



SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES TO STATE REPRESENTATIVES IN BRAZIL: WHERE WILL GO THE POLITICAL REPRESENTATION? (1998-2018)

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Abstract: The paper analyzes the evolution of the social profile of successful and unsuccessful candidates to the position of state deputy in Brazil between 1998 and 2018. Based on data from the *Observatório de Elites Políticas e sociais* we observe the variables gender, education and profession among the postulants to state assemblies. We tested two hypotheses about the profile of successful and unsuccessful candidates: popularization and professionalization. The data indicates that women are still political underrepresented and that the college degree is an attribute of successful and unsuccessful candidates. Our findings point to a greater presence of professional politicians among the elected, what confirms the notion that was taking place a professionalization of the political competition in Brazil. Although the 2018 election presents different results from previous ones, political competition in the country is following the pattern of older democracies, in which agents already inserted in the political field tend to have more electoral chances.

Keywords: Political recruitment; Political professionalization; Political Elites; State Assembly

1 INTRODUCTION

Parliaments are rarely a reflection of the social structure in which they operate (DAHL, 1997; GAXIE, 2012; BEST; COTTA, 2000; NORRIS, 1997). There are professions that seem to link politics in a “natural” way, as if by osmosis, in the words of Dogan (1999). That is, they are more likely to enter (and remain) in the political field (NORRIS; LOVENDUSKI, 1997). The variable occupation associated with political representation, especially in national legislatures, has been a distant concern of social science studies concerned with the question: “who governs us?” (JOIGNANT, 2009). Since Weber [1919] (2014), at least, several researchers have been addressing the issue, seeking to identify and compare occupational patterns of the political class around the world.

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In the Brazilian case, the legislators of the country were the subject of several studies (MARENCO DOS SANTOS, 1997; MESSENERG, 2008; MARENCO DOS SANTOS;

SERNA, 2007; COSTA; CODATO, 2013; RODRIGUES, 2002, 2006, 2014). The objectives of the papers, the methodologies, conclusions and forms of classification adopted in the treatment of data varied according to the researchers in question. Despite the methodological differences of research, it is possible to identify the trend in the choice of object. A significant part of the research is about the Federal Chamber (RODRIGUES, 2002, 2006, 2014; MARENCO DOS SANTOS, 1997; PERISSINOTTO; MIRÍADE, 2009); others about the Senate (COSTA; CODATO, 2013; NEIVA; IZUMI, 2012, 2014). The Chamber ends up being studied with more prominence due to its decisive weight in the arrangement of the Brazilian political system (PALERMO, 2000).

In this work, our goal was to understand the relationship between political parties, occupations and the recruitment of unsuccessful and successful candidates to the Legislative Assemblies of the country. We used the data of the unsuccessful and successful candidates to the position of state deputy¹ in Brazil, between the elections of 1998 until 2018. The database, originally available on the website of the Superior Electoral Court (TSE), was systematized by the “Observatório de Elites Políticas e Sociais do Brasil (Observatory of Political and Social Elites of Brazil), and has information on: gender, profession, age and schooling of postulants to the post in the country. For 2018, we systematized the information from the TSE data.

We tested two theses throughout the text. They are: the idea of popularization formulated by Rodrigues (2002) and the idea of professionalization, empirically verified by, among others, Costa and Codato (2013). These two theses point to different meanings of political representation in the country. They were formulated for another dataset and other positions (Federal Deputies and Senators), and we therefore sought to test them empirically for political representation at the state legislative level to expand the scope of the analysis. In this sense, the objective of this paper was to make a hypothesis test, according to the papers of this type (KING; KEOHANE; VERBA, 1994).

State deputies were few studied for several reasons: from the low decision-making power of the Legislative Assemblies (these Houses of Laws end up ratifying the proposals of Governors), to the fact that there is no incentive to remain in this political position: unlike the deputies federal representatives, state deputies do not have recourse to parliamentary amendments. Even so, the study of this position becomes important as it can serve as a springboard to the conquest of new positions at the various levels of the federation his position is a key point for political careers. Because they are lower in the political hierarchy, we expect the profile of the elected to be more “popular,” because as they move up the political hierarchy, the

¹ We refer to the notion of state deputy that includes even the district deputies of the Federal District.

profiles tend to be more in the “elite” (GAXIE, 2012).

The work is divided into four sections. The first presents a brief review of the work on political recruitment, specifically the texts on research on state legislators in the country. Following, we present the research design and the hypotheses of the work. The third part of the work is devoted to research findings. Finally, we return to some of the findings of the article and make the final considerations.

2 STUDIES ON STATE DEPUTIES AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The federative arrangement of the Brazilian state determines political representation at three levels: federal, state and municipal. Interpretations about national politics are full of allusions to the regional aspect of electoral competition in the country. From classical studies such as those of Leal (1976), the party system itself and its regional logics (LIMA JR, 1983), or the power of governors' *vis-à-vis* national politics (ABRÚCIO, 1998). Specifically about the profile of the legislators of the state Legislative Assemblies, the Brazilian Political Science, when comparing the studies on the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, has dealt the theme with less prominence. Methodologically, work on state legislatures can be separated between those with a strategy closer to the case study and those in which one or more State Chamber of Deputies are analyzed comparatively.

Studies focusing on a specific state legislature covered states in all regions of the country. The Midwest had the profile of its legislators studied by Lourenço (2011) and Silveira (2009) discussing the case of Mato Grosso. In Mato Grosso do Sul, Barbosa's work (2014) presents data on the state legislature and the Goiás State Legislative Assembly (ALEGO) was the subject of research by Mota (2011). Already the south of the country had two of its legislatures debated among researchers on the subject. Rio Grande do Sul was the object of Damin and Rebello (2009), Silveira (2014), Gugliano and Orsato (2012) and Orsato (2013). Paraná was studied by Perissinotto; Costa e Tribess (2009). Other case studies were undertaken by Prati (2013; 2016), about Espírito Santo, and about the formation of deputies from a specific region, Pessoa Júnior (2011), or from only one state deputy, Mourão (2012). We still find in the literature works not directly linked to the issue of recruitment, but which contribute data on the social profile of this category of legislators, which are the cases of Cyrimot (2015) that deals with military police in the State of São Paulo and also Borges. (2009) about evangelical state deputies.

