

WOMEN'S TRAJECTORY FOR THE FEDERAL CHAMBER: A PROSOPOGRAPHIC APPROACH USING MULTIPLE CORRESPONDENCE ANALYSIS

TRAJETÓRIA DE MULHERES PARA A CÂMARA FEDERAL: UMA ABORDAGEM PROSOPOGRÁFICA UTILIZANDO A ANÁLISE DE CORRESPONDÊNCIA MÚLTIPLA

TRAYECTORIA DE LAS MUJERES HACIA LA CÁMARA FEDERAL: UNA APROXIMACIÓN PROSOPOGRÁFICA MEDIANTE EL ANÁLISIS DE CORRESPONDENCIAS MÚLTIPLES



Leonardo Aires DE CASTRO¹
e-mail: leoairescastro@gmail.com

How to reference this article:

DE CASTRO, L. A. Women's trajectory for the federal chamber: A prosopographic approach using multiple correspondence analysis. **Teoria & Pesquisa: Revista de Ciência Política**, São Carlos, v. 32, n. 00, e023022, 2023. e-ISSN: 2236-0107. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14244/tp.v32i00.963>



| **Submitted:** 01/05/2022
| **Required revisions:** 11/02/2023
| **Approved:** 20/08/2023
| **Published:** 15/12/2023

Editors: Profa. Dra. Simone Diniz
Prof. Dr. Eduardo de Lima Caldas
Profa. Dra. Mércia Kaline Freitas Alves
Dr. Vinícius Silva Alves

Deputy Executive Editor: Prof. Dr. José Anderson Santos Cruz

¹ State Department of Education of Goiás (SEDUC), Catalão – GO – Brazil. PhD in Political Science from the Federal University of São Carlos (UFSCar). (Professor of Basic Education, SEDUC-GO).

ABSTRACT: This article sought to analyze the trajectory of women federal deputies from 2003 to 2018, using prosopography as a methodological tool, in order to compare their careers on the way to achieving representation in the Federal Chamber and how they articulate themselves internally. A total of 260 female deputies' entries were analyzed in terms of various variables and then compared with each other in search of similarities and distinctions. Among the dimensions that helped us to understand the path of these representatives were: kinship, schooling, belonging to grassroots communities, religion, profession, positions held throughout life and occupations within political parties, as well as the party path itself. Based on this information, we have put together a series of profiles to help analyze the trajectories of these women in the context of this work. We then cross-referenced this information with three institutional dispositions, namely leadership within the Federal Chamber, Occupied Committees and Re-election, in order to visualize the distribution of the types identified within the institutional scenario. In our findings we identified seven specific groups: Family, Administrative, Social Movements, Student Movements, Media, Trade Unionism and Religion. Over the period analyzed, the family group grew the most, followed by the administrative group, following a logic already observed in previous work. In addition, the institutional relationships of these groups changed according to the trajectory analyzed.

KEYWORDS: Gender. Institutions. Women. Trajectories.

RESUMO: *Esse artigo buscou analisar a trajetória das mulheres deputadas federais de 2003 a 2018, utilizando a prosopografia como instrumento metodológico, a fim de comparar as carreiras delas no percurso para alcançar a representação na Câmara Federal e como se articulam internamente. Foram 260 entradas de deputadas analisadas em diversas variáveis e posteriormente confrontadas entre si em busca de similaridades e distinções. Entre as dimensões que nos auxiliaram a compreender o caminho dessas representantes estão: parentesco, escolaridade, pertencimento às comunidades de base, religião, profissão, cargos ocupados ao longo da vida e ocupações dentro dos partidos políticos, como também o próprio percurso partidário. A partir dessas informações, construímos um apanhado de perfis que tem como interesse instrumentalizar a análise das trajetórias dessas mulheres no contexto desse trabalho. Posteriormente, cruzamos essas informações com três disposições institucionais, quais sejam, lideranças no interior da Câmara Federal, Comissões Ocupadas e Reeleição, a fim de visualizar a distribuição dos tipos identificados dentro do cenário institucional. Em nossos achados identificamos sete grupos específicos: Familiar, Administrativo, Movimentos Sociais, Movimentos Estudantis, Mídia, Sindicalismo e Religião. Ao longo do período analisado, o grupo familiar teve o maior crescimento, seguido do administrativo, observado uma lógica já observada em trabalhos anteriores. Além, os relacionamentos institucionais desses grupos sofrem modificações de acordo com a trajetória analisada.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Gênero. Instituições. Mulheres. Trajetórias.*

RESUMEN: Este artículo buscó analizar la trayectoria de las diputadas federales entre 2003 y 2018, utilizando la prosopografía como herramienta metodológica, para comparar sus trayectorias en el camino a alcanzar representación en la Cámara Federal y cómo se articulan internamente. Un total de 260 trayectorias de diputadas fueron analizadas en función de diversas variables y luego comparadas entre sí en busca de similitudes y distinciones. Entre las dimensiones que nos ayudaron a comprender la trayectoria de estas representantes se encuentran: el parentesco, la educación, la pertenencia a comunidades de base, la religión, la profesión, los cargos desempeñados a lo largo de la vida y las ocupaciones dentro de los partidos políticos, así como la propia trayectoria partidaria. A partir de esta información, hemos elaborado una serie de perfiles que nos ayudan a analizar las trayectorias de estas mujeres en el contexto de este trabajo. A continuación, hemos cruzado esta información con tres disposiciones institucionales, a saber, el liderazgo en la Cámara Federal, los Comités ocupados y la reelección, con el fin de visualizar la distribución de los tipos identificados en el escenario institucional. En nuestros resultados identificamos siete grupos específicos: Familia, Administrativo, Movimientos Sociales, Movimientos Estudiantiles, Medios de Comunicación, Sindicalismo y Religión. A lo largo del periodo analizado, el grupo familia fue el que más creció, seguido del grupo administrativo, siguiendo una lógica ya observada en trabajos anteriores. Además, las relaciones institucionales de estos grupos cambiaron en función de la trayectoria analizada.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Género. Instituciones. Mujeres. Trayectorias.

Breaking the glass ceiling of political representation

The basis of all research into parliamentary groups begins (or resumes) with profiling the individuals who compose them. Descriptive or statistical analyses are used to identify the origin of these individuals and map the logic of their entry into these institutions. It's no surprise that this type of research has already been developed with relative success in the Brazilian context, commonly referred to as elite studies, with the aim of precisely investigating the overall trajectories of the actors in that space and establishing relationships between biography and positions of power (PERISSINOTTO; CODATO, 2015).

It is within the logic of descriptive representation that studies on women's political elites are developed. If liberal democracy understands that men and women are equal in terms of being able to compete for elected office, why is the proportion of men so much higher than that of women? This is the question that Danusa Marques (2010) raises in her study on the differences between the political careers of women and men in the 2006 elections (53rd legislature).

