

An unexpected result

A report by [DecideBrasil](#), Unholster’s platform for following Brazil’s elections in real time.

What did the first round reveal, and how is power being reshuffled in Brazil? We analyze the results of the presidential election, the new makeup of Congress and the distribution of power across the 26 states and the Federal District. A data-driven reading to understand the new political map and what is at stake in the runoff.

🕒 27 min read



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Executive summary

Flávio Bolsonaro (PL) finished first, with 47.03% of the valid votes, against 45.16% for Lula (PT). The gap is 1.87 points, and the runoff on October 25 will be decided among the 15.3 million votes cast for other candidates or left blank or null, and the 33.5 million voters who did not turn out.

Congress is already set, and it has moved to the right. The PL now has the largest caucus in both houses (28 senators and 121 deputies). The right and center-right together hold 51 of the 81 Senate seats and 294 of the 513 in the Chamber; the left and center-left, 15 and 124.

In the states, 20 of the 27 governorships have already been decided. The PL leads with 5, and Republicanos will govern the two largest electorates, São Paulo and Minas Gerais. The remaining 7 will be decided in the runoff.

The 2027 Congress will be the same whoever wins; what changes is how hard it will be to govern with it. A Flávio Bolsonaro government would start with an absolute majority in both houses and with the 3/5 of the Senate needed for

constitutional amendments (49); in the Chamber, it would be 14 votes short of the 308 required for an amendment. A Lula government would start from 124 deputies and 15 senators of its own camp: even with the entire center (95 and 15), it would not reach an absolute majority in the Chamber (257) and would depend on the center-right to pass complementary laws and amendments.

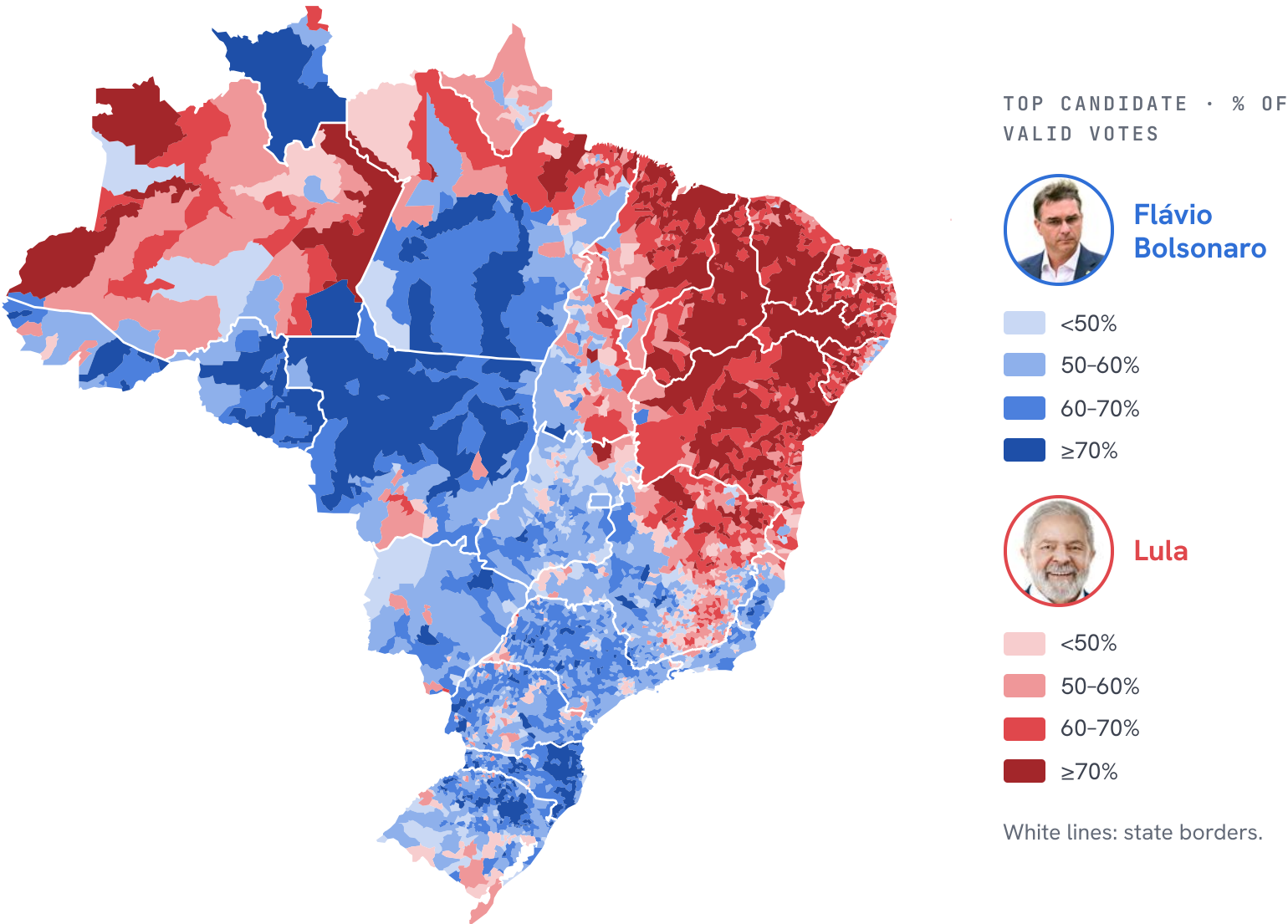
Institutional risk depends on how the winner matches up with Congress.

Impeachment proceedings need 342 deputies to be opened and 54 senators to convict. The right and center-right have 294 and 51: on their own they reach neither threshold, but under a Lula government, protection against impeachment (172 deputies or 28 senators) would depend on the center in both houses. Under a Flávio Bolsonaro government, the sensitive point shifts to the Supreme Court: the same Senate is three votes short of the 54 needed to remove STF justices.

The next president will appoint at least three STF justices, due to the mandatory retirements of Luiz Fux (2028), Cármen Lúcia (2029) and Gilmar Mendes (2030). Each nominee needs 41 votes in the Senate, where the right and center-right hold 51.

1. The first-round result

FIGURE 1
First-round result by municipality



Source: TSE, via DecideBrasil (final first-round result). Color: candidate with the most votes in the municipality; intensity: their share of the valid votes.

The race was concentrated on the two finalists: Flávio Bolsonaro and Lula took 92.19% of the valid votes together, more than in 2022, when the top two candidates combined for 91.6%. The other ten candidates got 7.81%. The gap between the two is 1.87 points, or 2,227,994 votes.

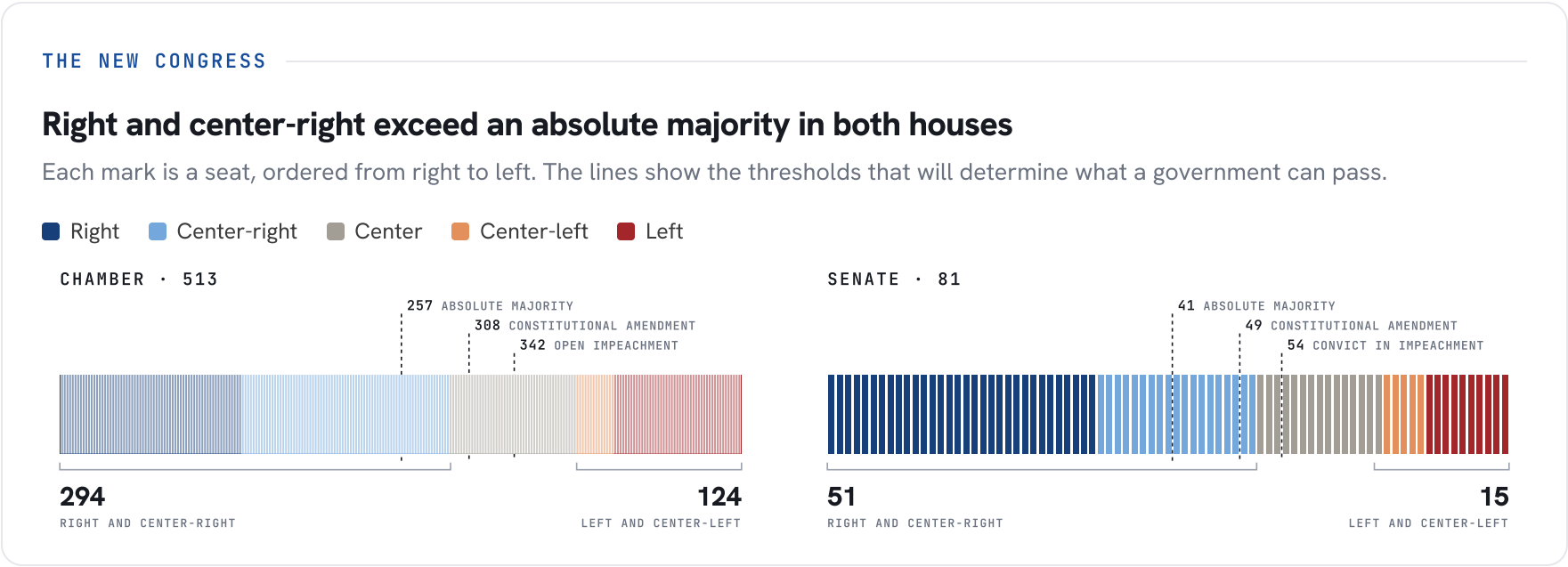
This is the second election in a row in which the sitting president finishes the first round behind: in 2022 it was Jair Bolsonaro (43.2% against 48.4% for Lula); now it is Lula. Before that, presidents running for re-election (Fernando Henrique in 1998, Lula in 2006 and Dilma Rousseff in 2014) led the first round. History favors Flávio Bolsonaro: in the seven presidential runoffs since 1989, whoever led the first round won. The 1.87-point lead, however, is too small to treat this as a rule. In recent Latin American politics, there are cases of candidates who finished the first round in second place and went on to win: Gabriel Boric (Chile, 2021) and Javier Milei (Argentina, 2023). In both cases, the finalists together had between 54% and 67% of the vote, and there were many

third-party voters to win over. In Brazil in 2026, the two already hold 92% of the valid votes, which shifts the runoff to a different question: who can bring more voters to the polls.

What favors Flávio Bolsonaro in the runoff is his party’s performance in the races for governor, the Chamber and the Senate. The PL went from 1 to 5 governors elected in the first round, from 99 to 121 deputies and from 9 to 28 senators, and will have the largest caucus in both houses of Congress. Flávio reaches the runoff as the candidate of the party that gained the most seats in this election.

1.1. The platforms and the newly elected Congress

Congress is already set. What the presidential election will still decide is the direction on six fronts: the fiscal rule, interest rates, state-owned companies, tax reform, relations with the STF and social policy. The chart summarizes what each government platform filed with the TSE says on each one and what the newly elected Congress allows to pass.



01 FISCAL RULE

FLÁVIO BOLSONARO

Rewrite the fiscal rules, focusing on stabilizing and reducing debt, primary surpluses, a cap on Treasury-subsidized credit and a rule for discretionary spending by all three branches.

LULA

Keep the fiscal framework. Results would come from growth, spending control and “tax justice.” The platform projects a primary deficit of 0.4% of GDP in 2026.

IN CONGRESS

Complementary law

CHAMBER  294 / 257 ✓
SENATE  51 / 41 ✓

A new fiscal rule requires a complementary law (257 deputies and 41 senators): within reach of the right and center-right. Keeping the framework requires no vote, but each year’s target goes through the LDO (budget guidelines law).

02 CENTRAL BANK AND INTEREST RATES

FLÁVIO BOLSONARO

Does not address Central Bank autonomy. Blames high interest rates on debt and promises rates at the international average and inflation at the center of the target as a result of fiscal adjustment.

LULA

Does not address Central Bank autonomy. Promises a “sustained reduction” in interest rates, with controlled inflation and responsible fiscal policy.

IN CONGRESS

Complementary law

CHAMBER  294 / 257 ✓
SENATE  51 / 41 ✓

Autonomy has been law since 2021. The term of Central Bank governor Gabriel Galípolo runs until the end of 2028; until then, the new government appoints directors, and each nominee goes through the Senate.

03 STATE-OWNED COMPANIES

FLÁVIO BOLSONARO

Revive the National Privatization Program “on a case-by-case basis,” recruit executives under market rules and restore the State-Owned Companies Law.

LULA

A Petrobras with more refining, back in fuel distribution, with local content rules and a pricing policy that avoids passing on international price swings.

IN CONGRESS

Law · simple majority

CHAMBER  294 / 257 ✓
SENATE  51 / 41 ✓

Selling control of a state-owned company requires authorization by law, and Flávio Bolsonaro’s base has the votes for it. Lula’s agenda is mainly about management and largely does not go through Congress.

04 TAX REFORM

FLÁVIO BOLSONARO

Review and “resize” the ongoing reform and lower the VAT rate, which the platform projects at around 30%.

LULA

Consolidate the reform, regulate the National Regional Development Fund and use the Selective Tax against products harmful to health.

IN CONGRESS

Constitutional amendment

CHAMBER  294 / 308 · 14 short
SENATE  51 / 49 ✓

In 2027 the CBS takes full effect and PIS and Cofins are abolished; the IBS is phased in through 2033. Rates and rules are set by complementary law; changing the structure requires a constitutional amendment (308 and 49).

FLÁVIO BOLSONARO

End original criminal jurisdiction at the STF, limit single-justice rulings and impose a one-year cooling-off period on cabinet ministers nominated to the Court.

LULA

Proposes “permanent dialogue” with the Judiciary, “respecting the autonomy of the branches.”

IN CONGRESS

Constitutional amendment

CHAMBER 294 / 308 · 14 short
SENATE 51 / 49 ✓

Flávio Bolsonaro’s proposals require a constitutional amendment: the Senate already has the 49 votes; in the Chamber, 14 are missing to reach 308.

FLÁVIO BOLSONARO

Keep existing social programs, correcting distortions and fighting fraud, and give beneficiaries priority in jobs and training.

LULA

Continue Bolsa Família and the policy of raising the minimum wage above inflation.

IN CONGRESS

Law · simple majority

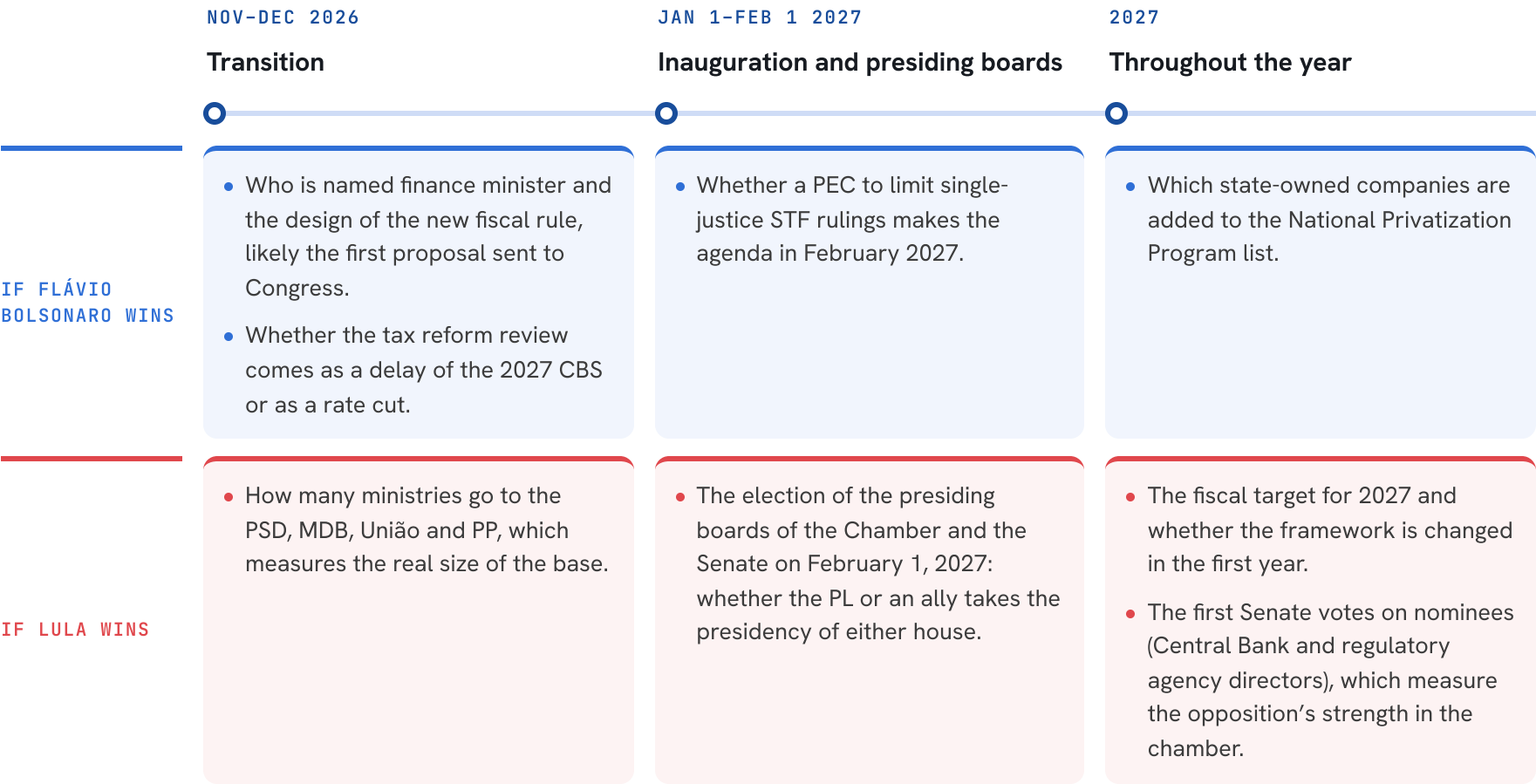
CHAMBER 294 / 257 ✓
SENATE 51 / 41 ✓

Neither proposes cutting programs. The dispute is over the pace of spending: the minimum wage adjusts pensions and the BPC and weighs directly on the fiscal rule.

Source: government platforms filed with the TSE on 08/20/2026; makeup of Congress: TSE, DecideBrasil database (figures 20 and 23). In the gauges, the bar is the sum of right and center-right (294 deputies and 51 senators), and the black mark is the threshold the issue requires; for ordinary laws, the mark shows a majority of the full house.

