



DIRECTORIO
LEGISLATIVO

FORTALECEMOS
LAS DEMOCRACIAS
DE AMÉRICA LATINA

STRENGTHENING
DEMOCRACIES
IN LATIN AMERICA

JUNE 2022

Colombia

Presidential Elections - Run-off Post-election Report



Executive Summary

On June 19, the second round of the **presidential elections** in Colombia took place. With 100% of the votes counted, the leftist coalition Pacto Histórico, led by **Gustavo Petro, was the winner with around 11.2 million votes, obtaining 50.44% of the total.** The candidate obtained a difference of 3.13% (approximately 700,000 ballots) in relation to his adversary, Rodolfo Hernández, who obtained 47.31%. The new president will occupy the Casa de Nariño on August 7 and his term of office will last until 2026.

The elections showed **Petro's strength in the peripheral areas of the country and in Bogota**, but this situation also shows a political weakness in the rest of the territory. His government plan will have to politically conquer these departments, where he will have to face daily dialogue with sectors of the citizenry and politics that are more represented by government alternatives with a more conservative profile.

The new president will face challenges on two major fronts. Internally, he will have to **build an alliance with other political sectors to reach majorities in both houses of Congress** and thus achieve his programmatic objectives. In addition, he will face a **complex political and social scenario**, with high social mobilization that demands changes in the government agenda, and demands greater economic justice in line with the national economic reactivation started since the end of the pandemic.



In order to respond to these demands, the new president's next challenge will be to build concrete and lasting bridges with the opposition. **Both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, the new ruling party is positioned as a minority space** that will depend on the support of independent and opposition sectors. The key mechanism to seal alliances will be the participation in the government of other spaces, through ministerial positions, or the promotion of a consensual legislative agenda. Likewise, the existence of a Congress with a strong presence of center-right and right-wing parties will prevent Petro from creating majorities without dialoguing with them, which will test the real commitment of his conciliatory discourse and openness to the construction of a Great National Agreement.

Finally, Petro becomes President with the **support of one of the elections with the highest voter turnout in the history of Colombia**. This higher turnout compared to the first round explains his victory and, in turn, becomes the main inaugural asset of his government. The high voter turnout, which reached 58.09%, was the highest percentage since 1998. On the other hand, there were, so far, no claims or indications of fraud: both Rodolfo Hernández and the main figures of Colombian politics, such as Álvaro Uribe and President Iván Duque, acknowledged the result of the contest and called for dialogue and respect for the institutions by the future government.

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The election in numbers

50,4%

WAS THE PERCENTAGE OF VOTES OBTAINED BY PETRO. IT ALLOWED HIM TO WIN THE PRESIDENCY OF COLOMBIA.

WAS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CANDIDATES. IS THE SMALLEST IN A BALLOT SINCE 1994.

3,13%

58,1%

WAS THE VOTER TURNOUT, THE HIGHEST SINCE 1998. IT GREW COMPARATIVELY MORE IN THE DISTRICTS WON BY PETRO, A KEY POINT FOR THE LEFTIST'S VICTORY.

MILLION VOTES OBTAINED BY HERNÁNDEZ. HOWEVER HE DID NOT MANAGE TO REACH THE 11 MILLION HE HOPED FOR AFTER GETTING THE SUPPORT OF THE SPACES THAT DID NOT MAKE IT TO THE RUN-OFF.

10,5

20 y 28

THE NUMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES AND SENATORS OF PACTO HISTÓRICO. FAR FROM THE MAJORITIES IN CONGRESS, PETRO WILL NOW HAVE TO BUILD GOVERNABILITY WITH ALLIANCES.

COLOMBIA'S NEW PRESIDENTE WILL TAKE OFFICE.

August 7

Presidential Elections

Results

Gustavo Petro, accompanied by Francia Márquez, became the winner of the presidential election with 50.44% of the votes. His opponent, Rodolfo Hernandez of Liga de Gobernantes Anticorrupción, despite having almost doubled his electoral mass in relation to the first round, reached 47.31% of the total. Thus, **Colombia will face a historic change in its political and economic course, with a left-wing government for the first time in its history.**



Gustavo Petro

Pacto Histórico

50,44%

Rodolfo Hernández

Liga de Gobernadores
Anticorrupción

47,31%



With all the votes counted, the difference between both presidential formulas was 700,000 votes. While the leftist coalition went from 8,541,617 votes in the first round to 11,281,013, the former mayor of Bucaramanga almost doubled his electoral mass, going from 5,965,335 votes to 10,580,412. Thus, Gustavo Petro, who had run for the presidency on two previous occasions, will be the next president of Colombia until 2026. According to the Constitution, he will not be able to run for reelection after his term.

""Today is a day of celebration for the people. Let them celebrate the first popular victory. May so much suffering be cushioned in the joy that today floods the heart of the country. That victory for God and for the People and its history. Today is the day of the streets and squares".

" - Gustavo Petro after winning the presidency

Who was the winner?



Gustavo Petro

Vicepresidenta: Francia Márquez

Born in 1960 in Ciénaga de Oro, department of Córdoba, Gustavo Petro is **an opposition senator for Pacto Histórico**. He was a member of the Movimiento 19 de abril (M-19), a socialist guerrilla group that took the Palace of Justice by force in 1985. After the demobilization of that group, **Petro won a seat in the House of Representatives for the Alianza Democrática M-19 in 1991**, a party of which he was a co-founder.

