

**POLITICAL DYNASTIES IN THE BRAZILIAN PARLIAMENT AND ITS
IDEOLOGICAL PROFILE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE 55TH LEGISLATURE**

***DINASTIAS POLÍTICAS NO PARLAMENTO BRASILEIRO E O SEU PERFIL
IDEOLÓGICO: UMA ANÁLISE DA 55ª LEGISLATURA***

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João Roberto dos Reis de SOUZA¹

ABSTRACT: Brazil is a Republic of political dynasties, as these families are present in all spheres of public power in the periods of Colony, Empire, Republic and in contemporary times. The research sought to investigate the direct relationship between the rise of Brazilian conservatism and the increase of political dynasties in the Chamber of Deputies. For this, it was necessary to trace the biographical trajectory of all 513 congressman and congresswoman and understand the specific logic of the action of those belonging to political dynasties. The purpose was to verify which political spectrum these parliamentarians are in.

KEYWORDS: Political families. Brazilian Parliament. Political ideologies. Political sociology.

RESUMO: O Brasil é uma República de dinastias políticas, visto que se constata a presença dessas famílias em todas as esferas do poder público dos períodos da Colônia, Império, República e na contemporaneidade. A pesquisa procurou investigar a relação direta entre a ascensão do conservadorismo brasileiro e o aumento das dinastias políticas na Câmara dos Deputados. Para isto, foi necessário traçar a trajetória biográfica de todos os 513 deputados e compreender a lógica específica da ação dos deputados pertencentes a dinastias políticas. O propósito foi verificar em qual espectro político se encontram estes referidos parlamentares.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Famílias políticas. Parlamento brasileiro. Ideologias políticas. Sociologia política.

RESUMEN: Brasil es una República de dinastías políticas, ya que estas familias están presentes en todas las esferas del poder público en los períodos de Colonia, Imperio, República y en la época contemporánea. La investigación buscó investigar la relación directa entre el auge del conservadurismo brasileño y el surgimiento de dinastías políticas en la Cámara de Diputados. Para ello, fue necesario trazar la trayectoria biográfica de los 513 diputados y comprender la lógica específica de la acción de los diputados pertenecientes a dinastías políticas. El propósito era verificar en qué espectro político se encuentran estos parlamentarios.

¹ University of Brasília (UNB), Brasília – DF – Brazil. Graduating in Social Sciences with specialization in Sociology. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5444-7877>. E-mail: joaoroberto.pol@gmail.com

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Familias políticas. Parlamento brasileiro. Ideologías políticas. Sociología política.*

Introduction

The presence of families in the public sphere is a constant phenomenon in the history of Brazil. Pimentel (2014) states that families, as an institution, were little studied by the theoretical classics of human sciences (Durkheim and Weber), as they believed that this phenomenon was a pre-modern characteristic. Therefore, with the advent of modernity and institutions governed by rules and bureaucracy, this *familistic* culture would disappear. However, it appears empirically that they were mistaken.

This strategy of political heredity is used in several countries and in different political regimes. In Cuba, under a dictatorial regime, with the brothers Fidel and Raúl Castro, in the United States, under a democratic regime, George W. Bush succeeded his father in 2000, in Argentina, also under the democratic regime, Cristina Kirchner succeeded his husband Néstor in 2007 and, more recently in Uruguay with Lacalle Pou (PN) son of Luis Alberto Lacalle who had a mandate as president (1990 - 1995).

In Brazil it would be no different, as has been shown (MESSEMBERG, 2011), political dynasties are a constitutive element of the political field of the Brazilian National Congress. Belonging to a family with a tradition in politics proves to be a facilitator in political recruitment and efficiency in the election of an electoral position, that is, these individuals come with many advantages and resources in relation to other candidates who do not have families with tradition in the political scope.