WHAT TO WATCH

From the runoff to the first year of government



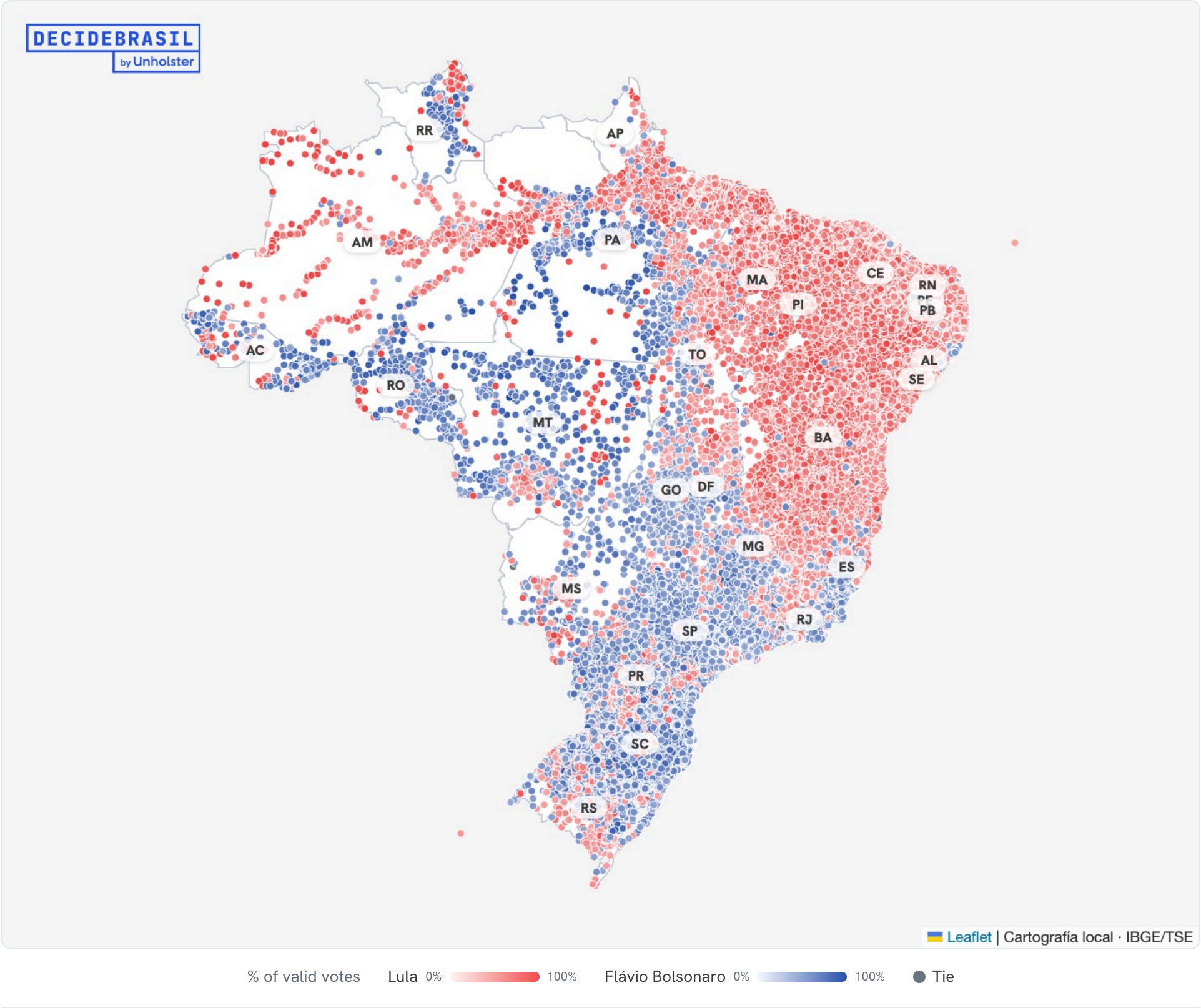
1.2. The vote by polling place

The interactive map shows the result at each of the more than 93 thousand polling places in the country: red where Lula won, blue where Flávio Bolsonaro won, and more intense the higher the winner’s share of the valid votes. In the

filter panel, you can search for a polling place by name, filter by state, municipality, candidate, minimum percentage and number of eligible voters, and download the data as CSV.

FIGURE 2

The presidential vote by polling place



Source: TSE, via DecideBrasil. Each dot is a polling place; places without a valid location do not appear on the map. [Open the map in full screen ↗](#)

2. Turnout, abstention and invalid votes

Abstention was 21.08% of the 158,745,502 eligible voters (33,469,244 people), 0.13 points above the 20.95% of 2022. Blank and null votes totaled 5,975,047 (4.77% of turnout), against 4.41% in 2022.

2.1. Abstention by state compared with 2022

TABLE 1
First-round abstention by state, 2022 and 2026

State	2022	2026	CHANGE (POINTS)
AC Acre	22.43%	20.43%	-2.0
AL Alagoas	22.37%	20.63%	-1.7
AM Amazonas	20.14%	20.16%	+0.0
AP Amapá	19.51%	17.41%	-2.1
BA Bahia	21.35%	19.97%	-1.4
CE Ceará	17.45%	15.52%	-1.9
DF Federal District	17.54%	18.90%	+1.4
ES Espírito Santo	20.75%	21.37%	+0.6
GO Goiás	21.72%	21.83%	+0.1
MA Maranhão	22.20%	19.73%	-2.5
MG Minas Gerais	22.28%	22.81%	+0.5
MS Mato Grosso do Sul	22.08%	23.87%	+1.8
MT Mato Grosso	23.38%	22.20%	-1.2
PA Pará	21.22%	19.10%	-2.1
PB Paraíba	17.29%	17.38%	+0.1
PE Pernambuco	18.20%	18.17%	+0.0
PI PiauÍ	17.69%	17.15%	-0.5
PR Paraná	19.48%	20.57%	+1.1
RJ Rio de Janeiro	22.74%	23.32%	+0.6
RN Rio Grande do Norte	18.17%	18.38%	+0.2
RO Rondônia	24.65%	21.71%	-2.9
RR Roraima	16.70%	17.12%	+0.4
RS Rio Grande do Sul	19.78%	21.35%	+1.6
SC Santa Catarina	18.43%	18.95%	+0.5
SE Sergipe	18.35%	17.30%	-1.0
SP São Paulo	21.61%	22.54%	+0.9
TO Tocantins	18.54%	18.34%	-0.2
Brazil	20.95%	21.08%	+0.1

Source: TSE.



2.2. Blank and null votes by state compared with 2022

The table ranks the states and the Federal District from the highest to the lowest share of blank and null votes in 2026. Orange marks the states where the share rose since 2022; green, where it fell.

TABLE 2
Blank and null votes by state in the first round, 2022 and 2026

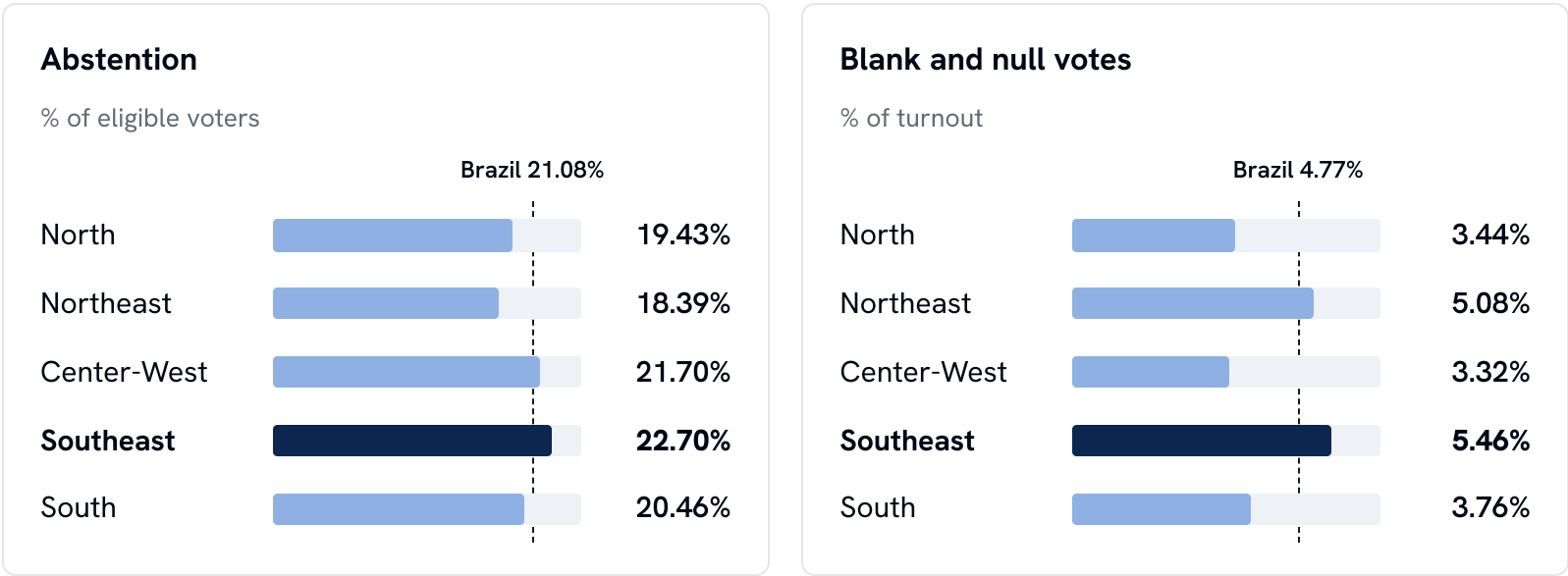
State	2022		2026	CHANGE (POINTS)
PB Paraíba	5.31%		6.34%	+1.0
AL Alagoas	4.53%		6.17%	+1.6
SP São Paulo	5.64%		5.86%	+0.2
BA Bahia	5.09%		5.45%	+0.4
PE Pernambuco	4.99%		5.25%	+0.3
MG Minas Gerais	5.05%		5.23%	+0.2
SE Sergipe	4.86%		5.20%	+0.3
RJ Rio de Janeiro	4.57%		4.97%	+0.4
CE Ceará	3.54%		4.95%	+1.4
RN Rio Grande do Norte	3.99%		4.57%	+0.6
ES Espírito Santo	4.09%		4.30%	+0.2
PI Piauí	3.37%		4.22%	+0.8
RS Rio Grande do Sul	3.66%		4.18%	+0.5
PA Pará	2.28%		4.01%	+1.7
AC Acre	3.29%		3.94%	+0.7
PR Paraná	3.83%		3.75%	-0.1
GO Goiás	3.44%		3.62%	+0.2
MA Maranhão	3.54%		3.60%	+0.1
TO Tocantins	3.33%		3.60%	+0.3
MS Mato Grosso do Sul	3.10%		3.31%	+0.2
DF Federal District	3.15%		3.20%	+0.0
SC Santa Catarina	3.49%		3.17%	-0.3
MT Mato Grosso	2.61%		2.87%	+0.3
AM Amazonas	2.70%		2.85%	+0.2
AP Amapá	2.41%		2.46%	+0.0
RO Rondônia	2.55%		2.32%	-0.2
RR Roraima	2.30%		2.17%	-0.1
Brazil	4.41%		4.77%	+0.4

Source: TSE. Percentages of turnout.



2.3. Abstention and invalid votes by region

FIGURE 3
Abstention and blank and null votes by region in the first round



Source: TSE. Dotted line: national average; dark bar: highest value.

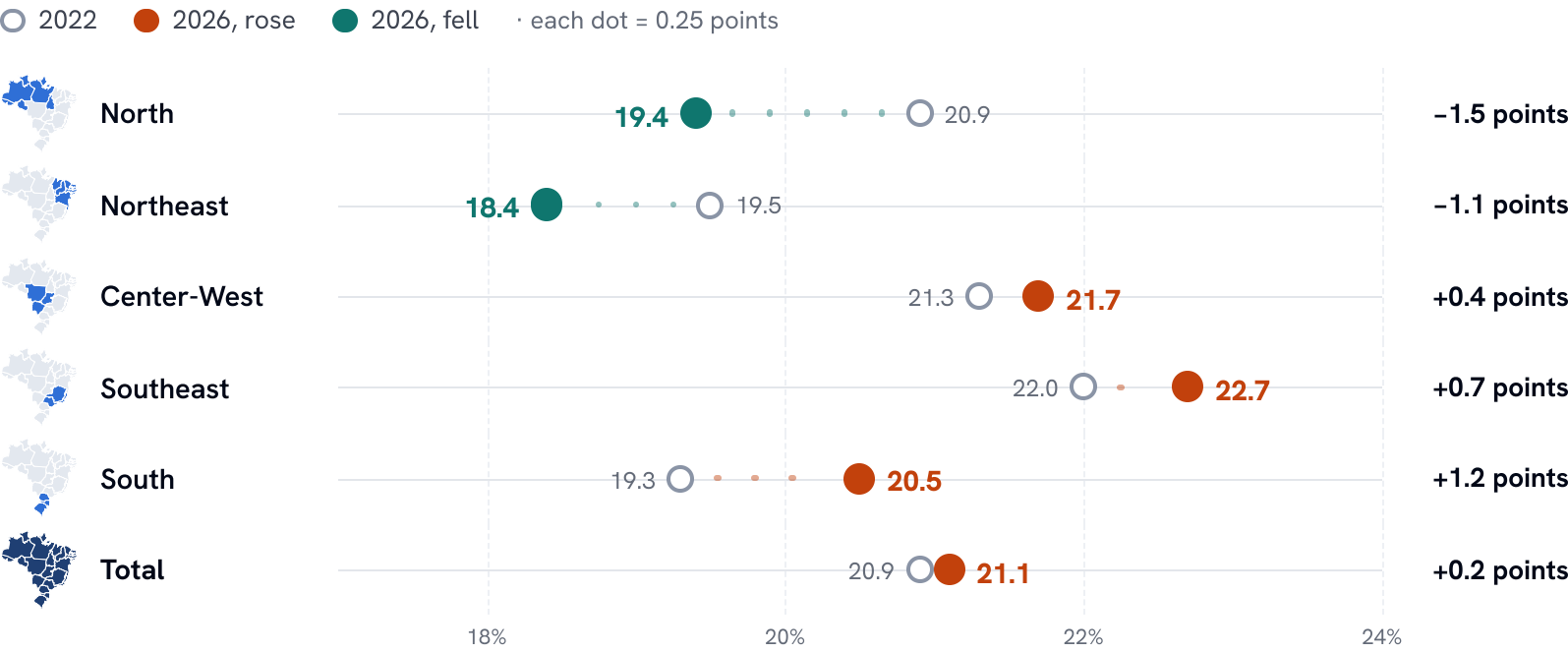


The Southeast has the highest abstention (22.70% of eligible voters) and also the highest share of blank and null votes (5.46% of turnout), both above the national average. The Northeast has the lowest abstention (18.39%) but the second-highest rate of blank and null votes (5.08%). The North and the Center-West are below average on both measures.

2.4. Abstention by region compared with 2022

Compared with 2022, abstention rose in the South (from 19.3% to 20.5%), the Southeast (from 22.0% to 22.7%) and the Center-West (from 21.3% to 21.7%), and fell in the North (from 20.9% to 19.4%) and the Northeast (from 19.5% to 18.4%).

FIGURE 4
Abstention by region in the first round: 2022 and 2026



Source: TSE. Abstention as % of eligible voters; excludes blank and null votes. Regions exclude voters abroad; the total includes them. DECIDEBRASIL by Unholster

Each line connects abstention in 2022 (hollow circle) with abstention in 2026. It rose in the South (+1.2 points), the Southeast (+0.7) and the Center-West (+0.4), and fell in the North (-1.5) and the Northeast (-1.1). Nationwide the change was small: from 20.9% to 21.1%.

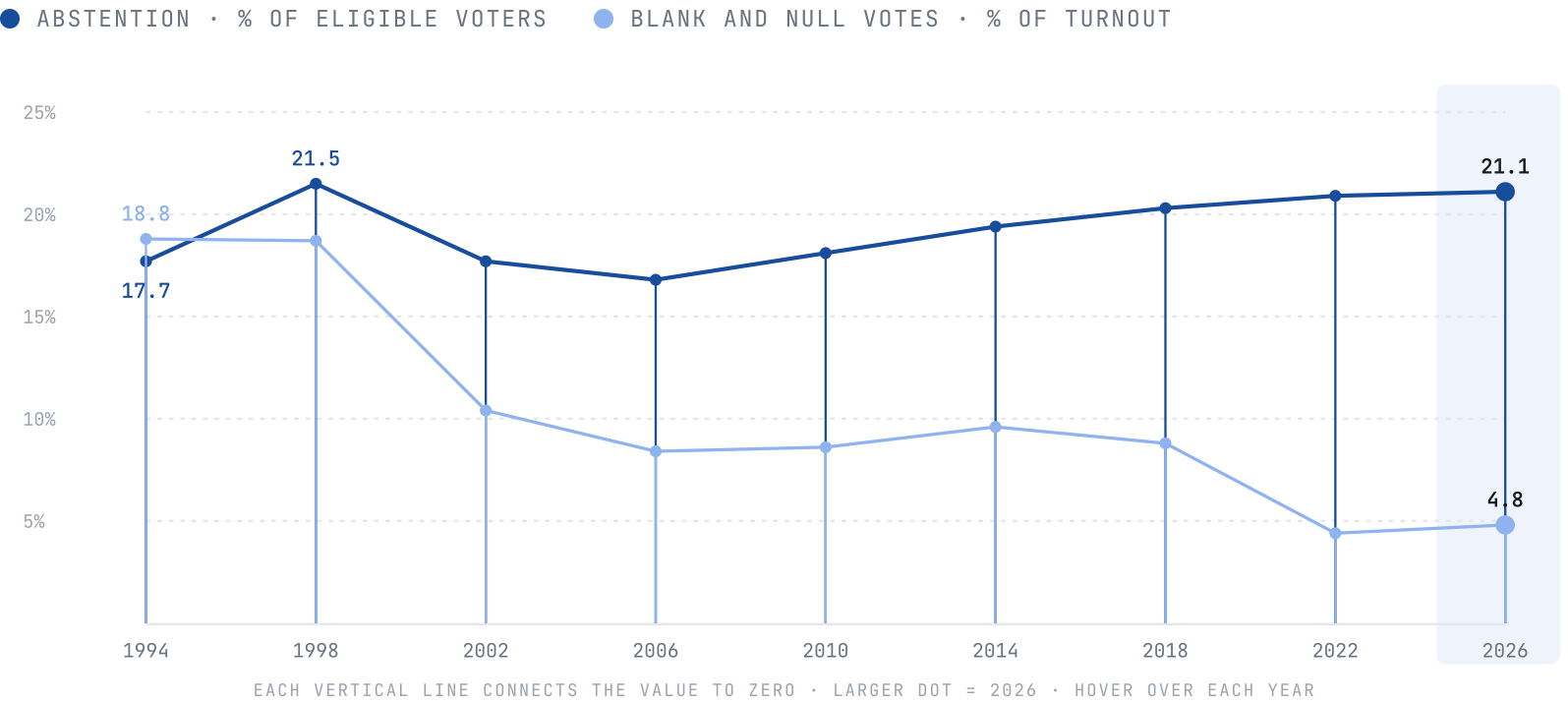
The national figure hides movements in opposite directions. Abstention fell in most of the North and the Northeast and rose across the South and the Southeast and in three of the four Center-West units (three states and the Federal District). The Southeast still has the highest abstention (22.70%) and the highest rate of blank and null votes (5.46%). The largest increases in blank and null votes were in Pará (+1.7), Alagoas (+1.6) and Ceará (+1.4).