The other set of works are marked by a comparative strategy. Two or more Assemblies are compared to observe representative' career standards, such as that presented by Corrêa (2016), or the profile of the successful candidates in the country (HORTA et al, 2014; SILVA; BORGES, 2017; ANASTASIA; CORREA; NUNES, 2012), or the aspect of female representation among state deputies (CAMPOS, 2015). Another type of research conducted on the profile of the elected to the legislature focuses on comparisons in two or three cases. Thus, Lima (2016) compares the

profile of black women elected at the Assemblies of São Paulo and Bahia, but the author also presents data on other regions of the country. Ziegman (2011) compares the profile of legislators elected by the states of Paraná, São Paulo and Minas Gerais and seeks to link this profile with the decisions taken, and Sampaio (2012) compares the profile of successful candidates in Minas Gerais and Rio de Janeiro.

These are some of the articles, theses and dissertations that deal in one way or another about the social profile of state legislators in Brazil. Evidently, the intention of this literature review was not to exhaust the whole theme, and it is equally important to point out that another set of works focus on other dimensions of state deputies such as voting geography (RODRIGUES; SOUSA, 2017), the values of legislators (PERISSINOTTO; BRAUNERT, 2006) and the self-positioning of state deputies in the ideological spectrum is discussed by (KINZO, 2007).

Regarding the profile of state representatives, which are the object of this work, these studies find similar findings to the research on the National Congress. Thus, the rates of women among the successful candidates tend to be low throughout the country, and in specific states such as Mato Grosso do Sul (BARBOSA, 2014). Higher education tends to be the rule among successful candidates, and some professions are repeated among state representatives.

In spite of this set of works about the profile of the successful candidates or even the candidacies, some of the theses and interpretations about the political class of the country were formulated having as object of study the federal deputies (SANTOS, 2001; RODRIGUES, 2002, 2006, 2014; SIMONI JUNIOR; MUCINHATO; MINGARDI, 2016) or about the Federal Senate (COSTA; CODATO, 2013). It is from these studies that we take the two hypotheses that will be tested in this work:

H0: Null hypothesis

Before presenting the hypotheses of the work, it should be noted that there is a possibility that there are no standards between the social predicates of the unsuccessful and successful candidates, and the directions the political class may have. From a statistical point of view, this would mean that our variables are unrelated to each other.

H1: The popularization of the political class would be underway

Rodrigues (2006; 2014) formulated the hypothesis of the popularization of the political class. According to the author, from the conquest of the Federal Executive by the Workers Party (PT) in 2002, there would be a change in the profile of the successful candidates in the country. In the first study, Rodrigues (2006) compares the profile of federal deputies elected in 1998 and 2002, his conclusions are based on four indicators: i) decrease in the number of entrepreneurs elected; ii) education of the successful candidates; iii) growth of leftist party benches (PT and PCdoB) and iv) increase in the number of union members and priests. In the second paper,

Rodrigues (2014) reiterates the diagnosis of change in the recruitment of deputies from the “rich” layers and summarizes the process as: “If we were in ancient Rome, we could say that there was a retreat of the patricians and advance of the plebeians” (RODRIGUES, 2014, p.157). Thus, if the author is correct, our data should point to an increase in the number of elected workers, but to a greater extent the reduction in entrepreneurship and the increase in the number of middle-class professions: as priests and police, for example. Moreover, given the large social inequality in Brazil, which directly affects access to higher education, it would be reasonable to expect that if Rodrigues were right, the effect of a degree would be less over time.

H2: The professionalization of political competition would be underway

This hypothesis is taken from the works of Perissinotto and Bolognesi (2010) and Costa and Codato (2013), mainly. In the first case, the authors are based on the data of unsuccessful and successful candidates to the position of federal deputy between 1998 and 2006, in a research design very close to ours, while in the second case the authors work with the profile of senators from 1986 to 2010. The prosopography performed in this case is richer than that of Rodrigues (2006; 2014), because it considers not only the social profile (gender, education, profession), but the political career of representatives (number of positions held and length of career).

According to Costa and Codato, after observing the results on the reduction of entrepreneurship, they state that: “(...) the fall of entrepreneurs (either in the Chamber, or, to a lesser extent, in the Senate), before representing the “popularization”, may represent greater control of opportunities by individuals engaged in political activities from an early age” (COSTA; CODATO 2013, p. 122). Our data do not allow us to reach the trajectory of the unsuccessful and successful candidates, because we work with the sources of the TSE. However, we use the category “politician” among the professions as an attempt to see whether this segment has indeed dominated representation in legislative assemblies, and has increased its participation in power since the 1998 elections. Perissinotto and Bolognesi (2010) also followed this path. The authors find evidence that access to the Chamber of Deputies would be closing over time around self-declared professional politicians. This fact would be a proxy for observing the institutionalization of that Chamber of Deputies, after all, the more professionals, the greater the clearly differentiated and demarcated recruitment are the boundaries between the “inside” and “outside” of the institution. Now we pass the description of the methodology and sources of the work.

3 METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

The methodology employed in this work is prosopography (STONE, 2011). This methodology is commonly used in the studies on political elites cited above. The difficulties in its use, addressed in the case of this study, is that the candidates themselves to the state electoral

courts provided this information. In the specific case of our study, it is the statement of individuals who entered the category “others”. However, this kind of working method means that:

[...] the investigation of the common characteristics of a group of actors in history through a collective study of their lives. The method employed consists in establishing a universe to be studied and then investigating a set of uniform questions – concerning birth and death, marriage and family, social origins and inherited economic position, place of residence, education, size and origin of personal wealth, occupation, religion, experience in positions, and so on. The various types of information about individuals in the universe are then juxtaposed, combined, and examined for significant variables. They are tested to find both internal correlations and correlations with other forms of behavior or action (STONE, 2011, p.115).