Generally speaking, political and economic capital are more associated with male candidates and are not available to women. Since these two capitals are essential for party competition, formal equality has no effect on the electoral contest. Well, political institutions were created and organized by men, within their determinations and understandings, operating within a masculine standard logic that makes the public sphere a realm of male action, as opposed to the private sphere, where women's work is relegated. Whether due to the patriarchal social contract, the social and cultural differences that create obstacles to female representation, or the very logic of gender inequality, reproduced within liberal institutions (MIGUEL; BIROLI, 2010), what we have is an environment that is averse to women and which produces obstacles to this group's access to its ranks.

It is from research into party recruitment that we have come to understand that there are differences in the way competitive women are selected for the electoral contest between parties, whether considering the party model or the party spectrum to which they belong (LOVENDUSKI; NORRIS, 1993). Research questioning the obstacles to female representation considers a variety of hypotheses, such as negative voting bias, biased selection of male candidates to the detriment of women, economic weakening of female candidates, political disinterest, among others (KROOK, 2009; MATLAND, 2005; NORRIS, 2013; SACCHET, 2011).

Pinto and Silveira (2018) explore one of these approaches in one of the most recent articles on the subject. The research is interested in determining what requirements are necessary for women to have successful political careers in the Brazilian state and federal legislature. By looking at those female representatives who were elected more than three times between 1951 and 2015, i.e. 17 legislatures in total, 62 parliamentarians were identified. The authors postulate two hypotheses based on the data collected: the first indicates that the smaller the electoral district and the less democratic the elections (in terms of competition), the greater the chance of electing women. The second suggests that urbanization, high educational levels and lower social inequality in Brazil, contrary to popular belief, do not determine the greater presence of women in politics. According to the authors, the North, Center-West and Northeast regions reflect distinct characteristics, but they are similar in terms of the practical results of female representation. The first two are sparsely populated areas, with a recent political tradition and less electoral competition between political parties, while the third has a consolidated electoral tradition among party chieftains who create obstacles based on traditionalism.

In short, the research shows that the women who have achieved legislative positions have broken through the obstacles instituted by the private world, a sphere of power that subjugates women to public life, conquering space from primarily male positions, such as leadership in trade union, academic and party sectors (PINTO; SILVEIRA, 2018). In this way, as Bourdieu (2011) explains, in order to fit in with the male political world, under penalty of exclusion, women are encouraged to adopt the same practices and trajectories as men².

The diagnosis postulated by the authors is profoundly topical. Prosopographical research ignores or overlooks "gender" as an important variable in biographical studies. Erasing this variable corresponds to the intrinsically masculine logic of institutions, since "being a woman" would imply very little in analyses that seek to understand the functioning of systems based on their actors and their relationship with their previous lives. However, their low representation in decision-making bodies and the diverse political trajectories that shape women's political lives highlight the need to explore the nuances of their careers and their impact on their parliamentary performance and their political future.

In relation to the political careers of the left and right, Marengo and Serna (2007) articulate two hypotheses: the differences in the patterns of political careers between the parties of these spectrums could be explained by the variation in the social profile and individual resources of the elected candidates, with left-wing politicians recruiting their benches largely from the public sector, from the salaried middle class, among union and social movement leaders, in the search to make up for possible shortfalls in financial and family resources, building endogenous careers linked to the parties. While right-wing politicians are recruited from more elitist strata of society, making up the political cadres of people linked to more traditional capital, independent of party affiliation and deeply connected to the middle and upper fractions of society.

In general terms, these authors' hypotheses combine the same perspective tested by Miguel, Marques and Machado (2015) - that women on the right would be more closely linked to family relationships and elitist trajectories, while those on the left would draw on the paths taken in trade union movements or administrative positions within political parties. The articulation of economic and political capital within the electoral contest would have a

² "(...) Anyone who joins politics, just like someone who joins a religion, must undergo a transformation, a conversion. Even if it does not appear as such to them, even if they are not aware of it, it is tacitly imposed on them, and the sanction for transgression is failure or exclusion. It is therefore a specific law that constitutes a principle of evaluation and possibly exclusion. An index, the scandal: anyone who joins politics tacitly undertakes to refrain from certain acts incompatible with their dignity, on penalty of scandal" (BOURDIEU 2011, p. 195, our translation).

predominant weight in the selection of elected women and the success of their political careers, since these assets would be essential to distinguish themselves in the competition for votes.

Based on the perspective that the representation of minority groups correlates much more with the choice of political parties for their candidates and the institutional arrangements they make to foster their candidacies, than by the vote of voters (since electoral preference responds to organizational incentives), it is to be expected that those elected would be concentrated in party groups that better operationalize opportunities, or at least, that do not act to prevent capitals outside those provided by the party from exercising their function (FOLKE; RICKNE, 2016).

In the national polls, we can see that the left-wing parties are the platforms that best manage women's candidacies, but the difference is not great between the center and right-wing parties. Electoral survival is also greater on the left, since the borrowed capital of the political parties consolidates these trajectories more appropriately (ARAÚJO, 2010; ARAÚJO; ALVES, 2007; MARQUES, 2010; MIGUEL; MARQUES; MACHADO, 2015; PINTO; SILVEIRA, 2018; WYLIE, 2018).

The scenario of political careers in Brazil is as follows: there are no profound differences between male and female careers, and there is a combination of various capitals, such as the use of family influence and strength within political institutions, but the perception of these capitals can be different and their use in the face of institutional rules ends up favoring men (ARAÚJO, 2010; ARAÚJO; BORGES, 2013). This is also the understanding in other Latin American countries (SCHWINDT-BAYER, 2011)³ and in the United States (PRAINO; STOCKEMER, 2018)⁴. The difference between the careers lies, therefore, in the way in which these capitals are transformed into positions, in other words, how the institutions filter the candidates, articulate their competition and determine who emerges victorious.

³ In Argentina, Colombia and Costa Rica, the author concludes, men and women are more similar than ever in their political trajectories, ambitions and paths to power. Personal characteristics such as age, marriage, children and education are shared by both genders. Still, there does not seem to be a visible change in the political arena once women occupy it. In the end, institutional logics have more influence on the presence/absence of women in these countries than social ones (SCHWINDT-BAYER, 2011).

⁴ In the United States, the authors indicate that women's under-representation is linked to a rigid and static system that prevents them from breaking through the glass ceiling of incumbency, i.e. women are unable to access long political careers because of the numerous institutional and social constraints that prevent them from doing so. However, the research shows that when they do manage to overcome these obstacles, their political lives are just as long as those of men. In general terms, women's careers are just as successful as men's, once they manage to break through the glass ceiling, the question remains as to how to break through this obstacle (PRAINO; STOCKEMER, 2018).

It is against this backdrop that women's careers will be studied here. The aim is to understand which groups elected women are affiliated to, in which party cadres women are best able to penetrate positions of power in the Federal Chamber, perpetuating their political career and securing strategic spaces to control the agenda. The approach applied in this study recaptures many characteristics of biographical research already carried out on the trajectory of women in politics; however, it innovates by articulating an organization of different capitals, producing diverse groups defined within singular aspects, an exploratory methodology that makes it easier to visualize the differences between careers and broadens the scope of the research for the 2018 election.

