



THE MUNICIPAL LEGISLATURE OF SANTA CATARINA IN GENDER PERSPECTIVE: ORIGIN, CAREER AND SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

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Abstract: The research agenda about political elites in Brazil devotes little attention to the municipal sphere, as well to the differences involving the accesses of men and women to representative's positions. Our aim is characterize the Local legislators of the State of Santa Catarina in sociodemographic and associative terms and support to democracy, because we have in view the importance of their beliefs to strengthen the regime. Around that, we use the data produced by the extension project entitled "1st Census of Municipal Legislature of Santa Catarina" by researchers linked to the Program of Graduate Studies in Political Sociology at the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC) and the Assembly Legislative School Legislature of the State of Santa Catarina. The unprecedented research included councilors of 230 municipalities in the legislature from 2013 to 2016. The principal findings demonstrate that the inequalities observed in society, as a whole, reflect the composition of the Brazilian municipal legislatures, since political participation is more costly and exacting to women, since they need to accumulate many resources or capital in more significant extent than men. Beyond that, we present some issues with the purpose to establishing a research agenda that links local political elites and political values, and reinforce the need for dialogue between different categories / thematic studies, as political behavior, elitism and gender.

Keywords: Legislative; Gender; Trajectory; Support for Democracy; Santa Catarina.

1 Initial Considerations

Since the 19TH century, authors considered classics of elitism as a political theory have affirmed that the values, attitudes and behaviors of politically active minorities should be one of the main objects of Political Science studies (MOSCA 1992; PARETO, 1984; MICHELS, 1982). Although the studies on the thematic have had retractions by Marxist critics, institutionalist and structuralist, today, the research constitutes expressive agenda both in the national scope as in the international one (PERISSINOTTO; CODATO, 2008).

However, it should be noted that, in the Brazilian case, such studies focus on specific segments of elites, such as national parliamentary elites (NUNES LEAL, 1978; CARVALHO, 1996; LIMA; CHEIBUB, 1996; CODATO, 2008; ALMEIDA;

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LÜCHMANN; RIBEIRO, 2012) and regionals (PERISSINOTTO et al, 2007) and non-state groups (GIMENES, 2011), for example. In this sense, little attention has been paid up to then to members of the municipal legislative branch. Studies of this nature, moreover, have focused on aspects related to the political careers and resources required for entry and success in electoral competition.

One issue that permeates studies on n, participation and representation in Brazil concerns the disagreement between the accesses of men and women to positions of representation and public spaces in general. On the one hand, data collected from 140 management councils in the areas of social assistance, health and environment at the municipal, state and federal levels indicate that the female presence is related to the areas of action of the councils, to the circles in which this modality of institutional participation act and the types of associative links of councilors (LÜCHMANN; ALMEIDA; GIMENES, 2016). On the other hand, even though they represent 52% of the Brazilian population, women are minority among those elected to the public office, despite existence of legislation that provides for a minimum quota of female candidates per party in each lawsuit.

In addition to those arguments, it is also necessary to consider the feminist criticism that this situation is due, to some points, to the problems caused from the duality between public life and private and domestic life, which means that the low female participation does not necessarily indicate less women's interest in public life (MIGUEL, BIROLI, 2014).

Considering this context, this article has the objective of analyzing the profile of the city councilors of the State of Santa Catarina, especially in relation to their origin and trajectory and their political values. Considering the smaller female participation in the municipal legislatures, we will establish such a profile considering the types of city councilmen and council-women. In this way, we intend not only to verify demographic aspects, but also how certain aspects of the political culture between men and women are distributed, such as institutional bonds and the support for democracy.

To do so, we will analyze data from an unpublished survey among the Brazilian municipal legislatures: the extension project 1st Census of the Catarinense Municipal Legislative¹. This research, done jointly by researchers linked to the Postgraduate

¹ The basic descriptive analysis of the data resulting from the questionnaires applied to the city councilmen and servers is found in the report entitled "Por dentro das Câmaras: the profile of city councils, municipal civil servants and the

Program in Political Sociology of the Federal University of Santa Catarina and the Legislative School of the Legislative Assembly from the State of Santa Catarina, analyzed data from 292 city councils² from that branch of the federation, as well as 1699 researchers from municipal civil servants (from 242 municipalities) and 1054 from city councils (from 230 municipalities) of the legislature 2013-2016³, according to a simple random distribution that allowed the composition

composition of representative samples for both sets of actors.