Between **2012 and 2015 he served as Mayor of Bogotá**, until he was removed from office due to a disciplinary investigation related to the garbage collection system in the city. The present elections will be his **third attempt to reach the presidency**: in 2010 he achieved 9.1% of the votes and in 2018 25%, losing the second round against the current president of Colombia, Iván Duque.

Since 2018, due to the Opposition Statute (law of the same year, which establishes that the second most voted candidate gains access to a Senate seat), he has served as a legislator. From that space he organized the Pacto Histórico alliance. From the left-wing position, Petro states that his challenge is to build an effective and programmatic broad progressive alliance in order to stop being a "leader of radical ideas and attitudes".

After **exceeding 80% of the votes in the intra-party consultation for Pacto Histórico, Petro emerged as the candidate of the coalition**. At the same time, he added Francia Márquez as vice-presidential candidate, who achieved in March the third highest vote of all the consultations at national level. Márquez, backed by the Polo Democrático Alternativo party (center left), is an Afro-Colombian social leader, environmental activist, human rights defender and feminist.

PACTO HISTÓRICO

It is a leftist political coalition launched in February 2021, **composed of 18 political parties and social movements of socialist, communist, progressive and social democratic ideology**. It was consolidated as a government alternative built on social bases focused on social justice and peace. In addition, its member parties have emerged from fragmentation, creating an alliance made up of the Colombia Humana, Polo Democrático Alternativo, Communist Party and Movimiento Alternativo Indígena y Social parties, among others.



Propuestas de gobierno

Pacto Histórico Gustavo Petro - Francia Márquez



- Strengthen second floor public banks as financial intermediaries and sponsors of business models to favor micro, small and medium enterprises, and the popular, urban and rural economy. Guarantee credit access programs with low interest rates.
- Review Free Trade Agreements and **intellectual property rights policy**.
- Support artists in the **creation of content for digital platforms**, boosting strategic sectors such as the national film industry and promoting cultural employment.
- Guarantee **access to essential medicines with timeliness**, quality and relevance, strengthening price regulation and promoting the reindustrialization of the national pharmaceutical sector.
- Promote the **development of biodegradable materials and ban single-use plastics**. In addition, implement measures to ensure healthy food environments, such as front warning labeling on products.
- Regulate work from home.
- Restore economic relations with Venezuela

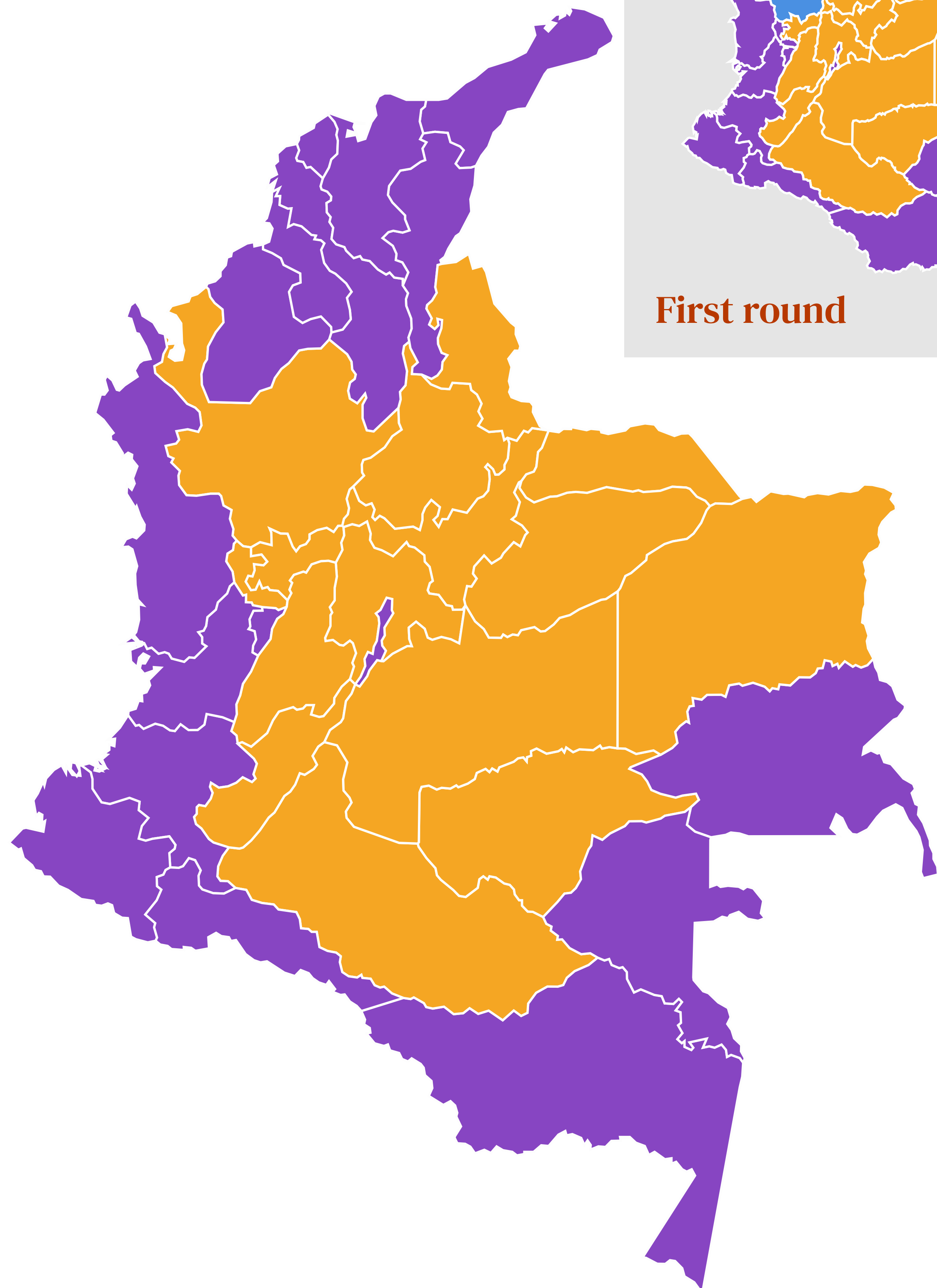
To access the full government plan [click here](#).