The article is divided into five parts, the first of which presents the research method and the tool we used to analyze institutional relationships. The second part includes the construction of our typology in relation to the political trajectories of female federal representatives, while in the third part we look at the descriptive data taken from our research. The fourth part analyzes the trajectories and how they relate to each other institutionally. Finally, we consider the advances and obstacles present in this research and delimit new research frontiers.

On the prosopographic method and the use of multiple correspondence analysis

Prosopography, also known as collective biography or career analysis, has its origins in history as a discipline. The main objective is to collect information about the individual's personal history, such as family relationships, positions held throughout life, relevant dates, in short, everything that can give clues to the subject's life in order to understand the implications of these actors in the political structure. From this data, we can obtain the dimension of the political action of these characters and also of social changes in the groups that make up society (STONE, 2011).

Thus, for Stone (2011, our translation), prosopography aims to "*(...) make sense of political action, help explain ideological or cultural change, identify social reality and accurately describe and analyze the structure of society and the degree and nature of movements within it*". Following these assumptions, the data compiled here was able to assess issues of values and symbols transposed from society to the institution through the electoral process, supporting our theoretical approach.

In Political Science, the method in question is widely used to research political elites who shape certain structures in the institutional apparatus, be it political or even business,

observing aspects of individuals' personal lives in an attempt to structure trajectories that reach a certain point. According to Flávio Madureira Heinz (2006), studies of elites through collective biography have reaffirmed the importance and methodological rigor of studies in this area, both in History and in the Social Sciences.

Prosopography as a study of elites has progressively expanded its applications in the most diverse areas of knowledge. This is because it provides researchers with a diachronic analysis that allows them to compare different periods and the movement of individuals between groups that may or may not make up elite environments. According to Heinz and Codato:

Prosopographers, however, describe the social properties of groups in a diachronic perspective, comparing periods and monitoring changes. It is this operation, the comparison of the properties and attributes of collectivities over time and their structural changes, that is the central characteristic of the prosopographical method. Prosopography can thus be an alternative for extending the analysis of the actions of political elites and ruling groups to more recent periods of time, making it possible to obtain explanatory gains in revealing patterns of political behavior, the reproduction and/or renewal of ideological families and in explaining long-term continuities and recurrences in society and politics (HEINZ; CODATO, 2015, p. 251, our translation).

In addition, the authors point out that there are gaps in the process of producing databases using this method, so it is the responsibility of the researcher to recognize these limits and produce supplements that can provide more information for the satisfactory construction of biographies. Our main sources of research were the databases on the lives of female federal deputies, such as the Biographical Repository of the Federal Chamber, the Radiographies of Congress, organized by DIAP and the Brazilian Historical-Biographical Dictionary (CPDOC-FGV). As discussed above, there are sometimes gaps in the biographies of female deputies, making it necessary to supplement these narratives in different repositories.

Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) is a research technique commonly used to explore aspects of closeness or distance between respondents in a survey or to compare biographies in a collective context. MCA is applied to tables with individuals as rows and categorical variables in columns and can also analyze continuous variables. It is not an innovative mathematical method, since it makes use of aspects of factor analysis, but it undoubtedly offers a visual opportunity to display the data (DANTAS *et al.*, 2017; HUSSON; LÊ; PAGÈS, 2017; MARTINS; DONADONE, 2018).

From this technique we can raise important questions, such as: which political trajectories within the universe studied are the most similar (or distinct)? Are these individuals consistent in terms of the groups analyzed? Based on this exploratory logic, the distance calculated between the observations can infer that two individuals who respond equally in the same categories are closer, but if one of them has a profoundly different response within that universe of respondents, they may occupy a distant position and therefore raise predictions regarding their belonging to that group studied (HUSSON; LÊ; PAGÈS, 2017).

As Dantas *et al.* (2017) point out, the advantage of this method is the possibility of visually assessing the distribution of individuals in relation to the variables arranged in order to understand whether or not the differences are random between respondents. The clouds built from the data can show data cross-references which, in terms of understanding, become much simpler. However, it is essential to note that the use of this technique has well-defined limits in the literature, precisely because it encounters setbacks in the generalization of hypotheses and is more commonly used in exploratory research such as this (ROSSIER, 2019).

Classifying political trajectories: political, family, media and religious capital

Biographical research often uses the field approach, developed by Pierre Bourdieu, which allows the trajectory of those investigated to be adjusted within a relational framework of power. So, in order to identify and classify the women who entered the Federal Chamber, we began to understand the concept of the political field and the capitals that are articulated in political careers. The field, for the author, is a small microcosm that contains a variety of processes and understandings of the outside world, but articulated and coated in a particular way, delimited by the members themselves. The intrinsic logics of functioning, permission and exclusion lie at the origin of this structure and in the unfolding that its members give it from their trajectories (BOURDIEU, 2011). As he points out:

(...) political field as a place where a certain number of people, who meet the conditions for access, play a particular game from which the others are excluded. It is important to know that the political universe rests on an exclusion, a dispossession. The more the political field is constituted, the more it becomes autonomous, the more it becomes professionalized, the more the professionals tend to view the profane with a kind of commiseration (BOURDIEU, 2011, p. 197, our translation).

Therefore, and this is fundamental in the analysis from a field perspective, unequal access to the political field cannot be referred to as a naturalization, as the elitist theorists do, but rather observed as a mechanism of the rules and procedures that constitute the respective field. While they (the elitists⁵) understand politics from an oligopoly formation within organizations (political parties, governments, parliament), Bourdieu proposes that we analyze access from the appropriation and use of capitals that distinguish politicians from the common population, since this dichotomy is constitutive of the field.

In this way, we start from the premise that it is not enough to recognize a politician's electorate or social base, but also their conjunction in their own field. For Bourdieu, analyzing the collective that makes up the field is essential for understanding the position that the individual occupies, since it also helps us to understand their actions. Analyzing biographies in a collective way also means visualizing the image of the whole, showing the process of forming a paradigm shift or reproducing the structure.

The Bourdieusian perspective of field, capital and *habitus* allows us to understand political professionalization more accurately. The field, according to Bourdieu (1983), can be understood as a space of social play where agents and institutions fight for possession of the specific capital of that field. In the case of the political field, these capitals can be popular support, access to political institutions, or monetary and financial resources, among others.