In view of the above, the next section presents brief arguments about the relevance of

studies on values, attitudes and behaviors of political elites to contemporary democracies, as well as on gender disparity and political representation in Brazil. In the sequence, we show some considerations, even being preliminary and of an exploratory nature, in relation to the socio-demographic characterization and referring to the recruitment and political values of city councilmen and council-women of Santa Catarina. Finally, the last section deals with notes for the development of a research agenda related to the analyzed object.

2 Political Culture, Elitism, Gender and Political Representation

Since The Civic culture, the approach to cultural determinants of political phenomena is relevant to Political Science. Although it had been having a lot of criticism⁴ the Almond and Verba's (1989 [1963]) work, it is recognized as an example for the institutionalization of research on the subject and stands out, among other aspects, for innovation in investigating the existence of congruence between subjective variable and the political systems from five countries (Germany, the United States, Great Britain, Italy and Mexico).

Likewise the pioneers, authors such as Putnam (1996), Inglehart (1988) and Diamond (1994) have reaffirmed the relevance of political culture to democracies. Not

Municipal Legislative Council of the Santa Catarina" (MICK et al, 2015). During the second semester of 2016 the production of a collection with theoretical, empirical and analytical discussions regarding the data of said bank was underway, which will be made public after the publication of the collection.

² The municipal councils of Caibi, Serra Alta and Sul Brasil did not respond to the institutional questionnaire.

³ Originally, the expectation was to conduct a census survey among all the municipal legislative councils of Santa Catarina, which was not possible due to technical limitations and cognition, on the part of the respondents. Information about the data collection techniques used, the sample composition, the stages and deadlines of the activities, as well as the questionnaires applied, are also found in Mick et al. (2015).

⁴ A systematization of criticism of the work is in Gimenes (2011). The authors revisited his theory in a new work a few decades after the original publication, in which they sought to respond to criticism and to advance the discussion about the causal relationship between political culture and political structure (ALMOND; VERBA, 1989 [1963]).

infrequently, culturalist studies had as objects of analysis occupying groups of positions of power. In the case of elitism, the most expressive authors of this theoretical trend (MOSCA, 1992 [1896]; PARETO (1984); MICHELS (1982 [1911])) dealt with the undeniable historical demonstration of the existence of a vanguard that would lead to political decisions: the elite. According to these authors, even in situations where the participation of the masses constitutes political activism, it is necessary to consider the existence of elites, which lead to historical and political processes⁵.

On such a group, Dahl (2012) discussed the beliefs of these political activists to talk about the factors that favor the establishment of democratic systems in polyarchies. Briefly, it would be possible to affirm that a democratic system would hardly exist without a politically active part of the population adhering to such system, to the point of strongly rejecting authoritarian forms of government.

In this sense, the theoretical argument of the author demonstrates the relevance of the discussion about the values, attitudes and behaviors of political elites, as is the case of the object of this paper, since the author argues that political activists play a fundamental role in the creation processes and diffusion of the elements which conform the political culture of a society.

In view of these considerations, we affiliated with Gimenes' (2011) inference about the set of authors highlighted in this section and circumscribed to the study of political culture: political elites are important and disregarding their influence on political processes would be ingenuous, since their values explain the performance of those who lead the decision-making processes, which affect citizens in general.

It should also be noted that Dahl (2012), when dealing with a series of conditions for the proper functioning of democracy, or, more correctly, for the democratization of systems, declared that there are two synthetic dimensions to be taken into account: public contestation and participation in elections and public office. In the course of his work, the author analyzed a lot of countries and conditions for their respective democratizations.

There is, among these aspects, an element of considerable value for our discussions, that refers to the equality and / or the inequality as the distribution of economic, social and political resources, as well as the consequent production of

⁵ The theoretical revision on the theory of elites is competently mapped by authors such as Rennó (1998) and Ribeiro (2011). Considerations about the classical concepts of elitist theory, Dahl's (1997) contribution to the debate and the concept of "power elites" (WRIGHT MILLS, 1982) are in a recent theoretical essay (GIMENES, 2014).

individual and collective skills. For the author, these factors would directly affect the chances of hegemony and political competition:

In the allocation of income, wealth, status, knowledge, occupation, position in the organization, popularity and various other values, each society also **allocates resources with which an actor can influence the behavior of other actors**, at least in some circumstances. These resources then become political resources. **Who will receive what and how many political resources is not, however, just a mere inert consequence of socioeconomic institutions. Actors that influence or control the state may use various branches of the state to reorder the initial** distribution of political resources resulting from the processes of socioeconomic institutions: through income tax, for example, or imposing limits on the contribution to political campaigns; or they can effectively create and allocate new political resources, such as suffrage (DAHL, 2012, p. 92, our emphasis).