How can Petro's victory be explained?

Petro could not win in any department where he had not won in the first round. On the other hand, Hernandez managed to grow in territoriality (although it was an insufficient growth to obtain the Presidency) winning in the departments of Quindio and Risaralda (which in May had favored Petro) and in Antioquia (where the most voted candidate had been Federico Gutierrez).

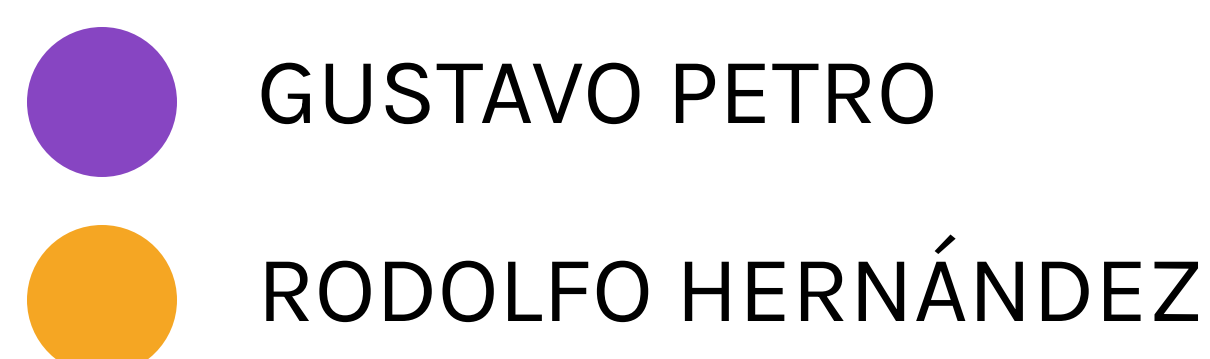
One of the main challenges that Petro will have to assume in the next years of his administration will be to build governance in the **districts of central Colombia**. His strength was evidenced in the **peripheral areas of the country and in Bogotá**, but this situation also evidences a political weakness in the rest of the territory. His programmatic government plan will have to politically conquer these departments, where he will have to face daily dialogue with sectors of the citizenry that feel more represented by other government alternatives with a more conservative profile.

The main key in the day that explains Petro's presidency is the **increase in electoral participation compared to the first presidential round**. In May, 54.98% of the eligible citizens voted and it was one of the elections with the highest turnout in the history of the first rounds in Colombia (only surpassed by the elections of 1958 and 1974). In this opportunity, **the participation level reached 58.09%**. In this way, the 2022 Ballot is the second with the highest electoral participation. In first place is (with 62.59%) the ballot of 1998 that determined the election of Andres Pastrana (from the Colombian Conservative Party) as president.



First round

Ganadores por distrito (segunda vuelta)

