

## **Election for federal deputy in 2014 - A new camera, a new country<sup>1</sup>**

### **A eleição para deputados em 2014 - Uma nova câmara, um novo país**

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#### **ABSTRACT**

In 2014 were selected representatives from 28 different parties in the House of Representatives. We never had a composition as heterogeneous partisan. However, there is consensus that they have never been so conservative in political and social aspects, are very homogeneous. Who elected these deputies? The goal is to seek a given unprecedented: the profile of voters in each group of deputies in the states, searching for differences and socio demographic similarities.

**KEYWORDS:** Elections; Chamber of deputies; Political parties.

#### **RESUMO**

Em 2014 elegemos representantes de 28 partidos diferentes para a Câmara dos Deputados. Nunca tivemos na Câmara uma composição tão heterogênea partidariamente. Por outro lado, há consenso de que eles nunca foram tão conservadores em aspectos políticos e sociais, nesse outro aspecto, são muito homogêneos. Quem elegeu esses deputados? O objetivo deste estudo é buscar um dado inédito: o perfil dos eleitores de cada grupo de deputados nos estados, procurando diferenças e similaridades sociodemográficas entre eles.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Eleições; Câmara dos deputados; Partidos políticos.

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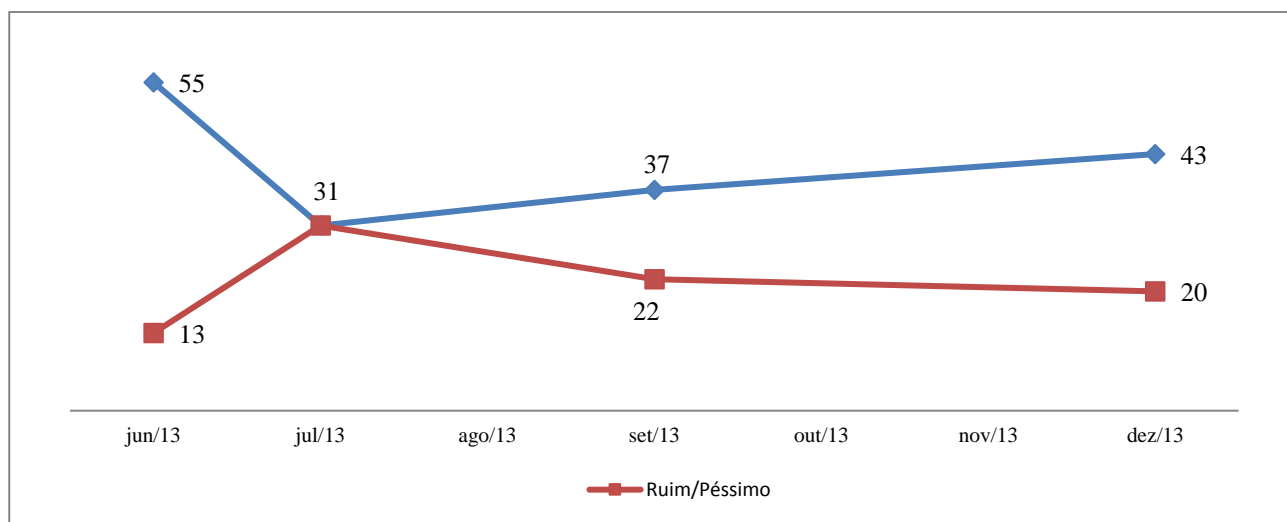
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## 1 INTRODUCTION

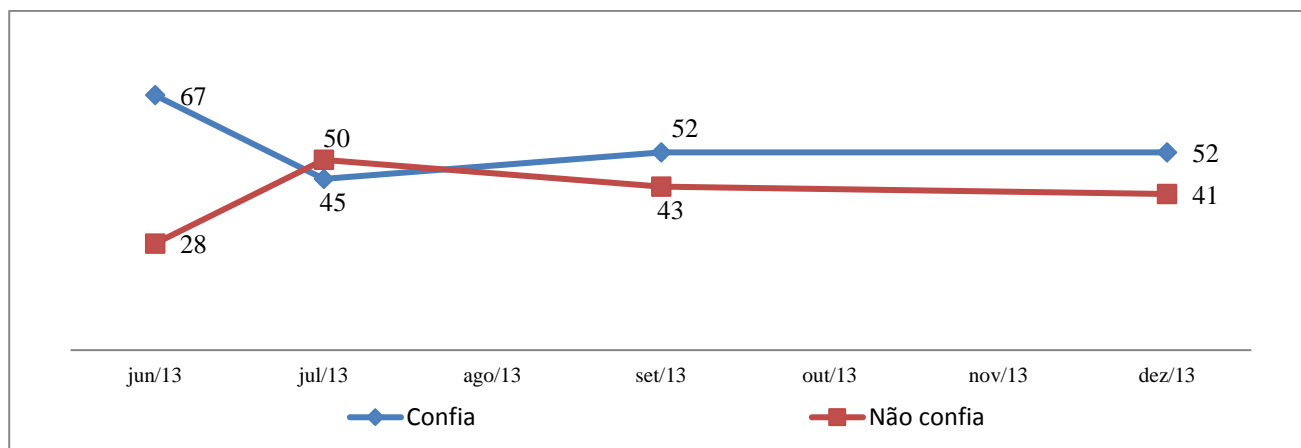
After the great popular demonstrations in Brazil, in June 2013, initiated by the spark of R\$ 0.20 increase in the passages of urban bus from Sao Paulo, the year 2014 began with two major themes in the minds of Brazilians: how would the country performance in the FIFA World Cup (on and off the field) and the October elections, when Rousseff try his re-election after precisely the strong jolt of popularity that the 2013 events left in his government.

On the first issue, unfortunately, we have more than seven reasons not to deepen but on the second we can raise some important data for the analysis of elections in 2014.

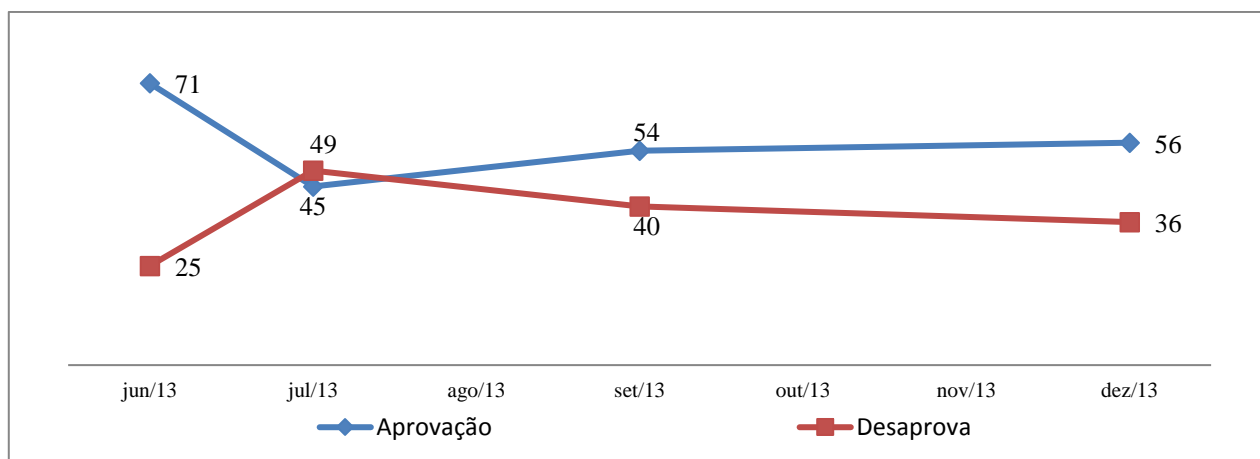
As shown by the figures presented in Figures 1, 2 and 3, in just one month, from June to July, the popularity of the president collapsed and, despite a slight recovery during the year 2014 started with the big question on their performance during the 2014 elections, supported the campaign. Could it reverse the shock of June 2013? The company would charge more strongly the political class in political, social and economic issues?