The abstention map helps gauge the size of the challenge for each side. Abstention rose precisely in the South and the Southeast, where Flávio Bolsonaro won, and fell in the North and the Northeast, where Lula is strongest. In other words, Lula finished behind even though regional turnout favored his candidacy. For the runoff, this means Flávio has more potential voters to win back among absentees in his regions, while Lula needs to expand a turnout that has already grown in his. The benchmark is 2022, when the runoff was decided by 1.8 points (50.9% to 49.1%), a margin the same size as the current gap.

2.5. Participation from 1994 to 2026

Abstention in the first round of the presidential election was 21.1% in 2026, the second highest in the series since 1994; the highest was 21.5%, in 1998. Blank and null votes made up 4.8% of turnout, compared with 4.4% in 2022 and 18.8% in 1994.

FIGURE 5
Abstention and blank and null votes in the presidential first round, 1994-2026



Source: TSE. National totals include voters abroad. 2026: final TSE result in the current DecideBrasil database.

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The dark line is abstention, and the light line is blank and null votes combined. Abstention has risen in every election since 2006, when it was 16.8%, reaching 21.1% in 2026, close to the series high (21.5% in 1998). Blank and null votes fell from 18.8% of turnout in 1994 to less than 5% in the last two elections.

Nationwide, participation was practically stable: abstention rose from 20.95% to 21.08%, and blank and null votes went from 4.41% to 4.77% of turnout. In the long series, abstention in 2026 is the second highest since 1994, behind only 1998 (21.5%), and extends the rise under way since 2006 (16.8%). Blank and null votes moved the other way: they were 18.8% of turnout in 1994 and are now near the series low.

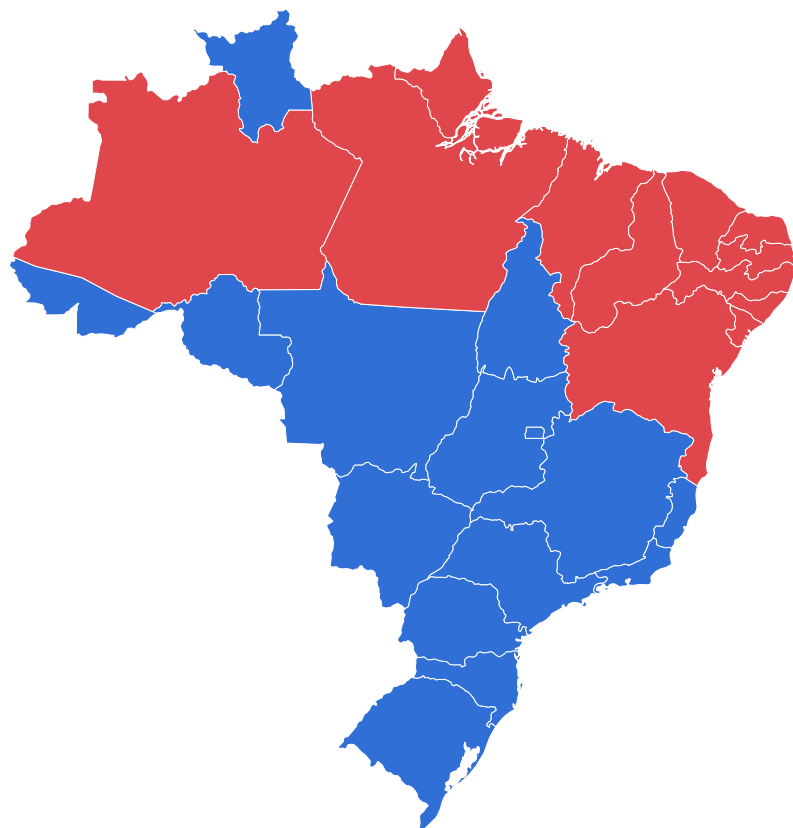
Voting is compulsory in Brazil, but the fine is low and justifying an absence is simple. In practice, turnout depends on mobilization, and the steady rise since 2006 shows an electorate increasingly willing to stay home. At the same time, blank and null votes near their historic low describe voters who, when they do go to the polls, pick a side. It is the picture of a polarized race for the third election in a row (2018, 2022 and 2026).

3. State breakdown

3.1. Who won in each state

Flávio Bolsonaro came first in 15 of the 27 states and the Federal District, and Lula in 12. Flávio won in four of the five regions, and Lula in one.

FIGURE 6
Who won in each state in the first round



Source: TSE.



Each state is shaded in the color of the candidate with the most votes; hover to see each result. Lula led in all nine Northeast states and in three in the North (Amazonas, Amapá and Pará). Flávio Bolsonaro led in every state of the South, the Southeast and the Center-West (including the Federal District), as well as in Acre, Rondônia, Roraima and Tocantins. In Amapá, the gap between the two was only 0.04 points.

Compared with 2022, Lula received a smaller share of the vote in 25 states, held steady in Amapá and grew only in the Federal District (from 36.9% to 38.1%). Flávio Bolsonaro outperformed Jair Bolsonaro in all 26 states; he fell short only in the Federal District.

Two states switched sides: Minas Gerais (Lula ahead by 4.7 points in 2022; Flávio Bolsonaro by 4.9 in 2026) and Tocantins (from Lula +6.4 to Flávio +7.0). The PL candidate widened his lead the most in Rio Grande do Sul, where the margin went from 6.6 to 19.9 points.

3.2. Results by state

Flávio Bolsonaro came first in 15 of the 27 states and the Federal District, and Lula in 12. The table shows the share of valid votes for each finalist and for the other candidates in each state, in alphabetical order.

TABLE 3
First-round results in each state

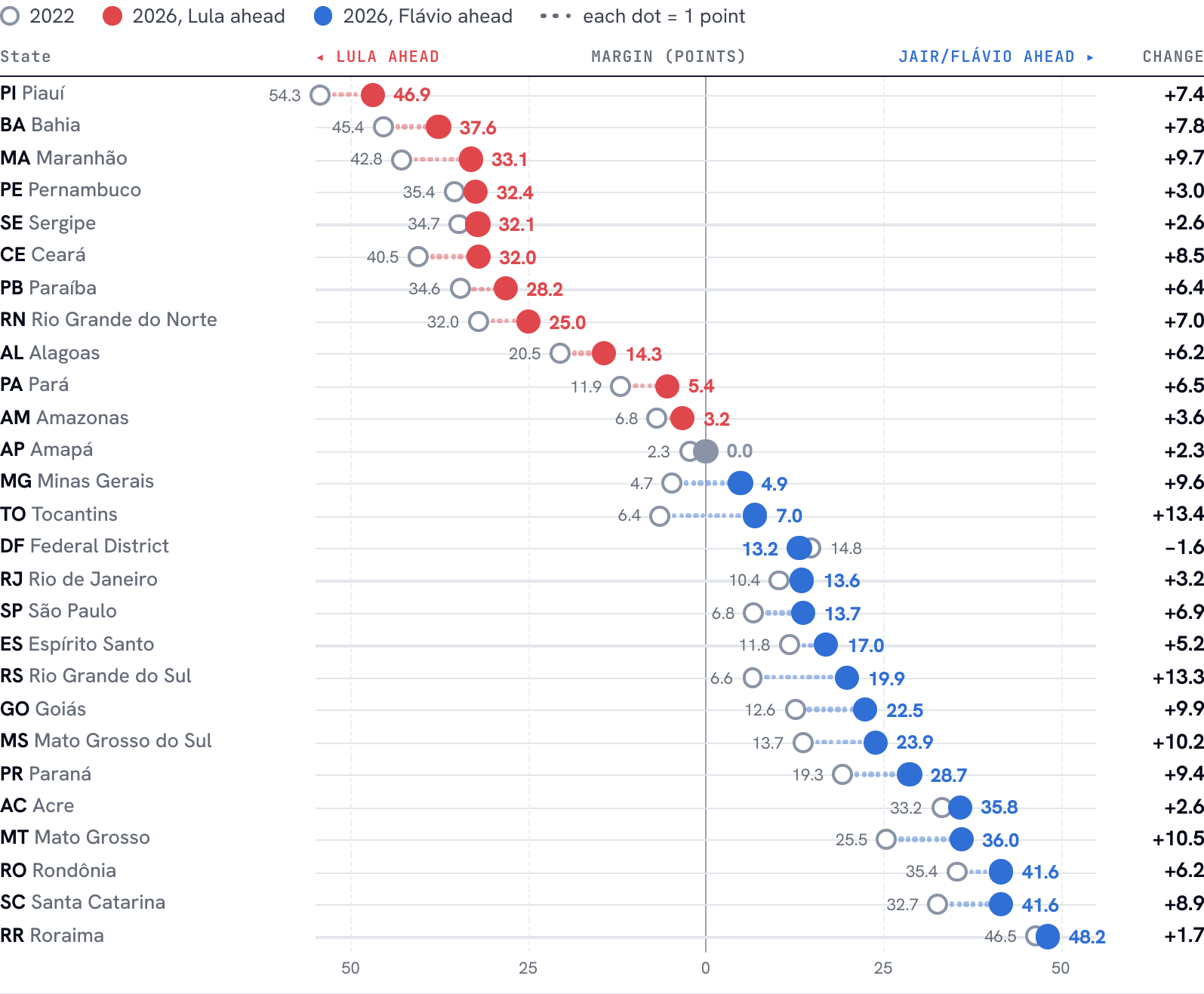
State	FLÁVIO	LULA	OTHERS	MARGIN	1 °
AC Acre	64.56%	28.73%	6.71%	35.8	●
AL Alagoas	40.45%	54.73%	4.82%	14.3	●
AM Amazonas	45.00%	48.23%	6.77%	3.2	●
AP Amapá	45.67%	45.71%	8.62%	0.0	●
BA Bahia	28.54%	66.17%	5.29%	37.6	●
CE Ceará	31.27%	63.29%	5.44%	32.0	●
DF Federal District	51.31%	38.11%	10.58%	13.2	●
ES Espírito Santo	54.78%	37.76%	7.46%	17.0	●
GO Goiás	53.60%	31.06%	15.34%	22.5	●
MA Maranhão	30.90%	63.99%	5.11%	33.1	●
MG Minas Gerais	48.25%	43.31%	8.43%	4.9	●
MS Mato Grosso do Sul	58.60%	34.68%	6.71%	23.9	●
MT Mato Grosso	65.15%	29.18%	5.67%	36.0	●
PA Pará	44.50%	49.91%	5.59%	5.4	●
PB Paraíba	33.07%	61.31%	5.62%	28.2	●
PE Pernambuco	31.03%	63.45%	5.52%	32.4	●
PI Piauí	24.09%	70.99%	4.92%	46.9	●
PR Paraná	59.91%	31.20%	8.89%	28.7	●
RJ Rio de Janeiro	53.01%	39.41%	7.58%	13.6	●
RN Rio Grande do Norte	34.77%	59.75%	5.48%	25.0	●
RO Rondônia	67.45%	25.89%	6.65%	41.6	●
RR Roraima	71.06%	22.86%	6.08%	48.2	●
RS Rio Grande do Sul	55.64%	35.73%	8.63%	19.9	●
SC Santa Catarina	66.65%	25.04%	8.30%	41.6	●
SE Sergipe	30.63%	62.75%	6.62%	32.1	●
SP São Paulo	51.93%	38.20%	9.87%	13.7	●
TO Tocantins	50.44%	43.42%	6.14%	7.0	●

3.3. Performance in each state compared with 2022

Lula received a smaller share of the vote than in 2022 in 25 states; Flávio beat the vote Jair Bolsonaro (PL) received in 2022 in all 26 states, falling short only in the Federal District. The chart shows the margin in points of valid votes: to the left, Lula ahead; to the right, Jair/Flávio Bolsonaro ahead.

FIGURE 7

Margin between Lula and Jair/Flávio Bolsonaro by state: 2022 and 2026



Source: TSE. First-round valid votes. Change: shift in the margin toward Flávio Bolsonaro, in points. DECIDEBRASIL by Unholster

Every state moved toward Flávio Bolsonaro; the exception was the Federal District (– 1.6). The largest shifts were in Tocantins (+13.4 points), Rio Grande do Sul (+13.3), Mato Grosso (+10.5) and Mato Grosso do Sul (+10.2). Minas Gerais and Tocantins switched sides, from Lula to Flávio, and in Amapá the race was practically tied (0.04 points). Lula still leads throughout the Northeast, but with smaller margins than in 2022.

3.4. States to watch

The ten states were selected by combining their share of turnout with the gap between the finalists. Together they account for 66.4% of turnout and cover all five regions.

FIGURE 8

The ten states to watch in the runoff



Source: TSE. Share: the state's portion of national turnout. Governor: status of the governor's race after the first round.

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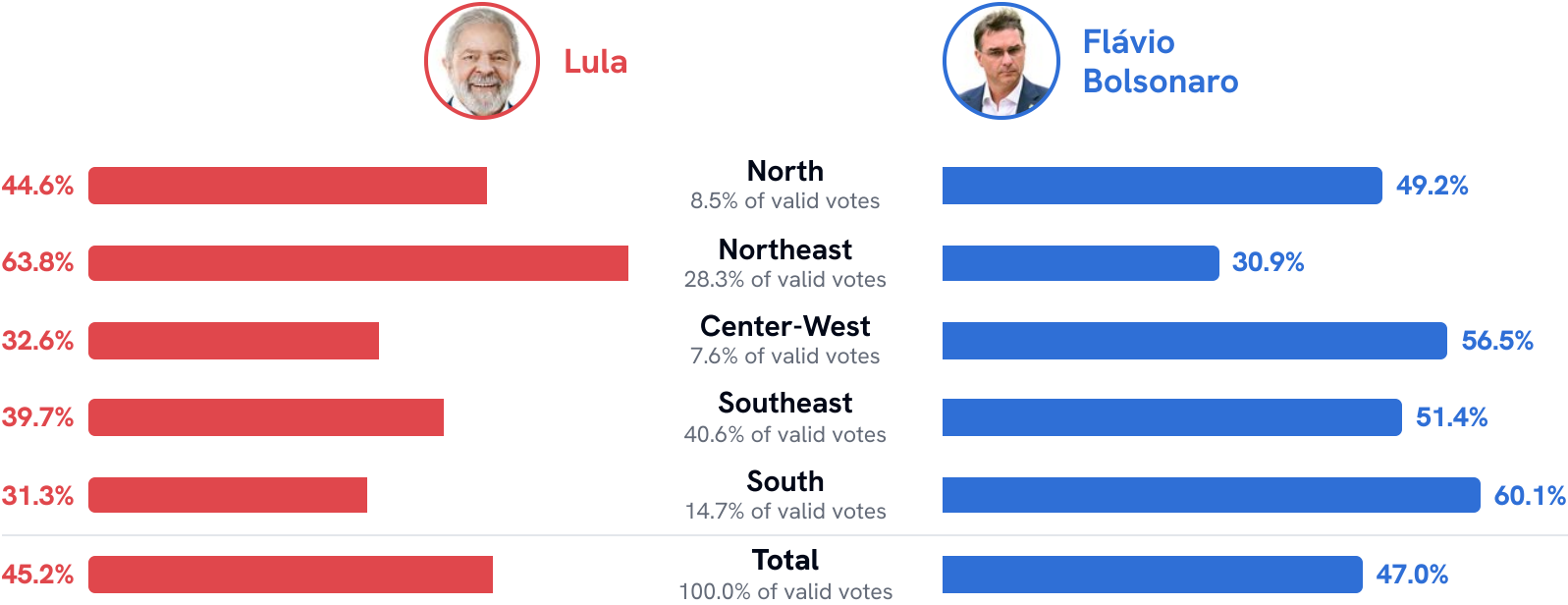
São Paulo and Minas Gerais together account for 31.3% of turnout. The closest races among the ten states are in Amazonas (3.2 points), Minas Gerais (4.9) and Pará (5.4); Flávio Bolsonaro led in Minas, and Lula led in Amazonas and Pará.

4. Comparison 2022 × 2026

4.1. Vote by region

Flávio Bolsonaro finished the first round with 47.0% of valid votes, and Lula with 45.2%. Lula won only in the Northeast (63.8%); Flávio won the other four regions, with his strongest showing in the South (60.1%).

FIGURE 9
Vote by region in the 2026 first round



Source: TSE. Percentages of each region's valid votes; under the name, the region's share of national valid votes.

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Each row compares Lula (left) and Flávio Bolsonaro (right) in one region. Lula won only in the Northeast (63.8% to 30.9%). Flávio's widest lead was in the South (60.1% to 31.3%), and he won the Southeast, which holds 40.6% of valid votes, by 51.4% to 39.7%.

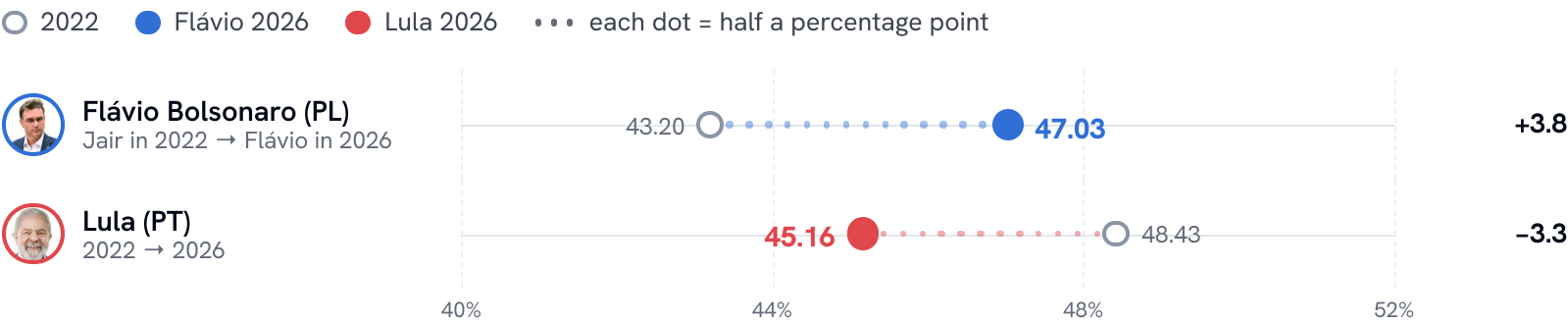
In the Northeast, Lula still leads in every state, but by smaller margins: in Bahia, from 45.4 to 37.6 points; in Maranhão, from 42.8 to 33.1.

Minas Gerais carries the greatest symbolic weight. Since 1989, whoever won the presidential election in Minas has won nationwide, and Lula carried the state in both rounds in 2022. Losing it in the 2026 first round costs Lula one of the most frequently cited barometers of national politics. In the Northeast his lead remains wide, but the narrower margins (eight to ten points in Bahia and Maranhão) show that the region alone no longer offsets losses in the Center-South as it did in 2022.

4.2. Lula and Flávio Bolsonaro compared with 2022

FIGURE 10

The finalists compared with the previous election



Source: TSE. Percentages of first-round valid votes.

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The hollow circle marks the 2022 percentage and the filled dot the 2026 one; the row of dots is the distance between them. The PL ticket rose from 43.2% (Jair Bolsonaro) to 47.0% (Flávio Bolsonaro), a gain of 3.8 points; Lula went from 48.4% to 45.2%, a drop of 3.3 points. As a result, the order of the top two was reversed relative to 2022.