In addition, it is noteworthy that the conservative character of the National Congress elected in 2014, that is, the 55th Legislature since the period of redemocratization, after 1964², was widely placed by the media. In an attempt to explain this phenomenon, some researchers attribute as a consequence the dissatisfaction with PT governments, the economic crisis, the 2013 manifestations, the disbelief in Brazilian institutions, corruption and the feeling of political non-representativeness by society.

In addition to this conservative character, the increase in political dynasties in the 55th legislature of the Chamber of Deputies is also considered. This means that 46.5% of the parliamentarians elected and installed in the 55th Legislature of the Chamber of Deputies are

² Available: <http://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,diap-congresso-eleito-e-omais-conservador-desde-1964,1572550>. Access: 10 Sep. 2020.

part of political families with at least one consanguineous predecessor and/or husband, or wife, who held elective positions in the Brazilian municipal, state and/or federal levels.

So, it is asked, what is the relationship between Brazilian conservatism and political families? What is the relationship between family and power? In which political spectrum are these deputies belonging to families with a tradition in politics?

The hypothesis raised in this paper is that federal deputies belonging to political dynasties are found across the ideological political spectrum - since this political heredity is found in different types of political regime as mentioned above. However, it is emphasized that these are centered more to the right. In view of this, therefore, it is considered that there is a direct relationship between the increase in Brazilian conservatism and the increase in political dynasties in the Brazilian parliament, however it is not the only factor causing this phenomenon.

As already mentioned, the presence of families in the representative and administrative political sphere has been quite relevant in the entire history of Brazil since the Colonial period (OLIVEIRA VIANNA, 1949; HOLANDA, 1976; FAORO, 1975), most of the federal deputies are heirs of family members whose political power, in some cases, reports to Imperial Brazil and who manage to metamorphose during the cultural and social transformations that society traverses, therefore remaining in these spheres (ADILSON FILHO, 2017).

This research has the understanding that family capital is not a mark of institutional underdevelopment that causes damage to Brazilian democracy. Some theorists defend the idea that the prevalence of family capital in Brazilian institutions is an indication of political “backwardness”, therefore tending to reduce with the maturation of democracy in the country. (MIGUEL; MARQUES; MACHADO; 2015). Political dynasties oligarchize the legislative system, thus reducing plural ideas in decision-making within the Brazilian parliament, thus generating a distorted political representation of Brazilian society.

According to a previous national survey, (MESSEMBERG, 2011), 32.6% (167) of parliamentarians elected and installed in the 53rd Legislature of the Chamber of Deputies are part of political families with at least one predecessor consanguineous and/or husband, or wife, who held elective positions at the Brazilian municipal, state and/or federal levels. Therefore, more questions should be asked: why is there a perpetuation of political dynasties in the Brazilian parliament? What is the relationship between political dynasties and power in Brazil? Why is Brazilian political recruitment permeated by familial logic? Why was there a

shift in conservatism in the Chamber of Deputies and a considerable increase in political dynasties in the same legislature?

Methodology

For Goulart (2016), there is still no strictly defined methodology - the researchers who wrote and write about this object belong to several areas of knowledge - and this is the main reason why there is a need for mutual interaction and interdisciplinarity between Political Science, Sociology and History to better understand the transfer of power between members of the political dynasties. This work focuses on quantitative methods.

Thus, it is intended to investigate the increase in conservatism in the Chamber of Deputies of the 55th legislature. To this end, it focused on the literature review on political dynasties, mainly using Canêdo (1994; 1995; 1997; 2011; 2015).

Subsequently, a database was elaborated, with variables according to the criteria defined by Messenberg (2011), of federal deputies fitting in the position of incumbent and installed, regionality in which the parliamentarian was elected, party in the election and current, elective positions, professions, belonging to political dynasties, degree of kinship etc. These variables are capable of showing and understanding the sociodemographic composition, political trajectory and family ancestry of the members of both Legislatures. As already mentioned in previous polls (MESSEMBERG, 2011), 32.6% of parliamentarians elected and installed in the 53rd Legislature of the Chamber of Deputies are part of political families with at least one consanguineous predecessor and/or husband, or wife, who held elective positions at the Brazilian municipal, state and/or federal levels.

