



2018 Brazilian Elections – Legislative Candidacies

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Lei de Cotas

1995 gender quota law requiring 30% women on lists for municipal, state, and federal deputy elections

- Reformed in 2009, first enforced in earnest in 2014
- Party resistance
 - Quota neglect 1996-2008, only 16.1% of state party lists reached 30% target
 - Formal compliance increased 2010-2016, but increased rates of *laranjas*
 - 2014 Chamber of Deputies elections: 48.6% of state party lists reached 30% target (30.7% ran 0 women), but estimates suggest nearly half of female candidates were *laranjas*
- Institutionalized parties with women in state leadership are the parties most likely to comply with the quota and to elect women legislators

Campaign finance

- Raced-gendered inequities in campaign finance
- 2015 STF ruling that corporate contributions were unconstitutional
 - From 1994-2010, the average percent of campaign contributions from corporate sources was 48% for winning candidates to the Chamber of Deputies
- 2017 policy established R\$1.7 billion electoral fund (*Fundo Especial de Financiamento de Campanha*), allocated proportionally to parties
 - 2018 TSE ruling requires parties to reserve 30% for women's campaigns
 - Internal party rules guide discretionary spending of fund; parties prioritizing incumbents / *puxadoras de legenda* (critical in the open-list PR context)

Women's Presence in Brazilian Politics, 1994-2018

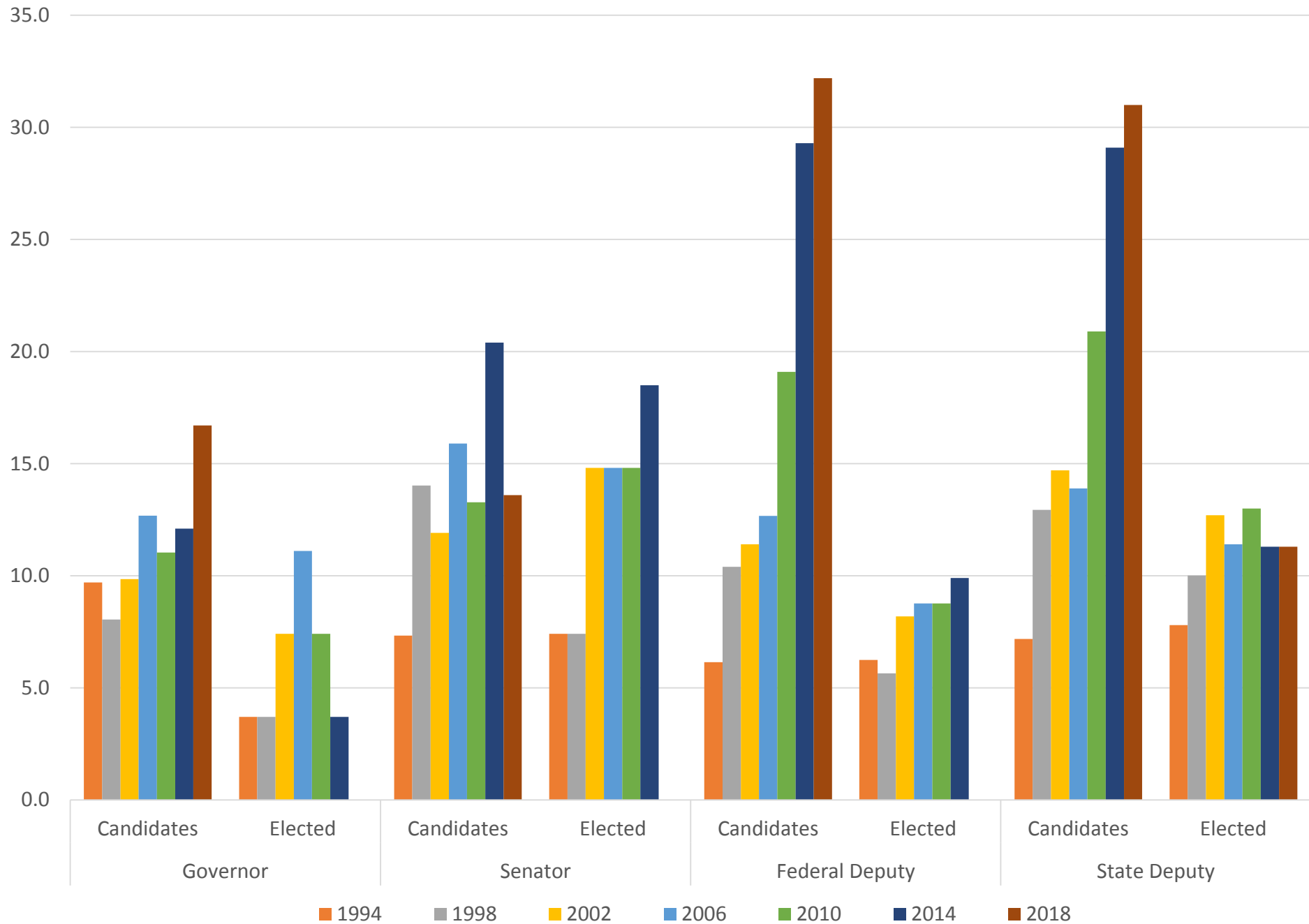
State Elections	Governor		Senator		Federal Deputy		State Deputy	
	Candidates	Elected	Candidates	Elected	Candidates	Elected	Candidates	Elected
1994	9.7	3.7	7.3	7.4	6.2	6.2	7.2	7.8
1998	8.1	3.7	14.0	7.4	10.4	5.7	12.9	10.0
2002	9.9	7.4	11.9	14.8	11.4	8.2	14.7	12.7
2006	12.7	11.1	15.9	14.8	12.7	8.8	13.9	11.4
2010	11.0	7.4	13.3	14.8	19.1	8.8	20.9	13.0
2014	12.1	3.7	20.4	18.5	29.3	9.9	29.1	11.3
2018	16.7		13.6		32.2		31.0	