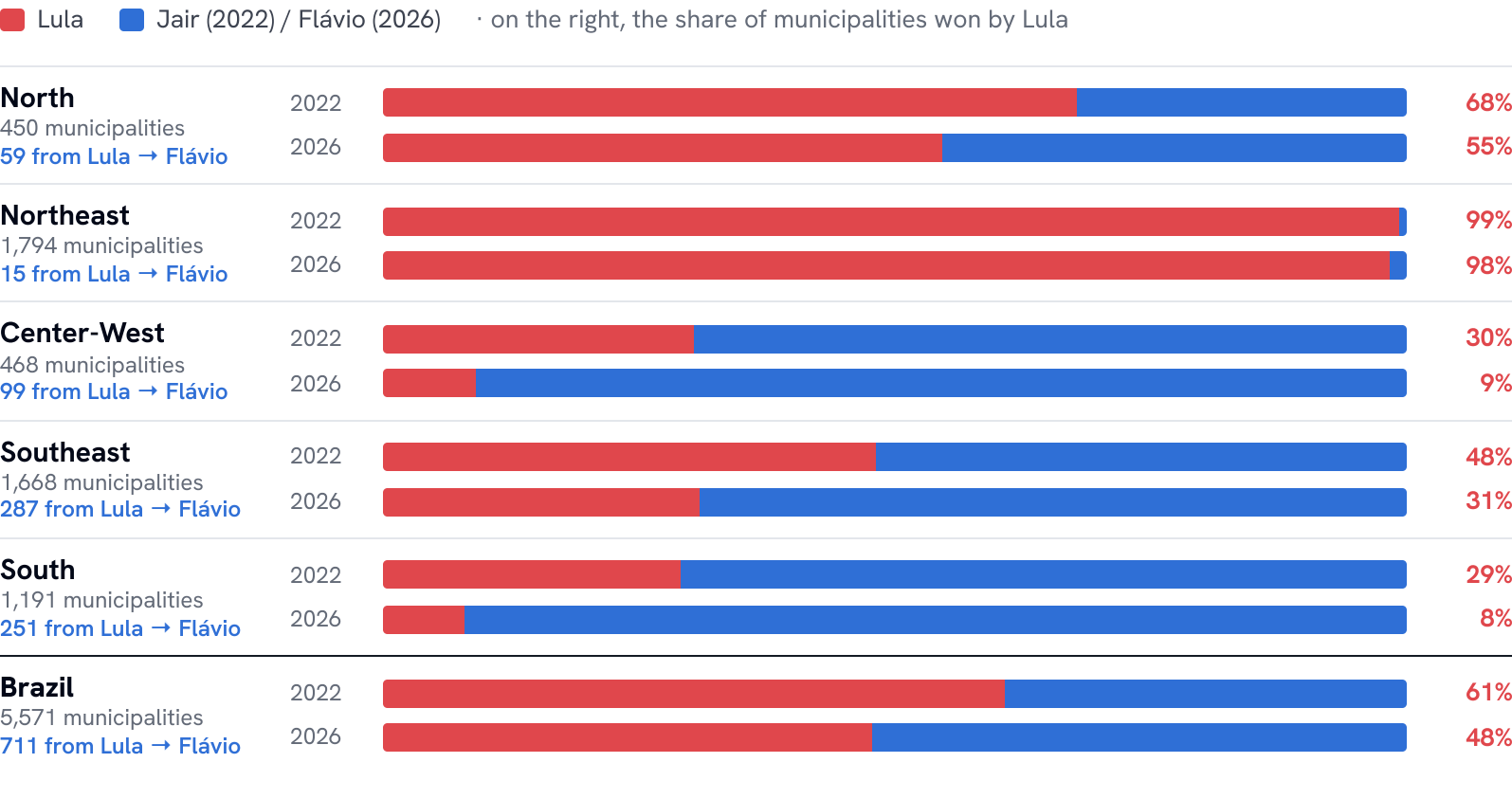
Flávio Bolsonaro gained 3.8 points over Jair Bolsonaro's 2022 vote (from 43.2% to 47.0%), and Lula lost 3.3 points (from 48.4% to 45.2%).

4.3. Where each candidate won

Lula won 3,376 municipalities in 2022 and 2,663 in 2026; Jair Bolsonaro won 2,191, and Flávio Bolsonaro 2,906. In all, 711 municipalities switched from Lula to Flávio, and none went the other way. Flávio outpolled Jair in 5,479 of the 5,570 comparable municipalities (98.4%).

FIGURE 11

Municipalities won by Lula and by Jair/Flávio Bolsonaro in 2022 and 2026



Source: TSE. Winner = candidate with the most votes in the municipality in the first round; votes abroad excluded. Exact ties in 2022: Coronel Sapucaia (MS), Ribeirão do Sul (SP), Alecrim (RS); in 2026: Crixás do Tocantins (TO), Trabiju (SP).

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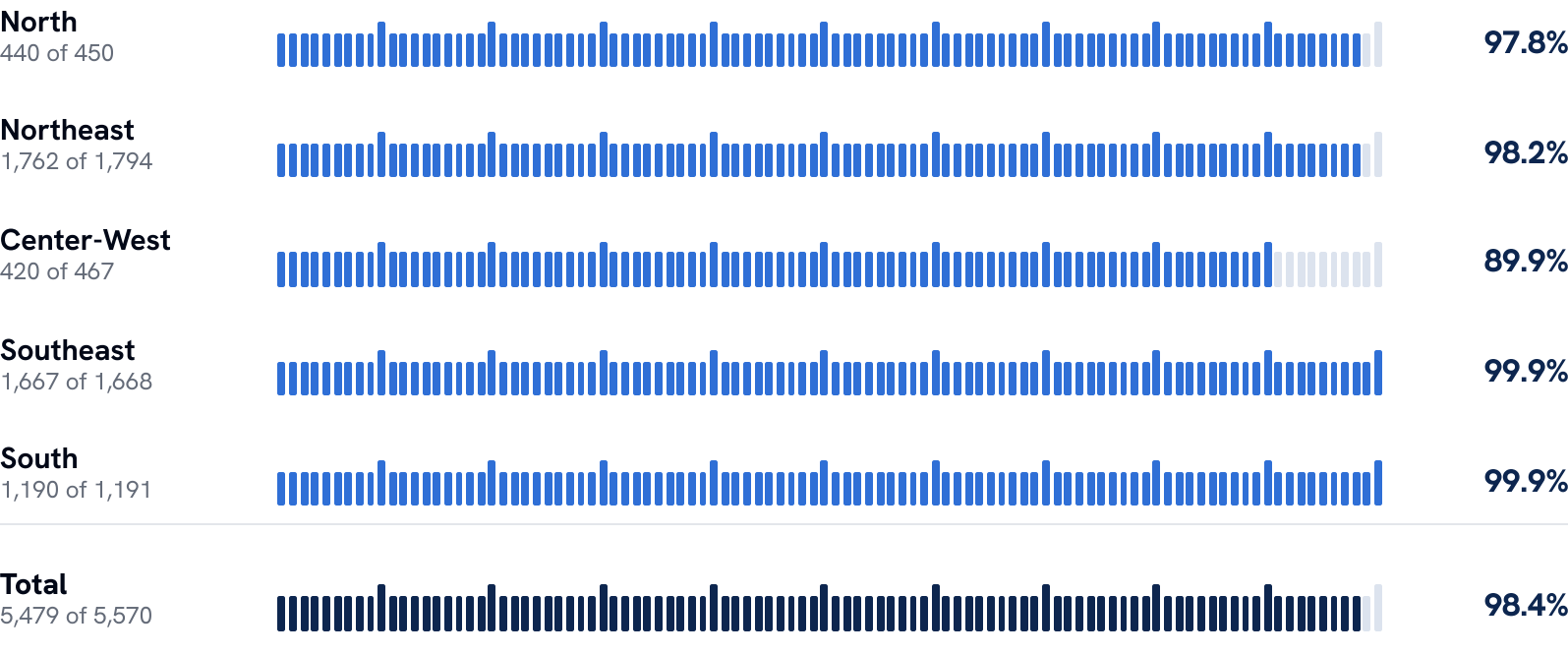
Each pair of bars splits the region's municipalities between Lula and Jair/Flávio Bolsonaro, in 2022 and in 2026. Lula held almost every municipality in the Northeast (98%), and his share fell in the other regions, with the steepest drops in the Center-West (from 30% to 9%) and the South (from 29% to 8%). No municipality switched from Jair to Lula.

At the municipal level, the shift went in one direction only: 711 switched from Lula to Flávio Bolsonaro and none went the other way. Lula won 2,663 municipalities, compared with 3,376 in 2022. The switches were concentrated in the Southeast (287) and the South (251); in the South, Lula now wins 8% of municipalities. Flávio outpolled Jair Bolsonaro in 98.4% of comparable municipalities; the lowest share is in the Center-West (89.9%).

FIGURE 12

Municipalities where Flávio Bolsonaro outpolled Jair Bolsonaro's 2022 vote

100 ticks per region · one tick = 1% of municipalities · dark tick = Flávio Bolsonaro above Jair Bolsonaro · every 10 ticks, a taller one marks the scale (10%, 20%...)



Source: TSE. Flávio Bolsonaro's share of the municipality's valid votes in 2026 compared with Jair Bolsonaro's in 2022; municipalities present in both elections.

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In each row, the dark ticks show the share of municipalities where Flávio Bolsonaro's percentage was higher than Jair Bolsonaro's in 2022. In the South and Southeast this happened in virtually all of them (99.9%); in the Center-West, the share is the lowest of any region: 89.9% (420 of 467 municipalities).

That no municipality switched from Jair Bolsonaro to Lula points to a broad-based shift rather than a swap of a few strongholds. The pattern differs from elections in which the vote reorganized regionally, such as 2006, when the PT lost ground in the Center-South while gaining in the Northeast. In 2026, the movement runs in one direction only. For Lula, the map narrows his options: in the South and Center-West he wins fewer than one in ten municipalities, and his room to recover is concentrated in the large urban centers of the Southeast and in the Northeast.

4.4. Transition between first rounds

According to the model, 98.0% of those who voted for Jair Bolsonaro in 2022 voted for Flávio Bolsonaro in 2026, and 92.2% of Lula voters voted for him again. The model works with 5,570 municipalities and estimates how the composition of the vote in each one changed from 2022 to 2026; it does not observe individual voters switching.

FIGURE 13

Estimated voter transition between the 2022 and 2026 first rounds

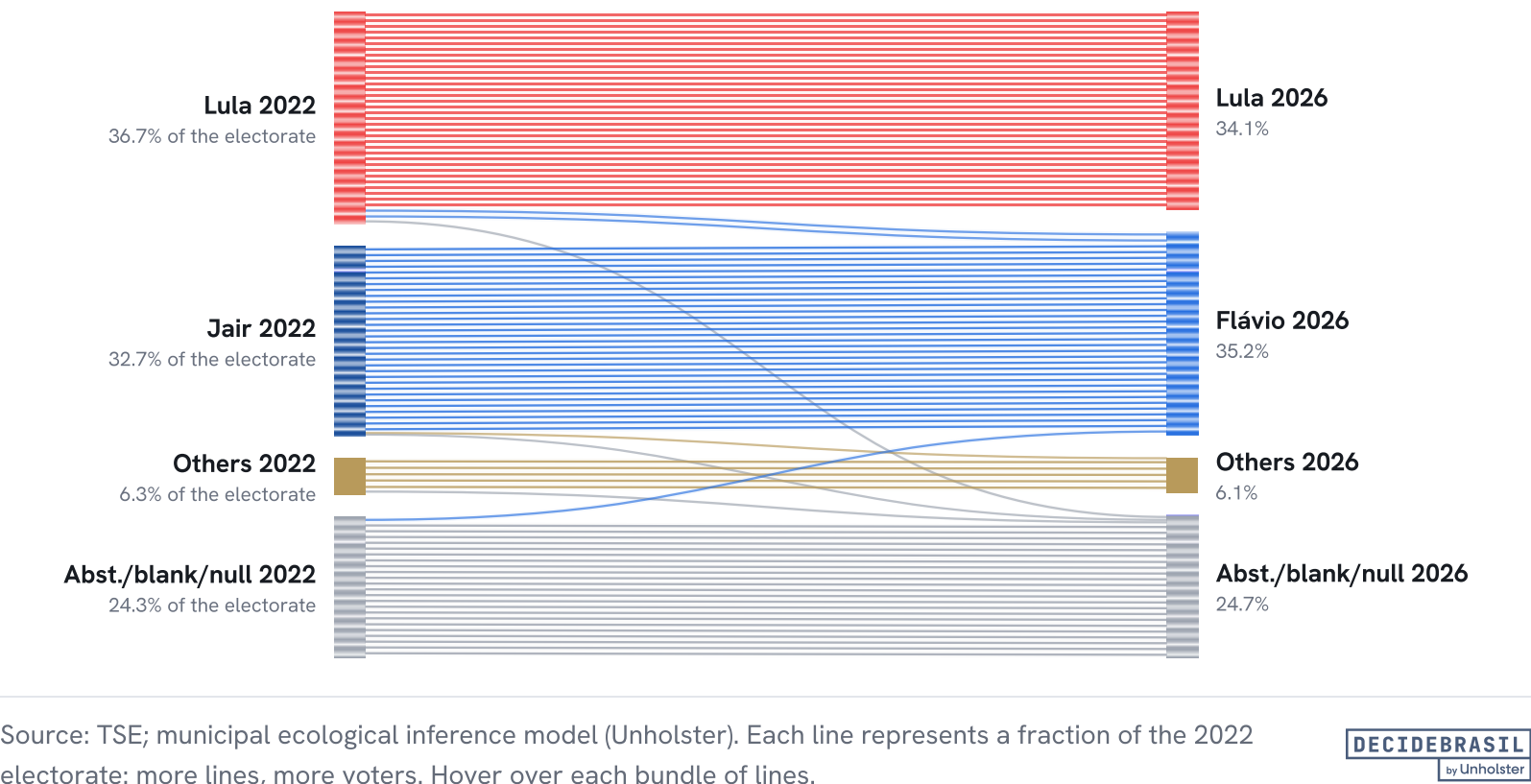
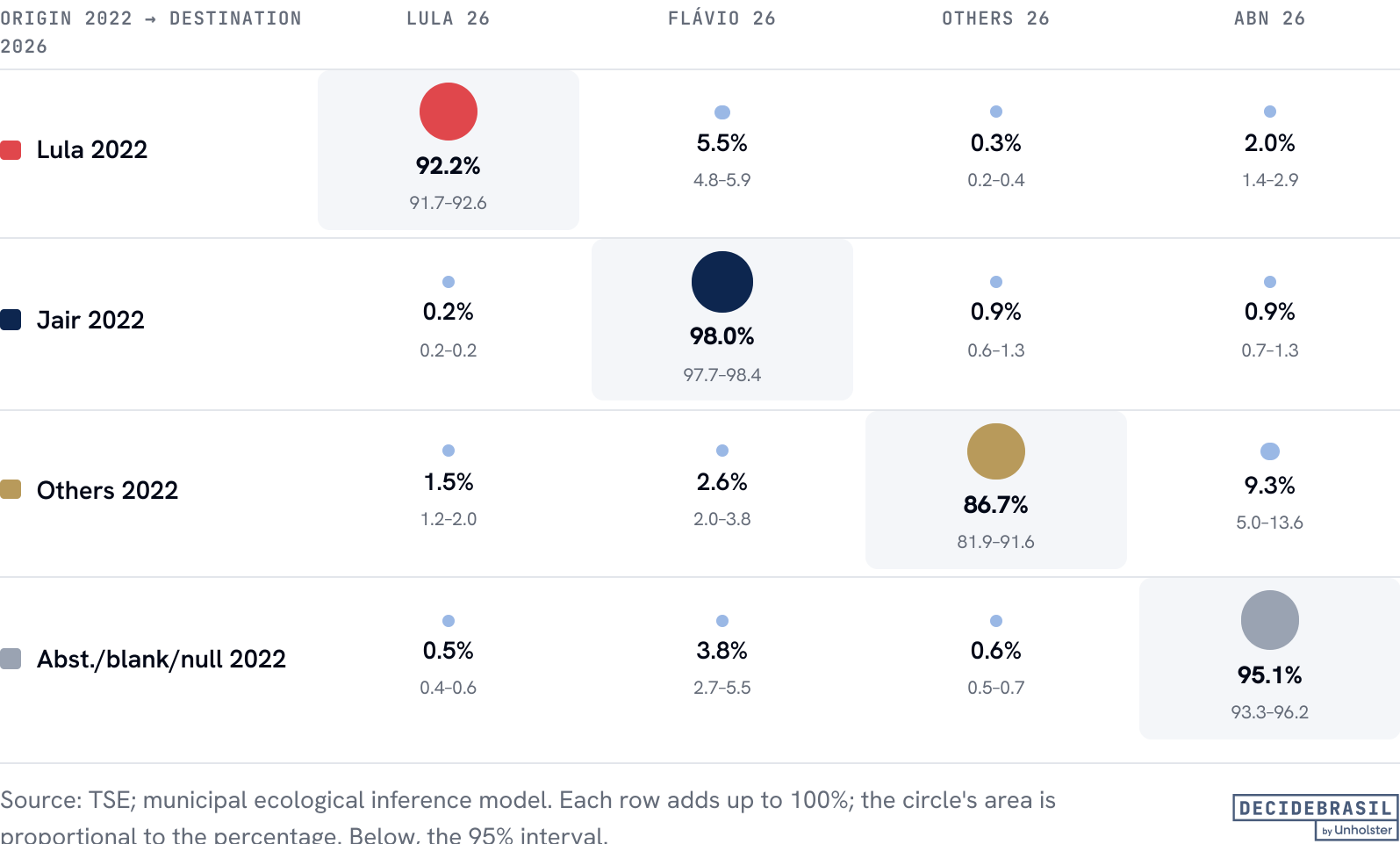