In our case, we seek to observe the social characteristics of unsuccessful and successful candidates to the position of state deputy in the country. The objective of the research was to observe the recruitment patterns of state deputies in Brazil between the elections from 1998 to 2018. The research was drawn from the TSE data. This information is provided by the unsuccessful and successful candidates to the regional electoral courts of the states and passed on to the TSE. Data include: i) gender; ii) profession; iii) age; iv) state of birth; v) schooling; and from 2014 onwards the racial self-declaration². The Observatory of Political and Social Elites of Brazil organized this information, of which the hypotheses of the work were tested, but we recoded the data for all the elections and included information about the 2018 elections. In total, the information of 72,506 unsuccessful and successful candidates to the state legislature position was systematized.

It is important to highlight two observations about the use of data. The first of methodological order and the second conceptual. Regarding our choice to use both unsuccessful and successful candidates’ data, we can broaden the test of the hypothesis that a popularization of the political class would be taking place, since by observing the profile of the postulants it was possible to observe whether both the number of “popular” candidates increased and whether the presence of “elite” occupations decreased. This is because we are not only working with the profile of the elected, as do the researchers who tested the hypothesis in another dataset: Costa and Codato (2013) for Senators and Simoni Junior; Mucinhato; Mingardi (2016) for Federal Deputies and senators. Regarding the profession variable, the candidates themselves inform the data of the TSE. Given this source or others, the strategies adopted by elite studies vary according to the objectives of each researcher (CODATO; COSTA; MASSIMO, 2014). In our case, we opted for the classification of Codato; Cervi e Perissinotto (2013). However, before presenting the categorization of this variable, we first look at the information stated in the applications. In all, the candidates declared 249 occupations, including the category “others” and those who did

² The data also include the declared assets of the applicants.

not inform the profession, resulting in 247 declared occupations to the TSE. Initially, we performed a descriptive frequency analysis to understand which professions were the most declared.

Table 1- Professions declared by candidates to the position of state deputy in Brazil (1998-2018):

Declared Occupation	Frequency	%
Others	10558	14.6
Entrepreneur	5044	7.0
Lawyer	4413	6.1
Merchant	3518	4.9
State civil servant	3059	4.2
Doctor	2621	3.6
Deputy	2249	3.1
City councilor	2204	3.0
Not informed	1631	2.2
Retired (except civil servant)	1439	2.0
Administrator	1409	1.9
Total:	38145	52.6

Source: *Observatório de elites políticas e sociais do Brasil* (Observatory of Political and Social Elites of Brazil) and TSE (2018).

The table above indicates that the category "others" was the most recurrent among the declarations in the applications with 14.6% of the total, followed by the declaration of entrepreneurs, 7.0% of the total. After these occupations, the database contained nine more occupations which together account for 52.6% of the total. Finally, the other self-declared occupations had a lower percentage frequency in the total population. As the objective of this work is to perform the test of two theses, we chose the categorization of occupations inspired by the work of Codato; Cervi e Perissinotto (2013), which distributed the occupations of candidates to mayors in 2012 in ten categories, which are already with the number of case and percentage of our database. In our case, we expanded the categories to 15 in total, as shown in table 2:

Table 2 - Profession of unsuccessful and successful candidates to the position of state deputy (1998-2018):

Occupation	%	% Cumulative
Entrepreneur	14.7	14.7
Others	14.6	29.3
Workers	13.7	42.9
Higher Education Professions	12.8	55.8
Politicians	7.9	63.7
Civil servants	7.6	71.3
Lawyers	6.1	77.4
Teachers	6.1	83.5
Police Forces	4.5	88.0
Doctors	3.6	91.6
Retired	2.7	94.4
No information	2.2	96.6
Students	1.8	98.4
Housewives	1.0	99.4
Priests	.6	100.0
Total		

Source: *Observatório de elites políticas e sociais do Brasil* (Observatory of Political and Social Elites of Brazil) and TSE (2018).

In the entrepreneurs category we include occupations as director of companies, traders and cattlemen. In the workers category we include a range of medium and / or low paid occupations ranging from mechanical turner to administrative agent and self-employed as realtors. “Higher Education Professions” category encompasses careers that require a higher education degree: as an agronomist, architect, political scientist, and so on. This type of categorization serves to clarify the analysis proposed in the paper. As for the point of occupational self-declaration, while it may conceal relationships of interest (the entrepreneur who declares himself an economist), it is useful because: “occupational classifications are part of the specific struggles for recognition and adherence of support, not the logics and reasons for production and the disclosure of official records can be disregarded”, according to Bordignon (2013, p.43). That is, even if there are false statements, these are useful, because they demonstrate to which groups the postulants to the position want, or not, to represent.

4. A CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The postulants to the position of state deputy were presented by 45 political parties, which were classified in the left-right *continuum*. There are several classification strategies in the literature: self-identification of representatives themselves (RODRIGUES, 1987), self-classification of representatives and their co-religionists (POWER; ZUCCO, 2011); analyses on statutes and government programs (TAROUCO; MADEIRA, 2013), linking social origins of representatives and party organization (RODRIGUES, 2002), and even surveys with experts (TAROUCO; MADEIRA, 2015). There is relative consensus on some of the party system parties,

especially for older subtitles: PT, PDT, PSDB, PMDB, PTB, PP and DEM. Other party system subtitles are unknown even by specialists in the area, as pointed out by Tarouco and Madeira (2015).