**Figure 1** - President of the administration of evaluation Dilma Rousseff  
Source: CNI-IBOPE Inteligência, 2014.



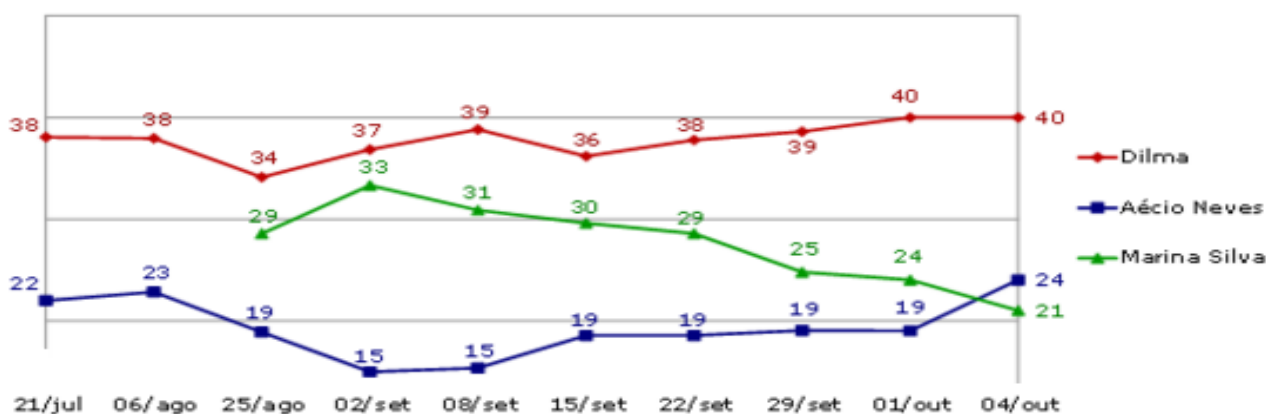
**Figure 2** - Approval of the administration of President Dilma Rousseff  
Source: CNI-IBOPE Inteligência, 2014.



**Figure 3 - Confidence in President Dilma Rousseff**  
Source: CNI-IBOPE Inteligência, 2014.

During 2014, the major focus of the media and the whole society was the presidential election. The elections that chose the governors of the 26 states and the Federal District were in the background and, most forgotten yet, were renewals of the state and national legislatures. But they were important, since any change pled in 2013 also depend on the Legislature's approval elected in 2014.

It is in this legislative election that this study focuses. In parallel with the campaign for President of the 2014 Republic, the most balanced of our history (as never before the winner had won with such a small difference of votes in the second round), was the first Sunday of October, in the first round the presidential election, the election of federal deputies. Remember that, in that October 5, along with the election of the House representatives, the race for the presidency has proved full of surprises, as occurred on the eve of the election, a shift in the application of Aécio Neves (PSDB) against Marina Silva (PSB), leading the toucan, not socialist, the second round on 26 October. It was thus that turning climate of opinions and fierce competition, the current federal deputies, objects of this study were elected (Figure 4).



**Figure 4 - Evolution of the intention to vote for president in 2014**  
Source: CNI-IBOPE Inteligência, 2014.

In this climate, the parliamentary elections of 2014, Brazilians elected representatives from 28 different parties in the House of Representatives. Never in our history, we had the Bundestag such a heterogeneous composition in partisan terms. On the other hand, after the election, there was a consensus among analysts and political scientists that the deputies elected in 2014 have never been so conservative in political, economic and social aspects. In this another aspect, in a few moments they were as homogeneous.

Another contradiction, therefore, is that the same country that elected a president of a party and a speech during the campaign clearly to the left on the political spectrum choose congressmen with postures and quite conservative historical profiles.

What this study attempts to outline, within its limitations, is who, after all, elected these contradictions. What is the profile of the population that actually voted in elected candidates for this federal legislature? An unpublished data, since the TSE did not disclose, because the votes are not identified.

I reiterate here, so the main purpose of this study: despite the 513 elected deputies represent all Brazilians in the House, reflecting the will of all our society, we do not know the profile of voters who effectively were willing to vote for the candidates elected. This was only possible thanks to surveys of various researches of IBOPE Inteligência during the elections.

## 2 METHODOLOGY

To outline this profile, as already mentioned, this study delves into the research intention to vote for congressmen made by IBOPE Inteligência in 18 Federative Units (Alagoas, Amazonas, Bahia, Ceará, Distrito Federal, Goiás, Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso do Sul, Mato Grosso, Pará, Pernambuco, Paraná, Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande do Norte, Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, São Paulo and Tocantins) in 2014. Unfortunately, we do not have all the Federative Units, but will work with data on 423 of the 513 deputies, representing 82% of MPs in the House, a very significant number.

In all, the surveys were made thanks to 194 state election surveys conducted by IBOPE Inteligência during the election campaign with the question of voting in federal deputy (was also raised intend to vote for state representative), between August, September and the first days October 2014.

Finally, the work done in this study was to separate all respondents who cited his intention to vote in federal deputies who were actually elected, extract its demographic profile (gender, age, educational level and average household income) and analyze it in comparison with the profile of total voters that they effectively represent.

In addition to the demographic analysis, the study sought an analysis also political vote. This second interpretation of the data was due to the classification of deputies elected by the parties and their "ideology" (this second based on the position of each parliamentary in 13 important votes of the year 2015). With this new perspective, beyond partisan issue, we analyze the profile of who chose candidates with positions more to the left or more to the right in the Brazilian political spectrum.

## 3 DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

In this block we present the whole profile of the voters who elected deputies in the 18 states analyzed. These data will be presented as a whole (Table 1) and isolation by UF (Annex A), always comparing the profile of voters with the profile of their respective universe to observe any differences between the two groups.

**Table 1**  
Set the profile of the voters who elected deputies in the 18 states analyzed

Gender	18 Federative Units		
	TSE	IBOPE*	Dif.**
Male	48%	56%	8pp
Female	52%	44%	-8pp
Age	18 Federative Units		
	TSE	IBOPE*	Dif.**
16-24	19%	17%	-2pp
25-34	25%	25%	0pp
35-44	21%	23%	2pp
45-54	17%	17%	0pp

55 e+	19%	19%	0pp
<b>Instruction</b>		<b>18 Federative Units</b>	
	<b>TSE</b>	<b>IBOPE*</b>	<b>Dif.**</b>
Até Fundamental 1	19%	15%	-4pp
Fundamental 2	23%	20%	-3pp
Ensino Médio	40%	44%	4pp
Ensino Superior	18%	22%	4pp
<b>Income (minimum wage)</b>		<b>18 Federative Units</b>	
	<b>TSE</b>	<b>IBOPE*</b>	<b>Dif.**</b>
+ de 20	3%	1%	-2pp
+ de 10 a 20	7%	3%	-4pp
+ de 5 a 10	20%	12%	-8pp
+ de 2 a 5	40%	32%	-8pp
+ de 1 a 2	17%	31%	-14pp
Até 1	8%	14%	6pp
NS/ NR	5%	6%	1pp

\* Profile of the voters in search IBOPE Inteligência, who cited candidates elected in 2014.

\*\* Difference in percentage points.

As shown in Table 1, in relation to sex, we see one of the biggest differences between the population profile and the profile of those who voted for the candidates elected and this is one of the most important data highlighted in this study: men participated more than women in choosing their candidates, ie candidates chosen by men were elected in a greater proportion than the candidates chosen by women.

Regarding the level of education, of the 18 states, it is noticeable differences, but in a lesser degree: the more educated voters, with East and Higher Education, were a little more "effective" in their vote than those with up to Elementary School.

Regarding family income, even in relation to the group of the 18 Federative Units, there is a major difference in terms of numbers, however, as this variable is not dichotomous, such as sex (by the way, is more fragmented in terms of options) becomes less shocking. But there is no denying, if we add the differences between the tracks of up to 1 minimum wage and 1 to 2, 20 percentage points difference against 22 negative percentage point difference among voters with income of more than 2 minimum wages. Anyway, with this data we can say that voters belonging to the poorest families (with incomes up to 2 minimum wages) were the proportionately more elected their candidates. This is another fact of great importance in the study.

As I said, these data show the aggregate demographic profile vote for the House of Representatives of 18 states. As everyone knows, Brazil is very heterogeneous demographically and that information must also be analyzed by UF.