Local Elections	Mayor		Municipal Councilor	
	Candidates	Elected	Candidates	Elected
1996	5.3	5.5	10.9	11.0
2000	7.6	5.7	19.1	11.6
2004	9.5	7.4	22.1	12.7
2008	11.2	9.1	21.6	12.5
2012	13.4	11.8	31.9	13.3
2016	13.0	11.7	32.6	13.5

Note: Values reflect the percentage of women among candidates and elected.

Sources: Tribunal Eleitoral Superior; Cfemea.

% Female Candidates and Elected, 1994-2018



2018 candidacies, by raça/cor; gender

Chamber of Deputies

Raça/cor	N	%
Branca	2157	59.49
Parda	1063	29.32
Preta	363	10.01
Amarela	25	0.69
Indígena	18	0.50

Legislative Assemblies

Raça/cor	N	%
Branca	4032	49.96
Parda	3095	38.35
Preta	868	10.75
Amarela	33	0.41
Indígena	43	0.53

Office	N	% Women	Office	N	% Women
President	2	15.38	Senator	17	13.60
Vice-President	4	30.77	1 st Substitute	22	18.49
Governor	15	16.67	2 nd Substitute	36	30.51
Vice-Governor	37	43.02	Federal Deputy	1169	32.24
			State Deputy	2498	30.95

Thank you / obrigada!