In addition to classifying parties based on “classic” categories: right, left and center, Coppedge (1997; 1998) proposed an alternative classification, placing Latin American parties on two axes: whether secular or religious (1), and ideological “color”: center, center-left, left, center-right, right and personalist (2). This typology provides for up to 13 party possibilities. Codato e Bolognesi (2018), use the Coppedge criteria to classify the Brazilian parties that competed in national elections from 1998 to 2014. We based on the proposed on these criteria to classify the parties in our sample, mainly because it allows us to look at the nuances of the Brazilian party system, such as differences inside the left and inside the right. In the latter case, there are differences between parties that are anchored in a Christian religious ideology, for example, and others with a liberal ideology on the economic issue, advocating privatization and market liberalization. Another explanatory gain from Coppedge's proposal (*idem*) is that it was developed for the Latin American case, unlike other classifications based on European party systems. Following this argument, the parties that competed between 1998 and 2018 were classified as follows:

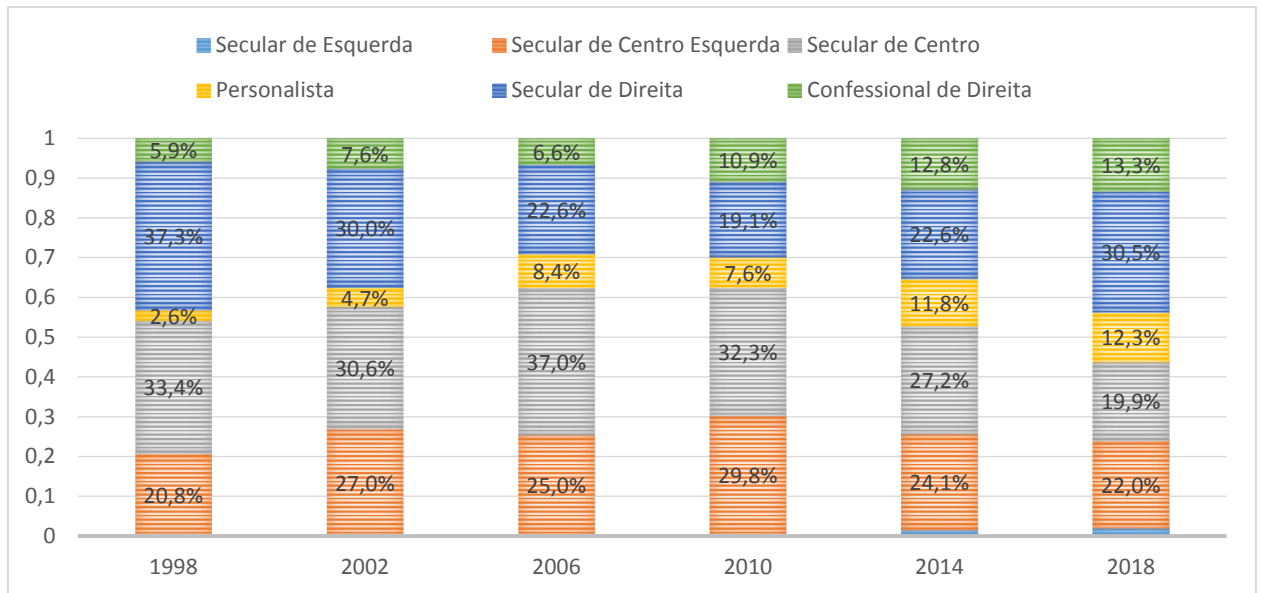
- i) Left Secular: PCB, PCO, PSOL, PSTU and PPL.
- ii) Center-Left Secular: PCdoB, PDT, PSB and PT.
- iii) Center Secular: PMDB, PPS, PSDB, PV and REDE.
- iv) Personalist: PAN, PHS, PMN, PRONA, PROS, PRP, PST, PtdoB(AVANTE), PTC, PTN(PODEMOS), SD and PMB.
- v) Right Secular: DEM(PFL), PGT, PL, PP(PPB), PRTB, PSD, PSL, PTB and NOVO.
- vi) Confessional Right: PEN (PATRI), PR, PRB, PSC and PSDC(DC).

In the next session, we discuss the theses that were tested at work.

5 RESULTS

Legislative assemblies in the country vary in number from a minimum of 24 to a maximum of 94. The data presented below reflect the results by ideological block over six elections held in the country. The tendency is for an increase in left seculars during PT administrations and a reduction in center seculars. The 2018 results indicate chambers dominated by right-wing seculars (30.5%), 12.3% from personalists and 13.3% from Confessional Rights, indicating greater polarization when compared to previous elections.

Graph 1 - Electoral results for state deputy in Brazil (1998-2018)



Caption: top line in the frame: Left Secular, Center-Left Secular, Center Secular, second line: Personalist, Right Secular, Confessional Right.

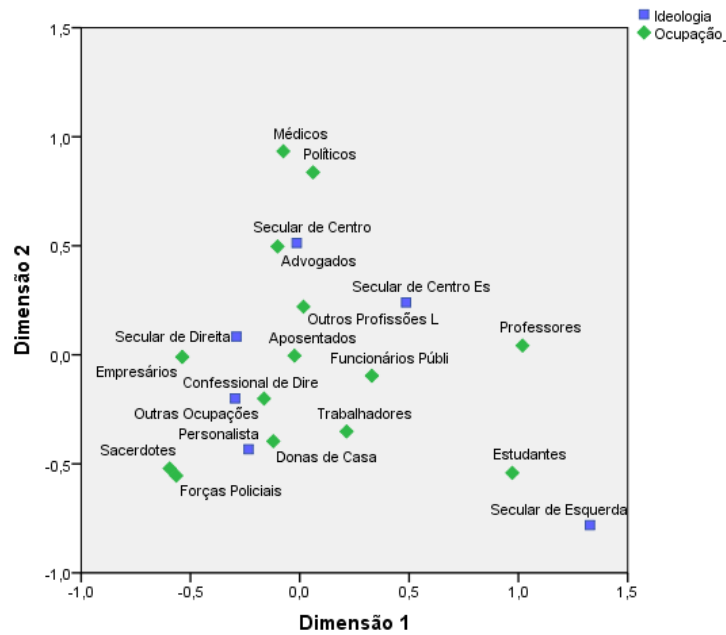
Source: *Observatório de elites políticas e sociais do Brasil* (Observatory of Political and Social Elites of Brazil) and TSE (2018).