The data been state, they are in Appendix A at the end of the document. Below we highlight some significant profile differences observed in the study:

- With regard to the sex of the respondents, the greater "efficiency" of the male vote is given in all the states analyzed, showing the consistency of this important finding of the study;
- It is in Rio Grande do Sul which is the largest discrepancy in relation to sex (14 percentage points less for women). Among the gauchos is also higher underrepresentation among less educated voters (10 percentage points);
- São Paulo, richest state of the country, is one of the most balanced between demographic profile of voters elected representatives and voters as a whole. Except for the difference in relation to sex, present in all states and difference within the average of all 18 states studied;
- On the other hand, Rio de Janeiro its right neighbor is atypical. Among fluminenses voters are one of the biggest differences regarding sex for voting profile (12 percentage points against women) and a high difference regarding the level of education, favoring the vote of those with higher education by 17 percentage points. Remember, the Rio de Janeiro already differs from

other states to be one with the highest number of Left parties of deputies, offering the House the most PSOL members (party more to the left on the political spectrum, as we shall see ), four in all;

- The third largest state in Brazil, Minas Gerais, there is the smaller representation of young people 16 to 24 years observed (8 percentage points below the average of their constituents) and the highest concentration of elected among voters with higher education (9 percentage points above) of total;
- What is also observed in this study is that poorer states among the 18 studied (AM, PA, PE, BA, MS, CE and AL), are the ones that contribute most to that, on the whole, voters belonging to more families poor are those who proportionally more elected their candidates. In short, in the poorest states, the candidate of the poor voters are more likely to be elected;
- In relation to education, the predominance of voters with high school in the choice of elected occurs among voters of Alagoas and Tocantins.

### 3.1 POLICY ANALYSIS

Based on the highlight these voters within the databases of research from IBOPE Inteligência also had the possibility to expand the analysis based on the classification of federal deputies, as their votes in 2015. At this stage, we classified the deputies of these 18 states, basically into two categories (similar to each other but different in practice): party and ideology.

The party rating was simpler because separate the deputies elected by the parties competing in the elections in 2014 (remember that shortly after the election and throughout the year 2015, there were migrations of representatives from the different political parties, with the creation new associations - even great - such as PMB, Party of Brazilian Women). In this classification, we used the political parties of origin of Members elected in the election of October 2014.

As to the ideology, the criterion used was the classification of the votes of congressmen in important votes during the year 2015. Due to the time of political and economic crisis that has infected the country since the end of 2014, we observed a very polarization strong political, economic and social issues in this period, and this made it possible to observe the clear positioning of some parties and/or representatives in relation to some issues in clear contrast to others.

Thus, the votes of 13 projects were used during 2015 as criteria for this targeting. Them could be clearly seen that division that here we call "ideological" of the House. The votes of the House which served as reference were as follows:

1. Billing courses at public universities;
2. Distritão;
3. Private financing for parties;
4. Private financing for parties and candidates;
5. Indigenous Infanticide;
6. Reduction of age 1;
7. Reduction of age 2;
8. Pension;
9. Unemployment Insurance;
10. Outsourcing;
11. Terrorism;
12. Transgenic;
13. Taxation of Internet services.

So with this parameter was considered Left or Right, the Member or party has positioned itself in the polls, as shown in Table 2.

**Table 2**  
Positioning the deputy and party at the polls

Votações	Esquerda	Direita
Billing courses at public universities	No	Yes
Distritão	No	Yes
Private financing for parties	No	Yes
Private financing for parties and candidates	No	Yes
Indigenous Infanticide	No	Yes
Reduction of age 1	No	Yes
Reduction of age 2	No	Yes
Pension	No	Yes
Unemployment Insurance	No	Yes
Outsourcing	No	Yes
Terrorism	No	Yes
Transgenic	No	Yes
Taxation of Internet services	No	Yes

It is noteworthy that, although having said that, in 2014, was elected a government with a campaign speech more to the Left, the government of President Dilma Rousseff in 2015, in its first year of his second term, presented some issues to Congress due to "fiscal adjustment", with more features to the "Right" as the fiscal adjustment and changes in social benefits. Some of these proposals did not have support for (several) times, or of members of the PT itself, the party president. Therefore, in voting by voting analysis, were not met basic expectations of partisan alignment and / or ideological in the pure sense of each political party programs.

Unfortunately, many of the votes were submitted by individuals and momentary motivations of the deputies.

Thus, with respect to the votes of the members, we have the following configuration, remembering that this criterion, the closer to 100%, more to the right on the political spectrum (according to the criteria adopted here) is the federal deputy and the closer 0%, more to the left (the ordering of members is based on their classification and in their classification by alphabetical order of the party, the state and its name), as shown in Table 3.

**Table 3**  
Votes of Members

DEM/ BA Claudio Cajado	100%	PMDB/ RJ Leonardo Picciani	100%
DEM/ MG Carlos Melles	100%	PMDB/ RJ Marquinho Mendes	100%
DEM/ RJ Rodrigo Maia	100%	PMDB/ RJ Soraya Santos	100%
PMDB/ BA Lucio Vieira Lima	100%	PMDB/ RN Walter Alves	100%
PMDB/ CE Aníbal Gomes	100%	PP/ BA Cacá Leão	100%
PMDB/ GO Pedro Chaves	100%	PP/ BA Mário Negromonte Jr,	100%
PMDB/ MG Leonardo Quintão	100%	PP/ BA Roberto Britto	100%
PMDB/ MG Mauro Lopes	100%	PP/ BA Ronaldo Carletto	100%
PMDB/ MG Silas Brasileiro	100%	PP/ MG Luiz Fernando Faria	100%
PMDB/ PA José Priante	100%	PP/ MG Toninho Pinheiro	100%
PMDB/ PR Osmar Serraglio	100%	PP/ PE Eduardo da Fonte	100%
PMDB/ PR Sergio Souza	100%	PP/ PR Dilceu Sperafico	100%
PMDB/ RJ Celso Jacob	100%	PP/ RJ Julio Lopes	100%
PMDB/ RJ Fernando Jordão	100%	PP/ RJ Simão Sessim	100%

PP/ SP Guilherme Mussi	100%	PR/ SP Miguel Lombardi	92%
PP/ SP Paulo Maluf	100%	PR/ SP Milton Monti	92%
PP/ TO Lázaro Botelho	100%	PRB/ SP Beto Mansur	92%
PR/ CE Gorete Pereira	100%	PRB/ TO César Halum	92%
PROS/ CE Ariosto Holanda	100%	PSD/ BA Sérgio Brito	92%
PSC/ PR Takayama	100%	PSD/ DF Rogério Rosso	92%
PSD/ AL Cícero Almeida	100%	PSD/ MG Diego Andrade	92%
PSD/ AM Átila Lins	100%	PSD/ PR Evandro Roman	92%
PSD/ GO Thiago Peixoto	100%	PSD/ RN Fábio Faria	92%
PSD/ MG Jaime Martins	100%	PSD/ SC Cesar Souza	92%
PSD/ MG Marcos Montes	100%	PSD/ SP Herculano Passos	92%
PSD/ PA Francisco Chapadinha	100%	PSD/ SP Ricardo Izar	92%
PSD/ RJ Sergio Zveiter	100%	PSDC/ RJ Luiz Carlos Ramos	92%
PSD/ TO Irajá Abreu	100%	PTB/ PE Zeca Cavalcanti	92%
PSDB/ BA Jutahy Junior	100%	PTB/ SP Nelson Marquezelli	92%
PSDB/ MS Elizeu Dionizio	100%	PMDB/ MG Newton Cardoso Jr	91%
PTB/ GO Jovair Arantes	100%	PMDB/ MG Rodrigo Pacheco	91%
PTB/ PE Adalberto Cavalcanti	100%	PMDB/ SC Edinho Bez	91%
PTB/ PE Jorge Córte Real	100%	PR/ AM Alfredo Nascimento	91%
PTB/ PE Ricardo Teobaldo	100%	PR/ GO Magda Mofatto	91%
SDD/ PA Wladimir Costa	100%	PSD/ SP Walter Ihoshi	91%
SDD/ PR Fernando Francischini	100%	PSDB/ PE Bruno Araújo	91%
DEM/ BA Elmar Nascimento	92%	PTB/ CE Arnon Bezerra	91%
DEM/ BA Paulo Azi	92%	SDD/ RJ Ezequiel Teixeira	91%
DEM/ MG Misael Varella	92%	PHS/ MG Marcelo Aro	90%
DEM/ SP Marcelo Aguiar	92%	PMDB/ SC Valdir Colatto	90%
PMDB/ AL Marx Beltrão	92%	PP/ MG Renzo Braz	90%
PMDB/ MG Laudivio Carvalho	92%	PR/ AL Maurício Quintella Lessa	90%
PMDB/ MS Carlos Marun	92%	PR/ RJ Altineu Côrtes	90%
PMDB/ SC Ronaldo Benedet	92%	PR/ SC Jorginho Mello	90%
PMDB/ SC Rogério Peninha	92%	PSD/ RJ Indio da Costa	90%
PMDB/ SP Baleia Rossi	92%	PSDB/ SP Bruna Furlan	90%
PMDB/ TO Dulce Miranda	92%	PR/ PR Giacomo	88%
PMDB/ TO Carlos H. Gaguim	92%	DEM/ DF Alberto Fraga	85%
PMN/ MG Dâmina Pereira	92%	DEM/ BA José Carlos Aleluia	85%
PP/ AL Arthur Lira	92%	PMDB/ SC Mauro Mariani	85%
PP/ MG Dimas Fabiano	92%	PR/ PE Anderson Ferreira	85%
PP/ MT Ezequiel Fonseca	92%	PR/ RJ Dr. João	85%
PP/ PE Fernando Monteiro	92%	PRP/ MG Marcelo Álvaro Antônio	85%
PP/ PR Nelson Meurer	92%	PSD/ RS Danrlei Hinterholz	85%
PR/ BA José Rocha	92%	PSDB/ AM Arthur V. Bisneto	85%
PR/ MG Aelton Freitas	92%	PSDB/ GO Delegado Waldir	85%
PR/ MG Bilac Pinto	92%	PSDB/ MG Rodrigo de Castro	85%
PR/ PR Luiz Nishimori	92%	PSDB/ PA Nilson Pinto	85%
PR/ SP Capitão Augusto	92%	PSDB/ PR Rossoni	85%
PR/ SP Marcio Alvino	92%	PTB/ PA Josué Bengtson	85%