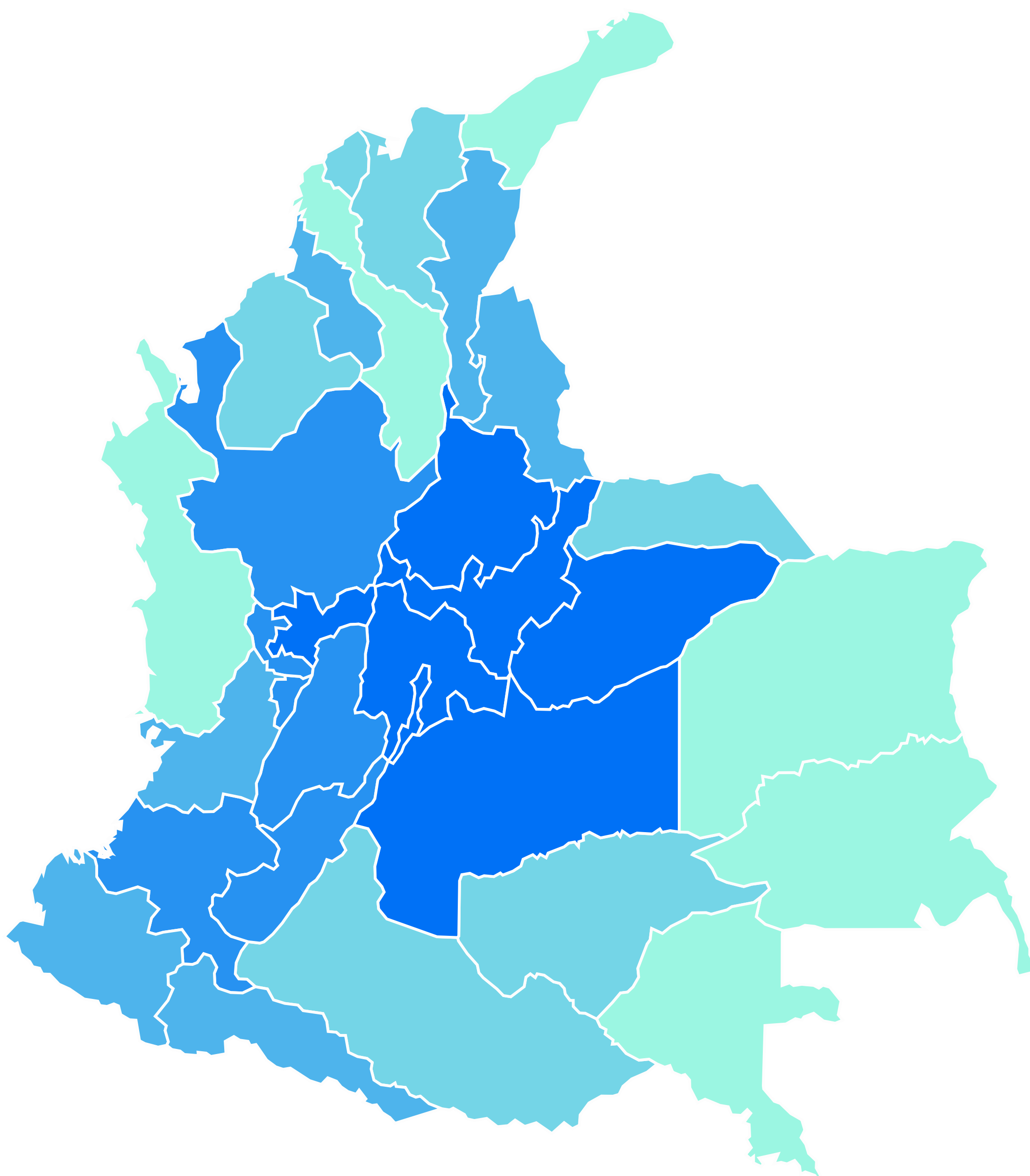


Although Petro was not able to conquer new territories, the campaign in the weeks prior to the runoff offered more convincing results in the districts where he had already won. In this way, he managed to reach 11,281,013 votes against 10,580,412 gathered by Hernandez.

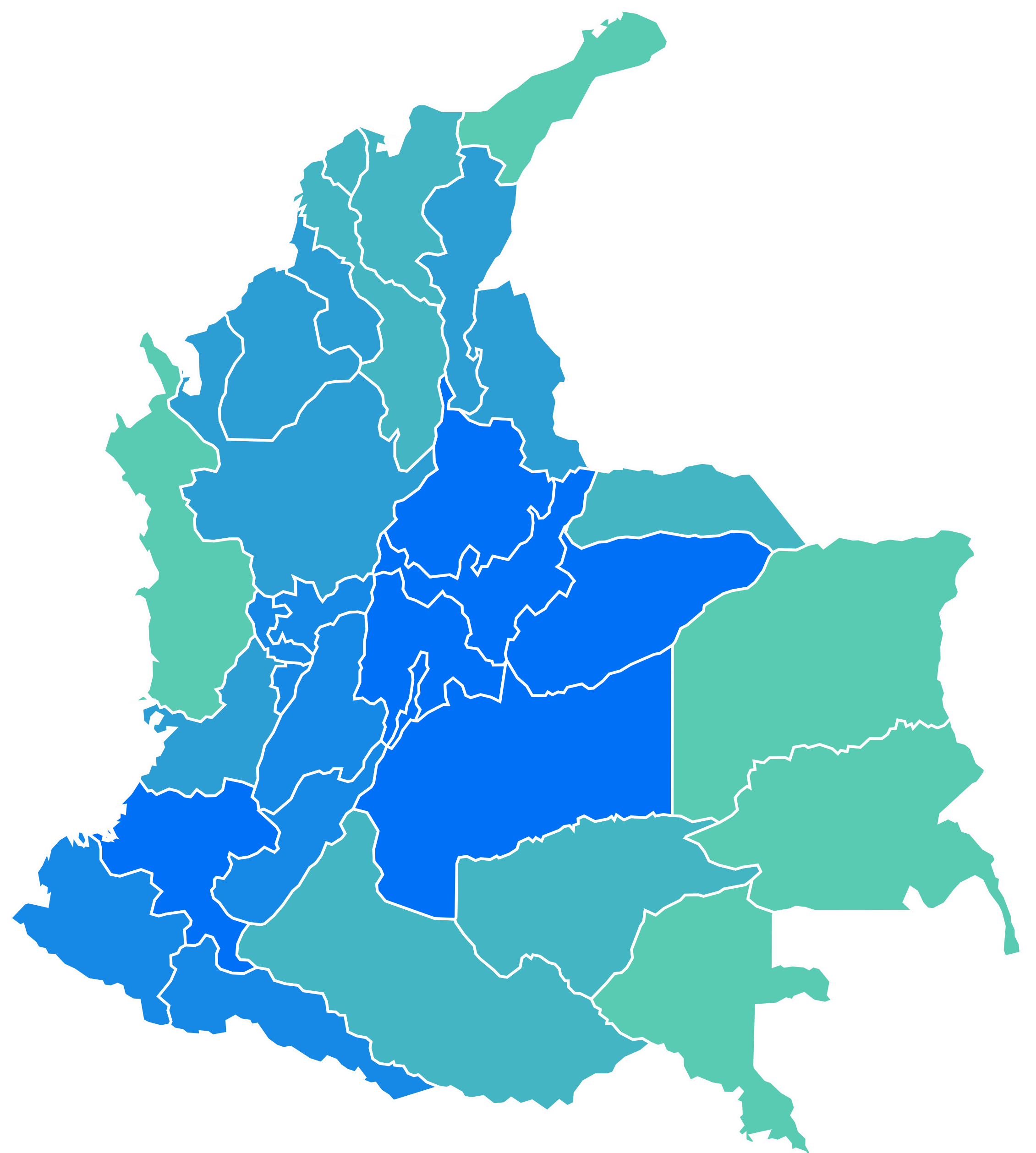
Based on Hernández's electoral performance, it can be interpreted that he managed to capture a large percentage of the votes that the candidate Federico Gutierrez had received in the first round. However, this growth was not enough to win the Presidency. Hernández's challenge for the coming years will be to **convert this electoral support into a force with continuity over time** and a programmatic agenda that will allow him to compete with greater power in the 2026 elections.