From these considerations, it is possible to think of another element to be considered in this article, which talks about the differentiations in the organizational circle of society, as well as the processes of participation and political representation as mechanisms of greater democratization or of enhancing the quality of democracy. Thus, there are contemporary societies that present political phenomena that affect this quality, mainly related to the lack of participation and representation of social minorities, as in the case of women.

History has made it clear that the guarantee of the female vote has not been reversed in the greater political participation of the women and nor in a greater number presence of them in public positions, on the one hand it is due to be a relatively recent experience, while on the other, confirming with the passage of Dahl (2012) highlighted above, to some extent due to the fact that

[...] women's political participation is limited by material and symbolic factors that harm their ability to apply, reduce the competitiveness of those who apply and hinder the advancement and hinder the advancement of the political career of those who are elected (MIGUEL, 2014, p.204).

Following this global historical trend, female suffrage in Brazil, conquered in 1932, has also not proved sufficient to overcome the process of political exclusion of women. The elaboration of the Constitution of 1988 was fundamental for the women, from their performance, to conquer legal rights for their demands in the sphere of institutional politics, so much that during that period the National, State and Municipal Councils of the Feminine Condition were created, the women's police stations, the women's groups in the parties and unions and, years after the promulgation of the Constitution, the implementation of the Law of Quotas.

In Brazil, the quota system for women candidates on party slates was established in 1995. The first step was the approval of Law No. 9,100, from which the incorporation of at least 20% of women candidates for the elections to the City Council of 1996. However, by the end of 1997, Law 9,504 was approved, which increased the quotas to 30% (a minimum of 25% of vacancies was defined, transitorily, in 1998) for all legislatures. However, the Brazilian quota policy presents some outstanding issues, among them the non-requirement to fill the established percentages, which means that even when the party does not fill the number of places for women, it can launch applications normally. This gap reflects in the lack of sanction to parties that do not meet the established, which contributes to the launch of fictitious candidates (ARAÚJO, 2001).

In terms of electoral results, the relationship between the victories of men and women for the positions of federal and state representatives in 2006, 2010 and 2014 is stable, despite the increase in the number of women candidates in the period (PEIXOTO; GOULART; SILVA, 2016, p. 134):

In summary, the results of the gender quota policy established in the party list were verified only in the number of candidates offered, which increased by 175% for the House of Representatives and 156% for State Assemblies between 2006 and 2014. However, none substantive change occurred in the number of women elected. This signals a partisan strategy of simply inserting women into the nominees in order to avoid punishment, but without offering the candidates real conditions of competition. (PEIXOTO; GOULART; SILVA, 2016, p. 134)

This context confers on Brazil, according to the 2014 Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) data for a set of 188 countries, only the 158th position in terms of gender equality in the parliament (BRAZIL, 2014), so that, despite a legislation, the presence of women in the Brazilian parliament never exceeded 10%, which contrasts notoriously with the weight of this group in the population of the country.

On the other hand, the institution of quotas has as a positive point the visibility question about the low political representation of women, since it has brought to the surface discussions and questions about the exclusion of women in the spheres of power. In this sense, many studies have tried to verify the variations in the efficacies of quota laws in different countries (KROOK, 2008; ARAÚJO, 2008; RÍOS; HORMAZÁBAL; COOK, 2008). In the case of Brazil, legislation has no causality about the greater participation of women in politics (ARAÚJO, 2001; 2008), so that, in the face of such a scenario, other determinants have come to be investigated, such as the role of the structure of the party system.

On the dimension of the party system, Araújo (2001) affirms that it has two aspects that impact women's participation: more generally, the degree of fragmentation (multiparty or party concentration) and, in the internal context, the ideological profile and the level of party institutionalization. The author's notes affirm that systems with few and large parties would tend to be unfavorable to women's eligibility, whereas multiparty systems would allow for greater renewal and inclusion of women, because there would be more competition, fewer traditional parties and more unions open to the incorporation of different groups social policies. In terms of internal contexts, parties with ideologies closer to the left on the ideological spectrum and with more structured organizations (with a greater degree of concentration of decisions in smaller instances) would tend to offer an environment more conducive to women's participation.