PTN/ SP Renata Abreu	85%	PSD/ AM Silas Câmara	80%
SDD/ GO Lucas Vergilio	85%	PSL/ CE Macedo	80%
SDD/ MG Zé Silva	85%	SDD/ CEGenecias Noronha	80%
DEM/ RN Felipe Maia	83%	DEM/ AM Pauderney Avelino	78%
PHS/ PE Kaio Maniçoba	83%	DEM/ SP Eli Corrêa Filho	78%
PMDB/ AM Marcos Rotta	83%	PMDB/ RJ Celso Pansera	78%
PMDB/ DF Roney Nemer	83%	PP/ PR Ricardo Barros	78%
PMDB/ GO Daniel Vilela	83%	PR/ BA João Carlos Bacelar	78%
PMDB/ MS Geraldo Resende	83%	PRB/ SP Sérgio Reis	78%
PMDB/ SC Celso Maldaner	83%	PSDB/ SP Lobbe Neto	78%
PP/ GO Sandes Júnior	83%	PTB/ RJ Cristiane Brasil	78%
PR/ PA Lúcio Vale	83%	DEM/ PA Hélio Leite	77%
PR/ RJ Francisco Floriano	83%	DEM/ SP Jorge Tadeu Mudalen	77%
PR/ RJ Marcos Soares	83%	PHS/ CE Adail Carneiro	77%
PSB/ MT Fabio Garcia	83%	PMDB/ RS Alceu Moreira	77%
PSD/ BA Fernando Torres	83%	PMDB/ RS Mauro Pereira	77%
PSD/ BA José Nunes	83%	PMDB/ TO Josi Nunes	77%
PSD/ PA Joaquim Passarinho	83%	PP/ RS Covatti Filho	77%
PSDB/ MG Paulo Abi-Ackel	83%	PP/ RS Luis Carlos Heinze	77%
PSDB/ RN Rogério Marinho	83%	PP/ SP Missionário José Olimpio	77%
PSDB/ SP Ricardo Tripoli	83%	PR/ SP Tiririca	77%
PTB/ BA Benito Gama	83%	PRB/ RJ Rosangela Gomes	77%
PTDOB/ MG Luis Tibé	83%	PRB/ RS Carlos Gomes	77%
DEM/ PE Mendonça Filho	82%	PRB/ SP Antonio Bulhões	77%
PMDB/ CE Danilo Forte	82%	PRB/ SP Marcelo Squassoni	77%
PMDB/ MG Saraiva Felipe	82%	PRB/ SP Vinicius Carvalho	77%
PP/ GO Roberto Balestra	82%	PSB/ MT Adilton Sachetti	77%
PP/ RN Beto Rosado	82%	PSD/ SC João Rodrigues	77%
PR/ DF Laerte Bessa	82%	PSDB/ BA Antonio Imbassahy	77%
PROS/ CE Domingos Neto	82%	PSDB/ DF Izalci	77%
PROS/ RJ Hugo Leal	82%	PSDB/ GO Célio Silveira	77%
PRP/ RJ Alexandre Valle	82%	PSDB/ GO João Campos	77%
PSB/ TO Vicentinho Júnior	82%	PSDB/ RJ Otavio Leite	77%
PSD/ BA José Carlos Araújo	82%	PSDB/ RS Nelson Marchezan Jr.	77%
PSD/ SP Goulart	82%	PSDB/ SP Miguel Haddad	77%
PSD/ SP Jefferson Campos	82%	PSDB/ SP Silvio Torres	77%
PSDB/ BA João Gualberto	82%	PSDB/ SP Vitor Lippi	77%
PSDB/ MG Bonifácio de Andrada	82%	PTB/ SP Arnaldo Faria de Sá	77%
PSDB/ SP Vanderlei Macris	82%	PTDOB/ MG Pastor Franklin	77%
PTB/ RS Luiz Carlos Busato	82%	PTN/ MG Del. Edson Moreira	77%
SDD/ BA Arthur Oliveira Maia	82%	DEM/ SP Alexandre Leite	75%
DEM/ RS Onyx Lorenzoni	80%	PRB/ BA Tia Eron	75%
PMDB/ RJ Washington Reis	80%	PRB/ SP Roberto Alves	75%
PP/ RS Renato Molling	80%	PROS/ CE Vicente Arruda	75%
PR/ RJ Paulo Feijó	80%	PSB/ PE Pastor Eurico	75%
PRB/ SP Celso Russomanno	80%	PSB/ SC Fabricio Oliveira	75%

PSB/ SP Luiz Lauro Filho	75%	PMDB/ CE Vitor Valim	67%
PSC/ SP Gilberto Nascimento	75%	PP/ RJ Jair Bolsonaro	67%
PSD/ PA Delegado Éder Mauro	75%	PRB/ SP Fausto Pinato	67%
PSDB/ GO Alexandre Baldy	75%	PROS/ MG Ademir Camilo	67%
PSDB/ GO Fábio Sousa	75%	PROS/ MT Valtenir Pereira	67%
PSDB/ PR Alfredo Kaefer	75%	PSB/ MG Stefano Aguiar	67%
PSDB/ SP Samuel Moreira	75%	PSB/ PR Luciano Ducci	67%
PSDB/ SP A. C. Mendes Thame	75%	PSC/ SP Eduardo Bolsonaro	67%
SDD/ MS Elizeu Dionizio	75%	PSD/ BA Paulo Magalhães	67%
SDD/ PE Augusto Coutinho	75%	PSDB/ SP Carlos Sampaio	67%
PMDB/ MT Carlos Bezerra	73%	PSDB/ SP Eduardo Cury	67%
PRB/ RJ Roberto Sales	73%	PSDB/ SP João Paulo Papa	67%
PRTB/ AL Cícero Almeida	73%	PTB/ MG Eros Biondini	67%
PSB/ MS Tereza Cristina	73%	PV/ MG Fábio Ramalho	67%
PSB/ SP Keiko Ota	73%	PP/ RS José Otávio Germano	64%
PSC/ PA Júlia Marinho	73%	PR/ CE Cabo Sabino	64%
PSD/ RJ Felipe Bornier	73%	PR/ MG Lincoln Portela	64%
PSDB/ CE Raimundo G. de Matos	73%	PROS/ RN Rafael Motta	64%
PSDB/ GO Giuseppe Vecchi	73%	PSB/ PE Marinaldo Rosendo	64%
PSDB/ MG Domingos Sávio	73%	PSDB/ PE Daniel Coelho	64%
PSDB/ MT Nilson Leitão	73%	PSDB/ SC Geovania de Sá	64%
PSDB/ SC Marco Tebaldi	73%	PMDB/ RS Osmar Terra	63%
PTB/ PR Alex Canziani	73%	DEM/ MS Mandetta	62%
PTB/ RS Sérgio Moraes	73%	PMDB/ RS Darcísio Perondi	62%
SDD/ SP Paulo Pereira da Silva	73%	PPS/ PR Sandro Alex	62%
PROS/ AL Givaldo Carimbão	70%	PPS/ SP Alex Manente	62%
PSC/ PR Edmar Arruda	70%	PRB/ CE Ronaldo Martins	62%
PSC/ SP Pr, Marco Feliciano	70%	PSB/ PE Fernando Coelho Filho	62%
PSD/ GO Heuler Cruvinel	70%	PSD/ RJ Alexandre Serfiotis	62%
PSDB/ AL Pedro Vilela	70%	PTB/ RS Ronaldo Nogueira	62%
PSDB/ PR Luiz Carlos Hauly	70%	PTN/ BA Bacelar	62%
PTB/ BA Antonio Brito	70%	PMDB/ PA Elcione Barbalho	60%
PMDB/ PR Hermes Parcianello	69%	PR/ SP Paulo Freire	60%
PP/ MG Odelmo Leão	69%	PSC/ BA Irmão Lazaro	60%
PP/ RS Jerônimo Goergen	69%	DEM/ CE Moroni Torgan	58%
PRB/ BA Márcio Marinho	69%	PHS/ PR Diego Garcia	58%
PROS/ CE Leônidas Cristino	69%	PMDB/ PA Simone Morgado	58%
PSC/ BA Erivelton Santana	69%	PMN/ RN Antônio Jácome	58%
PSC/ MG Raquel Muniz	69%	PR/ RN Zenaide Maia	58%
PSC/ MT Professor Victório Galli	69%	PROS/ DF Ronaldo Fonseca	58%
PSC/ PE Silvio Costa	69%	PSDB/ PE Betinho Gomes	58%
PSD/ RJ Sóstenes Cavalcante	69%	SDD/ RJ Aureo	58%
PSDB/ MG Caio Narcio	69%	PDT/ MG Mário Heringer	56%
PSDB/ MG Marcus Pestana	69%	PTB/ RJ Deley	55%
PSDB/ SP Bruno Covas	69%	PP/ RS Afonso Hamm	54%
PTB/ RJ Walney Rocha	69%	PPS/ CE Moses Rodrigues	54%