Political professionalization, in this context, involves a greater concentration of these political capitals, and manifests itself through the ability of an individual or group to operate effectively within this field. On the other hand, this process also suggests the existence of barriers for those who do not possess these capitals or do not know how to use them. This is

⁵ The analysis of elites has its origins in the seminal works of theorists such as Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca and Robert Michels, often referred to as the classic elitists. Their theories have been fundamental in shaping our understanding of power structures and social and political inequality. Vilfredo Pareto is known for his theory of the circulation of elites, which proposes that societies are governed by a minority (the elite), who hold the majority of power and wealth. According to Pareto, the elite is in constant flux, with individuals ascending and descending within its structure. However, this mobility does not alter the fact that it is always a minority that holds power. This conception contributes to the naturalization of inequality, as inequality is seen as an intrinsic characteristic of societies, regardless of changes in the composition of the elite.

Gaetano Mosca, on the other hand, argued that the domination of the elite was based on organization. According to Mosca, the elite maintain power because they are better organized than the masses. Mosca also believed that inequality is a natural fact, inevitable and, in a way, necessary for the efficiency of societies. Robert Michels, famous for his "iron law of oligarchy", claimed that all organizations, even the most democratic ones, tend to become oligarchies. The central idea here is that the leaders of organizations gain power as organizations grow and become more complex, which leads to the concentration of power and inequality. Like Pareto and Mosca, Michels saw inequality as an inescapable feature of societies. Thus, the classical elitists contributed to the understanding of inequality as a natural and inevitable phenomenon, based on the premise that some people or groups are more apt, organized or strategic to assume positions of leadership. Although these theories have been subject to various criticisms and revisions, they continue to influence current socio-political thinking, allowing us to better understand the dynamics of power and inequality in society.

exemplified by the difficulty women have in entering and remaining in the political field, as discussed in our previous examples.

Capital, in turn, represents the resources that an agent possesses and can use to position themselves in the field. In the political field, capital can take various forms, such as political power, economic capital, cultural capital (such as knowledge of how the political field works), and social capital (such as networks and political connections).

Finally, *habitus* refers to a set of enduring dispositions that individuals acquire through their socialization and which guide their actions and perceptions. The political *habitus* is shaped by the capital an individual possesses and the structures of the political field in which they operate. Political professionalization can be seen as a change in the political *habitus*, in that it involves the acquisition of dispositions and skills that increase an individual's effectiveness in the political field. In short, the concept in question refers to the set of enduring dispositions that guide individuals' actions and their interpretation of the world. The interaction between the political field and *habitus*, as proposed by Bourdieu, is that *habitus* is an element that affects the position a subject assumes in the political field. A subject's location in this field is defined by the quantity and quality of the resources they hold and which are relevant. These resources can include economic, cultural and symbolic capital. *Habitus* influences the way subjects use these resources and, consequently, their location in the field (SETTON, 2002).

Furthermore, a subject's position in the political field also influences their *habitus*. This impacts their experiences and interactions, which in turn shapes their *habitus*. For example, a politician who holds a position of power in a specific political field may develop a *habitus* that emphasizes the need to preserve and extend their power and influence. In short, the interaction between political field and *habitus* in Bourdieu is that *habitus* affects the position a subject assumes in the political field, while a subject's position in the political field affects their *habitus* (SETTON, 2002).

By analyzing political professionalization through the prism of field, capital and *habitus*, we can better understand how certain groups (such as women) can be disadvantaged, and how political resources are distributed and used within the political field. Thus, these concepts allow us to visualize the political field as a dynamic and relational space, where structures and agents are in constant interaction.

Writing that the political field is averse to female participation, even almost 90 years after women's suffrage, may seem strange. From a liberal point of view, if we understand that

political opportunities are equal and that everyone competes on equal terms, we would be bordering on academic proselytizing. However, there is nothing like political reality to show us the slow process of opening up the public sphere to women, creating many more obstacles than facilitators. Those who gave rise to the political institutions in Brazil (and the world), articulate themselves in such a way that the profane, the strange female figure who threatens the order they wish to perpetuate, is repeatedly removed, attacked, in the quest to prove her non-place.

But then, is the field doomed to close? Will women never be accepted as such, without bending to the rules of the male political field? The answer to these questions lies in the parliaments that have broken with gender segregation, either by adopting effective public policies, such as quotas, or by the social change that has directly affected the political field, once a paradigm shift has taken place and the masculine totality is questioned and transformed⁶. Bourdieu points out that the field cannot become completely autonomous precisely because it is subordinate to people outside it, the voters in the case of politics. If there is a change in the constitution of the members of the field, a challenge to the rules imposed at the beginning and, consequently, a break with the reproduction of masculine values, then yes, the political field becomes open to the feminine, without subverting it. According to the author:

The more a field is autonomous and settled in its autonomy, the more this question of the ultimate foundation of the field is hidden, forgotten, but a scientific revolution can occur that puts the boundaries back into question, what Kuhn calls "paradigm shifts". These are situations in which new entrants change the principles of belonging to the field in such a way that people who were once part of it are no longer part of it, are disqualified, and people who were not part of it now are (BOURDIEU, 2011, p. 202, our translation).

The political field, according to Pierre Bourdieu, is not an isolated space, but is immersed in a larger social context and is influenced by interactions with other fields, including those considered profane. The rules and structures of this field are reproduced and legitimized, to a large extent, by the perceptions and actions of the individuals who operate within it. However, this does not mean that these rules are static or unquestionable. On the

⁶ The Inter-Parliamentary Union monitors the number of women in all the world's parliaments, hierarchically structuring those that have the highest relative and absolute number of female members in their ranks. The top-ranking countries (Rwanda, Cuba, Bolivia, Mexico and Switzerland) have rates close to or greater than 50%. These realities need to be analyzed, especially those linked to Latin America. More information at: <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>.

contrary, the political field is constantly disputed and reformulated through struggles for power and capital. In the case of female marginalization in the political field, we can understand that the underrepresentation of women is not a fixed characteristic but is the product of specific power dynamics that favour men. This includes entrenched cultural practices and norms, as well as structural forms of gender inequality. For example, the political field can be dominated by a 'masculine vision' that values certain types of capital (such as power, aggressiveness or technical competence) over others (such as cooperation, care or emotional sensitivity).

However, precisely because the political field is in constant flux and is permeated by disputes, these conditions are not absolute or immutable. The entry of more women into the political field, for example, can lead to the re-evaluation of existing norms and practices, as well as the valorization of different types of capital. In addition, external pressure (for example, from the field of social movements) can force changes in the rules and practices of the political field. Therefore, although female marginalization is a reality in the political field, it is not an absolute and immutable condition. The political field is a space of struggle and negotiation, where different actors and forces fight to define the rules of the game and for possession of the field's specific capital. And it is in this dynamic that lies the possibility of transformation and of challenging the marginalization of women.

But how does this paradigm shift come about? Through the accumulation of political capital by women. Bourdieu points out that male domination is based on symbolic capital that removes the conditions of equality between the sexes. Men have imposed a symbolism on the institutions they founded that operates in the domination of the feminine by the masculine. Rules, procedures, standards, all correspond to a logic of male reproduction that operates symbolically to the disadvantage of women. And this domination needs no reason, since it is standard, socially naturalized within public structures formed by men.