In addition, it is important to emphasize that, although there is a structural environment that encourages the participation of women in political spaces, social relations and their effects on individuals influence their willingness to participate. In other words, inequalities in gender relations, based on liberal and patriarchal ideas, establish themselves as relevant cultural obstacles (PATEMAN, 1996).

All these elements confirm an inheritance of unbalance and inequality between men and women, which reflects on political participation and contributes to the current scenario being permeated by few women willing to compete, it is not because they are apathetic or have no interests, but "because their social journey and their structural situation in relation to gender relations, together with the conditions in which institutional politics and electoral competition operate in the country, do not offer them a favorable or even lively scenario" (ARAÚJO, 2001, p. 247) .

The scenario is not encouraging in what concerns the expectations to change this reality, at least with respect to institutional norms. In June 2015, the Federal House of Representatives brought to the vote the Agglutinative Amendment No. 57 of the Proposal for Constitutional Amendment (Portuguese acronym: PEC) No. 182/2007, which had as objective to establish the minimum reserve of vacancies for women in all spheres of the Legislative Branch in the country. The text presaged for the implementation of gender quotas gradually. Minimum percentages of 10%, 12% and 15% of seats for women in each lawsuit, in other words, it would be a question of reserving effective seats in parliament for this group, unlike the existing system for this group, unlike the current system, which only requires the parties to allocate 30% of the candidates. But the matter

in question was rejected in Plenary. In order to be approved, 308 (2/3 of the total number of deputies) required favorable votes. With a quorum of 448 deputies, the matter was supported by 293 of them, 101 opposed and 53 abstained⁶.

Although some feminist organizations classify the percentages predicted as unacceptable, because they would keep Brazil among the last places in the Latin American women's ranking in positions of power, it is important to point out – to which we are interested here – that such a proposal could transform the reality of many Brazilian municipalities that have never elected a city council-women, for example.

By way of illustration, we cited the numbers of the municipal elections of 2012, whose female participation in the results was timid. Only 13.3% of the seats in the city councils all over the country were conquered by women, with emphasis on the North and Northeast, where they performed the best in percentage terms, with 14.8% and 15.5%, respectively, while the Southeast counted only 11%, the three Southern states reached 13% and the Midwest 12.5%. In this scenario, Espírito Santo was the state where women had the worst performance (7.5%) and Rio Grande do Norte, the best, with 20.5% of successful female candidates.

With regard to the federative branches from the southern region, the state of Santa Catarina had the highest increase of city council-women between the 2008 and 2012 elections, leaping from a female representation of 10% to 13.3%, with emphasis on the town of Morro Grande, where most of the seats are currently occupied by women (55.6%), while Florianópolis is the only capital where no women were elected to the City Council in the two elections (ALVES, 2012).

In view of the above, we assume the division of genders as an important analytical component for the interpretation of the relations between political culture and elites. In this sense, the data referring to the Municipal Legislative Branch of the State of Santa Catarina provide us with indications about the similarities or discrepancies of the profiles, trajectories and political values of men and women, as well as allow us to problematize, although in an exploratory way, the influence on electoral success in local elections.

⁶ In the same year, a similar proposal was, however, approved in the first and second rounds by the Federal Senate. The Senate's Proposed Constitutional Amendment (PEC) 98/2015 provides for the reserve of 10% of the seats for each gender in the next elections, 12% in the next elections and 16% in the next ones. The matter awaits proceedings in the House of Representatives.

3 Profile of the Municipal Legislative of Santa Catarina

Initially, we emphasize that the composition of predominantly male municipal legislatures in Santa Catarina is replicated in our data, which reinforces the representative of our sample. Although in our sample the number of women respondents exceeded the percentage of women elected in 2012, the 15.1% of questionnaires answered by city council-women is within the margin of error concerning the survey. While we obtained 159 responses to the questionnaires by women, the number of men reached 895, that is, 84.9% of the total questionnaires answered.

In relation to the studies on elites, Perissinotto (2003) declares that aspects such as age, gender and race, among other personal information, are relevant to the characterization of any group. In relation to the analyzed database, we present in Table 1 the distribution of the city councilmen and city councilwomen separately, in relation to the age group, marital status and race / ethnic group.