Therefore, in the data collection, it was mainly considered the information from parties, benches, parliamentary fronts and ideological profile. All of this information is capable of pointing out distinctions between those politicians belonging to the dynasties and those not belonging, as well as the positions within the Brazilian political spectrum.

Furthermore, it was based on the Studies of Brazilian Ideology and the Brazilian Party System, which aim to situate political parties within the political spectrum to be built, considering the research by Zucco and Timothy (2011) that measured the ideological perception of federal deputies and senators on political parties, Bobbio (1995) who wove the basic definitions of the classic ideological dyad, and Scheeffler (2018) who briefly systematized the themes on the agenda in the plenary in relation to the classic dyad.

Thus, based on the systematization of the data collected, the consolidation and the bibliographic review, the work analyzed the increase or not of deputies belonging to the dynasties in the Chamber of Deputies with the specific cut of the 55th legislature, as well as in which political spectrum are the deputies belonging to the dynasties and, finally, if there is a direct relationship between these dynasties and conservatism.

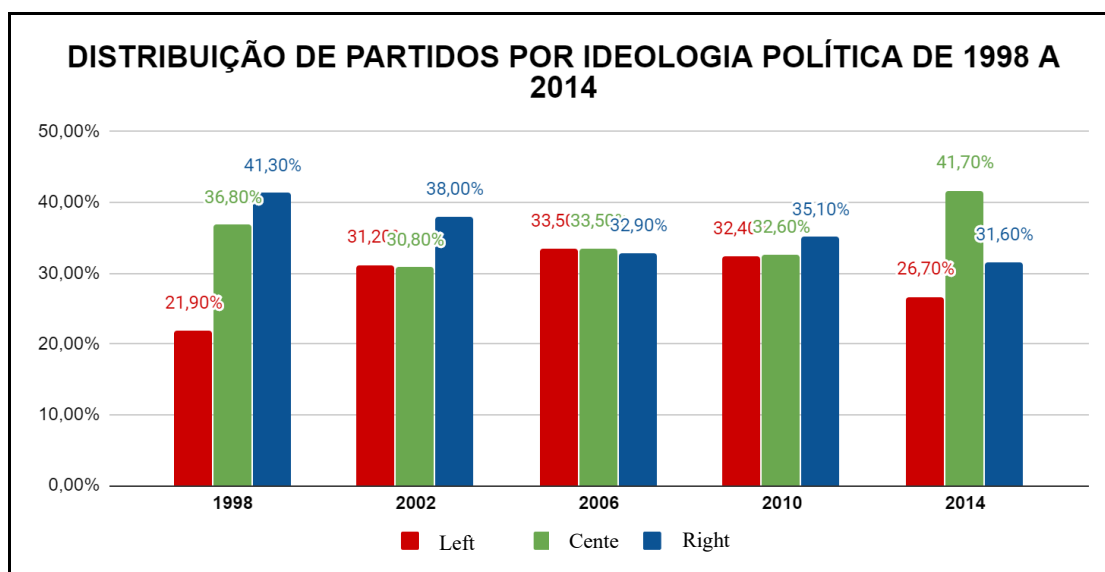
The ideological dyad in Brazil

It starts with the conceptualization of political ideologies by the French Revolution. The Assembly of General States was established with the objective of deciding the direction of France after the great revolts of 1789. In the hall where the Assembly met, two main groups debated. On the left side were those aligned with the lower bourgeoisie and the workers represented by the Jacobins. On the right side were those who wanted to reconcile with the nobility and the upper bourgeoisie, who, in turn, were represented by the Girondins. Finally, at the center were those who frequently changed positions according to interests. However, political parties change their ideologies, as pointed out later.

In order to establish a comparison between the conservative right and the Brazilian political dynasties, it is necessary, first, to make some notes about the political ideologies of the Brazilian party system and conservatism.