Women are prevented from accumulating political capital because they are immersed in a system of symbolic violence that imposes a fundamental inequality, removing them from fair political competition. Political capital is fought for and won by women by breaking away from this violence and by capturing spaces that are usually male, such as trade unions, social movement leaders and the like. There are other forms of capital that are also transformed, when operationalized, into political capital. It is on the basis of these logics that we will undertake a collective study of the biographies of women federal deputies.

Political capital is understood to be the set of activities that are structured within a field of action, or political doing. Social movements, trade unionism, bureaucratic positions within political parties and public administration, student movements and even the armed struggle are all considered political capital. The origin of a parliamentarian in any of these sub-groups implies that her career has been permeated by the consolidation of political field values, possibly bringing her closer to more traditional contexts of electoral disputes and institutional political practice.

For our analysis, political capital is divided into 4 distinct factors: administrative, which corresponds to women who won their positions by occupying bureaucratic positions within unions or public administration; trade union, for those who have held leadership positions in unions (whatever class); social movements, observing female representatives elected on the basis of their involvement in demonstrations or social structures fighting for the recognition of rights; and the student movement, preferably those who have a profile in student unions, such as student councils, UNE and the like. The last two were differentiated because of the future implications that social and student movements offer.

Family capital corresponds to the association of the election with relationships of kinship or marriage. It is important to note that this capital is not exclusive or even predominant in women's parliamentary careers. It is part of a common situation in Brazil, in which political elites are formed by the tradition of political power within the family. The difference, as Bourdieu (2010) points out, lies in the extent of this inheritance, because while men receive political power from their fathers and grandfathers, women receive it from their husbands, due to patriarchal society and how it operates in the political world. In this research we use the word "Family" to identify the relationship.

Religious capital is linked to the emergence of religion as an electoral passport, since religious leaders organize themselves in order to assert their opinions at governmental levels. In a country with a Catholic tradition like Brazil, religiously-oriented careers used to take place within pastoral ministries and ecclesiastical communities that promoted social movements in an auxiliary way. With the growth of neo-Pentecostalism, power groups within the main churches of this orientation began their trajectory into politics. From the conversion of believers into voters, religious capital has been predominant in political careers since 2002, due to the political agreements signed between the Workers' Party and religious/political leaders who quickly occupied positions in their governments. In this research we use the word "Religion" to identify the relationship.

Lastly, media capital includes those female members of parliament whose trajectory is linked to their professional occupation as television presenters, broadcasters or any other position where their image is exposed. This capital grew with the 2018 elections, mainly because of the internet and the mass sharing of messages. "Viralization" was used as an electoral maneuver. In this research we have identified it as "media". Below, we outline the capitals that will be transformed into political career groups:

Table 1 - Career Groups (Capitals) of Female Members of Parliament Schematized

Group	Description	Analysis
Administrative	Careers within public bodies, bureaucracy in political parties or occupation of key positions in the administrations of the three branches of government.	Occupation of bureaucratic positions within associations or public administration, such as secretariat, party leaders, or any position related to the bureaucracy of the three branches of government.
Syndical	Leadership positions in workers' or employers' unions.	Holding leadership positions in trade unions (whatever class), whether as a leader or any other position of prominence within these institutions.
Social movements	Leadership positions in various social movements.	Involvement in demonstrations or social structures fighting for the recognition of rights, across the political spectrum.
Student movements	Leadership positions in student organizations, such as the UNE, student unions, university DCEs and the like.	Holding key positions in student organizations, such as unions, academic centers, UNE and the like.
Family	Family relationships (father/mother, brothers/sisters, uncles/aunts, cousins, grandfathers/grandmothers, husbands and wives) with individuals holding elected office.	Identification of kinship relations with politicians already established in public life, using their name and political capital.
Religious	His career has its origins in religious leadership, mainly neo-Pentecostal.	Identification of relations with religious groups that would promote the candidate politically due to her involvement with confessional sectors.
Media	A career that began with the exposure of their image on television channels or, more recently, on social networks with no involvement in social movements.	Identification of relationships with television, radio and other media, including social networks for the purpose of communication.

Source: Devised by the author

Finally, it should be noted that the categorization was based on the data available online, either from the CPDOC/FGV biography repository, or from interviews, investigative

and biographical reports, personal websites and official documents, such as the Federal Official Gazette. As has already been reported in other research, when dealing with biographical information, not even interviews are enough to translate the exact reality of the facts. A word of caution is therefore necessary, as we started from a relational logic, in which the category was only defined on the basis of the relationship between different data repositories and only when other factors were excluded. In other words, if the trajectory of a particular federal deputy leads us to categorize more than one capital, we take this duplicity into account and raise this situation. This care was taken especially in relation to family capital, so as not to overestimate family ties and, consequently, erase the political career of this federal deputy, since it is possible for one to occur without determining the other.

A total of 260 entries of women were analyzed, corresponding to 5 different legislatures (2003 to 2018), but in each term that she manages to get re-elected, an entry is considered in the database (with her data updated compared to what she declared in the electoral competition of that year). This choice is due to the need to investigate the electoral influx of each legislature separately⁷.

We collected data on the year of the legislature, the name of the federal deputy, whether she has a biography in CPDOC/FGV, the state in which she was elected, the region in which she was elected, maximum campaign spending and funding, assets (when available), social class, profession, age, level of education, degree course (when available), color (declared and heteroidentified), elective positions held before that election, re-election (yes or no), leadership position in the Federal Chamber during that legislature (can be accumulated in re-elections), occupation of ministerial positions, leadership position in permanent parliamentary committees, whether they have family members in politics (up to third degree), whether they have married a political figure and the identification of the group to which they belong in view of the explanation of capitals previously.

⁷ Data can be found in the annexes.

Women's political careers in Brazil's federal chamber from 2002 to 2018

The analysis of women's political careers in Brazil from 2003 to 2018 can provide significant information about the values and principles that shape these trajectories, thus influencing a variety of political agendas in parliament. By evaluating their biographies from a collective perspective, we compiled information that allowed us to categorize female federal deputies into seven distinct types, based on characteristics identified in their stories analyzed in biography repositories⁸.

We began our analysis by highlighting an important point: the predominance of *family background*. This trajectory involves women with direct and collateral family ties (such as parents, grandparents, siblings) or filiation (through marriage) with politicians, giving rise to the traditional structure of Brazilian politics known as familism. In order to be classified in this context, it is essential that the biography shows that this relationship existed before the candidate entered politics and that she had not previously held elected office. Cases in which the couple follow the same path and are elected to the same or different positions do not fall into the category of a family relationship. In other words, this path is only possible in the absence of the others.

This type of family political career comprises 95 trajectories, or 36.5% of the total recorded in our database. Of these, 32 are the result of marriages and the other 63 involve close relatives in politics. In addition, 88 of these female deputies are self-declared white, while only 7 identified themselves or were identified as non-white. This group also has one of the highest career longevity averages, indicating that this type of capital tends to produce firmly established careers on the political scene. There has been considerable growth over the years, with the number of women in this type of career more than doubling between 2002 and 2018.