FIGURE 14

Where each group of 2022 voters went: transition matrix

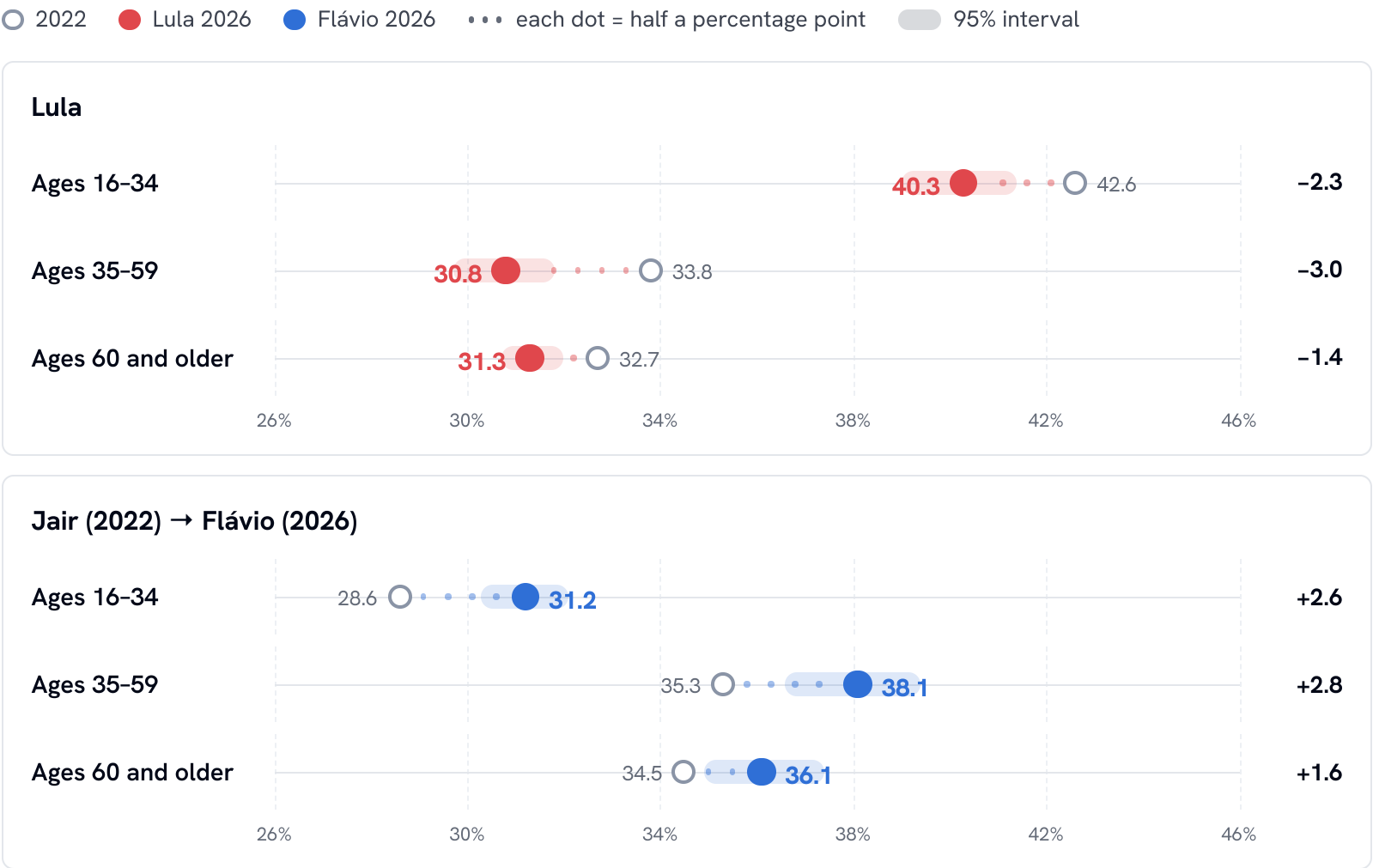


The diagonal (gray background) shows who kept their vote: 98.0% of Jair Bolsonaro voters and 92.2% of Lula voters. The most visible cross-flow runs from Lula 2022 to Flávio Bolsonaro 2026 (5.5%). These are model estimates, not observed vote switches.

4.5. Vote by age group

Both elections are estimated at the municipal level, with the same sample of 5,569 municipalities, the same three age groups and the same method. Among voters aged 35 to 59, Lula goes from 33.8% to 30.8%, and Jair/Flávio Bolsonaro from 35.3% to 38.1%. Among those 60 and older, Lula goes from 32.7% to 31.3%. Among those aged 16 to 34, Lula still leads: 40.3% to Flávio's 31.2%.

FIGURE 15
Estimated vote by age group, 2022 and 2026



Source: TSE 2022 age profile and municipal results for 2022 and 2026; municipal ecological inference model. Percentages of each age group's electorate. Others and ABN appear when hovering over each row.



The intervals measure only the model's uncertainty. They do not account for ecological bias, the choice of regularization or the aging of the electorate: the 2022 age profile is used as an approximation for 2026. A narrow interval does not validate individual behavior.

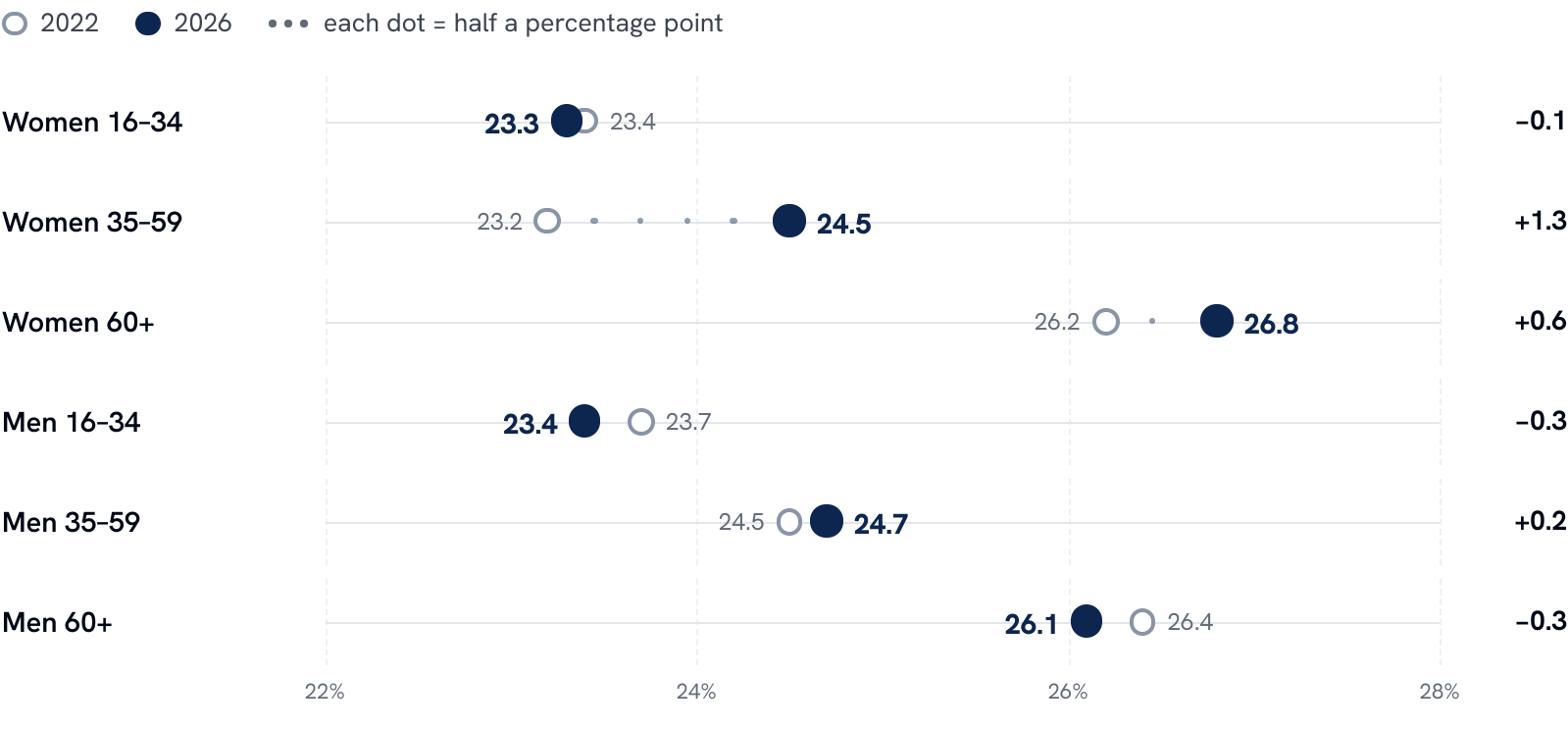
In all three age groups, Lula's dot moves left and Flávio Bolsonaro's moves right relative to 2022. The largest shift is among those aged 35 to 59 (Lula -3.0; Flávio +2.8 points). Among those aged 16 to 34, Lula still leads, with 40.3% to 31.2%.

The ecological inference model describes a Bolsonaro base that is more stable than Lula's: 98% of Jair Bolsonaro's 2022 voters appear with Flávio Bolsonaro in 2026, compared with 92.2% retention for Lula. The difference between the two comes mainly from the flow from Lula to Flávio (5.5%, against 0.2% in the opposite direction) and, to a lesser extent, from voters of other candidates (2.6% to Flávio and 1.5% to Lula).

4.6. Abstention, blank and null votes by profile

The intervals measure only the model's uncertainty. They do not account for ecological bias, the choice of regularization or the aging of the electorate: the 2022 age profile is used as an approximation for 2026. A narrow interval does not validate individual behavior.

FIGURE 16
Estimated abstention, blank and null votes by sex and age



Source: TSE; extension of the municipal ecological inference model to six groups. ABN = abstention, blank and null votes, as % of each group's electorate.

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In every group, combined abstention, blank and null votes changed by less than 1.5 points between 2022 and 2026. The groups aged 60 and older have the highest levels, around 26%, and the largest change was among women aged 35 to 59 (+1.3 points).

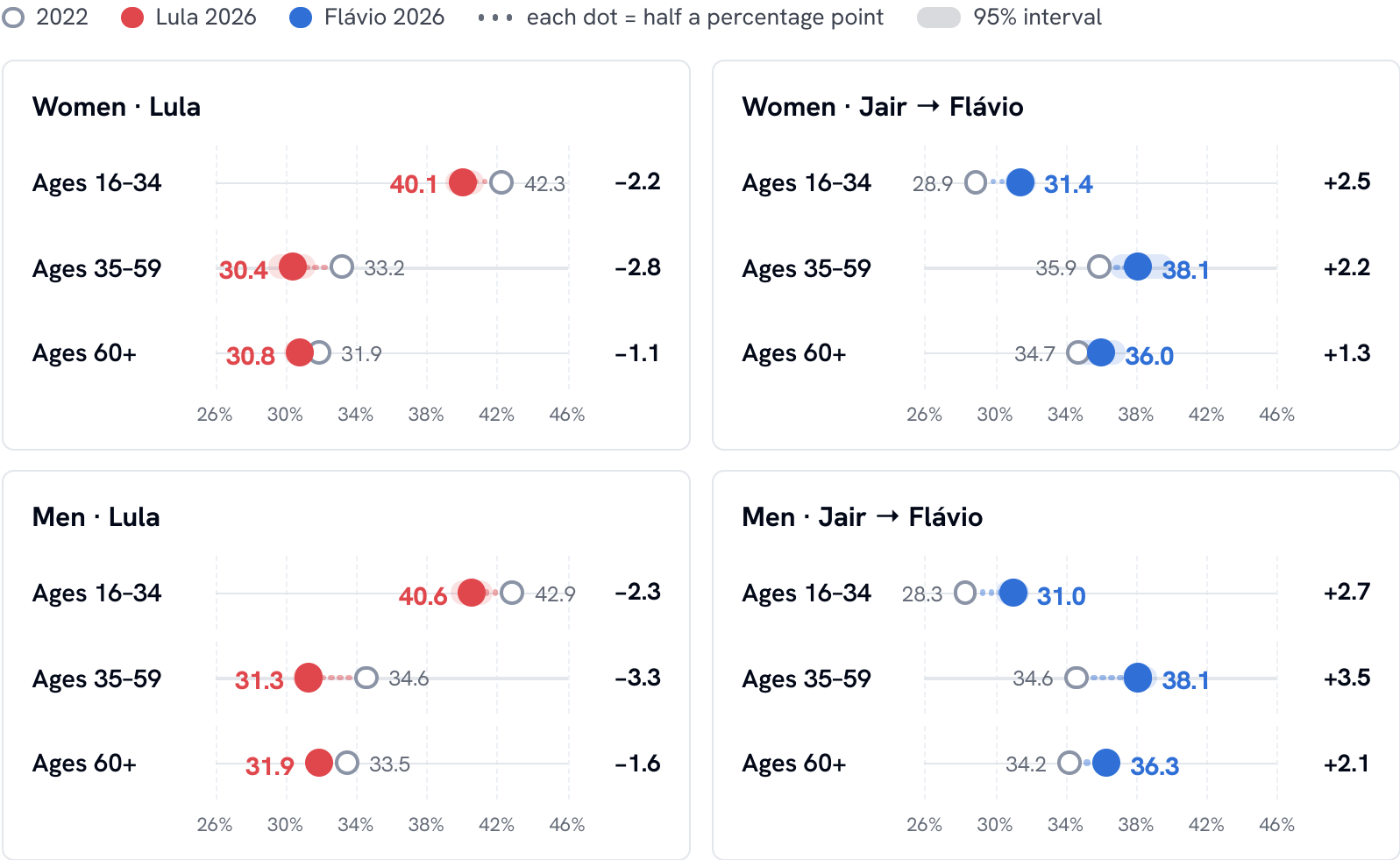
The near-total stability of Jair Bolsonaro's base (98%) suggests that the transfer of votes from father to son worked, which is not automatic in Brazilian politics: in 2018, Fernando Haddad, who replaced Lula as the PT candidate, got 29.3% in the first round. Lula's losses, meanwhile, appear mainly among adults aged 35 to 59, not among young voters, who still favor him. According to the model, Lula's erosion is less about a generational break and more about adult voters who backed him in 2022, the group the runoff puts at the center of the race.

4.7. Vote by sex and age

When the data are also split by sex, the model repeats the age-group pattern: Lula's decline and Flávio Bolsonaro's rise appear in all six groups, slightly larger among those aged 35 to 59. Among women in that age group, Lula goes from 33.2% to 30.4%; among men, from 34.6% to 31.3%. The differences between

men and women of the same age group are small and mostly fall within the intervals: the ratio of men to women varies little across municipalities, so the model has little information to tell them apart.

FIGURE 17
Lula and Jair/Flávio Bolsonaro estimated by sex and age, 2022 and 2026



Source: TSE electorate in the 2022 runoff by sex and age, and municipal results; extension of the municipal ecological inference model (5,569 municipalities). The light band is the 95% interval.

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The four panels follow the same pattern: Lula falls and Flávio Bolsonaro rises in every group, with the largest shifts among those aged 35 to 59 (men: Lula -3.3 and Flávio +3.5 points). The light bands for men and women overlap in almost every group: the differences by sex are small relative to the model's uncertainty.

By age, the largest shift was among those aged 35 to 59. The group, practically tied in 2022 (Jair Bolsonaro with 35.3% and Lula with 33.8% of the electorate), now favors Flávio Bolsonaro by 7.3 points (38.1% to 30.8%). Among those aged 16 to 34, Lula still leads (40.3% to 31.2%), but his lead shrank from 14.0 to 9.1 points. The differences between men and women of the same age group are small and generally fall within the model's intervals. These are estimates based on municipal results, not observed individual behavior.

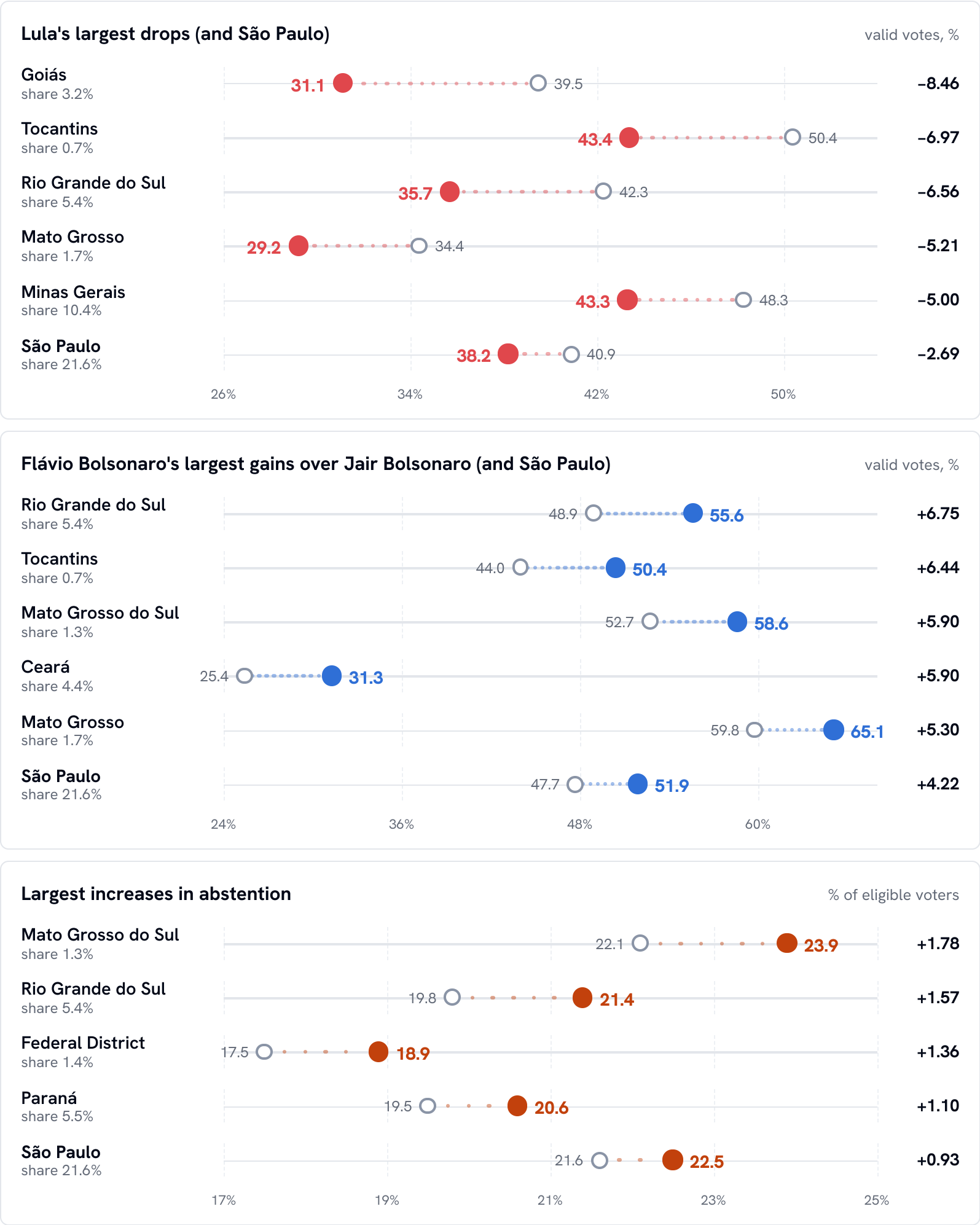
4.8. Change by state and electoral weight

The tables show the five largest changes between the 2022 and 2026 first rounds and include São Paulo because of its weight in the electorate.

FIGURE 18

The largest changes between 2022 and 2026, by state

○ 2022 ● 2026 ... each dot = half a percentage point



Source: TSE. Valid votes in each state (abstention: % of eligible voters). Share: state electorate / national electorate.

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Goiás saw Lula's largest drop (−8.5 points), and Rio Grande do Sul saw the largest gain for Flávio Bolsonaro over Jair Bolsonaro (+6.8). Tocantins, Rio Grande do Sul and Mato Grosso appear in both rankings. In São Paulo, the state with the largest electorate, the changes were smaller: −2.7 points for Lula and +4.2 for Flávio.