Table 1 - Socio-demographic characteristics by gender

Characteristics	Fem (%)	Men (%)
AGE GROUP		
From 18 to 30 years old	8.3	5.8
From 31 to 40 years old	29.6	23.4
From 41 to 50 years old	37,1	40,7
From 51 to 64 years old	23.3	26.9
MARITAL STATUS		
Not married	20.2	15.2
Married	79.2	84.7
RACE / ETHNIC GROUP		
White	88.7	86.3
Black	0.6	1
Brunette / Brown	9.4	11.7
Others	1.3	0.6

Source: 1st Census of the Catarinense Municipal Legislative (2015).

The data show, initially, that the majority of the parliamentarians is in a wide age group that extends between 31 and 64 years. Both women (37.6%) and men (40.7%) are concentrated mainly between 41 and 50 years. There are few young municipal legislators of both genders in Santa Catarina.

For the variable marital status, we consider the categories "single", "separated", "divorced" and "widowed" as not married and those in "common-law marriage", "living together as married" and "married" as married. The data show that the part of women in the first group is higher than that of men, while there are more city councilmen married than council-women. This finding corroborates the arguments of the feminist critique of the public-private duality in the construction and occupation of the spaces of power, which call attention to the fact that women in "conventional marriages" are restricted to "opportunities to participate in public, professional, and political activities" because of the socially constructed specialization of domestic responsibilities (BITTMAN, 2004, BIROLI, 2013, pp. 172-173). This declaration could be more compelling if the data provided us with more detailed information about the responsibilities of men and women in caring for, for example, home-based activities with children, the sick, the elderly, etc. However, we highlight the fact that the profile of the Santa Catarina municipal legislatures does not differ from other public and political spaces in relation to the female access, specifically regarding marital status.

Finally, in relation to the self-declared ethnic groups, these also do not present substantive discrepancies between city councilmen and council-women, given the large percentage of white men and white women in the groups. Among the other ethnic groups, we found that there are more brown or dark men than brown and brunette women, and that others and black men or women occupy few seats in the Catarinense municipal legislatures, regardless of gender.

3.1 Recruitment of Catarinenses Municipal Political Elites

According to Perissinotto (2003), recruitment refers to the way in which individuals are inserted in political elites, so that it constitutes the set of information essential to the analysis of groups of this nature. The main aspects of the recruitment to be analyzed are: [a] family origin, with a view to revealing the origin of the class and the mobility or maintenance of the social, educational and political condition of the family and the individual; (b) socio-professional and class origin, which receives a lot of attention from studies on political elites and concerns the selection base of the group (whether democratic / broad or elitist / narrow) and the relationships between professional occupation, profession (formal or "with diploma") and political behavior; [c] schooling, which allows the debate about the necessity of a minimum level of formal education for

access to the political elite, as well as whether there are specific educational formations that favor a political career and if educational institutions are spaces of political, capable of producing elites; [d] political trajectory, a fundamental element of the recruitment process, which refers to aspects that precede the political career, and allows us to verify the political paths to be taken in order to reach certain command posts, the role of the parties in this process and the importance of localism (bonding elites and their political careers to their place of birth); and [e] social and institutional links that deal with the relations established by individuals with economic, religious, class, political and social institutions and which reveal the conformation of the individual's political capital.

Given the exploratory nature of this article and the amplitude of the analyzed database, we present descriptive information about the previous profession of the elected, their education, their political career and the existing social bonds. Authors such as Perissinoto (2014) and Codato, Costa and Massimo (2014) declare that political resources such as free time and capitals recruited in different ways can be measured, for example, by professional occupations prior to entering the scene. Because of this the discrepancy between the job opportunities available to men and women, this problem can reproduce the cleavages as well as the gender division of labor also in the political environment. In relation to city councilmen and council-women of Santa Catarina, we observed differences that need to be highlighted in relation to the previous professional occupation.

Among the 22 professional occupations practiced by city council women before the legislative activity, the four most recurrent were civil servants in positions not related to education and without occupying a leading position (17.6%), primary teachers (13.8%), secondary education teachers (9.4%) and civil servants with leadership positions (8.2%). Among the 27 occupations listed by city councilmen, the most common were civil servants in without occupying a leading position (14.2%), farmers of small properties (11.2%), rural workers (10.2%) and small traders (8.7%). Let us first notice that women are distributed in a range of less diversified occupational activities than men. Secondly, it is worth mentioning that men stand out in liberal, autonomous and entrepreneurial activities, while women related to teaching (care), communicative, organizational and managerial skills (civil service).