The above data shows the evolution of ideological blocks over time. The relationship between the recruitment of certain professions and ideological blocs has already been presented by Duverger (1992). In Brazil, Rodrigues (2002) hypothesized that there would be a correspondence between the location of parties in the ideological spectrum and the recruitment of federal deputies. The author's hypothesis is that leftist parties would be characterized, not in their entirety, by teachers, workers, "middle classes"; while the right would be formed by entrepreneurs, business directors, "members of the upper classes"; and the center would be dominated by lawyers, civil servants, and professional politicians.

To verify the proximity between the ideological fields and occupational categories we performed the Simple Correspondence Analysis (SCA). Souza; Basto and Vieira (2010, p.2), affirm that the SCA can be defined: "(...) as a multivariate analysis technique, suitable for categorical data, which allows to graphically analyze the existing relationships by reducing the dimensionality of the data set". That is, from the comparison between two variables can be observed degrees of association, shown graphically. Our variables cover six responses from ideological fields and fifteen responses to occupational categories. In figures 1 and 2, we can see that the correspondences differ between the unsuccessful and among the successful candidates. At first glance, we see that workers, for example, are closer to the Confessional Right and Personalist parties when considered unsuccessful candidates. When considered successful candidates, this occupational category is closer to the Center-Left parties. This difference indicates that Confessional Right parties and personalists tend to concentrate self-declared workers as unsuccessful candidates, but the successful candidates are concentrated, as pointed out

by Rodrigues (2002), on the left of the political field.

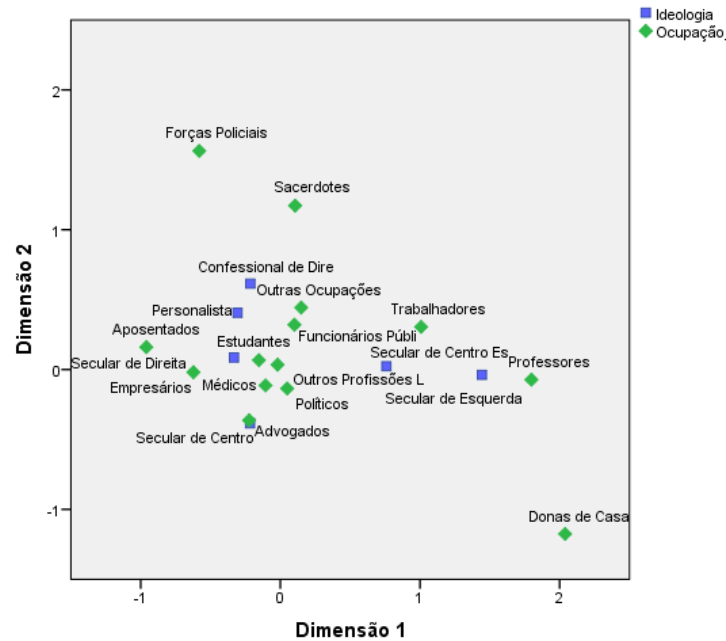
Figure 1- (SCA) Relationship between ideological bloc and professions of candidates for state deputies (1998-2018):



Caption: Blue: ideology; Green: Occupation. From top to bottom on the board: Doctors, politicians, center secular, lawyers, center-left secular, other liberal professionals, right secular, retirees, teachers, entrepreneurs, civil servants, confessional right, other occupations, workers, personalist, priests, housewives, students, police forces, left secular.

Source: *Observatório de elites políticas e sociais do Brasil (Observatory of Political and Social Elites of Brazil) and TSE (2018).*

Figure 2- (SCA) Relationship between ideological bloc and professions successful candidates for state deputies (1998-2018):



Caption: Blue: ideology; Green: Occupation. Dimension 2 (left). From top to bottom on the board: police forces, priests, confessional right, other occupations, personalist, workers, retirees, students, civil servants, right secular, center-left secular, entrepreneurs, doctors, other liberal professionals, politicians, left secular, lawyers, center secular, housewives.

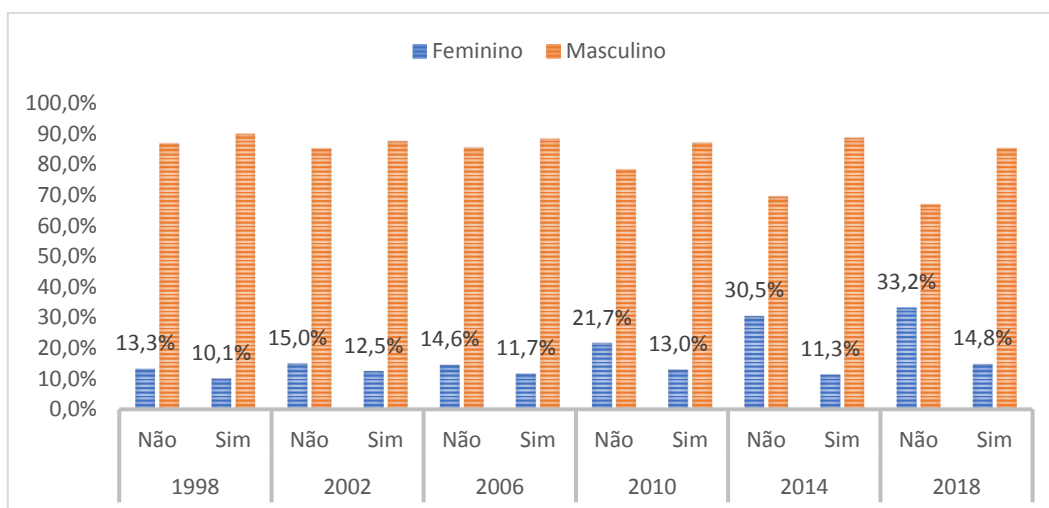
Source: *Observatório de elites políticas e sociais do Brasil (Observatory of Political and Social Elites of Brazil)* and TSE (2018).