In the Brazilian context, the left and the right, in the party system, tend to be constantly reconfigured, according to Zucco and Timothy (2011), political parties move in the left and right spectrum from the 1990s to the present. According to the authors' research, in 2012, the party seen among parliamentarians as the most to the left is the PSOL and the most to the right is the DEM.

Figure 1 – Graph of the distribution of parties by political ideology from 1998 to 2014



Source: Devised by the authors

The graph above shows the party ideological changes in Brazil from 1998 to 2014 taking as a reference the Chamber of Deputies, it is noted the significant growth of the center parties, as well as the decrease of polarizing ideologies of the political spectrum (left and right). However, it is noteworthy that some parties were created that are located in the center and center-right in the ideological spectrum, for example, the Party Podemos (PODE) - former PTN -, Solidarity (SD), PATRIOTA and Republican Party of the Social Order (PROS). The emergence of these new parties increased party fragmentation in the Brazilian Parliament.

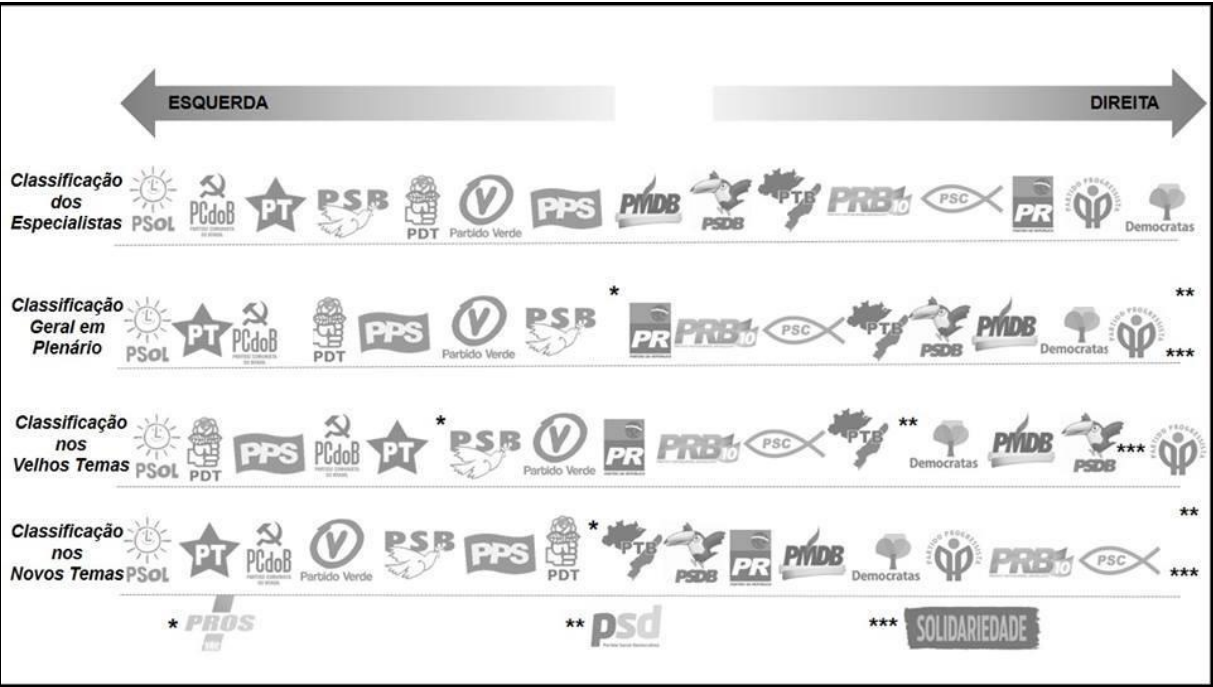
Table 1 – Table of disagreements in relation to themes related to classic ideologies