The Administrative career path arises when institutional factors are present in women's careers, such as the occupation of commissioned public posts and progression in bureaucratic positions in political administrations, both inside and outside the parties. This is the second career with the highest number of participants, with 52 female federal deputies (20%). Of these, the majority are white (47), and only 5 are non-white. The careers of these female parliamentarians tend to be relatively long. The graph shows that from 2002 to 2012 there was a decrease in the number of women belonging to this career path, but this number grew significantly in the following legislature, surpassing the number observed in 2022.

⁸ The demographic data is in the annex.

As far as her career in the Student Movement is concerned, she must have held positions in student institutions such as UNE, UEE, UBES, university DCEs or high school student unions at some point prior to her candidacy. This trajectory is strongly linked to the period of democratic repression from 1964 to 1985 in Brazil, when the military dictatorship persecuted and dismantled many of these structures. Young people who opposed this exceptional regime, articulating themselves within the student movement, sometimes even joined the armed struggle and revolutionary organizations. There are 33 (12.7%) women belonging to this trajectory, of whom 24 are white and 9 are non-white. This is the trajectory with the second highest number of black, indigenous, brown and yellow women.

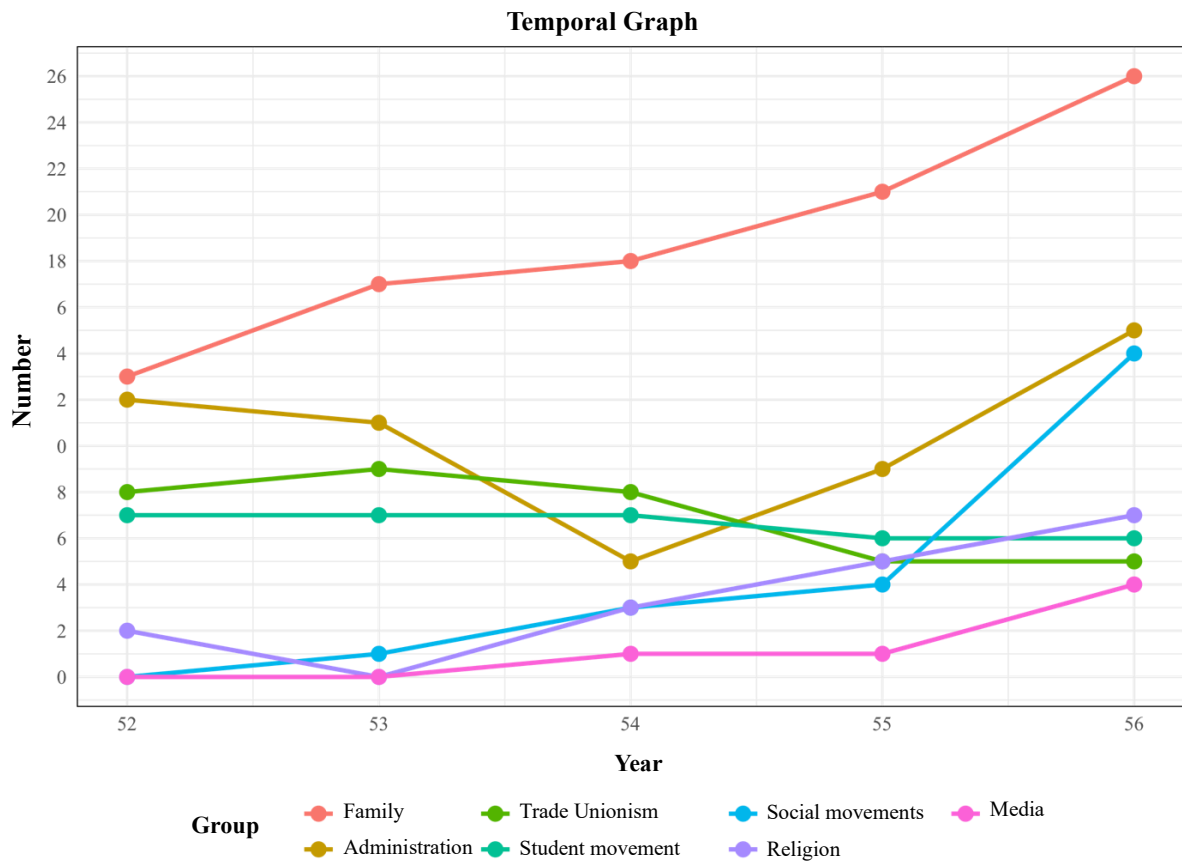
Social Movements are characterized as a career when the deputy belongs to an organization that is active in some area of society, whether it's protecting various rights or acting on a daily basis on a variety of agendas (progressive or conservative). This is the fourth largest group, with 22 (8.5%) female federal deputies, 18 white and 4 non-white. There was also a significant increase after 2014, due to the demonstrations that began in 2013, which influenced the formation of new conservative social groups based on the demonstrations for the impeachment of former president Dilma Rousseff and the social organizations that took to the streets in favor of the candidacy of then current president Jair Bolsonaro.

The media career can be considered a recent type, given that the massification of media such as television and the internet reached its peak at the beginning of the 21st century. However, the growth of this trajectory is not only linked to figures exposed in the media, but also to candidates who have fueled their candidacies in a context of contestation of the institutions. This trajectory has 6 representatives, four of them in the most recent legislature.

The career anchored in religion involves pastors or religious personalities who have linked their candidacies to the image of their confessional convictions. With 17 members (6.5%), 11 white and 6 non-white, this group has a poor record of re-election and previous occupation of other elective positions. However, the graph shows a significant increase in the number of women linked to this career, more than tripling from 2002 to 2018.

Finally, Trade Unionism involves holding leadership positions within trade union institutions. It is the fourth largest group in this analysis, with 35 female federal deputies (13.4%), 20 white and 15 non-white. Despite their previous significant presence in the Federal Chamber and their relative longevity, this group has been eroded over the years, with 8 women in 2002 and falling to 5 in 2018. All this data is systematized in Graph 1 below:

Graph 1 - Types of Trajectories of Women Federal Deputies between the 52nd and 55th Legislatures



Source: Author's data, N = 260

When compared by region, the Administrative and Family political careers are concentrated in the North and Southeast. Social Movements are more likely to elect women in the Southeast, while Trade Unionism has similar numbers between the Northeast and Southeast. The Student Movement is more closely linked to the Southeast and South, while careers linked to the Media have a majority in the Southeast.

As for Ideology, the Administrative type is distributed almost equally among the three spectrums identified here. The Family type has a notable concentration in the center (40) and right (35) spectrums, with the left following relatively close behind (20). In the Media we have 4 right-wing deputies and 2 left-wing deputies. In the Student Movement we have almost all the women deputies on the left (30) and only 3 in the center. In Social Movements, the distribution concentrates 10 women on the right, 8 on the left and 4 in the center. Religion has 11 women on the right, four on the left and two in the center. Finally, Trade Unionism

repeats the Student Movements and concentrates 28 women MPs on the left, 6 on the right and only 1 in the center.