The data exposed from the SCA reaffirm considerations exposed in previous works on the Brazilian political elite. Lawyers, doctors and politicians are concentrated, both unsuccessful and successful candidates, in the Center Secular parties. Entrepreneurs, in turn, focus on the Right Secular parties, unsuccessful and successful candidates, while the teachers concentrate on the Left and Center-Left Secular parties.

The results of the schooling survey indicate that in these six elections the complete upper level is the trend among the successful candidates. Our data indicate that the schooling of the successful candidates has increased over time. If in 1998, the rates of state deputies with university education, among the successful candidates were 63.1%, 20 years after the election, the scores show 74.5%. In all the elections observed, only the 2002 had a slight retreat of representatives with university education, 62.1%, all others were marked by increases: 2006 (66.9%), 2010 (69.9%), 2014 (71.2%). The presence of a political elite with some university education dates back to Empire times, according to Carvalho (2003). In Brazil, and in the world, political elites tend to have university degrees (UNZUÉ, 2012; NORRIS; LOVENDUSKI, 1997; IZUMI; NEIVA, 2012), among others. Some formations tend to be predominant among political elites, such as bachelors of law (ADORNO, 1988), or even economics diplomas. The explanations for the phenomenon are due to the fact that university-educated individuals can use this social capital for the political world (NORRIS; LOVENDUSKI, 1997).

With regard to the gender of the elected, our findings show that the number of female candidates has been increasing over time, but that did not mean an increase in the number of women elected. The data in graph 2 show the percentages of female candidates, the 2018 election has 33.2% of candidates and 14.8% of elected candidates.

Graph 2- Percentage of women candidates and elected to state deputy (1998-2018)



Caption: Female in blue, male in orange. Below: No and yes for each year.

Source: *Observatório de elites políticas e sociais do Brasil* (Observatory of Political and Social Elites of Brazil) and TSE (2018).

The data from the graph above reveal the literature on female underrepresentation punctuated by the literature Araújo (2005), Norris (2013), Alves; Pinto and Jordão (2012). Even though the last elections were characterized by an increase in the number of candidates, which may be explained by changes in the country's legislation, women are still less successful than men, the 2018 numbers of women successful differ slightly from those found in 1998. Female representation in state legislatures had already been studied by Campos (2015), Lima (2016), Silveira (2014). Explanatory factors for the low presence of women among those elected in the literature range from the investment parties make in these candidatures, the electoral rules themselves and even the machismo found in the political field of the country.

Finally, before our hypothesis test, we looked at the profession of unsuccessful and successful candidates. Professions such as lawyers, teachers, politicians, and civil servants are among those that the literature of political elites places as those most likely to enter parliament (NORRIS; LOVENDUSKI, 1997; DOGAN, 1999). Specifically in Brazil, some professions were more closely analyzed: entrepreneurs (COSTA; COSTA; NUNES, 2014), civil servants (CODATO; FERREIRA; COSTA, 2015), lawyers (BARMAN; BARMAN, 1976), police officers (BERLATTO; CODATO; BOLOGNESI, 2016), among others. The results of the successful candidates show that five occupational categories in our database represent 76.9% of the total:

professional politicians (36.7%); higher education professions (12.6%); entrepreneurs (12.2%); lawyers (8.2%); doctors (7.3%). In practice, these results confirm what the work of political elites demonstrate: professions with more time to launch into politics, with skills that can be converted to the political field, oratory, among others, are resources that favor electoral victory. They represent socially acquired resources or capital that are reconverted into the political dispute. In the same sense, state parliaments are also closed to the professions we categorize as “workers,” which elected only 3.3% of the total analyzed over the elections.

If, over time, we realize that higher education has been the rule among the successful (over 70%), that women, even though they are over 50% of the population, are present in less than 20% of the successful, what variables have the most impact on coming to office as state deputy? In theoretical terms, studies on recruitment deal with the difficulty of where to begin the analysis of the phenomenon, as it can start even in childhood (CZUDNOWSKI, 1975), and is influenced by broader factors such as electoral rules and political system (NORRIS, 1997). The analysis of candidacies presents itself as a possible way out for a more accurate observation of the phenomenon of political recruitment. Some of the works devoted to this type of approach focus on federal deputies (PERISSINOTTO; BOLOGNESI, 2010) and mayors (CODATO; CERVI; PERISSINOTTO, 2013). The advantages of this type of analysis is that we can evaluate the weight of the variables in electoral success, and in our case, expand the hypothesis test. Noting, for example, whether the retreat of a particular category of successful candidates is the result of a decrease in the number of candidacies.

4.1 Where will go the Political Representation?

Our period covered six elections. These elections were marked by distinct economic, social and political contexts. While the 2002 election is one of the milestones for Rodrigues' (2006) theoretical proposition, the 2018 results revealed the rise of the Brazilian extreme right represented by Jair Bolsonaro (PSL) (KRAUSE *et al*, 2019). As the objective of our work is to perform hypothesis testing, and thus contribute to the refutation, proof or reformulation of these propositions, as certain social research designs have (KING; KEOHANE; VERBA, 1994 p.16).

We transform the social characteristics of unsuccessful and successful candidates into dummy variables to perform a logistic regression on the variable depends on whether or *not elected*. Thus, with these categorized variables, we seek to test the two hypotheses announced, as well as to observe other factors of the social profile of postulants to the position. Thus, we performed the following operationalization of predictor variables for a candidate for state deputy to be elected.

Politicians: We placed those candidates who had declared holding some public office. Even though with this variable we did not know the career time of these individuals, we hope that if the hypothesis of Costa and Codato (2013) is correct, this category has been increasing their

chance of entering the state parliaments.