In addition, both city council women (74.1%) and city councilmen (76.8%) declare to that they were carrying out professional activities concurrently with legislative activities. Among those who had to leave their professional activities to exercise their councillorship, the most significant variation was of women who previously occupied

positions of leadership in public service (which fell from 8.2% to 0.9%) and male rural workers (reduced from 10.2% to 5.8%).

In relation to the education of city councilmen and council women, we can see in Table 2 a greater concentration of women with a medium or high schooling – considered to be High School complete until post-graduation – while the level of education declared by the city councilmen is more distributed between the basic, medium and higher levels. Considering that 64.9% of council-women have at least the Higher Education level complete and that this level of education has been reached by only 29.5% of city councilmen, we concluded that there is, to some extent, a higher requirement in terms of schooling, on the women candidates, so that they obtain electoral success, when compared to the men. This affirmation can be reinforced when compared to the average schooling of the Brazilian population measured by the UNDP in 2012. According to the survey, Brazilians have an average of 7.2 years of education and 49% less than high school.

Table 2 – Education by gender

Level	Fem (%)	Male (%)
Illiteracy	0,6	2,5
Until High School Incomplete	8,2	30,8
Until High School Complete	13,2	22,6
Until Full Higher Education	18,9	17,8
Post-Graduation	46	11,7

Source: 1st Census of the Catarinense Municipal Legislative (2015).

In relation to the political trajectory, we can see that the low female participation in the city councils in Santa Catarina is also confirmed by the lower re-election rate among the city council-women (23%), when compared with the city councilmen (44%). Although both percentages are minority, we found the most expressive of the rate of women holding the position for the first time (77%) in relation to men (56%), which, taken together, indicate that there are more requirements for women for the reinstatement of the position of city council-woman.

Still on the political trajectory previous to the councillorship, another indication that the electoral method creates obstacles for women is the fact that the percentage of council-women who declare have already been elected to some other public position before their current position is contrary who say they have held non-elective public offices, whereas among men this discrepancy is not manifested. In the first case, we

observed 21.5% of women and 38% of men previously elected to public office, while in the second case we found that 42.2% of women and 36.7% of men already held public office.

The last aspect analyzed in relation to recruitment corresponds to the social bonds of city councilmen and council-women. On this aspect, we highlight that the study of Almeida, Luchmann and Ribeiro (2012) on the associative profile of Brazilian female federal deputies identified features and bonds that differ from Sacchet's notes (2009) in relation to the associative profile of the Brazilian population. According to the group of authors, there would be a greater male linkage with public associations and work, while the involvement of women would be more linked to religiosity and communitarianism. Table 3 shows, for a group of institutions or associative groups, the percentages of city council-women and councilmen [a] who never attended, [b] who participated before being elected and no longer involved, [c] whose participation is previous to the election and remain and [d] who began to engage after their election.

Table 3 - Associative participation by gender

Associative Group	Never participated		Participated before and no longer participate		Participates since before being elected		Started to participate after elected	
	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)
Religious Group	13,7	20,2	11,5	12,7	71,2	63,6	3,6	3,4
Sport Assoc.	37,1	18,8	13,8	16,6	45,7	61,4	3,4	3,2
Artistic Assoc.	38,5	54,5	12	10,3	45,3	32,1	4,3	3,1
Union	55,2	60,5	12,1	9,7	27,6	28	5,2	1,8
Environmental Assoc.	72,2	71,2	8,3	8,9	16,7	17,6	2,8	2,6
Assoc.	50,9	61,6	8,6	7,5	37,1	28,5	3,4	2,3
Professional Assoc.	44,2	53,7	7,1	10,1	46,9	33,7	1,8	2,5
Humanitarian Social Mov.	37,2	44,9	5,3	9,2	51,3	42,4	6,2	3,5

Source: 1st Census of the Catarinense Municipal Legislative (2015).

In general, the data indicate relatively high rates of participation of city councilmen and council-women since before assuming the elected public office they currently occupy. Stand out religious groups as institutions from which both men and women participate most. In addition, we found that women are more engaged than men in most associative groups, since men only participate more than women in unions and in environmental associations, but with percentages lower than one point.

Most women have declared participation even before being elected and continue to participate in religious groups, sports, artistic and humanitarian associations and social movements. By contrast, majority percentages of city council-women members have never engaged in unions and environmental and professional associations. Among men, continuous participation stands out only in religious groups and sports associations, while most of them have never been involved in other associative modalities. The set of results shows that the demand for associative links is lower for men than for women to be elected.