PSDB/ MG Eduardo Barbosa	54%	PT/ MS Zeca do Pt	36%
PV/ PR Leandre	54%	PT/ RJ Luiz Sérgio	36%
PDT/ SP Major Olímpio	50%	PCDOB/ MG Jô Moraes	33%
PMDB/ PE Jarbas Vasconcelos	50%	PCDOB/ PE Luciana Santos	33%
PP/ SC Esperidião Amin	50%	PCDOB/ PR Aliel Machado	33%
PROS/ PA Beto Salame	50%	PP/ SC Jorge Boeira	33%
PSDB/ SP Mara Gabrielli	50%	PPS/ PE Raul Jungmann	33%
PT/ GO Rubens Otoni	50%	PR/ RJ Clarissa Garotinho	33%
PT/ MG Weliton Prado	50%	PSB/ PE João Fernando Coutinho	33%
PT/ RJ Fabiano Horta	50%	PSB/ PR Leopoldo Meyer	33%
PV/ SP Evandro Gussi	50%	PT/ AL Paulão	33%
PV/ SP William Woo	50%	PT/ BA Caetano	33%
PDT/ BA Félix Mendonça Júnior	46%	PT/ CE José Airton Cirilo	33%
PP/ PR Marcelo Belinati	46%	PT/ MG Margarida Salomão	33%
PPS/ GO Marcos Abrão	46%	PT/ MG Reginaldo Lopes	33%
PPS/ SC Carmen Zanotto	46%	PT/ RJ Alessandro Molon	33%
PSB/ MG Tenente Lúcio	46%	PT/ RJ Benedita da Silva	33%
PTC/ BA Uldurico Junior	46%	PT/ RS Fernando Marroni	33%
PPS/ AM Hissa Abrahão	45%	PT/ RS Henrique Fontana	33%
PPS/ SP Roberto Freire	45%	PT/ RS Maria do Rosário	33%
PSB/ MG Júlio Delgado	45%	PT/ SP Valmir Prascidelli	33%
PSB/ PE Gonzaga Patriota	45%	PCDOB/ BA Daniel Almeida	31%
PT/ PR Toninho Wandscheer	45%	PCDOB/ BA Davidson Magalhães	31%
PTC/ MG Brunny	45%	PCDOB/ CE Chico Lopes	31%
PV/ SP Dr, Sinval Malheiros	45%	PCDOB/ MG Wadson Ribeiro	31%
SDD/ AL JHC	45%	PCDOB/ RJ Jandira Feghali	31%
PV/ SP Penna	43%	PCDOB/ SP Orlando Silva	31%
DEM/ TO Dorinha S. Rezende	42%	PSB/ SP Flavinho	31%
PDT/ RS Giovani Cherini	42%	PT/ BA Afonso Florence	31%
PP/ AM Conceição Sampaio	42%	PT/ BA Moema Gramacho	31%
PT/ CE José Guimarães	42%	PT/ BA Valmir Assunção	31%
PT/ MS Vander Loubet	40%	PT/ MG Adelmo Carneiro Leão	31%
PCDOB/ PE Carlos E. Cadoca	38%	PT/ PA Beto Faro	31%
PDT/ MS Dagoberto	38%	PT/ RJ Chico D Angelo	31%
PDT/ RS Afonso Motta	38%	PT/ RS Marco Maia	31%
PMDB/ RS José Fogaça	38%	PT/ SP Ana Perugini	31%
PPS/ PR Rubens Bueno	38%	PT/ SP Nilto Tatto	31%
PT/ PR Enio Verri	38%	PT/ SP Vicentinho	31%
PT/ SP Andres Sanchez	38%	PTN/ PR Christiane de S. Yared	31%
PT/ SP Carlos Zarattini	38%	PCDOB/ BA Alice Portugal	30%
SDD/ DF Augusto Carvalho	38%	PT/ SP Vicente Candido	30%
PDT/ GO Flávia Morais	36%	PCDOB/ RS João Derly	27%
PDT/ RS Pompeo de Mattos	36%	PT/ BA Jorge Solla	27%
PMDB/ PR João Arruda	36%	PT/ BA Waldenor Pereira	27%
PT/ CE Odorico Monteiro	36%	PT/ MT Ságua Moraes	27%
PT/ MG Gabriel Guimarães	36%	PT/ PR Assis do Couto	27%

PT/ SP Arlindo Chinaglia	27%	PROS/ RJ Miro Teixeira	17%
PT/ SP José Mentor	27%	PSB/ RS Heitor Schuch	17%
PDT/ MG Subtenente Gonzaga	25%	PDT/ AL Ronaldo Lessa	11%
PDT/ RJ Marcelo Matos	25%	PT/ RJ Wadih Damous	11%
PT/ MG Leonardo Monteiro	25%	PT/ SC Pedro Uczai	10%
PT/ PA Zé Geraldo	25%	PT/ RS Marcon	9%
PT/ PR Zeca Dirceu	25%	PSB/ PE Tadeu Alencar	8%
PT/ RS Bohn Gass	25%	PSB/ RS Jose Stédile	8%
PT/ RS Paulo Pimenta	25%	PSB/ BA Beбето	0%
PT/ CE Luizianne Lins	20%	PSB/ RJ Glauber Braga	0%
PPS/ PA Arnaldo Jordy	18%	PSB/ SP Luiza Erundina	0%
PT/ DF Erika Kokay	18%	PSOL/ PA Edmilson Rodrigues	0%
PT/ MG Padre João	18%	PSOL/ RJ Chico Alencar	0%
PT/ SC Décio Lima	18%	PSOL/ RJ Jean Wyllys	0%
PT/ SP Paulo Teixeira	18%	PSOL/ SP Ivan Valente	0%
PDT/ PE Wolney Queiroz	17%	S.PART. / RJ Cabo Daciolo	0%

With respect to political parties, all the 13 votes, there are parties with diametrically opposed positions on all votes, as we can see in Table 4 (remember that in the case of political parties, was taken into consideration in the classification, the position of party leadership in principle to the accession of other party members).