Entrepreneurs: We divided the professions between those who were entrepreneurs and those who were not from the business world. The assumption here is that these categories would be losing ground in state legislatures, according to Rodrigues (2006; 2014) hypothesis. In the same vein, we expect the *worker* and *priest* variable to achieve greater results over time.

Police forces: This is a conjuncture variable. Despite the existence of analyses of these categories in the political elite (BERLATTO; CODATO; BOLOGNESI, 2016), we sought to observe whether the 2018 election had the highest probability of this segment being elected. Given the character of the president-elect having mobilized the military background for his election, we hope that candidates with the same profile have used the same strategy.

Gender: With this variable, we seek to test the chances of men being elected over time. Given the well-known literature on the subject and on works on state deputies (LIMA, 2016; LOURENÇO, 2011), we hope that the results indicate more likely men than women among the successful. However, this effect may decrease or increase over time.

Higher Education: We separated those who had university education and those who did not. The assumption is that those who hold college degrees are more likely to be elected than those who do not. However, if popularization of access to state parliaments were under way, the effect of higher education would diminish over time.

Right Secular and Confessional Right: This hypothesis refers to the work of Bolognesi and Codato (2018). The assumption is that “traditional” right-wing parties are losing ground to other subtitles, including the Confessional Right.

Lawyer and Doctor: These occupational categories have historically been overrepresented in Brazilian politics. Since the Empire, as pointed out by Carvalho (2003), lawyers constituted the Brazilian political elite – both elected and appointed to positions of power. Medicine is a profession of social prestige in Brazil, and such prestige is converted politically to the electoral dispute. As Coradini (2006) points out, however, there may be significant differences between “being a doctor” at the time of electoral competition. If on the one hand there are doctors who claim to represent social medicine, or if they use professional practice for certain social causes, on the other hand there may be corporate or private interests, such as doctors who own clinics and hospitals. This difference, significant in the exercise of the mandate, is not considered here, as we seek to analyze the candidates who “get there” and not how they exercise their power and representation. Thus, what interests us is to observe the statistical weight of the medical occupational category in the electoral dispute.

Age: We considered as the predictive variable of the election the age of the candidates. Like Perissinotto and Bolognesi (2010), we operationalized this variable from an arbitrary cut: candidates older than 40 years were classified in the yes category. We hope that, unlike the Senate and Chamber of Deputies elections, older age will not be a significant factor in the election of

state deputies, as this position tends to be, for many, the beginning of a political career.

Table 3 presents the findings of our statistical tests. We observe that the null hypothesis is rejected, because it is possible to observe the relationship between certain social characteristics and the fact of being elected. In order not to pollute the presentation of results with too much information, we only highlight in table 3, the odds ratio values (Exp(B)). These values indicate the probability that a member of the yes answer of a category will be elected. For example, what is the chance of a self-declared medical candidate being elected in any of the elections analyzed.

First, we can see that virtually all values are statistically significant. Second, we can look at the directions of political representation at the state legislative level. The data confirm the hypothesis of *political* professionalization, presented by, among others, Costa and Codato (2013). The Exp (B) of the political category reveal that this category, even in 1998, was already more likely to be elected (6 times more likely than non-politicians). The ensuing trend in the following elections is an increase in these numbers, reaching almost threefold in 2018 (17.069 more chances). These data are significant about the functioning of political competition in the country, because those who were already part of a party organization before the election, are more likely to be elected, even in 2018, when the debate was marked by a denial of politics. That is, over time, the effect only tends to increase.

The results also show that political representation has not become popular in the country. Variables such as being a man, having a university degree, occupying prestigious positions as a doctor and an entrepreneur, still explain electoral success, while workers remain unlikely to enter state parliaments. In the case of doctors and entrepreneur, the results are statistically significant in all elections analyzed. It even increased the coefficients over time. Having a higher education diploma guaranteed, on average, 59.43% more chances of victory over the analyzed elections, being the apex in 2010. The fact of being a man was not statistically significant only in the 2002 and 2006 elections. The popularization hypothesis is not supported by our data, in spite of the fact that the *Priests* category was more likely to be elected in half of the analyzed elections. In 2014, members of this category had four more chances of being elected. This result, however, should be viewed sparingly, as, as demonstrated earlier, few priests launch themselves candidates.

The 2018 election marked greater police access to the political field. Professionals in this category were twice more likely to be elected than non-police officers. This result demonstrates that the electoral victory is marked by conjuncture variables, after all, at no time have police officers had so many chances to be elected. Right secular parties have always been more likely to elect state deputies over time. This result, however, should be viewed sparingly, given that the president-elect's party, PSL, is classified in this ideological field. Thus, the coefficients may not necessarily represent a strengthening of traditional right parties such as DEM and PP, but the change of guard of this field, with the arrival of organizations such as NOVO and

the PSL itself.

Table 3 - Explanatory variables of the electoral success of state deputies (1998-2018)

	1998	2002	2006	2010	2014	2018
Predictor Variables	Exp (B)	Exp (B)	Exp (B)	Exp (B)	Exp (B)	Exp (B)
Political	6.807***	7.893***	11.059***	14.779***	14.074***	17.069***
Doctor	1.779***	1.762***	2.284***	1.676**	3.394***	5.548***
Lawyer	1.190	1.160	1.499**	1.467**	2.379***	1.923***
Entrepreneur	1.683***	1.652***	1.742***	1.741***	1.896***	1.877***
Priest	3.575***	2.482***	1.318	2.529	4.059***	1.441
Police force	.595*	.291***	.469*	.512*	.423**	2.064***
Worker	.617**	.602**	.406***	.727	.505***	.332***
Mam	1.271*	1.170	1.267*	1.591***	2.348***	1.837***
Age	.913	.989	1.193*	1.146	1.139	.738***
Higher education	1.403***	1.577***	1.534***	1.715***	1.638***	1.699***
Right Secular	1.607***	1.250**	1.319***	.906	1.257**	1.669***
Confessional Right	.649**	.763*	.654**	.773*	.891	1.043
Constant	.033	.025	.015	.010	.006	.007
Cox and Snell R ²	0.55	0.68	0.101	0.114	0.108	0.113

