEARCH
From August 19 to August 24, 2017.

PARTICIPANTS
The research was conducted with the local population over 16 years of age. The group of inhabitants was stratified. With the exception of the states Acre, Amapá, and Roraima, which, together, form only one stratum, each one of the remaining strata is composed by only one Brazilian state. If the state has a Metropolitan Area, the group will be stratified as Metropolitan Area and Country Area.

SAMPLE
The used model of sampling is of conglomerates in three stages. On the first stage, the cities are likely selected through the PPS method (Probability Proportional to Size), basing on the population of 16 years of age or more in each city. On the second stage, the conglomerates are selected: censitary sectors with systematic PPS levels. On the size stage, the population of 16 years of age or more is regarded.

VARIABLES IN THE SAMPLE QUOTAS
SEX: Male or Female.
AGE GROUPS: 16-17, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64 e 65 years of age or more.
INSTRUCTION: Up until the 4º grade of Middle School; from 5º to 8º grade of Middle School; High School; College.
ACTIVITY: Dependence sector – agriculture, transformation industry, construction industry, other industries, commerce, service provision, transportation and communication; social activity, public administration, other activities, students and non-students.

NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS
1,568 interviews in 108 cities.

MARGIN OF ERROR
The margin of error is estimated to be of 2 percentage points above or below regarding the found results in the entirety of the sample.

TRUST LEVEL
The level of trust used is of 95%.

DATA COLLECTION
Personal interviews with the use of questionnaires elaborated according to the goals of the research. The interviews were performed by a team of IBOPE interviewers trained for the type of public.

QUALITY ASSURANCE
After carrying out the interviews, a filtering was performed. Supervision was present in 20% of the questionnaires.