**Table 4**  
Party positioning (in%)

<b>Partido</b>	<b>Posicionamento</b>
PSOL	0% yes
PC do B	30,77% yes
PT	33,33% yes
PDT	33,33% yes
PSB	33,33% yes
PPS	41,67% yes
PV	45,45% yes
PROS	77,78% yes
PSL	77,78% yes
PRTB	81,9% yes
PTC	83,33% yes
PRP	83,33% yes
PT do B	83,33% yes
PMN	83,33% yes
PTN	83,33% yes
PSDB	83,33% yes
PSDC	83,33% yes
PRB	83,33% yes
DEM	84,62% yes
SDD	84,62% yes
PR	91,67% yes
PSD	100% yes
PTB	100% yes
PP	100% yes
PMDB	100% yes
PHS	100% yes

PEN	100% yes
PSC	100% yes

On this scale, so the PSOL is the party more to the left in this political spectrum, while seven parties (including the PMDB, the Republic Vice-President of the party) are at their opposite, Right, 100% support more proposals on the right.

For questions, especially religious (and themes that passed by religious issues were much discussed in the House in 2015), the "evangelical" PSC can be placed as the party in opposition to the positions "Leftists" PSOL. Incidentally, the two parties were the ones who staged the most intense debates on social issues in the House that first year of legislature.

As a result of this classification, the votes of the deputies were segmented into five groups: Left (0% to 20% but the projects), Left Centre (from 21% to 40%), Central (41% to 60%), Central right (from 61% to 80%) and right (81% to 100% yes in designs). This according to the same graduation presented for the parties previously and with the same criteria. Reiterating, the closer to 0%, more to the left is the deputy and the closer to 100%, more to the Right were their positions.

The "ideological" profile, so the group of deputies of the 18 states analyzed in their votes in the House is that shown in Table 5.

**Table 5**  
Ideological profile of members of the group of 18 states analyzed

Grupo	%
Left (0% a 20%)	4%
Left Center (21% a 40%)	12%
Central (41% a 60%)	9%
Right Center (61 % a 80%)	34%
Right (81% a 100%)	40%

Thus, it proves what before the inauguration of members of Congress, political experts from the media and academia have emphasized: in 2014 Brazil elected a House of Representatives trends more to the Right than the Left in the classic political spectrum. More conservative than progressive, in terms used by political science. To have a dimension that, if we group the two biggest trends (Left and Right), we have 16% to the left and 74% (almost 3 out of 4) Right.

With these two segmentations (partisan and ideological), it was possible to target the demographic and geographic profile of voters who chose candidates elected from each group most identified with one or another "ideology" or political party.

At first, let's look at some comments on the party vote and then enter the "ideological" analysis.

As shown in Table 6, with respect to the sex of the respondents, it is observed that there is a clear differentiation between the two parties, ideologically, more distinguished: PSOL and PSC, one on the extreme left and the other on the far right. While the PSC is the most voted by men (66%) than women (34%) - getting therefore double vote across the male audience than among the female - the PSOL is the party more "balanced" in which men and women choose the same proportion to the elected candidates (50% to 50%).

**Table 6**  
Sex of respondents in relation to political parties

Gender	PT	PMDB	PSC	PSDB	PSOL
Male	60%	58%	66%	56%	50%
Female	40%	42%	34%	44%	50%

With regard to age (Table 7), the PSC is the party that focuses more votes among voters aged 25 to 34, age of onset of the economically active period of the citizens. Here the PT stands out for being the party with the lowest proportion of votes among young people (16-24 years), something surprising a few years ago, when it was precisely among the young that the party of President Rousseff and former President Lula had its best electoral performance.

**Table 7**

Age of respondents in relation to political parties

	PT	PMDB	PSC	PSDB	PSOL
16-24 years	12%	16%	15%	17%	16%
25-34 years	23%	23%	37%	24%	28%
35-44 years	25%	21%	22%	16%	18%
45-54 years	21%	19%	18%	20%	19%
55 years and more	20%	21%	8%	23%	19%

From the perspective of education (Table 8), the PSOL is the party that concentrates more votes among more educated voters, especially with higher education level. Of votes in the PSOL, 62% comes from voters who have gone through colleges.

**Table 8**

Education level of respondents in relation to political parties

	PT	PMDB	PSC	PSDB	PSOL
Fundamental 1	16%	13%	6%	12%	3%
Fundamental 2	23%	22%	15%	19%	8%
Ensino Médio	36%	42%	45%	43%	27%
Superior	25%	22%	34%	26%	62%

As a result, since there is a high correlation between level of education and household income, the voters of PSOL are the ones who have an income higher than 20 minimum wages (Table 9). As a counterpoint, the largest share of voters of PSC (44%) are among those who live with a monthly income between 2 and 5 minimum wages.

**Table 9**

Family income of respondents in relation to political parties

	PT	PMDB	PSC	PSDB	PSOL
More 20 basic salary	1%	3%	0%	0%	6%
10-20 basic salary	4%	3%	11%	5%	6%
5-10 basic salary	17%	16%	10%	22%	28%
2-5 basic salary	35%	35%	44%	32%	27%
1-2 basic salary	25%	26%	21%	22%	17%
Up to 1 basic salary	10%	11%	5%	8%	6%
NR	8%	5%	9%	10%	11%

It is also observed that the voters of PSC are those who declare themselves outnumbered as Catholics (Table 10), only 36% while the average of the 18 states is 66%. This was expected, since most of the party's parliamentarians are linked to evangelical churches. Yet this religious question, the PSOL, again, is opposed to the PSC, it is characterized by having the largest share of voters irreligious, atheists or agnostics (29%).

**Table 10**

Religion of respondents in relation to political parties

	PT	PMDB	PSC	PSDB	PSOL
Catholic	72%	72%	36%	66%	54%
Evangelical	15%	19%	53%	21%	11%
Another	4%	4%	9%	6%	6%
There is not	8%	5%	2%	7%	29%

With this ideological classification, we can also see the states with deputies more and more Left Right. In this respect, the ranking of the averages of the positions of state delegations was as shown in Table 11.

**Table 11**

Ranking of the means of positioning the state delegations

Posicionamento	UF	%
Right	TO	84,7
Right Center	RN	77,6
Right Center	GO	77,1
Right Center	AM	75,5
Right Center	MG	71,5
Right Center	MT	70,1
Right Center	SC	68,3
Right Center	BA	67,6
Right Center	AL	67,6
Right Center	CE	67,0
Right Center	DF	66,7
Right Center	PE	66,0
Right Center	SP	66,0
Right Center	PR	66,0
Right Center	PA	64,9
Right Center	RJ	64,6
Right Center	MS	62,4
Central	RS	52,6

Taking into account the basic scale, from 0% to 100%, the average of all states is above 50%, being therefore in all states, more to the right than to the left on the political spectrum. However, another point of view, we have only one state (RS) with an average of center members, and one (TO) as Right, 16 others have average deputies as Right Center.

It also noted the attitude of some political parties in relation to this ideological classification created here for a better understanding of the study, as shown in Table 12.

**Table 12**  
Ideology by political party 1

	Political Party	
	PSC	PSOL
Left	0%	100%
Left Center	0%	0%
Central	5%	0%
Right Center	81%	0%
Right	14%	0%

Importantly, despite the PSC in their institutional positions and party leadership, be at 100% to the right during the voting of the 13 projects, not always his deputies voted in accordance with the direction suggested by the party leadership. A clear example of this dissonance was Mr. Silvio Costa, Pernambuco, being the PSC, is deputy leader of the government Dilma and therefore supports different postures party, which opposes the president<sup>2</sup>.

Among the three major Brazilian parties, the PT has positioned itself more like Left Center, the PSDB as Right Center and the PMDB as Right mainly by fierce fight between the Mayor Eduardo Cunha (PMDB-RJ) and President Dilma Rousseff, who antagonized opinions between PT and PMDB.

We are now analyzing the profile of the Left deputies, Left Center, Center, Right, Center and Right, by state, as shown in the Tables 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19.