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Party Institutionalization and Women's Representation in Democratic Brazil

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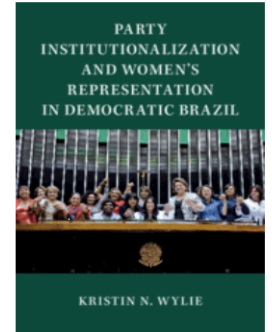
Brazil's quality of democracy remains limited by enduring obstacles including the weakness of parties and underrepresentation of marginalized groups. *Party Institutionalization and Women's Representation* theorizes the connections across those problems, explaining how weakly institutionalized and male-dominant parties interact to undermine descriptive representation in Brazil. This book draws on an original multilevel database of 27,653 legislative candidacies spanning six election cycles, over 100 interviews, and field observations from throughout Brazil. Wylie demonstrates that more inclusive participation in candidate-centered elections amidst raced-gendered structural inequities relies on institutionalized parties with the capacity to support women, and the will, heralded by party leadership, to do so. The book illustrates how women leaders in Brazil's more institutionalized parties enable white and Afro-descendant female aspirants to navigate the masculinized terrain of formal politics. It enhances our understanding of how parties mediate electoral rules, as well as institutional and party change in the context of weak but robustly gendered institutions.

1. A crisis of representation: the puzzle of women's underrepresentation in Brazil; 2. Willing and able: party institutionalization, party leadership, and women's representation; 3. Brazil's quota law and the challenges of institutional change amidst weak and gendered institutions; 4. Overcoming gendered obstacles: voters, electoral rules, and parties; 5. Electoral rules, party support, and women's unexpected successes in elections to the Brazilian Senate; 6. *Supermadres*, *Lutadoras*, and technocrats: the bounded profiles of Brazil's female politicians; 7. Intersections between race and gender in Brazil's 2014 Chamber of Deputies Elections; 8. Theoretical implications and comparative perspectives.

Advance Praise

'Kristin N. Wylie's impressive, multi-method study of Brazil handily disproves commonly held theories about women's political representation. *Party Institutionalization and Women's Representation in Democratic Brazil* establishes once and for all that political parties – and not cultural norms, economic development or electoral rules – are primarily responsible for shaping women's candidacies and election. In arguing that weakly institutionalized parties lack the will and the capacity to incorporate, support, and promote women, this book constitutes required reading for those seeking to understand the causes and consequences of democracies in crisis.'

–Jennifer M. Piscopo, *Occidental College*



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Advance praise:

'*Party Institutionalization and Women's Representation in Democratic Brazil* dismisses the conventional wisdom about women's underrepresentation in Brazil. Wylie then masterfully demonstrates that the combination of candidate-centric elections with weakly institutionalized political parties keep women out of elected office. Her mixed-methods approach uses an impressive longitudinal dataset of nearly 28,000 legislative candidacies as well as over 100 interviews with politicians, activists, and experts. This book is striking for both its theoretical and methodological rigor, and will stand as a landmark work in the study of women's political representation.'

Magda Hinojosa,
Arizona State University

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Supermadres

- Less developed states, lacking party support
- Conform to traditional gender norms
- Derive political capital from family, church
- Party switching
- Justify presence by “feminine perspective”
- Prefeita Jusmari Oliveira, BA-PFL/PR,
Deputy Bel Mesquita, PA-PTB/PMDB



Lutadoras

- Less developed states, supportive party
- Free to deviate from traditional gender norms
- Derives political capital from social activism
- Ideologically coherent policy platforms
- Justify presence by principle of equality
- “Corpo a corpo” campaigns
- Labor unions vs. popular social movements
- Deputada Fátima Bezerra (RN-PT), Vereadora Olívia Santana (BA-PC do B)
- Most successful profile



Technocrats

- More developed state, lacking party support
- High educational status
- Derive political capital from area-specific expertise
- Justify presence by woman's style
- (Initially) non-partisan, recruited by male party elites
- Deputada Professora Raquel Teixeira (GO), Governadora Yeda Crusius (RS)



Free to succeed

- More developed state, supportive party
- Derive political capital by working through the party ranks
- Ideologically coherent policy platforms
- Justify presence by principle of equality
- “Corpo a corpo” campaigns
- Deputada Manuela d’Ávila (RS-PC do B)