Turnout according to round of election

First Round



Run-off

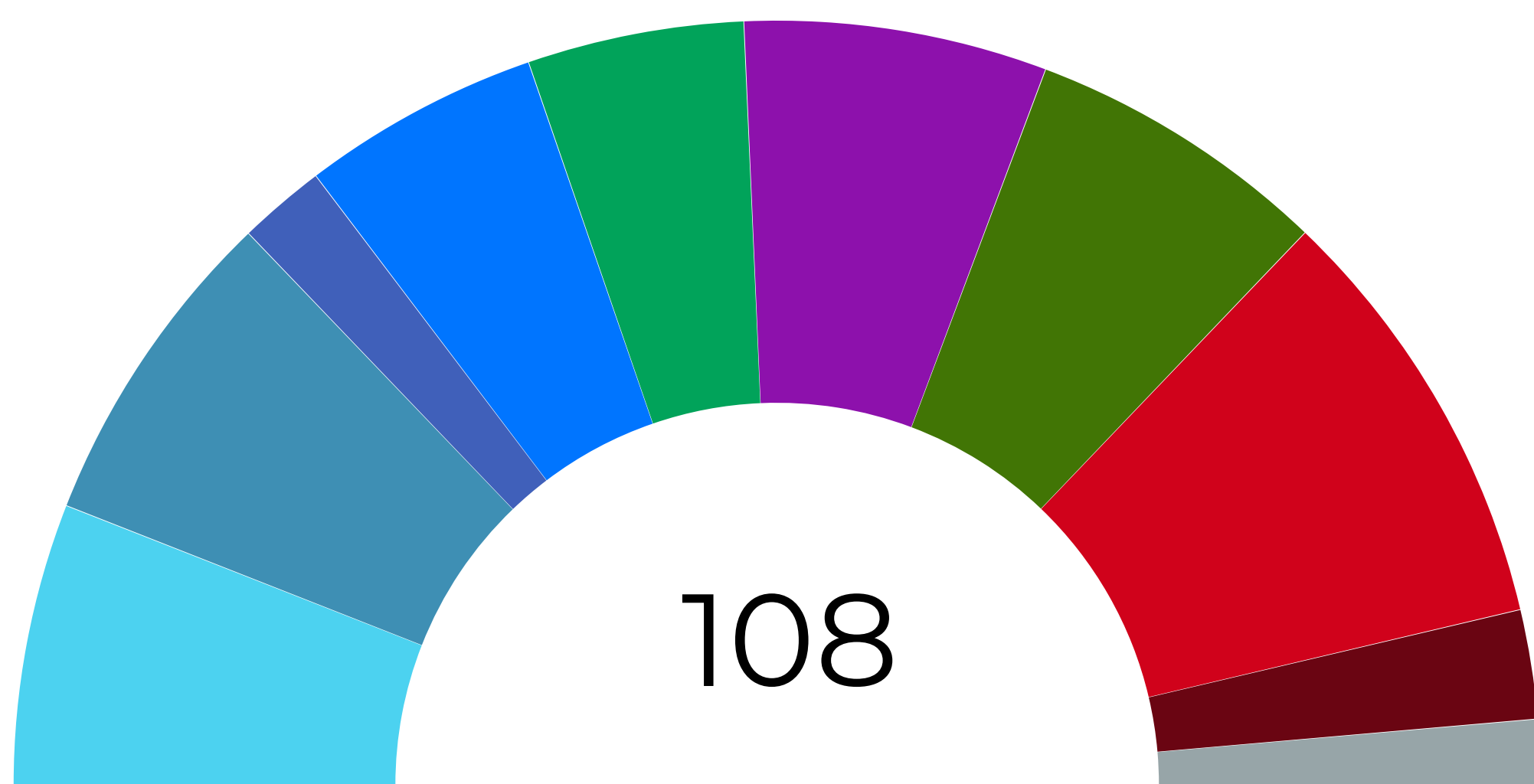


With what kind of Congress must the next president work ?

Petro will receive a fragmented Congress. Formed after the legislative elections of March 13, **no single space is in a position to reach the necessary majorities to guarantee the approval of laws.** Thus, the construction of alliances will be the key point of the period.

It is important to identify how the ideological alignments within the Congress will be structured in order to be able to project such alliances. On the **left** will be Pacto Histórico, the Coalición Centro Esperanza y Comunes; in the center will be the Partido Liberal; and on the **right**, parties close to Uribism, such as Centro Democrático (CD), Cambio Radical (CR) or the Partido Conservador (PC). In this part of the spectrum, the Liga de Gobernadores Anticorrupción, the Partido de la U and Mira - Justa Libres are also positioned.