4.9. São Paulo: the size of the shifts

São Paulo is home to 21.6% of the country's eligible voters. In the state, Lula went from 40.9% of valid votes in 2022 to 38.2% in 2026, and Flávio Bolsonaro received 51.9%, compared with 47.7% for Jair Bolsonaro. The state capital, with 26.8% of the São Paulo electorate, shows the largest shift in volume in both directions.

FIGURE 19
São Paulo municipalities with the largest volume of change

○ 2022 ● 2026 ••• each dot = half a percentage point



Source: TSE. * Volume = change in points × the municipality's valid votes in 2026: it measures the size of the shift on a common base; it is neither a difference in votes nor an individual transfer.

DECIDEBRASIL
by Unholster

The state capital leads both rankings because of its size: Lula's change was small (– 1.0 points), but Flávio Bolsonaro's gain (+4.1) produces the largest volume in the state. Guarulhos, São Bernardo do Campo and Osasco appear on both lists, with drops for Lula between 2.4 and 2.6 points and gains for Flávio between 3.8 and 4.2.

Within São Paulo, the state capital accounts for the largest volume of change: Flávio Bolsonaro gained 4.14 points over Jair Bolsonaro in a municipality with 26.8% of the state's electorate, while Lula lost less than one point (–0.96). In

Guarulhos, Osasco and São Bernardo do Campo the pattern repeats, with gains for Flávio between 3.8 and 4.2 points.

5. Conclusions on the first round of the presidential race

Flávio Bolsonaro edged Lula by 1.87 points in the first round of 2026.

Compared with 2022, he outperformed Jair Bolsonaro's vote in all 26 states (the exception was the Federal District) and in 98.4% of comparable municipalities. Lula kept the lead in the Northeast and in three states of the North, but lost ground across almost the entire country, especially in the Center-West and the South.

Turnout changed little: abstention and blank and null votes stayed close to 2022 levels. In the runoff, what matters is both each candidate's ability to hold on to their voters and the contest for the 15.3 million votes that did not go to the finalists.

5.1. What to watch in the runoff

Vote continuity

According to the model, 98.0% of those who voted for Jair Bolsonaro in 2022 voted for Flávio Bolsonaro in 2026, compared with 92.2% continuity between Lula's candidacies. Of Lula's 2022 voters, 5.5% went to Flávio; in the opposite direction, 0.2%.

Differences by age

Among voters aged 35 to 59, Lula's estimated vote falls from 33.8% to 30.8%; among those aged 60 or older, from 32.7% to 31.3%. Among those aged 16 to 34, Lula remains ahead (40.3% versus 31.2% for Flávio Bolsonaro).

The weight of São Paulo and Minas Gerais

São Paulo (21.6% of eligible voters) and Minas Gerais (10.4%) together account for almost a third of the electorate. In São Paulo, Flávio Bolsonaro received 51.9% and Lula 38.2%; in Minas Gerais, the margin was 4.9 points (48.3% to 43.3%).

The votes up for grabs

The other ten candidates, plus blank and null votes, added up to 15.3 million votes (12.21% of turnout). On top of these are the 33.5 million voters who did not turn out in the first round.

These estimates describe aggregate patterns and do not indicate how each voter will vote in the runoff. Vote transition and vote by profile are municipal ecological inference estimates (Unholster model). ABN combines abstention, blank and null votes.

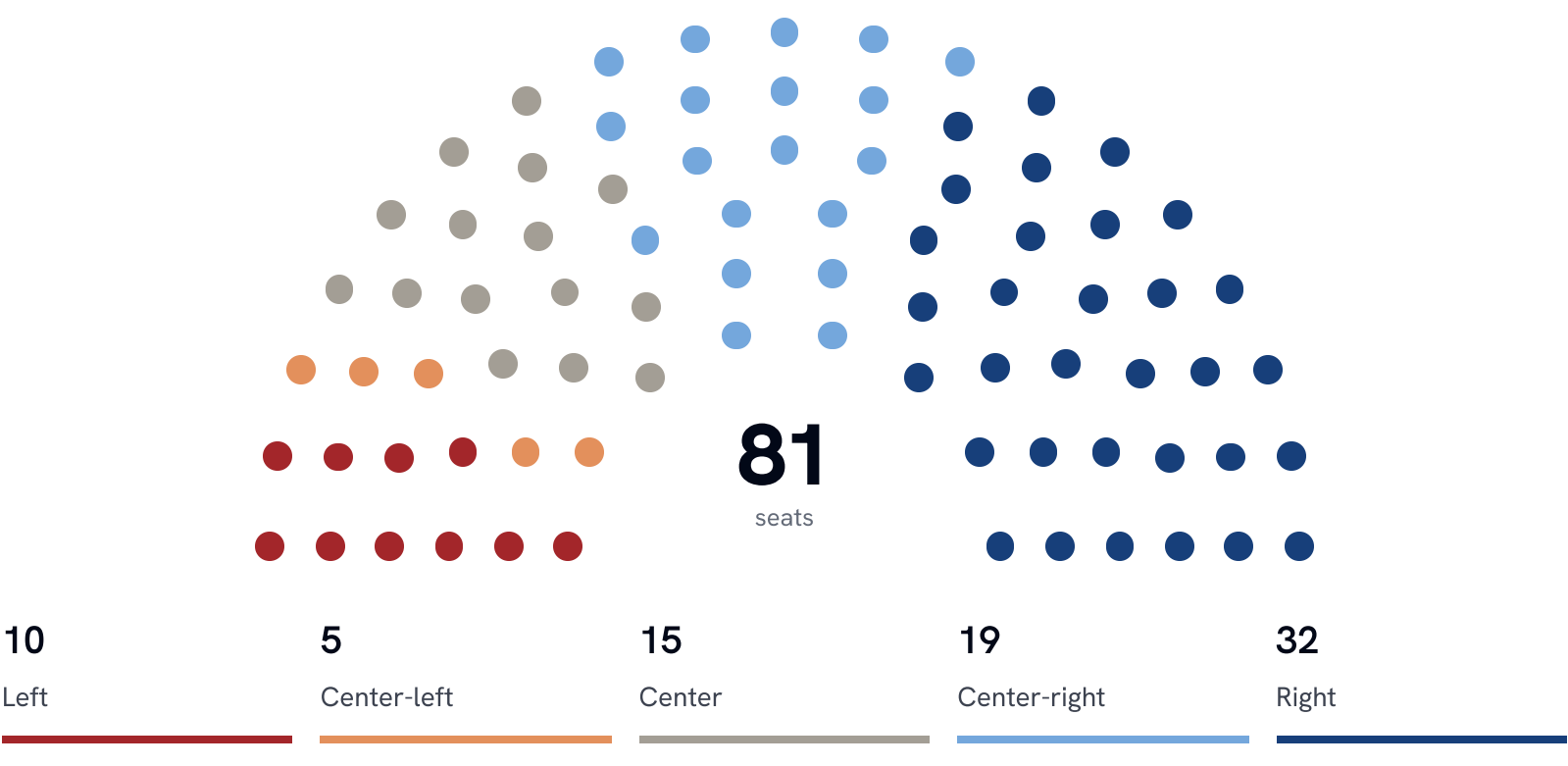
São Paulo has historically been difficult ground for the PT in presidential elections: the party has not won the state since 2002. What is new in 2026 is the gap. Flávio Bolsonaro's margin doubled, and Tarcísio de Freitas (Republicanos) was re-elected governor with 62.7%, about 11 points above Flávio's vote in the state. Having a governor re-elected with that strength, and a political ally of the Bolsonaros, is a significant asset for Flávio in the runoff campaign in the country's largest electorate. For Lula, the state capital is the main front: it is where his drop was less than one point and where the most votes are up for grabs.

6. Federal Senate

6.1. Distribution of seats

The Federal Senate has 81 seats and renews them alternately, 1/3 (27) and 2/3 (54), every four years. In this election, 54 seats were up for grabs. The following figures show different breakdowns of the chamber's new composition.

FIGURE 20
The ideological spectrum in the Senate



Source: TSE. Methodology: ideological spectrum analysis based on the parties' positioning in the federal legislature.

DECIDEBRASIL
by Unholster

The hemicycle groups the 81 seats by ideological bloc; hover to see each bloc. The right is the largest bloc (32 seats) and, together with the center-right (19), totals 51; the left and center-left hold 15, and the center 15.

Each bloc is split into its parties. The PL holds 28 of the 32 seats on the right; on the center-right, União and PP have 6 each, and in the center the MDB has 8. On the left, the PT has 9 of 10.

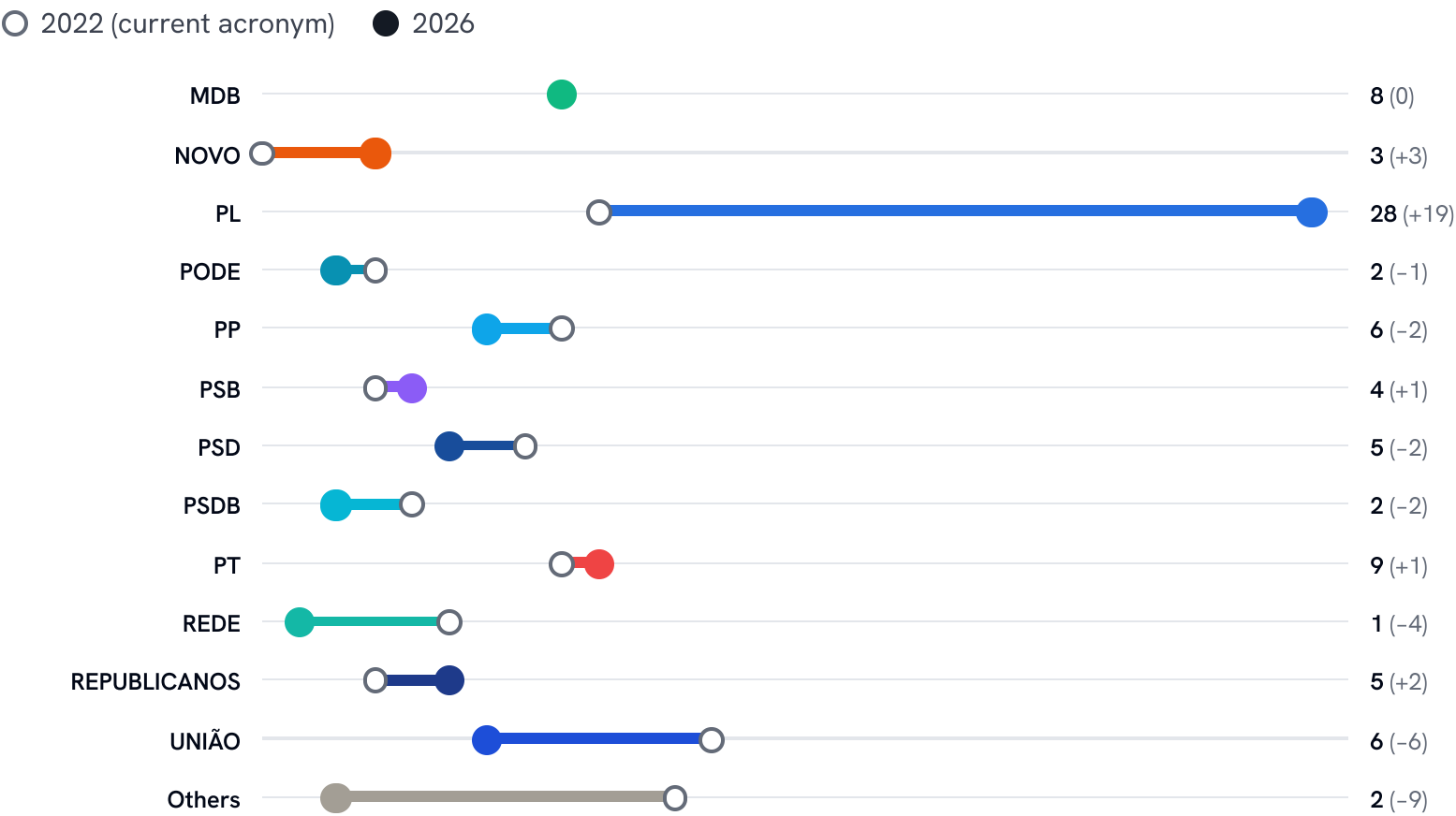
The election strengthened the right in the Senate, led by the PL, which went from 9 to 28 senators and became the largest caucus, a position previously held by União. The right and center-right together hold 51 of the 81 seats: above an absolute majority (41) and the 3/5 threshold for constitutional amendments (49), but below 2/3 (54). The left and center-left hold 15, and the center 15.

The most important number in the new Senate is 54, the two-thirds quorum required to convict officials in impeachment proceedings, including justices of the Federal Supreme Court, an issue that has gained ground in political debate in recent years. The right and center-right are three votes short of that threshold and already exceed the 49 votes needed for a constitutional amendment. For any government, the 2027 Senate will be more aligned with the right than the current one: a Lula government would have to negotiate with a chamber in which the right and center-right hold a majority, and a Flávio Bolsonaro government would find a more favorable base in the Senate than in the Chamber of Deputies.

By party

Of the Senate’s 81 seats (the 54 elected now and the 27 elected in 2022), 13 parties hold at least one, and one senator, Romário, elected for the PL in 2022, has no party; the largest caucus is the PL’s (28). In the previous composition, resulting from the 2018 and 2022 elections, there were 18 parties, and the largest caucus was União’s (12).

FIGURE 21
Parties in the Senate: 2022 and 2026



Source: TSE (DecideBrasil database).

Compared with the previous composition, the PL grows the most (+19) and becomes the largest caucus. The biggest losses are among the smaller parties grouped under “Others” (-9), União (-6) and REDE (-4).

TABLE 4

The 54 senators elected

STATE	1ST SEAT	PARTY	%	2ND SEAT	PARTY	%
AC Acre	Márcio Bittar	PL	25.6%	Mara Rocha	REPUB.	17.9%
AL Alagoas	Arthur Lira	PP	28.9%	Marina JHC	PSDB	28.2%
AM Amazonas	Eduardo Braga	MDB	32.3%	Plínio Valério	PSDB	24.7%
AP Amapá	Rayssa Furlan	PODE	30.0%	Lucas Barreto	PSD	24.2%
BA Bahia	Rui Costa	PT	30.1%	Jaques Wagner	PT	27.6%
CE Ceará	Cid Gomes	PSB	31.2%	Luizianne	REDE	29.1%
DF Federal District	Michelle Bolsonaro	PL	29.1%	Bia Kicis	PL	27.4%
ES Espírito Santo	Renato Casagrande	PSB	24.7%	Evair de Melo	REPUB.	24.4%
GO Goiás	Gustavo Gayer	PL	24.5%	Gracinha Caiado	UNIÃO	21.8%
MA Maranhão	Fufuca	PP	21.4%	Lahesio Bonfim	NOVO	20.6%
MG Minas Gerais	Domingos Sávio	PL	24.2%	Marília Campos	PT	19.4%
MS Mato Grosso do Sul	Reinaldo Azambuja	PL	34.6%	Capitão Contar	PL	32.8%
MT Mato Grosso	Mauro Mendes	UNIÃO	33.2%	José Medeiros	PL	27.4%
PA Pará	Helder Barbalho	MDB	26.1%	Chicão	UNIÃO	22.4%
PB Paraíba	João Azevêdo	PSB	32.5%	Veneziano	MDB	22.8%
PE Pernambuco	Humberto Costa	PT	27.2%	Marília Arraes	PDT	25.0%
PI Piauí	Marcelo Castro	MDB	35.7%	Julio Cesar	PSD	27.0%
PR Paraná	Filipe Barros	PL	27.2%	Deltan Dallagnol	NOVO	25.1%
RJ Rio de Janeiro	Carlos Portinho	PL	26.8%	Carlos Jordy	PL	24.6%
RN Rio Grande do Norte	Styvenson Valentim	PODE	29.2%	Samanda de Lula	PT	17.6%
RO Rondônia	Dr. Fernando Máximo	PL	32.0%	Bruno Bolsonaro Scheid	PL	26.6%
RR Roraima	Nicoletti	PL	22.7%	Teresa Surita	MDB	19.2%
RS Rio Grande do Sul	Sanderson	PL	30.1%	Marcel Van Hattem	NOVO	30.1%
SC Santa Catarina	Carol de Toni	PL	33.5%	Carlos Bolsonaro	PL	25.4%
SE Sergipe	Rogério Carvalho	PT	21.9%	Delegado Alessandro	MDB	17.1%
SP São Paulo	Guilherme Derrite	PP	30.6%	André do Prado	PL	29.3%
TO Tocantins	Eduardo Gomes	PL	27.2%	Alexandre Guimarães	MDB	19.2%

Source: TSE, with 100.0% of ballot boxes counted on 10/05 at 03:02.

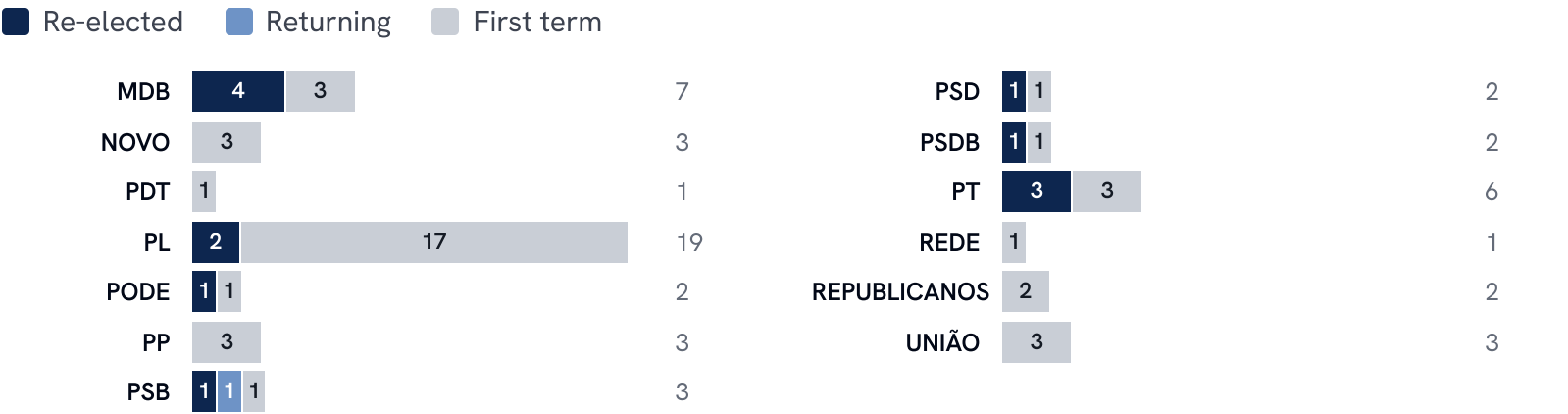


6.2. Re-elected, returning and first-term senators

The Senate's renewal rate was 75.9%. Of the 54 seats up for grabs, 13 will be held by re-elected senators, 1 by a senator returning to the chamber and 40 by first-term senators. Of these, 19 are currently federal deputies.