In general, given the proportions of this research, some patterns from previous investigations are reproduced. Previous studies have shown that, compared to men, women tend to have their careers, when they are family members, based on their husbands' projections (PINTO; SILVEIRA, 2018). Here, the results show that the family role is fundamental to a large part of women's careers, with marriages consolidating just over 1/3 of these. This corresponds to the total number of women who have entered the Federal Chamber and, therefore, the differences with the other studies refer to the cut-off used. The constant growth of the Family trajectory has already been pointed out as an indication that electoral competition is plastered between family oligarchies. In localities with little party competition and a concentration of political and economic resources in the hands of a few families, women would have more capillarity in competitive candidacies since they would represent their husbands or family members at the federal level (MIGUEL; MARQUES; MACHADO, 2015).

The mathematics of this occupation is quite simple: while the local government is run by relatives or married partners, federal interlocution would guarantee the allocation of preferential funds to these regions, feeding back political and economic power and creating a vicious cycle. It is essential to realize that these family structures have a direct impact on the economic capital of the competitor, creating structures that facilitate access to elective positions, since business and state relations produce important and distinct competitive incentives in the electoral process (ENGLER, 2018).

Another hypothesis is that long-term democratic development results in political professionalization, with family capital being important for the preservation of these positions. Thus, as democracy consolidates, more and more political families are formed (MIGUEL; MARQUES; MACHADO, 2015). In this research we are not looking to test these hypotheses, but we will take both as assumptions for analysis, since in certain contexts, the formation of families may correspond to an indication of the formation and consolidation of family elites, while in others it may mean democratic consolidation due to the accumulation of political capital.

In relation to the decreases, we can theorize that Student Movements and Trade Unionism have lost a lot of strength in recent years on the political scene because of the successive process of erasure of these institutions over the years. Student movements have

lost their ability to attract school-educated youth, either because of changes in the very representative logic of these organizations, with the capture of leaders by left-wing political parties, or the process of depoliticization that young people are going through (BRINGEL, 2009). It is important to note that there is no absence of this category, which is still fundamental to the production of an individual's political aspirations, as recent studies indicate (BOLOGNESI; DE MEDEIROS, 2014). All of this may have contributed, along with other factors, to the obscuring of the role of student militancy. However, it is important to note that they are still an important platform for political prominence⁹.

In relation to trade unionism, with the election of President Lula in 2002 and the successive occupation of federal posts by members of trade union organizations and their rapprochement with the federal government, these institutions gradually gave way in the popular imagination (CARDOSO, 2015; SILVA, 2023). Allied to this, and preponderant for the erasure, the neoliberal process and the ultra precariousness of the worker, with technological innovation and the emergence of uberization, the union was successively deconstructed (MARCELINO; GALVÃO, 2020). The high point of this process came with the 2017 labor reform, which, among other things, removed compulsory union dues. All this combined with a long history of fragmentation of trade union organizations.

The significant growth of Social Movements and the emergence of the Media as a career to be considered can be explained in several ways. In the first case, until the beginning of the 21st century, political trajectories stemming from movements that challenged the military dictatorship or from social organizations whose purpose was to defend a social right found greater resonance in elected office, as a platform for expanding their activities, now at the federal level.

However, from the second decade onwards, social movements saw a significant increase in social networks, inspiring "influencers" who joined the demonstrations that began in 2013. As a result, these social movements must be distinguished from the (various) media. The media here can be understood as television channels, radio or social networks. These are actions aimed at "viralization", the effect of becoming viral, contagious, from a post or a video/interview. Bolsonaro and Bolsonarism were the main drivers of this growth in the

⁹ Carina Vitral (former president of UNE) ran for state representative in São Paulo for the PCdoB, winning the deputy position after receiving just over 33,000 votes. Daniel Iliescu (former president of UNE) ran for councillor in Petrópolis, receiving 965 votes and was not elected. Gustavo Lemos Petta (former president of UNE) was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 2010, and actually became a member of the federal parliament. Wadson Ribeiro (former president of UNE) was elected as an alternate to the Chamber of Deputies and also briefly held a legislative seat.

number of women elected in 2018. New politicians who are members of movements that were born out of protests against progressive Brazilian governments, such as the MBL, have also been inflated by the terms of this mediatization that the internet and its democratization have brought (RAMOS DE OLIVEIRA, 2023).

We can see that in recent years, especially those preceding the 2018 elections, the number of candidates who have emerged on social networks and established themselves as dissenting voices to the Workers' Party and the left in general, winning the digital scene with a war of disinformation, making subsequent votes indisputably relevant (NEMER, 2023). From this context, this group is beginning to strengthen and indicate a growth trend for the coming years.

Finally, there was also a relative growth in religious careers, driven precisely by the conservative backlash and the growth of candidates from neo-Pentecostal churches. This growth has already been addressed in several studies, showing that the alliances made between the Workers' Party government and evangelical leaders generated growth and accumulation of political capital for sectors of these churches, fostering increased electoral success for confessional parties and pastors who use these electoral platforms (ANTONIO; LAHUERTA, 2014; SILVA, 2016).

Understanding these quantitative aspects of the expansion and retraction of groups over the years allows us to explore hypotheses for the (re)organization of the women who make up parliament. However, how do these careers operate when we compare them with each other, in a collective context, taking their trajectories within the Federal Chamber as a starting point? It is through Multiple Correspondence Analysis that we will analyze the differences and similarities between the careers when arranged in a structural plan of categories that guide political activity.

It should be noted that the contributions in the Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) indicate the proportion of the variance in each dimension explained by each category. If a category has a high contribution, the implication is that it has a strong relationship with the dimension and therefore has a significant impact on the arrangement of the points on the MCA graph. Categories with lower contributions, on the other hand, have more tenuous relationships. In Graph 2, for example, the MCA highlights the relationship between leadership positions in the Federal Chamber and political careers. These positions are characterized by positions of prominence within the spheres of legislative power, such as

political party leaders, government leaders or leaders of the minority, configuring important bureaucratic functions within the political field under analysis.

In the legislatures studied, there is a movement towards grouping the variables on the left-hand side of the graph over time. The MCA offers an insight into the evolution of women's careers in the Federal Chamber of the Brazilian parliament, illustrating the relationships between categorical leadership variables and political careers over the course of the legislatures. By studying the MCA, we seek to understand the diversity between categories in a multidimensional environment.