SENATE 2022-2026



Right and center-right

- CENTRO DEMOCRÁTICO (13)
- PARTIDO CONSERVADOR (15)
- MIRA - COLOMBIA JUSTA LIBRE (4)
- CAMBIO RADICAL (11)
- PARTIDO DE LA U (10)

Center

- PARTIDO LIBERAL (14)

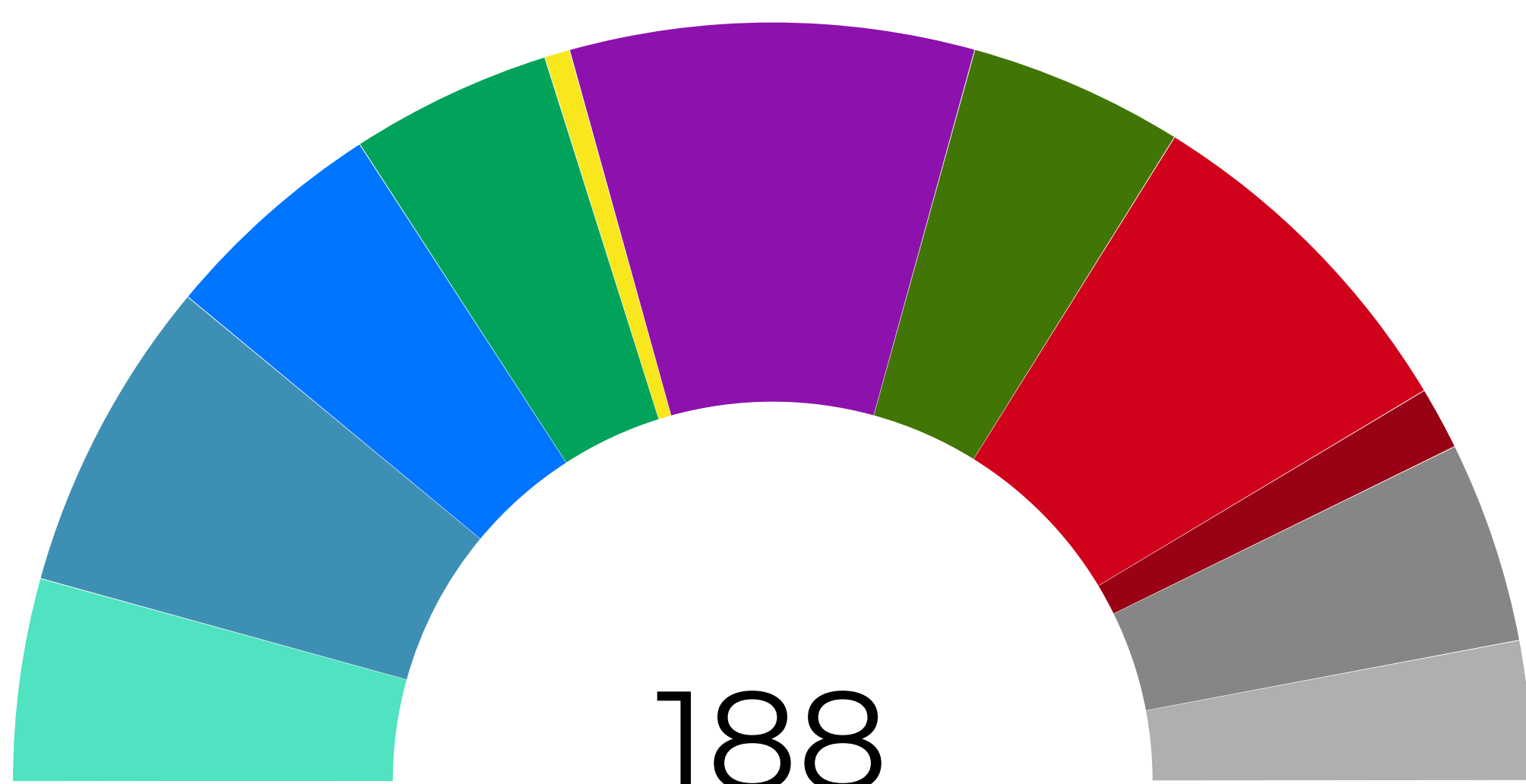
Left and center-left

- ALIANZA VERDE - CENTRO ESPERANZA (13)
- PACTO HISTÓRICO (20)
- COMUNES (5)

Others

- OTHERS (3)

CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES 2022-2026



Right and center-right

- CENTRO DEMOCRÁTICO (16)
- PARTIDO CONSERVADOR (25)
- CAMBIO RADICAL (18)
- PARTIDO DE LA U (16)
- LIGA DE GOBERNANTES ANTICORRUPCIÓN (3)

Center

- PARTIDO LIBERAL (32)

Left and center-left

- ALIANZA VERDE (17)
- PACTO HISTÓRICO (28)
- COMUNES (5)

Others

- PEACE SEATS (16)
- OTHERS (12)

In the **Senate**, the **ideological space that will have more strength will be the center right and the right wing**, which together will have up to **54 seats**. On the other hand, the **left could form an alliance of up to 38 seats**. Here the role of the centrist Liberal Party will be key to allow the right a majority, although its support would be insufficient for the left to reach such threshold. In its case, it will still have to look for support in other minor spaces or in the more moderate space of the center-right, something that seems to be difficult.

In the **Chamber of Representatives**, the situation is similar. **The center right and right wing will have up to 78 of 188 seats, 17 behind the majority**. This sum includes the 3 representatives obtained by Hernandez's party, the Anti-Corruption Governors League. For their part, **the left and center-left parties would have up to 50 seats**. Here again, the behavior of the Liberal Party will be key, which with its 32 representatives, could give the center-right a majority of its own or bring the left closer to that number. However, any alliance of the latter tendency will require the support of the peace seats (16) or the seats of other minor spaces.