Left	Right
Economic intervention must take place whenever deemed necessary (KEYNES, 1985).	The State must refrain from economic issues, since the market is self-regulating, as if there were an "invisible hand" guiding this process (SMITH, 1982).
Poverty is mainly due to unequal opportunities. As a social problem, it can be tackled via social programs or overcoming order, in the case of a more radical left (SOUZA, 2009).	Poverty, when attacked, must be in a focused and limited way. "Exaggerated" aid can lead to accommodation and the decline of "work ethics" (OLIVEIRA, 2003).
Crime can be explained, essentially, by its insertion in a social context that offers unequal opportunities (SOUZA, 2009).	Crime is largely the responsibility of individuals (SOUZA, 2009).
The tax burden must be extensive to finance the State and offer quality services to those who need it	Taxes are harmful, because they overburden companies and undermine economic growth

(COUTO, 2006).	(MORAES, 2002; OLIVEIRA, 2003).
Defense of a broad labor legislation that regulates the world of work (COUTO, 2006).	The labor market must be deregulated, since the market self-regulates labor relations (OLIVEIRA, 2003).
Services, especially strategic ones, must be offered by the State (AGGIO, 2013; SETEMBRINI, 1997).	In order to reduce the size of the State, a good strategy is to transfer services that are state-owned to the private owners - privatization (MORAES, 2002; OLIVEIRA, 2003).

* The allocation of parties in the ideological spectrum based on parliamentary action
 Source: Scheffer (2018)

Figure 2 – Comparison of Left-Right scale experts versus effective behavior



* Expert rating
 Source: Scheffer (2018)

As noted, party ideological positions are complex and, at times, fluctuating. Therefore, in addition to these ideological definitions of Brazilian parties, it is essential to emphasize that these party positions influence individuals. There are several understandings and transformations that these concepts have undergone over the years, but, generally speaking, the right is understood as a conservative, family, religious, traditional view, the economic issue is central and considers social inequality as a consequence of the economy, so common. On the other hand, the left focuses on the social issue based on the molds of socialism (MADEIRA; TAROUCO, 2011). Consequently, both sides are in completely opposite ideological positions. Although conservatism is present on the right, not every right is composed of conservatives.

The conservative wave advanced gradually in the second term of ex-president Dilma Rousseff, due to this the Legislative Proposal of the School without Party arose and, as pointed out by Macedo (2017), conservative seeking to mobilize religious principles, the defense of the family in traditional and opposition to left-wing and popular political parties.

Bourdieu and the interpretive keys

Entry into the political field necessarily implies adherence and sharing of what Bourdieu (2007) called *habitus*, something that consists of the orientation of agents, as well as common principles of vision and division that organize collective representations. This means that entering politics predisposes to the incorporation of political *habitus*. In addition, other concepts that help explain the political field are those of capital broken down below:

Economic capital refers to the amount of financial resources that the individual has available, such as income, wages and real estate. Relevant for understanding the inequalities that permeate societies;

Cultural Capital, in turn, is about knowledge recognized by diplomas and titles, instruction resources acquired in school institutions. Therefore, this capital is intrinsically linked to school investment, consequently, cultural capital is seen as a symbol of social distinction; and

Social Capital consists of social relationships, a network of contacts that can be converted into resources of domination, thus conferring an advantage over other individuals.

Therefore, it is possible to affirm that the accumulation and composition of capital is directly linked to the election in the political field, as well as its position in the stratum of the National Congress.

Political dynasties and their characteristics

As already mentioned, this theme of family tradition in political and administrative institutions in Brazil has not been widely explored by researchers, therefore it still needs more in-depth studies. This agenda was taken up by Social Sciences in the 1990s, mainly with Canêdo (1994; 1995; 1997; 1998; 2005; 2011). Raymundo Faoro (1975) develops the idea that the Brazilian administrative peculiarity was due to the *patrimonialist state bureaucracy* that characterized the Brazilian social, political and economic dynamics. The author defines

as *patrimonialism* "[...] that form of traditional domination in which the sovereign organizes political power in a manner similar to his domestic power" (FAORO, 1975, our translation).