FIGURE 22

Senators' status by party



Source: TSE, matched by CPF (taxpayer ID). DECIDEBRASIL by Unholster

Each bar splits a party's elected senators by status. Of the 54, 13 were re-elected, 1 returns to the Senate and 40 are first-timers; in the PL, 17 of the 19 elected are new to the Senate.

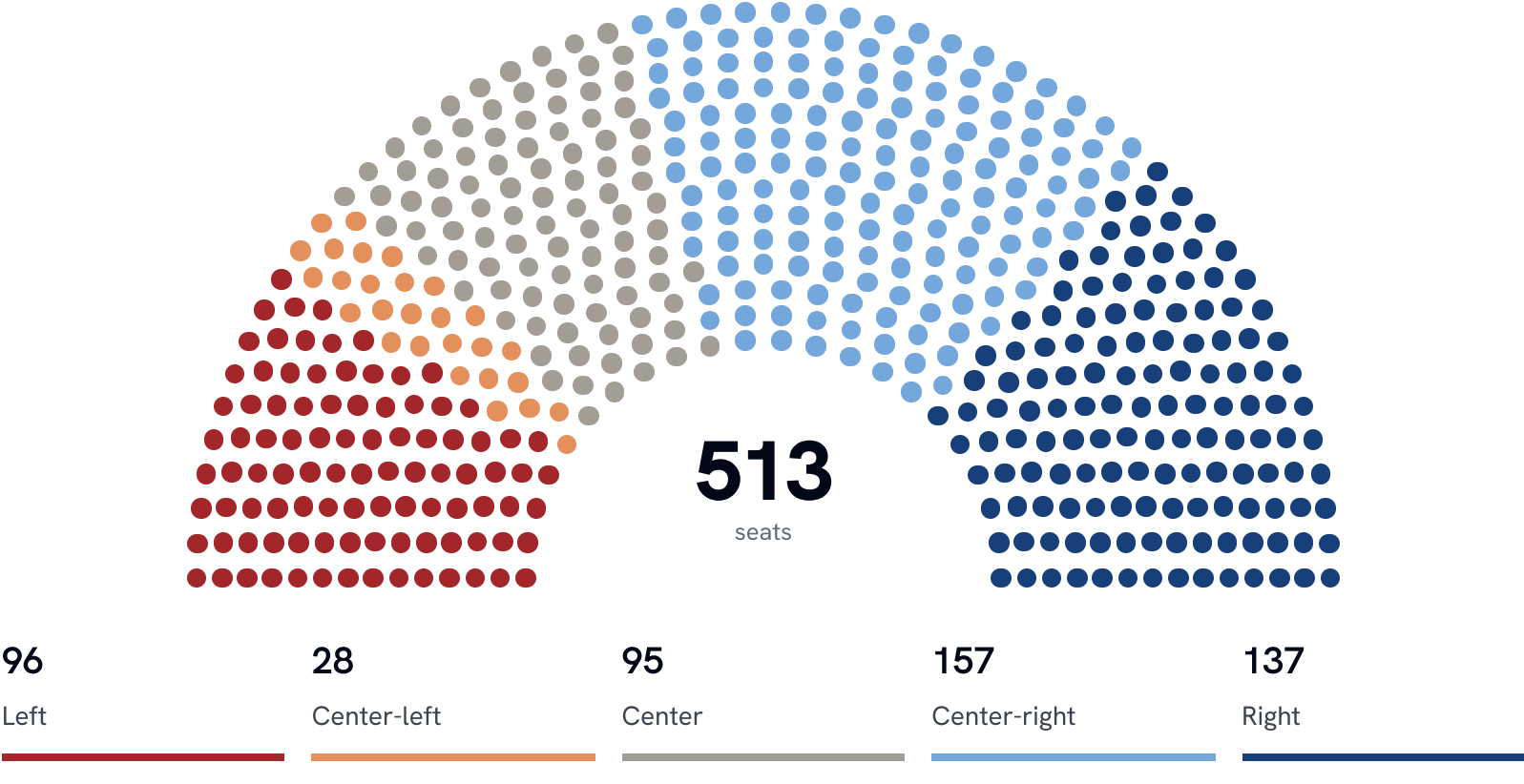
The Senate became less fragmented: 13 parties hold seats, compared with 18 in the previous makeup. Turnover was high, at 75.9% of the 54 seats up for election: 13 senators were re-elected, 1 returns to the Senate and 40 are first-timers, 19 of them coming from the Chamber of Deputies.

7. Chamber of Deputies

7.1. Distribution of seats

All 513 seats in the Chamber of Deputies were up for election. The following figures show different breakdowns of the Chamber's new makeup.

FIGURE 23
The ideological spectrum in the Chamber



Source: TSE. Methodology: ideological spectrum analysis based on the parties' positioning in the federal legislature. DECIDEBRASIL by Unholster

The hemicycle shows the Chamber's 513 seats by bloc; hover to see each one. The center-right is the largest bloc (157), followed by the right (137); the left holds 96, the center 95 and the center-left 28.

The right and center-right together hold 294 seats: more than an absolute majority (257), but 14 votes short of the 308 needed for a constitutional amendment and 48 short of the 342 required by a 2/3 threshold.

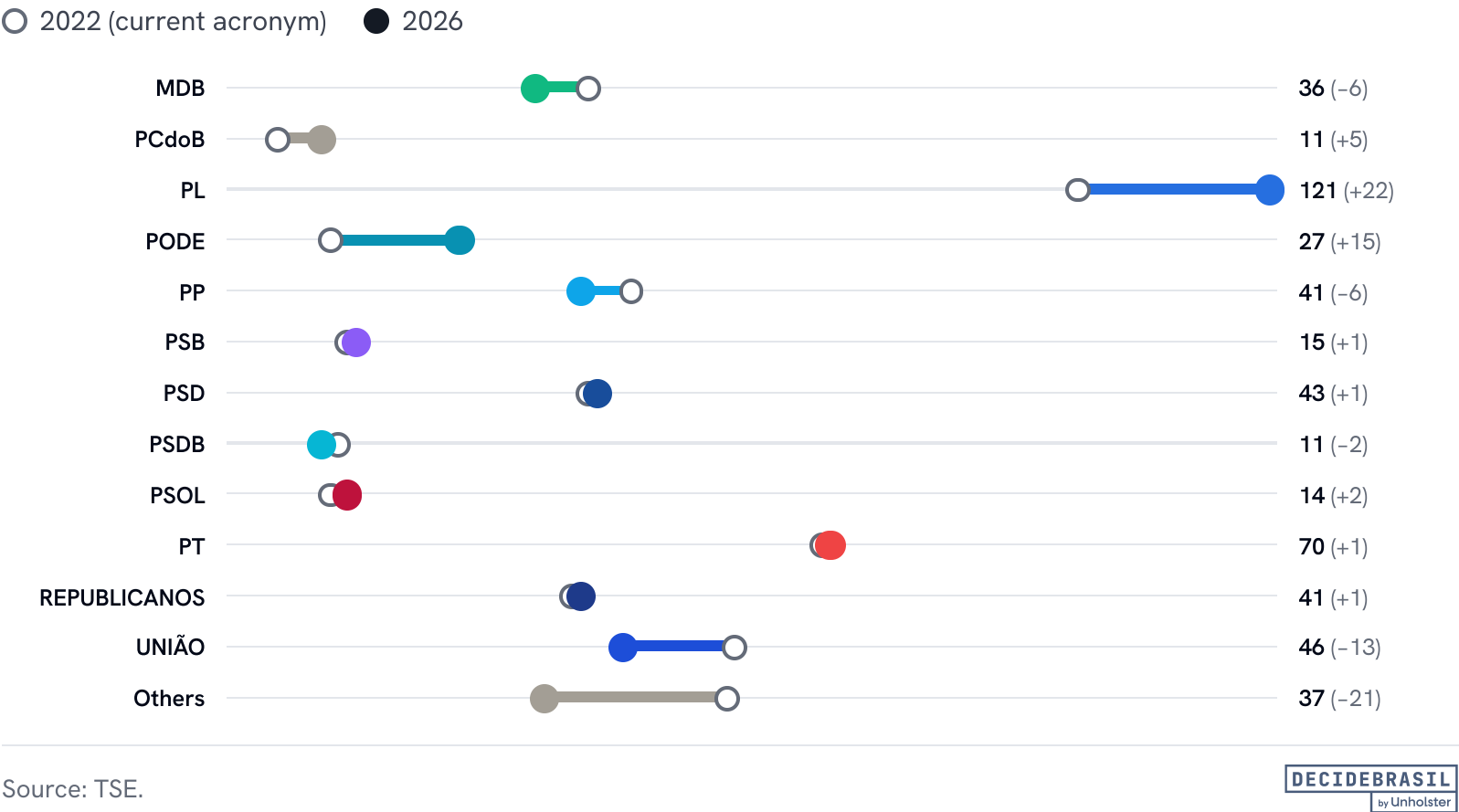
With 121 deputies, the PL alone accounts for almost 90% of the right. In the center-right, União (46), PP (41) and Republicanos (41) hold most of the seats; in the center, PSD (43) and MDB (36).

None of the five blocs has a majority on its own. The right (137) and center-right (157) together hold 294 seats, above the absolute majority (257), but would need at least 14 votes from other blocs to reach the 308 required for a constitutional amendment. The left and center-left hold 124, and the center 95,

led by PSD (43) and MDB (36). Turnover was lower than in 2022 (42.7% versus 45.0%): 294 deputies were re-elected, 32 return to the Chamber and 187 are first-timers.

The result reinforces Brazil's so-called coalition presidentialism: whoever is elected president will need the center and center-right to pass their agenda. With 121 deputies, the PL alone controls 23.6% of the Chamber, a weight that puts it in a strong position in the election for Speaker of the Chamber in February 2027. Two thresholds help measure each camp's power: opening impeachment proceedings requires 342 votes, and the right and center-right are 48 short; the left and center-left, with 124, are far from the 172 votes needed to block it on their own.

FIGURE 24
Parties in the Chamber: 2022 and 2026



The PL gains 22 seats, reaching 121; Podemos (+15) and PCdoB (+5) also grow. The biggest losses are among the smaller parties grouped under “Others” (-21) and União (-13).

The PL expanded the largest caucus in the Chamber, from 99 to 121 deputies, and Podemos grew the most after it. The biggest losses were for União (-13) and the smaller parties grouped under “Others” (-21).

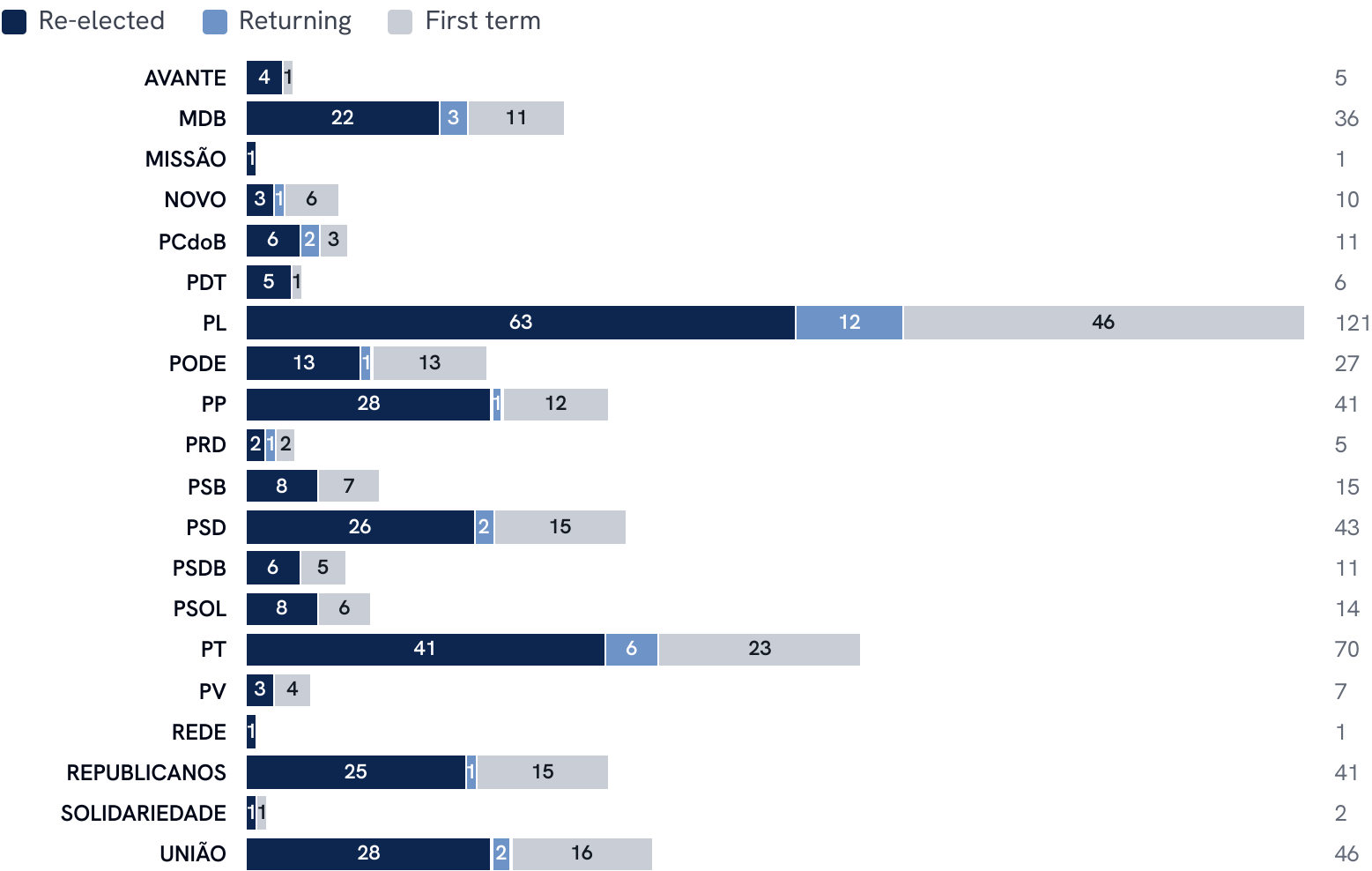
NOTE

The comparison uses current party names: parties that have merged or been renamed since 2022 appear under their current name.

7.2. Re-elected, returning and first-term senators

Of the 513 deputies, 294 were re-elected (57.3%). Another 32 (6.2%) served as federal deputies in previous legislatures. The remaining 187 (36.5%) are new to the Chamber.

FIGURE 25
Federal deputies by party



Source: TSE.



Of the 513 deputies, 294 were re-elected (57.3%), 32 return to the Chamber and 187 are first-timers. The PL has the most re-elected members (63) and also the most newcomers (46).

8. State governments

8.1. Overview of the 27 governments



Source: TSE and DecideBrasil App. Share of valid votes in the first round. In states with a runoff, the parties of the two finalists.



The map colors each state by the party of the governor-elect and shows in gray the seven headed to a runoff. PL holds the most governorships (5), followed by PSD (4) and PT and Republicanos (3 each). Eight governors were re-elected; Rafael Fonteles (PT, Piauí) had the highest vote share, 70.9%.

TABLE 5

Governors elected in the first round by party

PARTY	2022		2026	
	GOV.	State	GOV.	State
MDB	2	DF, PA	1	GO
NOVO	1	MG	—	—
PL	1	RJ	5	PR, RO, RR, RS, SC
PODE	—	—	1	PA
PP	2	AC, RR	2	MS, PB
PSB	1	MA	—	—
PSD	1	PR	4	AP, MA, PE, SE
PSDB	—	—	1	AL
PT	3	CE, PI, RN	3	BA, CE, PI
REPUBLICANOS	1	TO	3	MG, MT, SP
SOLIDARIEDADE	1	AP	—	—
UNIÃO	2	GO, MT	—	—
Total	15		20	

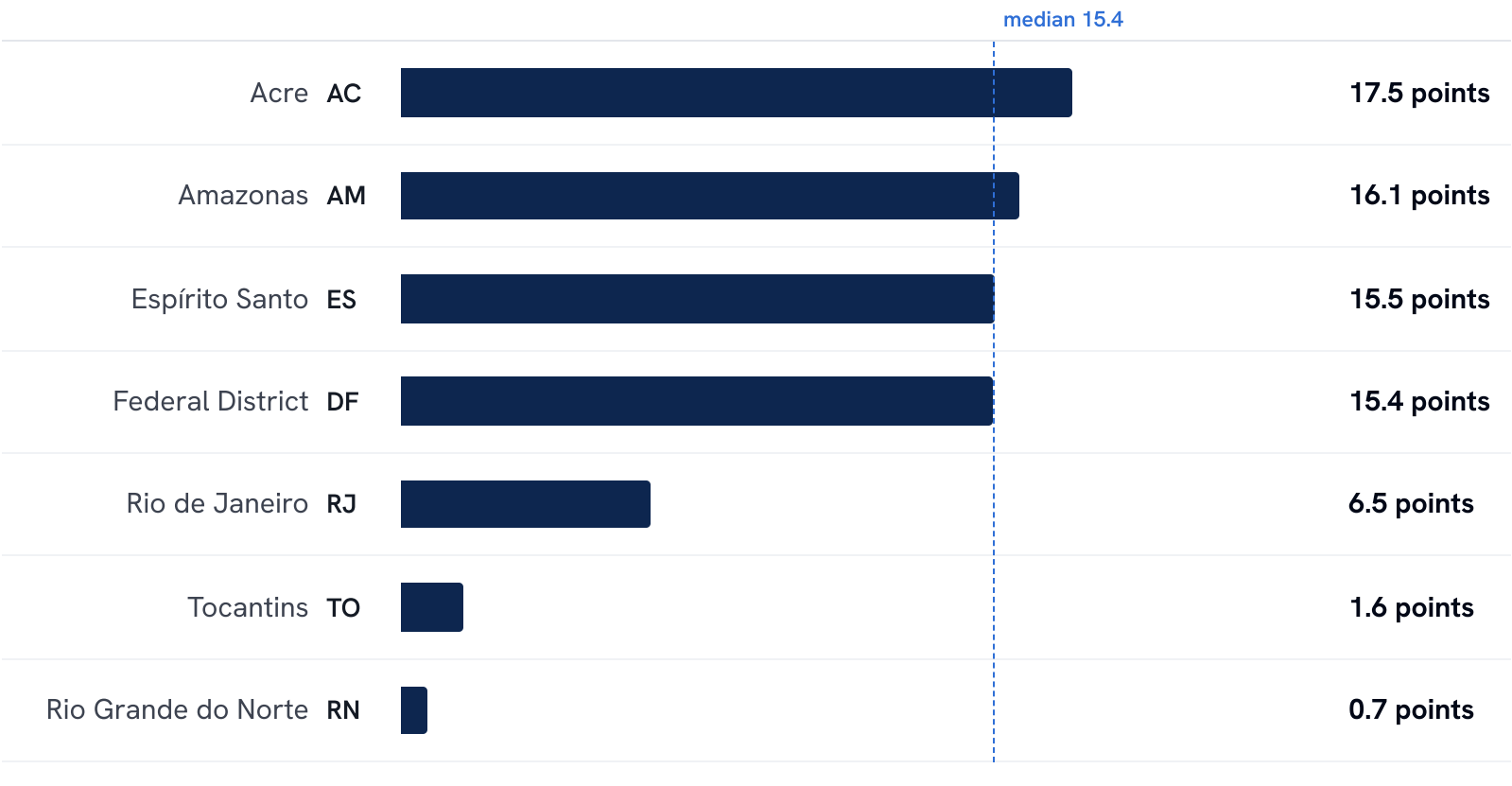
Source: TSE.