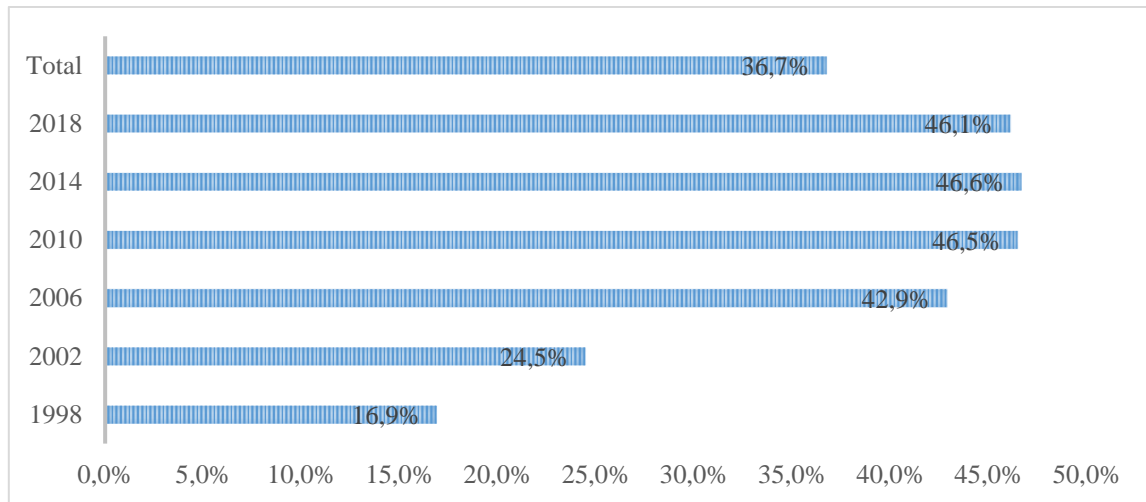
* p < 0.050; ** p < 0.005; ***p < 0.001.

Source: *Observatório de elites políticas e sociais do Brasil (Observatory of Political and Social Elites of Brazil)* and TSE (2018).

The thesis of professionalization of the political field, as punctuated by the previously mentioned authors, finds reinforcement in the results found. Candidates who held an elective position at the time of elections are always more likely to be elected. These values only increase over the years, from six times more chance to seventeen times in 2018. That is, even if reelection levels were low in 2018, especially when looking at data from the Chamber of Deputies and Senate, the results indicate that there was no significant “political renewal” as claimed by certain political analysts³. By way of illustration, as we can see from the graph 3, 46.1% of the successful candidates in the 2018 election were politicians. This result was only higher than the 2010 and 2014 elections, which reinforces the thesis of professionalization of the Brazilian political class, also at the State Legislative level.

³ <https://www.institutoliberal.org.br/blog/outubro-de-2018-a-vitoria-da-renovacao-politica-no-brasil/>, access on: July 29, 2019.

Graph 3- Percentages of “political” successful candidates for state deputy in Brazil (1998-2018):



Source: *Observatório de elites políticas e sociais do Brasil* (Observatory of Political and Social Elites of Brazil) and TSE (2018).

The results of the logistic regression test also make it possible to compare the odds ratio values with other work on access to the political field at the federal level (federal deputies). The work of Perissinotto and Bolognesi (2010) performed the same test to observe odds ratios of the candidates who “get there” for the 1998, 2002 and 2006 elections. The results found by the authors reinforce our findings: professional politicians tend to always have more chances than non-politicians in the endeavor to get elected, and that chance – statistically measured – has increased over time. The arrival of the PT in power, as pointed out by Rodrigues (2014) did not significantly change this scenario. In contrast to Perissinotto and Bolognesi (2010), however, we found a smaller chance effect on politician elections in 2002. Para os autores, os coeficientes dobram de 1998 (6,628) para 2002 (12,074). For the authors, the coefficients double from 1998 (6,628) to 2002 (12,074). In our case there is a much more subtle change, which may indicate, among other things, that the effect of professionalization is distinct when comparing different Houses of Laws.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The objective of this work was to perform a hypothesis test on another data set. The hypotheses that were formulated for the positions of federal deputy (RODRIGUES, 2006; 2014) or senators (COSTA; CODATO, 2013), were applied to the unsuccessful and successful candidates to the position of state deputy in the country. Our findings allowed confirming the hypothesis of political professionalization (COSTA; CODATO, 2013). We hoped that popularization would be more significant among state deputies, as it was a lower position in the political hierarchy.

As we look at unsuccessful and successful, we can see that variables such as being a man, having a full university degree, being from the business world, or being a doctor still have explanatory power for electoral success. In spite of this, the 2018 elections marked an increase in

the chances of success of the “police force” category, which indicates that recruitment is also influenced by factors of conjuncture.

In theoretical terms, our findings show that political representation in the country is not heading for a greater increase of layers as “workers”. The political field tends to be dominated by professionals already inserted in it. Even though representative democracies are not always a reflection of the social structure that are inserted, as Dahl (1997), Gaxie (2012) and Dogan (1999) have already stated, our results repeat that the phenomenon found by Costa and Codato (2013) is repeated in other levels of political representation.

Although other variables still need to be incorporated into the explanation, such as: the funding of the candidacies, the patrimony of the candidates, the particularities of each federation unit, our findings illustrate the political competition in the country. If Putnam (1976) is correct, and changes in the profile of political elites serve as indicative of possible changes in society, our data mean that the political field has been separating, becoming 'autonomous', political representation is in the hands of those already inserted in the game of political representation. However, this does not mean a monopoly of these agents because factors of conjuncture may explain the elite selection process as we saw in the 2018 election, in which police officers turned into victorious candidacies.

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Article received on 2019-31-07

Article accepted for publication on 2019-13-08