In addition, Faoro points out as a Brazilian specificity that *patrimonial domination* has remained unchanged for a period of Brazilian history.

FROM DOM JOÃO I TO GETÚLIO VARGAS, in a journey of six centuries, a political and social structure resisted all fundamental transformations, the most profound challenges, the crossing of the wide ocean (FAORO, 2008, p. 822, our translation).

He argues that the importance of this bureaucratic status went back to the very formation of the Portuguese nation-state, in which the royal house was soon able to occupy a prominent place in society and to suppress any parallel power that posed a threat to it. In this way, the colonists found themselves suffocated by the absolutist state and its centralizing and patrimonialist bureaucracy.

On the other hand, for the contemporary perspective, according to Canêdo (1994; 1995; 1997; 2002; 2011; 2015), the entry into the political career of members of certain family groups results both from the process of political socialization and its reproduction, the which includes rituals that go through practices that confirm vocations and requires mastery of rules. In his words:

[...] it is an education focused on duration and based on experiences that must be transmitted through concrete examples, aiming to bring people together from the same view of the world, offering them an identity. In this way, it seeks to mix, in the minds of individuals, the specific family memory with the memories linked to society in general. Thus, it is part of the activities of any child from these families to participate in local social events, greet guests, relatives and friends, learn to smile, leave toys and attend wedding parties in the fields, listen to politicians' conversations absently, monitor the work among voters and the "raising of the temperature" in family life on the eve of the elections, and realizing the small precautions necessary to master the details of the basic game of the politician" (CANÊDO, 1997. p. 17).

In this way, descendants of political dynasties are politically socialized daily, receive politicians at dinner parties, participate in rallies and events promoted by parents, in short, accompany parents in political activities. Many deputies report that they have been prepared all their lives to enter the political career.

A significant part of the political dynasties begin their political career in elective positions in the municipalities and, at the moment of entering the political career, these deputies belonging to the political dynasties, inherit the entire network of contacts already

built by the political predecessor, have economic capital, social prestige, as well as they benefit from the electorate. These same deputies have a corpus of specific knowledge, a practical domain of the political game. What puts them at an advantage over the other candidates, whether in campaigns or within the Chamber of Deputies.

The objective of this research was to verify in which political spectrum the political dynasties of the Brazilian Parliament referring to the 55th Legislature are concentrated. For this purpose, a table was constructed that considered the party bench, the families belonging to the political dynasties and the political parties.

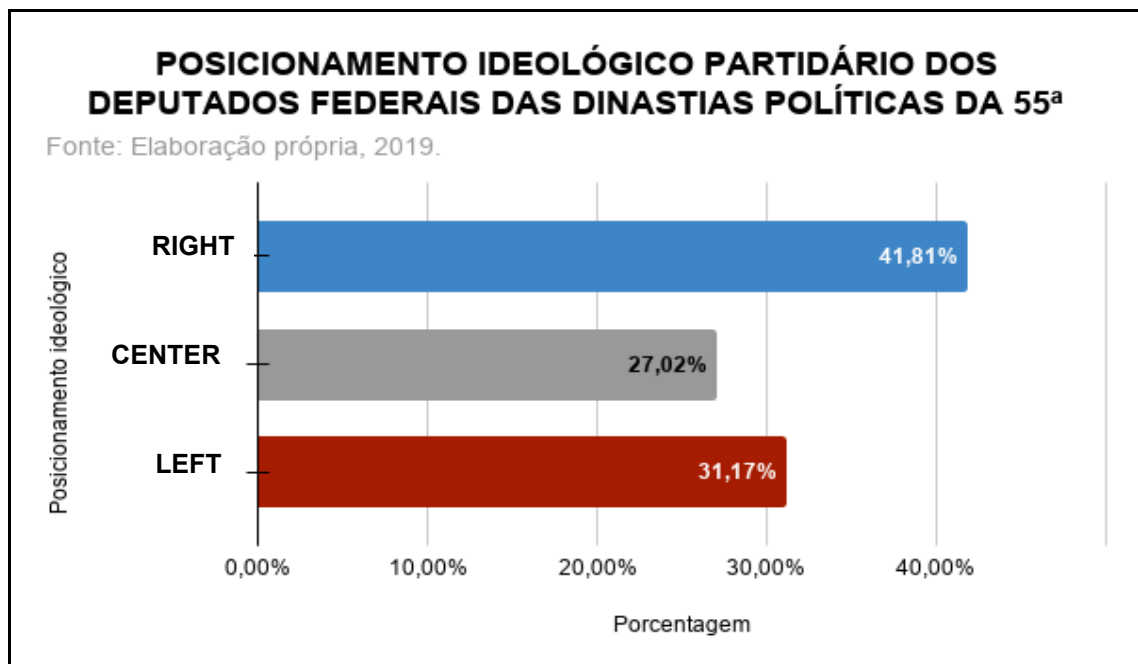
Table 2 – Table referring to the number of party benches and political dynasties by party of the 55th Legislature