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In the 7 states headed to a runoff, the first-round gap between the top two candidates ranges from **17.5 points in Acre** to **0.7 points in Rio Grande do Norte**, with a median of 15.4 points. In RJ, TO and RN, the difference was below 7 points.

FIGURE 26

Margin between the top two candidates



Source: TSE.

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Each bar shows the gap between the top two candidates in the 7 states with a runoff. Acre (17.5), Amazonas (16.1), Espírito Santo (15.5) and the Federal District (15.4) have wide gaps; in Rio de Janeiro, Tocantins and Rio Grande do Norte, it was below 7 points.

PL's expansion is consistent across all three levels: state governments, the Senate and the Chamber. In the two largest electorates, the governors-elect belong to center-right parties: Tarcísio in São Paulo and Cleitinho Azevedo in Minas Gerais, both from Republicanos. Newly elected governors usually join the runoff campaign as vote-getters, and this map favors Flávio Bolsonaro in the Southeast and South. Lula can count on PT's three governors in the Northeast (Bahia, Ceará and Piauí), where he already holds a wide lead.

8.2. The re-elected governors

Eight governors were re-elected in the first round. A governor counts as re-elected if elected governor in 2022 and winning again (matched by CPF). A deputy governor who took office after the incumbent resigned is not included in this count.

FIGURE 27
Where the governor was re-elected



TABLE 6
The 8 re-elected governors and their party
2022 → 2026, if changed

BA	Jerônimo Rodrigues
	PT
CE	Elmano de Freitas
	PT
MS	Eduardo Riedel
	PSDB → PP
PE	Raquel Lyra
	PSDB → PSD
PI	Rafael Fonteles
	PT
SC	Jorginho Mello
	PL
SE	Fábio
	PSD
SP	Tarcísio
	REPUB.

Source: DecideBrasil App; TSE, matched by CPF.

The map highlights the 8 states where the governor was re-elected in the first round: Bahia, Ceará, Mato Grosso do Sul, Pernambuco, Piauí, Santa Catarina, Sergipe and São Paulo. Together, they account for 45.8% of national turnout.

Twenty governorships were decided in the first round, compared with 15 in 2022. PL went from 1 to 5 governors elected in the first round (PR, RO, RR, RS and SC); PSD, from 1 to 4 (AP, MA, PE and SE); PT kept 3, all in the Northeast (BA, CE and PI). Eight governors were re-elected, and the states they govern, São Paulo and Bahia among them, account for 45.8% of national turnout.

9. State legislative assemblies and the Legislative Chamber

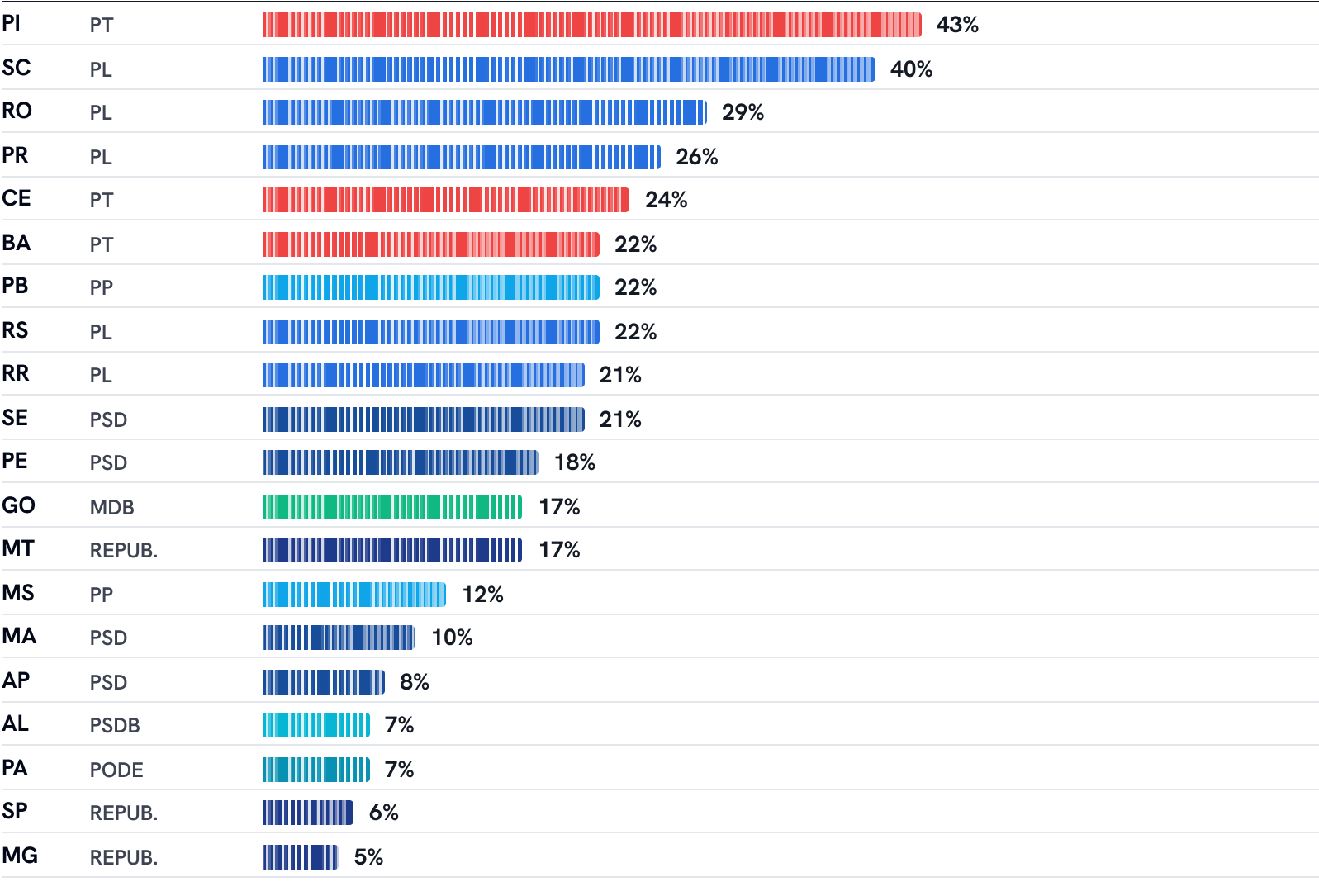
The weight of the 7 largest national caucuses varies widely across the assemblies: it ranges from **96.7% of the seats in PI to 56.5% in CE**. In no state do the other parties hold more than half of the house. Among these seven parties, PL has the largest caucus in 10 assemblies, and MDB in 4.

9.1. State context

Since the assemblies have already been elected, it is possible to know the legislative base of its own that each governor starts with. Across the 20 decided states, the median share of seats held by the governor's party is 19.6%. In the 7 headed to a runoff, the outcome depends on which finalist wins.

FIGURE 28
The weight of the governor-elect's party in the assembly

% OF SEATS HELD BY THE GOVERNOR'S PARTY • 20 STATES ALREADY DECIDED



Source: TSE.

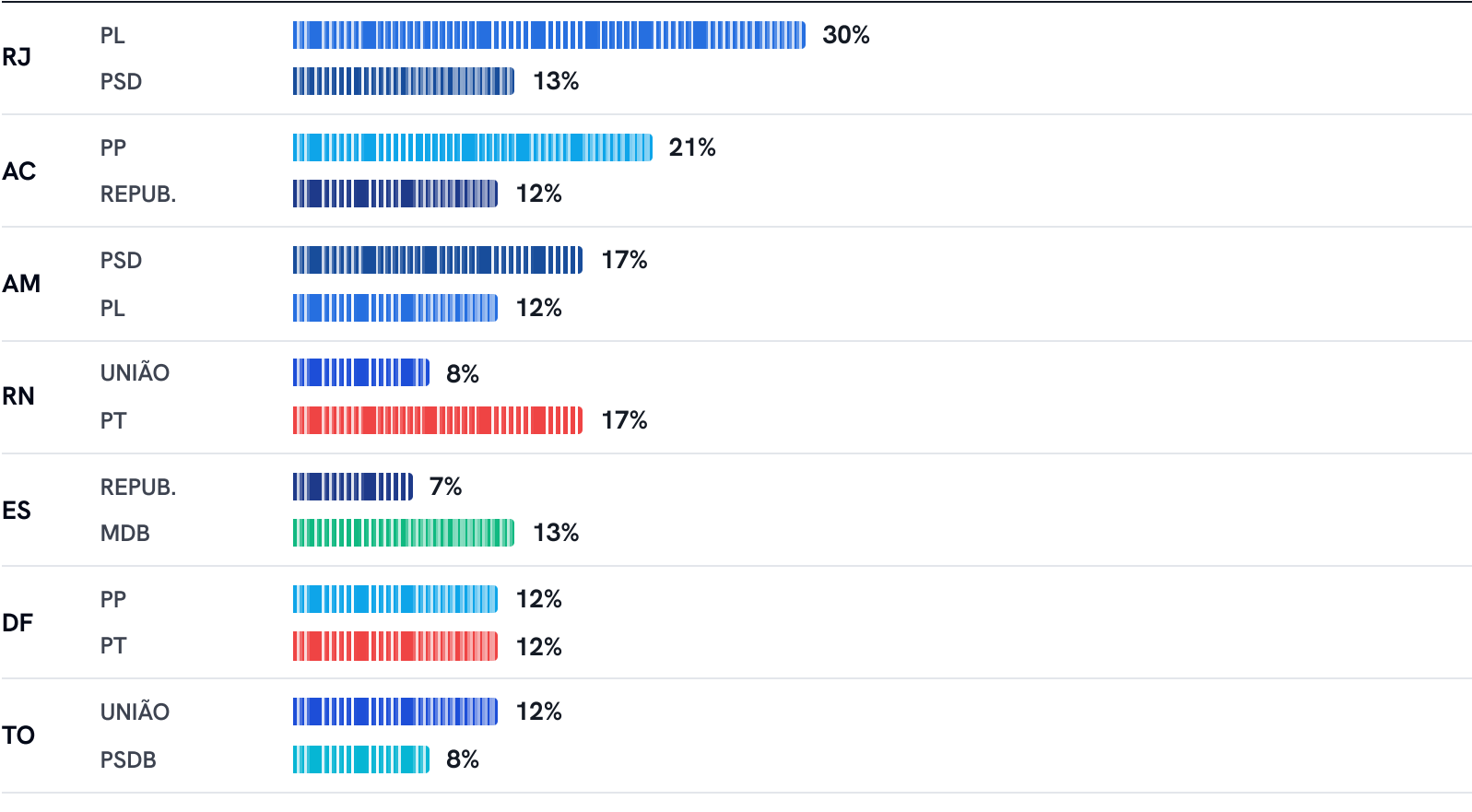
The bar shows what share of the assembly belongs to the governor-elect's party. In no state does it exceed half: the highest shares are in Piauí (PT, 43%) and Santa Catarina (PL, 40%); in São Paulo and Minas Gerais, it stands at 6% and 5%.

In the 7 states headed to a runoff, the future governor's own base depends on who wins. The figure shows the weight of each finalist's party in the already elected assembly.

FIGURE 29

The weight of the finalists' parties in the assembly

% OF SEATS HELD BY EACH FINALIST'S PARTY • 7 STATES WITH A RUNOFF



Source: TSE.



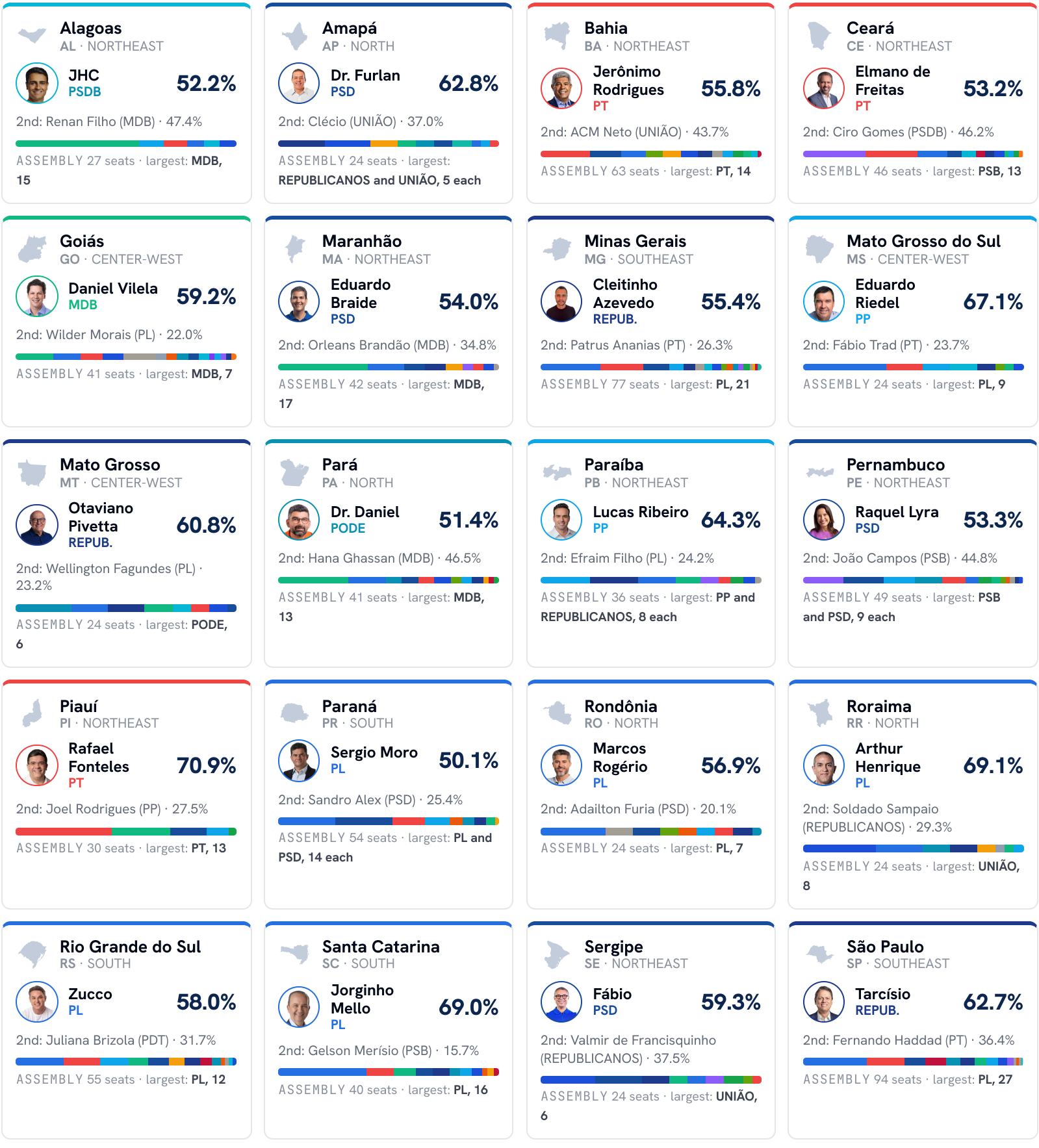
For each state with a runoff, the two bars show the weight of each finalist's party in the already elected assembly. The largest difference is in Rio de Janeiro, where PL has 30% and PSD 13%.

No governor-elect will have a majority of their own in the assembly. Across the 20 decided states, the governor's party holds a median of 19.6% of the seats. The extremes are very different: in Piauí (PT, 43%) and Santa Catarina (PL, 40%), the governor's party comes close to half of the house; in Minas Gerais and São Paulo, both governed by Republicanos, the governor's own caucus stands at 5% and 6%, and relations with the assembly depend more on alliances.

PL has the largest caucus in 10 assemblies, and MDB in 4. In the seven states with a runoff, the governor's own base changes depending on the winner: in Rio de Janeiro, for example, one finalist's party (PL) holds 30% of the assembly, and the other's (PSD), 13%.

The fragmentation of the assemblies mirrors, at the state level, the logic of Congress. Governors with a small caucus of their own, as in Minas Gerais and São Paulo, depend on negotiations with centrist parties to pass budgets and bills. Minas has a recent precedent: Romeu Zema (Novo), elected in 2018 with a small caucus, had a difficult relationship with the Assembly in his first term. Where the governor comes close to half of the house, as in Piauí and Santa Catarina, relations with the legislature tend to be more stable.

10. The 20 governors elected in the first round



Source: TSE and DecideBrasil App. Share of valid votes. The top band shows the color of the governor's party.

DECIDEBRASIL
by Unholster

11. Overall conclusion

The first round of 2026 settled most of Brazil's political map for the next four years. For the presidency, **Flávio Bolsonaro and Lula** head to the runoff separated by **1.87 points**, with **about 15.3 million votes** up for grabs among those who voted for other candidates, blank or null.

In Congress, **PL will have the largest caucus in both houses**: it went from 9 to **28 senators** and from 99 to **121 deputies**. The right and center-right together hold **51 of the 81 seats** in the Senate and **294 of the 513** in the Chamber, where no bloc reaches an absolute majority on its own.

In the states, **20 of the 27 governors** have already been elected: **PL has 5**, and **8 were re-elected**. The other **7 will be decided in the runoff**, along with the presidency. In none of the 20 decided states does the governor's party hold a majority of its own in the assembly.

The result points to very different scenarios depending on who wins the runoff. If Flávio Bolsonaro wins, he will govern with a Congress aligned with his camp: the right and center-right already exceed an absolute majority in both houses and, in the Senate, also the 3/5 required for a constitutional amendment (49 votes). In the Chamber, they would be 14 votes short of the 308 needed for an amendment, which keeps the center, led by PSD and MDB, as a bargaining chip.

If Lula wins, he will face PL as the largest opposition caucus in both houses and a right and center-right majority in the Senate, three votes short of the 54 needed to convict officials in impeachment proceedings. Negotiating with the center and center-right, already a feature of his current term, is likely to become harder. The state map also matters: in the two largest electorates, São Paulo and Minas Gerais, the governors-elect are from Republicanos; PL will govern Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, while PT keeps Bahia, Ceará and Piauí.

In the short term, the contest is a different one. With 15.3 million votes in play (other candidates, blank and null) and 33.5 million voters who did not go to the polls in the first round, the runoff is likely to be decided less by voters switching sides and more by each candidate's ability to mobilize those who have not yet voted for them.

On October 25, follow the runoff with [DecideBrasil](#): real-time results, maps and analysis to track, vote by vote, the presidential race and the seven governorships still undecided. Available in the app and at decidebrasil.com.