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TO : Department of State

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INFO: Belem, Porto Alegre, Recife, São Paulo

MAR 25 1 32 PM 1968

RS/AN
ANALYSIS BRANCH

DATE: March 22, 1968

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BUREAU OF
INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS
MAR 27 1968

FROM : AmEmbassy Office BRASILIA

SUBJECT: Analysis of São Paulo Public Opinion Polls

REF :

1. Enclosed is a memorandum from the Consulate General in São Paulo that analyzes two recent public opinion polls taken in the city of São Paulo. The Embassy Office does not share the Consulate General's view that these polls are not particularly useful. Any public opinion poll taken in Brazil should be taken with several grains of salt but the results do provide a useful indicator of popular opinion. This is especially true in the case of these most recent polls since the results follow fairly closely other information available to the Consulate General.

2. The two polls analyzed deal with amnesty for those who have lost their political rights and attitudes toward political parties and candidates. It is interesting that the results indicate general acquiescence in--if not approval of--the present political situation in these areas. Except for ex-President KUBITSCHKE there is no marked desire to restore political rights and only 10% of those polled thought there should be many political parties (as there were prior to the Second Institutional Act), while the largest segment (31%) expressing a preference opted for two parties.

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FORM DS-323

Drafted by: POL/E: JDeWitt: ld: 3/22/68

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Clearances: Enclosed memorandum drafted by São Paulo/POL/JDBlacken

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TO: Amembassy BRASILIA:POL
FROM: Amconsul São Paulo
SUBJECT: Analysis of Recent Public Opinion Polls
REF: Brasilia's 2013 to São Paulo, requesting Memorandum on this subject.

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SUMMARY

The results of public opinion polls conducted in São Paulo City by the Gallup Institute Office in São Paulo indicate that 55 percent of Paulistanos believe Juscelino KUBITSCHKE's political rights should be restored, and 53 percent are in favor of restoring Janio QUADROS' rights. João GOULART and Adhemar de BARROS trailed with 33 and 20 percent respectively. The decided preference for Kubitschek tends to confirm other reports the Congen has been receiving that the ex-President's popularity has been rising in São Paulo, and surpasses even that of Janio Quadros. Other poll results indicated that 84 percent of Paulistanos are more influenced by the name of a candidate than by party label. Also Senator CARVALHO PINTO, by a wide margin, was rated as the best of São Paulo's last four Governors (Janio Quadros, Carvalho Pinto, Adhemar de Barros and Laudo NATEL). Public opinion polls in São Paulo should always be regarded with a good deal of skepticism. All one can say is that the results of these polls appear to be reasonably accurate indications of the relative popularity in the capital of the various politicians whose names were used. The Consulate General does not consider such polls particularly useful.

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Introduction. The Folha de São Paulo has recently published the results of a series of public opinion polls which the newspaper hired the São Paulo office of the Gallup Institute to conduct. Public opinion polls in São Paulo are not considered as reliable as those conducted in the United States and the Gallup Institute is considered less competent than its competitor, IBOPE. Nevertheless, the results of these most recent polls follow fairly closely the information available to the Congen. Summaries of the poll results and our comments follow.

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Department of State - ARA/BR, INR/RAR, INR/GS/BR

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A. Poll on Restoration of Political Rights of Cassados. The results of a poll taken concerning the attitudes of Paulistanos toward the restoration of political rights of "Cassados" are provided below. The opinions of the adult population are shown in comparison with those of persons in the 18-25 year age group.

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>PERCENTAGES</u>					
	<u>Removal of Cassation</u>		<u>Continue Cassation</u>		<u>No Opinion</u>	
	<u>Adults /</u>	<u>18-25 yrs.</u>	<u>Adults /</u>	<u>18-25 yrs.</u>	<u>Adults/</u>	<u>18-25 yrs.</u>
Juscelino Kubitschek	55%	60%	29%	28%	16%	12%
Janio Quadros	53	37	33	51	14	12
João Goulart	33	18	50	69	17	13
Adhemar de Barros	20	15	65	75	13	10
Celso Furtado	14	27	28	31	58	42
Miguel Arraes	13	15	40	55	47	30
Leonel Brizola	11	9	58	76	31	15

Comment: The percentages in favor of the removal of cassations in general are lower than those which the Congen would have expected. The ranking of Adhemar de Barros below João Goulart is surprising. The Trabalhistas and Goulart in particular have never been strong in São Paulo. Adhemar, on the other hand, still maintains some popularity and a considerable following among politicians of both ARENA and MDB. His political strength, however, rests among the middle class rather than among the more numerous working class.

Kubitschek's ranking over Janio Quadros would have come as a surprise several months ago; however, the Congen has recently been receiving reports that Kubitschek's popularity is rising in São Paulo. The explanation usually given is that the negative factors of his administration have been forgotten, whereas his achievements are remembered. He is recognized as a democratic leader who put Brazil on the road to industrialization and progress. People reportedly believe that he and Janio were unjustly deprived of their political rights. Among adults Quadros has nearly the same (53% vis-a-vis Kubitschek's 55%) percentage in favor of restoring his political rights. Brizola was never

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popular in São Paulo and Celso Furtado and Miguel Arraes are not names which were well-known here, hence the low ratings for these three men.

It should be noted that despite Kubitschek's apparent greater popularity with the people Janio and Adhemar still have organized blocks of politicians in São Paulo who remain more or less loyal to them. Kubitschek does not have a significant organized following. It should be noted that 60 percent of the 18-25 age group would restore Kubitschek's political rights whereas only 37 percent of this group would restore Quadros' rights. This perhaps may be interpreted as the disillusion of the youth with a leader who fled from his responsibilities by quitting the presidency. Among the youth nearly all the older leaders appear to be discredited. Kubitschek is an exception.