Another important aspect concerns the changes in the links analyzed: taking together the percentage of respondents who stopped participating and who were engaged after the election, none of the sums of city councilmen and council-women exceeds 20%, that is, access to the legislature municipality of Santa Catarina did not contribute significantly to changing the condition of participation (or non-participation) of more than 80% of legislators.

In relation to those who have withdrawn from associative groups, men have distanced themselves more than women from religious groups and from sports associations – only institutions in which there is strong engagement – as well as from environmental and humanitarian associations and from social movements. Already among women, there was greater disengagement than men in relation to artistic and professional associations and unions.

In relation to the approximation of associative groups, the percentage of city council-women who engaged in such institutions after their election were higher than those of city councilmen among six of the seven groups analyzed, except for humanitarian associations. Although all the percentages of this category are low – only the participation of women in unions after the election surpassed 5% – we emphasize little propensity of the municipal elite feminine of Santa Catarina in approaching associative groups.

On this result, there are speculations that need further analytical deepening in order to identify the constraints and motivations for this approximation, since this may be due, for example, to greater access to public space by city council-women or electoral needs both due to the difficulty for women to gain access to elected public positions and to re-elect them, as well as the greater number of links necessary for women's electoral success.

3.2 Accession to Democracy among the Catarinenses Municipal Political Elites

The elite's political values refer to beliefs, which are, according to Dahl (2012), not just a set of ideas, but an apparatus through which individuals read and conduct themselves in the world in which they live. Thus, the study of their beliefs is relevant from the assumption that the conduct of the elites permeates both the political processes and the functioning of democratic regimes (PERISSINOTTO, 2003; GIMENES, 2011).

According to Perissinotto (2003), questions related to the political values of elites should be analyzed in order to identify their degree of adherence to a broad range of political and social aspects, basically composed of three topics: [a] political democracy, characterized by questions about the valorization of political institutions, ideological identification, respect for the law, political pragmatism, preference for democratic decisions, acceptance of social conflict and opinions about voters' choice; [b] social democracy, which concerns aspects such as freedom and equality, as well as opinions on income distribution and social hierarchy; and [c] economic democracy, permeated by aspects related to economic liberalism and the defense of private property.

In this article, we will focus specifically on one of the components of the first topic highlighted by Perissinotto (2003), adherence to democracy, a classic and recurring theme in studies on political culture since Almond and Verba (1989 [1963]) and Easton (1975). According to the last author, individuals would manifest their adherence to the democratic system in two distinct ways, called diffuse support and specific support. The first, also known as normative support, would concern the abstract perception of individuals in relation to democracy, while the second deals with the functioning of the system and the evaluation that individuals perform on the performance of authorities and institutions⁷.

Given the two dimensions of democracy⁸, we analyzed the distributions of answers of city councilmen and council-women in relation to the Churchillian position of normative adherence to the system and their understanding about the declaration that Brazil has been democratically governed today, forms of diffuse and specific support to the system, respectively (EASTON, 1975).

⁷ A detailed discussion of the concepts of diffuse and specific support is found in Gimenes (2011). Regarding adherence to democracy, we emphasize that this can be analyzed through a wide range of variables and indicators, as well as can give rise to different classifications on the profiles of individuals, such as in the projects of Moisés (2008), Gimenes (2011), Casalecchi, David and Quaresma (2013), Fuks, Casalecchi and Ribeiro (2014) and Oliveira (2015).

With regard to the forms of adherence to democracy, our expectation was that there would be no significant distinction between the support expressed by men and women, since, supported by elitism theorists (MOSCA, 1992 [1896]; PARETO (1984); MICHELS (1982), and in Dahl (2012), we assumed that the position of power occupied by legislators would promote their indifference in terms of democracy, that is, among those who make up political elites, support for the system would be independent of gender.

Table 5 - Adherence to democracy by gender

Affirmation	Female (%)	Male (%)
Democracy is always better than any other form of government	93.8	92.7
In certain situations a dictatorship better than a democracy	6.2	6.7
It is not does not matter if the government is a democracy or a dictatorship - 0.6	-	0.6

Source: 1st Census of the Catarinense Municipal Legislative (2015).