**Table 13**  
Ideology by political party 2

	Partido		
	PT	PMDB	PSDB
Left	15%	0%	0%
Left Center	71%	5%	0%
Central	14%	9%	4%
Right Center	0%	15%	57%
Right	0%	71%	39%

**Table 14**  
Ideology by state 1

	State		
	SP	RJ	MG
Left	2%	19%	1%
Left Center	9%	17%	7%
Central	3%	2%	14%
Right Center	59%	35%	36%
Right	28%	27%	41%



**Table 15**  
Ideology by state 2

	UF		
	RS	SC	PR
Esquerda	10%	10%	0%
Centro Esquerda	22%	2%	27%
Centro	10%	27%	6%
Centro Direita	50%	8%	28%
Direita	9%	53%	39%

**Table 16**  
Ideology by state 3

	UF		
	BA	CE	PE
Esquerda	0%	4%	5%
Centro Esquerda	19%	7%	9%
Centro	2%	22%	20%
Centro Direita	21%	31%	25%
Direita	57%	36%	40%

**Table 17**  
Ideology by state 4

	UF		
	AM	PA	TO
Esquerda	0%	14%	0%
Centro Esquerda	0%	8%	0%
Centro	15%	10%	5%
Centro Direita	21%	25%	12%
Direita	64%	44%	83%

**Table 18**  
Ideology by state 5

	UF		
	DF	GO	RN
Esquerda	24%	0%	0%
Centro Esquerda	3%	9%	0%
Centro	10%	9%	10%
Centro Direita	10%	28%	15%
Direita	52%	54%	75%

**Table19**  
Ideology by state 6

	UF		
	MS	MT	AL
Esquerda	0%	0%	11%
Centro Esquerda	49%	14%	4%
Centro	0%	0%	7%
Centro Direita	15%	57%	43%
Direita	36%	30%	34%

Highlights by state:

- Federal District (24%) and Rio de Janeiro (19%) are the states with the highest number of members with positions Left;
- Next ideologically, Mato Grosso do Sul has half of its members (49%) with Left Center postures;
- In the North, the deputies of Pará stand out for having a relevant position to the left (14%);
- Tocantins, as had already been observed based on the average (Table 6), is the state with the largest number of deputies to the right (83%);
- With predominance Right Center, there is São Paulo (59%), Mato Grosso (57%) and Rio Grande do Sul (50%);
- In the same vein, more to the right, Rio Grande do Norte, Amazonas, Bahia and Santa Catarina (75%, 64%, 57% and 53% respectively) also stand out for having the majority of its deputies with positions Right ;
- Finally, Minas Gerais has a larger share of the Right, but without most, 41%.

#### 4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to show the demographic profile of voters who effectively elected their representatives in the House of Representatives in 2014 - we must emphasize, again, that this was public that defined who would be the people's representatives in parliament - could observe important and significant differences profile of this audience with the whole of the population, they deserve going forward, be better studied and understood by us researchers, by political scientists and political analysts as a whole.

One should also highlight the real importance of the data presented here. This is an unprecedented thing, not only for us researchers, but also for the whole society, because thanks to the numerous surveys of IBOPE Inteligência was possible to get this information.

The first and most striking question pointed here and to be thorough, is to know why the deputies elected by these 18 states have a more masculine percentage of votes than women, when it is known that we have more voters than voters in the country. What is the reason for the underrepresentation of women's suffrage? Are women more scatter their votes, while men focus more on certain candidates and parties, and that "improves" the male vote performance? What other explanation can be given?

And regarding the age for voting distortions? They are low but occur more significantly in some states. For what reason? And the distortions by level of education and family income? These are larger and, by itself, already show some ways.

With regard specifically to distortions by education and income (which at first show is highly correlated), they tend to indicate that in some states, or better in some regions, they may not be as correlated as well, as they seem in general common sense of the country.

The statement is and a possible reason for this tends to be a little practice spoken, but still widely practiced in the country: buying votes. Just in the most economically poor states, the vote of the low-

income voter has "more power". This fact would force him to be voting for candidates with better financial conditions to "buy" your vote? Already in the richest states, when there is this discrepancy, education weighs more, which does not cease to be a positive thing because the more enlightened voter can better choice, at least in principle.

At the end of this study, are more doubts than certainties, but it fulfills its role of open ways and pointing directions that need to be cleared by researchers and political scientists.

Thinking more broadly, as citizens, would be a way to balance these distortions? Decrease these underrepresentation of problems identified in this study? A deeper reform policy would improve this situation? Remember that the Political Reform was precisely one of the topics discussed during 2015 first legislative year of the same rated Congress, but unfortunately very little has changed. The few changes approved, practically only further encouraged the political class and not society as a whole.

These are questions that this study goes to society so that we can better reflect on the kind of democracy that we (and the study showed well how it is distorted) and the type of democracy we want. Thus serves as a diagnosis of our society so that we can improve it and make it more fair and equal for all.

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## ANNEX A - DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF VOTERS IN THE 18 STATES SURVEYED