What alliances will Petro have to seek in order to promote his agenda?

Petro will have 28 representatives and 20 senators. These numbers make it one of the single parties with the largest representation in Congress. However, they **keep it far from the majorities needed to pass laws** in each body (95 and 55).

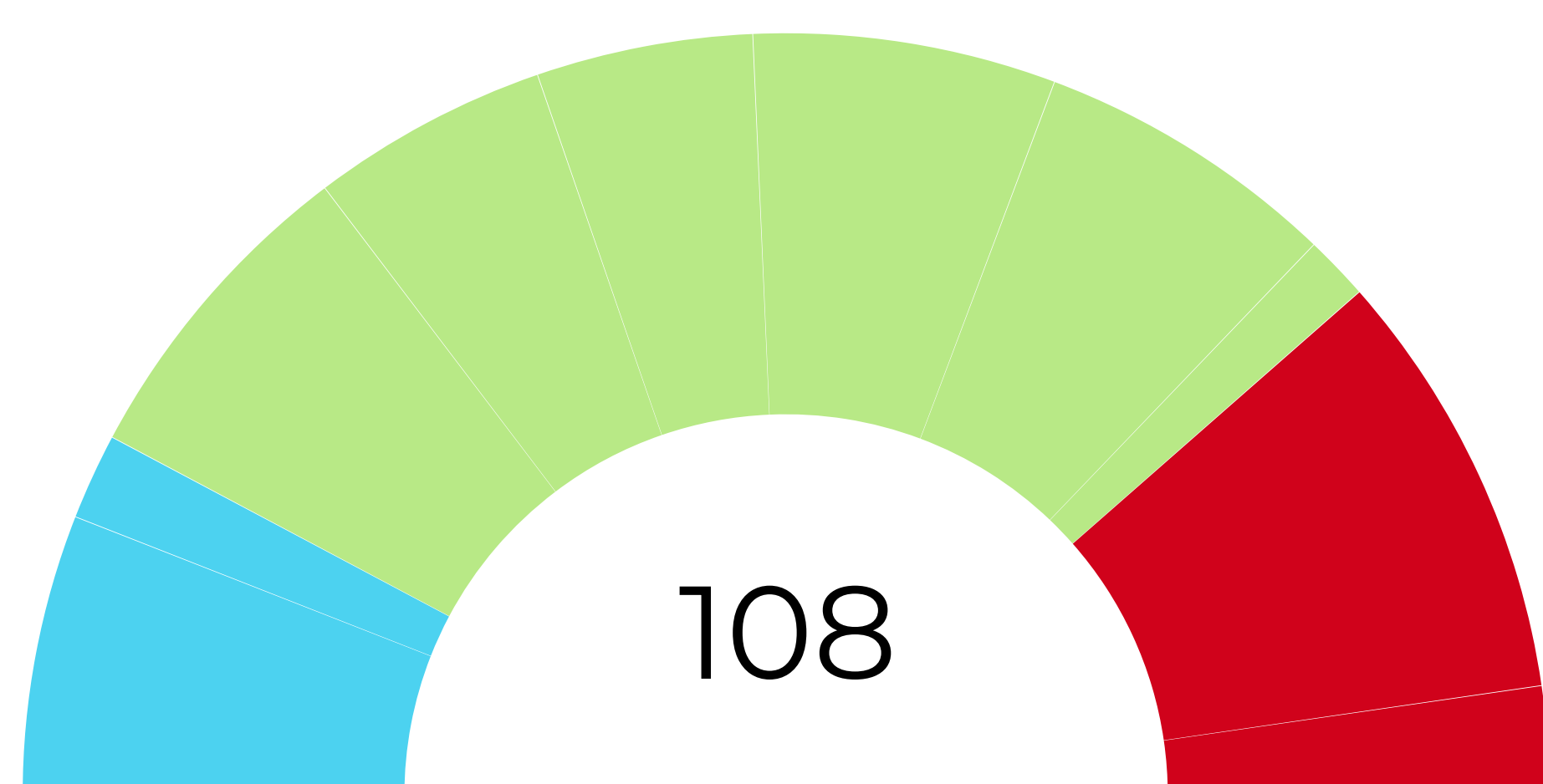
Thus, the new president will already have to start looking at the repercussions that his election generated in the parties represented in Congress. Many of them, as of last night, began to position themselves, opening or closing the door to possible alliances and agreements. It is important to mention that according to the Statute of the Opposition, **all parties with presence in Congress must declare**, by September 7 of this year, **whether they will be pro-government, opposition or independent**.



At the moment, the prevailing feeling has been one of caution on both sides of the political spectrum. Noting the conciliatory speech and the call for cooperation that Petro presented in his victory speech, **many parties have opted to take a period of time to dialogue with the new president before issuing a definitive position**. The right-wing parties, Cambio Radical, Partido Conservador and Partido de la U positioned themselves in this trend. The same was done, from the center, by the Partido Liberal, and from the left by the Coalición Centro Esperanza and Alianza Verde.

Other spaces were not so cautious and have already anticipated their positions. **Pacto Histórico will have the support of Comunes**, while Centro Democrático, party of the outgoing ruling party of Iván Duque and Uribeism, has already stated that they will be opponents, as well as Colombia Justa y Libre.