In the case of the Churchillian position, we associated ourselves with Gimenes⁸ (2015) argument that, although less complex than other proposals for analyzes on the normative dimension of democracy, this variable is used internationally as an indicator of adherence to the system (DALTON, 1999; KLINGEMANN, 1999; OLIVEIRA, 2015), according to Easton's theory (1975). The question demanded from the interviewees the position regarding which statement most approached their thinking and 93.8% of city council-women and 92.7% of city councilmen demonstrated the opinion that "democracy is always better than any other form of government". In addition, 6.2% of women and 6.7% of men said that "in certain situations, a dictatorship is better than a democratic system" and still 0.6% of city councilmen declared that "it does not matter if the government it's a democracy or a dictatorship."

Regarding the evaluation of the functioning of democracy in Brazil today, the question contained a scale of 10 points, in which 1 means "nothing democratic" and 10 corresponds to "totally democratic". The average number of the council-women was 6.06 and that of the city councilmen of 6.16, which allows us to infer that the men were slightly more favorable to the current condition of the system or, on the contrary, that women are slightly the current functioning of the regime.

⁸ Term used to treat adherence to democracy by authors such as Ribeiro (2011), Gimenes (2011; 2015) and Oliveira (2015).

In order to confirm our hypothesis, we performed simple bivariate tests, with the intention of verifying the existence of statistically significant differences between the responses of men and women to the questions about diffuse support and specific support presented above. Our tests indicated that such differentiation is not confirmed, so that both measures of democracy are similar between city councilmen and council-women, which corroborated our hypothesis that the position of power occupied by city councilmen and council-women influences the intensity of their manifestation of support for the regime in a similar way, regardless of the gender of the respondent.

4 Final Considerations: A Research Agenda

The aspects discussed in this article reaffirm that political participation is more costly and demanding for women, since even if they have democracy-related values similar to those of men, they need to accumulate diverse resources or capital, such as high schooling, high level, to have a private life that offers better conditions for participation in public life and greater engagement in associative groups. If such considerations are not unpublished in general, they are especially interesting because they refer to local political elites, little studied in Brazil, and because they show that the inequalities observed in society as a whole have repercussions on the composition of Brazilian municipal legislatures.

In addition to the exploration of these findings, it is also salutary to look at the distribution of city councilmen and council-women according to party captions. Considering the arguments about the Brazilian Quota Law and the difficulty of having female participation in politics through representation in parliamentary seats, it is necessary to analyze, for example, which parties elect more women, such as the distribution of city council-women according to their positioning and that of its caption in the ideological spectrum, what are the conditions for its rise to the municipal public space and what is the relation between the resources and the political, social and financial capitals of the elect and those elected by caption.

In this sense, data in the process of analysis by these researchers point out that there is no leading role of the left parties in the election of women in the municipal legislatures of Santa Catarina, which contradicts the theoretical tendency that such captions would have more women elected (ARAÚJO, 2001; INGLEHART; NORRIS,

2003; MATOS, 2010). However, it is worth mentioning that the studies cited take into account the reality of national legislations, unlike the proposal of this article.

In this way, this research, despite being limited to a Brazilian state, refers us to possible research guidelines to be explored later. First, we need to deepen the data presented here, since this study was exploratory and we did not use refined statistical analysis techniques to test more complex hypotheses, such as the relationship between ideological positioning and the democratic and political values of city councilmen and council-women. In addition, we have noticed the need to improve studies such as this, taking into account the influence of electoral systems and circulations of political elites at the local level, considering not only (but also) the division of genders.

Finally, it seems salutary to emphasize the need to strengthen the discussion on the effectiveness of the Brazilian Quota Law, especially at this moment in which the country suffers from boiling of popular demonstrations that, since 2013, questioned the representativeness of elected politicians. On the one hand, despite common sense and the idea that the "Tiririca effect" (in which a candidate's votes help elect others from the group of parties that have joined) is responsible for the victory of candidates without great expression in terms of votes, a recent study pointed out that in the last two elections for city councilmen (2008 and 2012) and for state and federal deputies (2010 and 2014), only between 8.8 and 13.3% of those elected did not rank among the most voted and ascended to the Legislature by voting on the quotient of the party or coalition, which means that the composition of such public spaces represents the popular will expressed through voting (CARLOMAGNO, 2016). On the other hand, with regard to minorities, the "incentive" to female participation restricted to the number of candidates has not reflected in more women elected, generally due to aspects such as the unequal structure of investment in campaigns (PEIXOTO, GOULART, SILVA, 2016), the central point of discussion to which this article belongs, in the sense that the quality of democracy depends, to some extent, on the greater plurality of groups of social actors represented in public and political spaces.

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