SEXO	AM			PA			TO			CE			RN			PE			AL			BA			MG		
	TSE	BOPE*	DIF**	TSE	BOPE*	DIF**	TSE	BOPE*	DIF**	TSE	BOPE*	DIF**	TSE	BOPE*	DIF**	TSE	BOPE*	DIF**	TSE	BOPE*	DIF**	TSE	BOPE*	DIF**	TSE	BOPE*	DIF**
Masc.	50%	61%	11	49%	55%	6	46%	58%	12	47%	52%	5	47%	52%	5	46%	55%	9	47%	54%	7	47%	58%	11	48%	58%	7
Fem.	50%	39%	-11	51%	45%	-6	52%	44%	-8	53%	48%	-5	53%	48%	-5	54%	45%	-9	53%	48%	-7	53%	42%	-11	52%	45%	-7
IDADE	AM			PA			TO			CE			RN			PE			AL			BA			MG		
16-24	23%	19%	-4	24%	22%	-2	22%	16%	-6	23%	22%	-1	23%	20%	-3	19%	15%	-4	22%	16%	-6	21%	16%	-5	19%	11%	-8
25-34	29%	26%	-3	28%	27%	-1	27%	27%	0	26%	23%	-3	25%	23%	-2	25%	26%	1	25%	29%	4	28%	28%	0	26%	29%	4
35-44	21%	25%	4	21%	23%	2	22%	24%	2	18%	20%	2	20%	21%	1	20%	22%	2	21%	23%	2	20%	21%	1	20%	22%	2
45-54	14%	16%	2	14%	15%	1	14%	17%	3	14%	18%	4	15%	18%	3	16%	17%	1	15%	17%	2	16%	17%	1	17%	20%	3
55+	14%	15%	1	13%	12%	-1	15%	15%	0	18%	18%	0	18%	18%	0	19%	20%	1	17%	16%	-1	17%	18%	1	19%	17%	-2
INSTRUÇÃO	AM			PA			TO			CE			RN			PE			AL			BA			MG		
Fund. 1	16%	14%	-1	18%	12%	-7	19%	12%	-7	23%	21%	-2	21%	15%	-6	24%	18%	-6	34%	25%	-9	23%	16%	-7	21%	15%	-6
Fund. 2	24%	16%	-8	27%	22%	-5	22%	12%	-10	25%	24%	-1	24%	20%	-4	24%	22%	-2	24%	21%	-3	22%	20%	-3	24%	22%	-2
Ens. Méd.	46%	51%	5	43%	49%	6	41%	50%	9	39%	39%	0	41%	44%	3	39%	41%	2	31%	40%	9	43%	47%	4	38%	37%	-1
Ens. Sup.	15%	19%	4	12%	17%	5	18%	26%	8	13%	16%	3	15%	21%	6	14%	19%	5	11%	14%	3	11%	13%	2	17%	26%	9
RENDIMENTO FAMILIAR	AM			PA			TO			CE			RN			PE			AL			BA			MG		
+ de 20 SM	2%	1%	-1	1%	1%	0	2%	3%	1	1%	0%	-1	2%	1%	-1	1%	1%	0	1%	1%	0	2%	0%	-2	3%	3%	0
+ de 10 a 20 SM	4%	2%	-2	4%	2%	-2	5%	3%	-2	4%	1%	-3	6%	5%	-1	4%	2%	-2	2%	1%	-1	4%	2%	-2	7%	4%	-3
+ de 5 a 10 SM	18%	11%	-7	18%	8%	-10	15%	13%	-2	11%	8%	-3	14%	10%	-4	11%	10%	-1	10%	7%	-3	10%	8%	-2	21%	18%	-3
+ de 2 a 5 SM	41%	34%	-7	39%	33%	-6	40%	35%	-5	37%	28%	-9	37%	29%	-8	38%	27%	-11	37%	21%	-16	35%	35%	0	43%	44%	1
+ de 1 a 2 SM	20%	34%	14	24%	39%	15	24%	35%	6	20%	33%	13	25%	31%	6	26%	36%	10	31%	32%	1	27%	38%	11	17%	28%	9
Até 1 SM	10%	11%	1	13%	16%	3	11%	15%	4	17%	28%	11	14%	21%	7	15%	18%	3	18%	28%	10	18%	13%	-5	7%	3%	-4
N optou	4%	8%	4	8%	2%	-3	1%	7%	6	3%	1%	-2	1%	3%	2	4%	6%	2	1%	10%	9	4%	3%	-1	2%	1%	-1
* Perfil dos eleitores, em pesquisa IBOPE* Inteliçãncia que citaram candidatas eleitos em 2014.																											
** Diferença em pontos percentuais																											
SEXO	RJ			SP			PR			SC			RS			MS			MT			GO			DF		
Masc.	48%	58%	10	48%	58%	10	48%	61%	13	49%	60%	11	48%	62%	14	49%	59%	10	50%	56%	6	48%	56%	8	47%	59%	12
Fem.	54%	42%	-12	52%	44%	-8	52%	35%	-17	51%	40%	-11	52%	38%	-14	51%	41%	-10	50%	44%	-6	52%	44%	-8	53%	41%	-12
IDADE	RJ			SP			PR			SC			RS			MS			MT			GO			DF		
16-24	16%	10%	-6	16%	13%	-3	18%	7%	-11	18%	13%	-5	18%	16%	-2	19%	11%	-8	20%	15%	-5	18%	16%	-3	20%	7%	-13
25-34	22%	22%	0	26%	22%	-4	23%	22%	-1	22%	22%	0	22%	24%	2	26%	24%	-2	26%	26%	0	28%	26%	-2	28%	11%	-17
35-44	20%	20%	0	21%	24%	3	21%	20%	-1	22%	20%	-2	20%	23%	3	20%	24%	4	22%	22%	0	22%	26%	4	21%	30%	9
45-54	16%	17%	1	18%	19%	1	18%	20%	2	18%	21%	3	19%	22%	3	17%	19%	2	17%	20%	3	17%	17%	0	16%	22%	7
55+	24%	31%	7	20%	22%	2	20%	32%	12	20%	23%	3	22%	17%	-5	19%	22%	3	16%	18%	2	17%	17%	0	15%	18%	3
INSTRUÇÃO	RJ			SP			PR			SC			RS			MS			MT			GO			DF		
Fund. 1	16%	8%	-8	16%	13%	-3	21%	13%	-8	20%	13%	-7	17%	8%	-9	23%	17%	-6	20%	15%	-5	19%	12%	-7	9%	8%	-3
Fund. 2	23%	15%	-8	20%	19%	-1	22%	17%	-5	23%	28%	5	27%	24%	-3	23%	15%	-8	26%	21%	-5	24%	22%	-3	16%	11%	-4
Ens. Méd.	42%	39%	-3	43%	45%	2	37%	44%	7	36%	36%	0	35%	42%	7	33%	33%	0	37%	40%	3	39%	44%	5	41%	37%	-4
Ens. Sup.	21%	38%	17	22%	23%	1	20%	26%	6	20%	21%	1	20%	26%	6	21%	35%	14	17%	23%	6	17%	22%	5	35%	46%	11
RENDIMENTO FAMILIAR	RJ			SP			PR			SC			RS			MS			MT			GO			DF		
+ de 20 SM	3%	3%	0	3%	1%	-2	3%	5%	2	2%	1%	-1	3%	1%	-2	3%	1%	-2	2%	1%	-1	2%	1%	-1	12%	11%	-1
+ de 10 a 20 SM	8%	8%	0	8%	4%	-4	9%	10%	1	9%	4%	-5	9%	2%	-7	8%	3%	-5	7%	3%	-4	7%	4%	-3	17%	13%	-4
+ de 5 a 10 SM	18%	25%	7	20%	19%	-1	24%	25%	1	30%	20%	-10	23%	17%	-6	22%	15%	-7	21%	17%	-4	21%	13%	-8	21%	18%	-3
+ de 2 a 5 SM	39%	32%	-7	40%	38%	-2	43%	32%	-11	41%	52%	11	43%	42%	-1	44%	39%	-5	42%	37%	-5	43%	39%	-4	51%	24%	-27
+ de 1 a 2 SM	15%	19%	4	11%	19%	8	14%	14%	0	10%	16%	6	14%	26%	12	16%	30%	14	17%	23%	6	17%	28%	9	11%	10%	-1
Até 1 SM	6%	6%	0	4%	5%	1	5%	5%	0	4%	2%	-2	5%	6%	1	6%	4%	-2	7%	9%	2	7%	7%	0	4%	5%	1
N optou	11%	7%	-4	7%	15%	8	2%	8%	6	5%	6%	1	3%	3%	0	1%	8%	7	3%	10%	7	3%	11%	8	4%	18%	15
* Perfil dos eleitores, em pesquisa IBOPE* Inteliçãncia que citaram candidatas eleitos em 2014.																											
** Diferença em pontos percentuais																											

## **ANEXO B - SUMMARY OF THE CONTENT OF VOTING USED FOR IDEOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF DEPUTIES**

- 1) **Collection of courses in public universities** - According to the text, the public higher education undergraduate and postgraduate academic remain free, but institutions may charge by extension courses, lato sensu graduate (as MBA) and Master professional. The exception will be for residency programs (health) and training of professionals in the area of education, which will remain free.
- 2) **Distritão** - In this system, states and the Federal District are transformed into constituencies and the candidates elected are those who manage the largest number of votes in each district (like in the elections for president, governor and mayor, where those who have the highest number of votes is elected). Currently the system in place is the Proportional System.
- 3) **Private funding for parties** - Private financing of campaigns for political parties. It is not allowed funding for candidates.
- 4) **Private funding for parties and candidates** - Here would be allowed to candidates.
- 5) **Indian infanticide** - The approved project comes to measures to combat harmful traditional practices in indigenous societies such as infanticide, sexual abuse, rape individual or collective, slavery, torture, vulnerable to neglect and domestic violence. Moreover, the project deals with the protection of fundamental rights of children, adolescents, women and vulnerable older people in these communities.
- 6) **Age Reduction 1** - The reduction of criminal responsibility to 16 years falls in the following cases: heinous crimes (such as rape), murder, serious bodily injury or bodily injury followed by death, drug trafficking and grand theft.
- 7) **Reduction of age 2** - The reduction of the legal age to 16 years falls in the following cases: heinous crimes (such as rape), murder and serious bodily injury or bodily injury followed by death. In this second vote, excludes drug trafficking and grand theft.
- 8) **Pension** - On the approved text, spouses may only require pension for death of fellow if the time of marriage or marriage for more than two years and the insured person has contributed to the INSS for at least one year and a half. Before, it was not required minimum contribution time for the dependents were entitled to the benefit, but it was necessary that at the time of death, the insured were contributing to Social Security.
- 9) **Unemployment Insurance** - With the law becomes more difficult access to unemployment insurance, the salary bonus and insurance-closed. For example, before it was necessary that an employee had a working time of at least 6 months to apply for unemployment insurance at the time of dismissal. With the law that minimum time is now 1 year. The purpose of the law is to reduce spending.
- 10) **Outsourcing** - Among other points: outsource core business; reduced from 24 months to 12 months quarantine call period that the former employee of a company must meet in order to provide services to the same company by a contracted outsourcing.
- 11) **Terrorism** - The vote on the bill typifies the crime of terrorism. The approved text criminalizes terrorism as the practice, by one or more individuals, acts of xenophobia reasons, discrimination or prejudice based on race, color, ethnicity or religion, in order to cause social or generalized

terror, exposing the dangerous person, equity, peace or public safety. The text provides for imprisonment from 12 to 30 years in closed regime without prejudice to the penalties relating to other offenses arising from this crime.

12) **Transgenic** - It is not required to be of GMO products on packaging warnings.

13) **Taxation of internet services** - New rules for the Tax on Services (ISS). The fixed text-based 2% ISS rate, trying to end the fiscal war between municipalities. In addition, the project includes new services in the list of those that can be taxed as application of tattoos, piercings and the like; surveillance and monitoring of movable property; and providing audio content, video, image and text in web pages, except in the case of newspapers, books and periodicals.

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<sup>1</sup> This work was presented at the seventh Brazilian Congress of Market Research, Opinion and Media of ABEP (held in April 2016), winner of the prize "Alfredo Carmo", transformed into article by its author, submitted to PMKT and approved for publication.

<sup>2</sup> By the end of 2015, Mr. Silvio Costa left the PSC and joined the PT do B, just for being a "black sheep" within the "party of shepherds", according to himself.