SENATE 2022-2026



Opposition

- CENTRO DEMOCRÁTICO (13)
- MIRA - COLOMBIA JUSTA LIBRE (4)

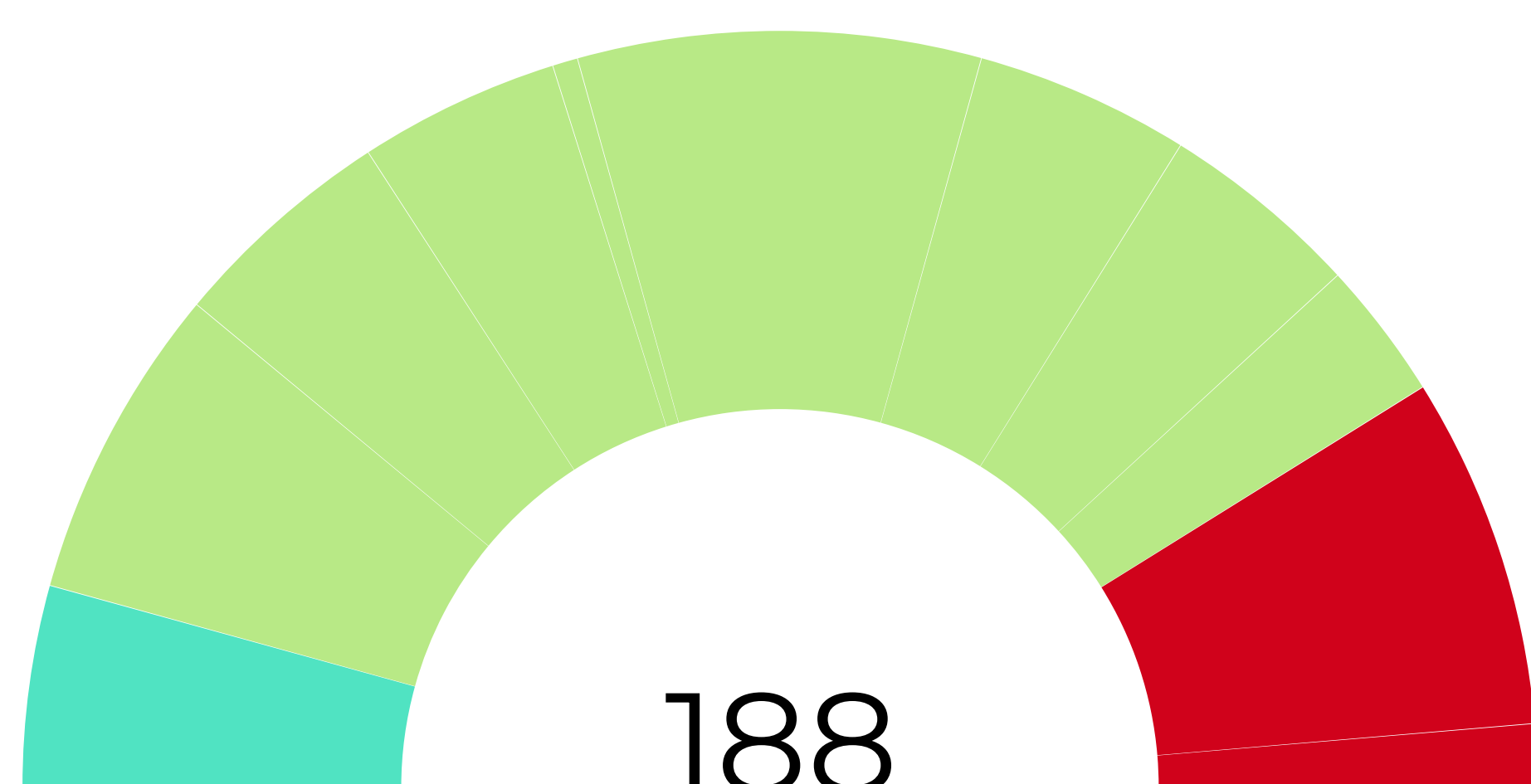
Ruling party

- PACTO HISTÓRICO (20)
- COMUNES (5)

Not yet defined

- PARTIDO CONSERVADOR (15)
- CAMBIO RADICAL (11)
- PARTIDO DE LA U (10)
- PARTIDO LIBERAL (14)
- ALIANZA VERDE - CENTRO ESPERANZA (13)
- OTHERS (3)

CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES 2022-2026



Opposition

- CENTRO DEMOCRÁTICO (16)

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- PARTIDO LIBERAL (32)
- ALIANZA VERDE (17)
- PEACE SEATS (16)
- OTHERS (12)

In conclusion, the key now will be the **capacity of Petro and his party to build concrete and lasting bridges with the opposition**. Both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, the parties that have not yet taken a position have strong numbers that would allow them to reach a majority. The key mechanism to seal alliances will be the participation in the government of other spaces, through ministerial positions, or the promotion of a consensual legislative agenda.

In both cases, **agreements with related spaces will allow Petro to promote his proposals with fewer concessions**, so the main targets of his negotiations are expected to be Alianza Verde, Centro Esperanza and Partido Liberal, all from the center-left or center. However, those votes will not be enough to reach a majority. Then, **he will also have to negotiate with spaces that are recognized as center-right or center**, such as the Partido Conservador (which has never declared itself an opposition party in the Colombian Congress). However, this opens questions regarding Petro's real capacity to moderate his discourse and include spaces that, a priori, seem antagonistic to his objectives and ideology.

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Pre- election Colombia
Presidential Elections Report



Image of Power
March - April 2022

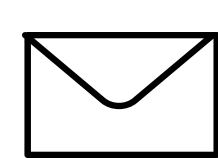


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