The percentage of the age group 18-25 which favored restoring Celso Furtado's political rights was double the percentage of adults favoring him. This could be attributable to two factors: (1) the youth are more familiar with his name and with his economic theories and (2) the adults, having no personal knowledge of him, believe reports that he was cassated because he was a Communist.

B. Poll Concerning Attitudes Toward Parties and Candidates. A second poll obtained the opinions of Paulistanos concerning candidates and political parties. The questions and the results were:

I: "Do you personally when you vote in an election give more importance to the party to which the candidate belongs or give more importance to the name of the candidate?"

	<u>% of electorate</u>	<u>% by age groups</u>		
		<u>18-25 yrs.</u>	<u>26-50 yrs.</u>	<u>51+</u>
More a Function of Candidate	84	80	85	91
More a Function of Party	16	20	15	9

Comment: According to this poll the overwhelming majority of Paulistanos tend to vote on the basis of candidate rather than on the program of a political party. The poll of the 18-25 age group indicated a slightly greater tendency to decide on the basis of party. These results underline something that has long been apparent in São Paulo politics, i.e. that the political

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parties, be they the present ones or the former parties, have less influence in mobilizing the electorate than do the popular leaders. Politics in São Paulo revolve around personalities such as Senator Carvalho Pinto, Mayor Faria Lima, Janio Quadros and Adhemar de Barros. For example, a number of MDB politicians are expected to leave MDB and join ARENA when Mayor Faria Lima formalizes his entry into the latter. Others will remain in the MDB but have indicated that they intend to continue supporting the Mayor.

2. On the question of whether there ought to be many political parties, 3 or 4 parties, 2 parties, one party or no parties, the response was:

<u>Preferred No. of Parties</u>	<u>% of electorate</u>	<u>% by class</u>		
		<u>High</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Low</u>
Many parties	10	13	12	4
3 or 4 parties	25	30	20	29
2 parties	31	28	35	27
1 party	7	4	6	11
No parties	10	14	10	9
No Opinion	17	11	17	20

Comment: The significant fact of the results shown above is that a majority of Paulistanos in all income classes indicated that they would prefer two parties or three or four parties. A very small percentage (7 percent) prefer a one-party system.

3. The Ideological Preferences of Paulistanos. In response to a question concerning the preferred names of new parties which might be organized the following results were obtained:

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<u>Party Designation</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>By Class</u>			<u>By Age</u>		
		<u>High</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>18-25 yrs.</u>	<u>26-50 yrs.</u>	<u>50+</u>
Conservative	4%	4%	4%	3%	--	5%	3%
Liberal	14	29	14	5	2	17	13
Socialist	9	13	9	7	13	8	9
Christian Democratic	22	22	22	22	14	22	28
Worker (Trabalhista)	30	12	29	43	31	30	26
Nationalist	9	9	8	10	8	10	6
No Answer	12	11	14	10	14	8	15

Comment: As the names used in the poll all had ideological connotations they give an indication of the ideological inclinations of the persons polled. The results above show a decided preference for the parties with the names Worker (Trabalhista) and Christian-Democratic. The preference for the Christian Democrat label remains constant (22 percent) in all classes whereas the appellation Trabalhista ranged from preferences of 12 percent in the upper class to 43 percent among workers. This distribution was to be expected. Only 9 percent favor a party designated "socialist". It is interesting that a slightly higher proportion of the upper class prefer a "socialist" party than do the middle and lower classes. The age group 18-25 give first preference to "Trabalhista" and second place to "liberal" with Christian-Democratic falling to third place. Perhaps the most significant thing about the results of this poll is that no tendency toward radicalism is indicated. In view of the definite tendency for people to vote for the "man" (as shown in paragraph above) the importance of party label does not appear important.

C. Opinion Concerning São Paulo's Governors. Below are the results of the poll with the question: "Here are the names of the last four governors of São Paulo. In your opinion which was the best of these governors?"

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	<u>Total</u>	<u>By Age</u>			<u>By Class</u>		
		<u>18-25 yrs.</u>	<u>26-50 yrs.</u>	<u>50+</u>	<u>Upper</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Low</u>
Carvalho Pinto	45%	58%	48%	31%	38%	46%	48%
Janio Quadros	29	22	27	36	30	30	25
Laudo Natel	10	7	9	12	11	9	9
Adhemar de Barros	8	5	9	13	11	9	9
No Opinion	8	8	7	8	10	7	9

Comment: Carvalho Pinto emerges as the governor whom Paulistanos believe to have done the best job. In view of his potential candidacy in the gubernatorial elections of 1970 his very strong showing among the young people (the 18-25 age group) and in the more numerous lower class is significant. Carvalho Pinto created and has retained an image of having given São Paulo an honest and efficient administration.

Janio Quadros, who was judged second best to Carvalho Pinto, received his lowest rating from young people and his highest rating from people over fifty years of age. In fact, a higher percentage of the latter group preferred Janio to Carvalho Pinto. There are two possible explanations for Janio's lower rating among young people. He served as governor (1958-1962) before many people of the 18-25 age group became aware of politics. Secondly his resignation as President in 1962 was probably a negative factor among idealistic young people. Laudo Natel served as Governor for only 8 months and therefore had little chance to accomplish much or become well-known. Finally, Adhemar de Barros' low rating can be attributed to the reports of widespread corruption which existed during his administration.

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