55 TH LEGISLATURE			
N	PARTIES	BENCH	DYNASTY
1	PMDB	59	34
2	PSD	41	27
3	PSDB	53	22
4	PT	66	21
5	PSB	31	20
6	PP	40	19
7	PR	33	14
8	PTB	26	14
9	DEM	26	13
10	PDT	17	10
11	SD	18	8
12	PRB	22	7
13	PROS	10	5
14	PSC	14	5
15	PPS	9	4
16	PTN	4	2
17	PV	9	2
18	PCdoB	10	2
19	PSOL	6	0
20	PEN	2	1
21	PHS	4	1

22	PL	1	1
23	PMN	2	1
24	PODE	2	1
25	PSL	2	1
26	PTC	2	1
27	PTdoB	1	1
28	PATRI	1	0
29	PRP	1	0
30	PRTB	1	0
TOTAL		513	237

Source: Devised by the authors

Figure 3 – Graph of the distribution of parties by political ideology of deputies belonging to the political dynasties of the 55th Legislature



Source: Devised by the author

According to the graph above, elaborated according to the criteria established by Scheffer (2018), the political dynasties are present in the entire ideological spectrum, however they are concentrated more to the right (41.81%) in relation to the left (31,17%) and the center (27.02%). It is also reasonable to attribute the increase in conservatism in the Brazilian Parliament to the presence of political dynasties.

Final considerations

The main objective of this research was to investigate the direct relationship between the resumption of Brazilian conservatism and the increase in political dynasties in the Brazilian parliament.

It is worth noting that federal deputies belonging to the political dynasties go through a kind of investment, since they are socialized from the cradle for the exercise of political activity. In this way, “Being born in politics” necessarily means to inherit, through family transmission, resources and capital for adhesion and performance in the political field. The result of this equation is the perpetuation of political dynasties in public institutions.

The study data explained the direct relationship between the political dynasties in the Brazilian parliament and the 55th legislatures. It was shown, therefore, that the political recruitment process for the Chamber of Deputies is permeated by the logic of hereditary selection and reproduction and/or kinship, given that 237 (46.5%) federal deputies contain family ancestry in institutional politics.

It was observed, in ideological partisan terms, in the 53rd legislature that the deputies belonging to the political dynasties are distributed in the following parties: PMDB, PSDB, PFL, PP, PSB, PT, PL, PTB, PDT, PCdoB (MESSENERG, 2011). On the other hand, for the 55th legislature, there are: MDB, PSD, PSDB, PT, PSB, PP, PR, PTB, DEM, PDT.

Finally, it is possible to say that family capital is one of the outstanding characteristics of Brazilian politics due to the concentration of deputies belonging to the political dynasties in parties of the right and center-right, as well as the increase in conservatism was influenced due to the permanence of the hereditary logic in the Chamber of Deputies, however, it is considered that it was not the only factor responsible for the turn to the right in Parliament. Above all, broader studies on political dynasties are suggested, mainly at the municipal and state level.

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