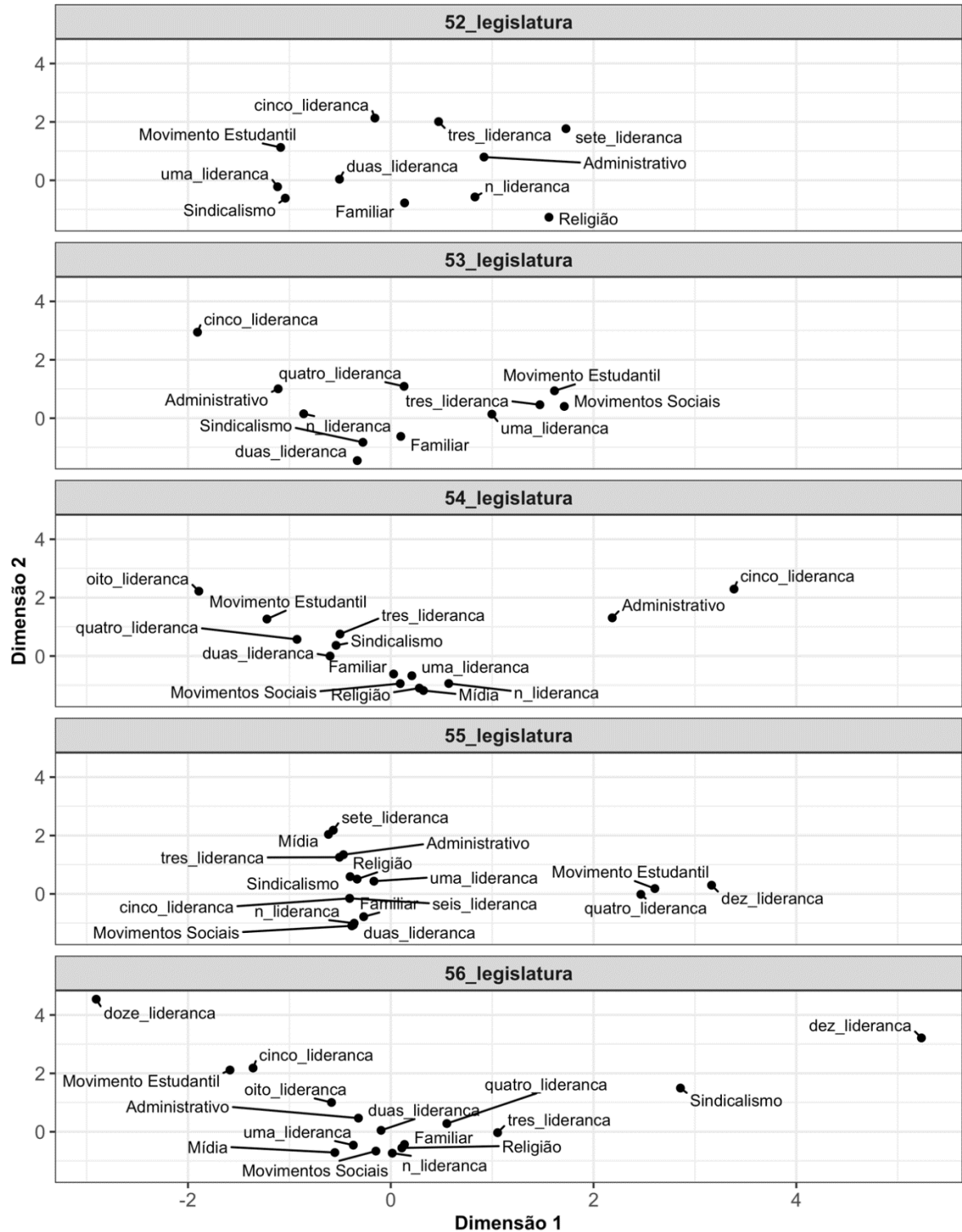
The results suggest notable inferences about the position of these women on the institutional scene. The 'Trade Unionism' category is strongly represented in the first dimension in almost all the legislatures, especially in the 56th, contributing 34.28%. This indicates that women trade unionists play a significant role in the first dimension and, therefore, in the structure of the Chamber. Participation in trade unions emerges as a relevant trait in the political careers of many women, possibly due to the in-depth political engagement usually associated with trade unionism. The 'Student Movement' is also a major contributor to the first dimension in several legislatures, reaching 43.77% in the 55th legislature. This finding suggests that women with a background in the student movement have a notable prominence in the political field. Involvement in student movements is often indicative of a high degree of political engagement, serving as training for future politicians.

The category "Ten Leaderships" in the 56th legislature and "One Leadership" in the 52nd and 53rd legislatures show significant contributions to the first dimension. This suggests that, in these specific legislatures, holding a single leadership position or ten leadership positions can have a major influence on women's political careers. Thus, the number of leadership positions seems to have a significant association with the arrangement of the dots on the MCA graph, demonstrating the possible impact on women's political careers. In the second dimension, the absence of a defined pattern indicates the complexity and diversity of the factors affecting women's political careers. Categories such as "Two Leaderships", "No Leadership" and "One Leadership" vary between legislatures, suggesting that the relevance of holding different amounts of leadership positions may have changed over time.

This analysis suggests that participation in trade unions and student movements, as well as the number of leadership positions held, have a significant impact on women's political careers in the Federal Chamber. However, the influence of these factors seems to fluctuate over time, denoting the dynamic complexity of women's political careers and the

interaction of these factors with the institutional structure. These changes may be the result of changes in the political structure, legislative priorities or other factors.

Graph 2 - Multiple correspondence analysis of the association between leadership in the federal chamber and political careers



Source: Devised by the author

In an attempt to uncover the associations between the committees occupied in the Federal Chamber and political careers, we carried out a Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA). This analysis allows us to discern the contribution of each category to the first and second dimensions in a variety of data sets, specifically sets 52 to 56.

Starting with the 52nd legislature, the data collected indicates that the category "Three Committees" has the highest contribution to dimension 1, with a total of 31.05%. This suggests that, during this period, occupying three committees has a significant association with political careers. The second largest contribution to dimension 1 comes from the "Family" category, which accounts for 21.33%. However, for dimension 2, the "Two Committees" category stands out as the most relevant, with an impressive contribution of 43.93%. This suggests that, in this second dimension of analysis, occupying two committees is strongly associated with political careers during the 52nd legislature. The second highest contribution in this dimension comes from the "Administrative" category, which contributed 19.03%. These results therefore suggest that the number of committees held and family and administrative backgrounds played significant roles in political careers during the 52nd legislature.

With regard to dimension 1 of the 53rd legislature, the category "No Committees" shows the highest contribution with 22.06%. This may indicate that, during the 53rd legislature, occupying a variable number of committees had a strong association with political careers. "Trade unionism" also stands out as the second largest contribution in this dimension, with 18.70%, suggesting that trade union activities were also strongly associated with political careers during this period. In dimension 2, the "Three Commissions" category has the highest contribution with 32.13%. This indicates that, in the second dimension of analysis, occupying three committees had a particularly strong association with political careers. In second place, we see the "Administrative" category contributing 18.25%. These analyses indicate that, in the 53rd legislature, both the number of committees occupied and union activity and administrative posts played a significant role in political careers.

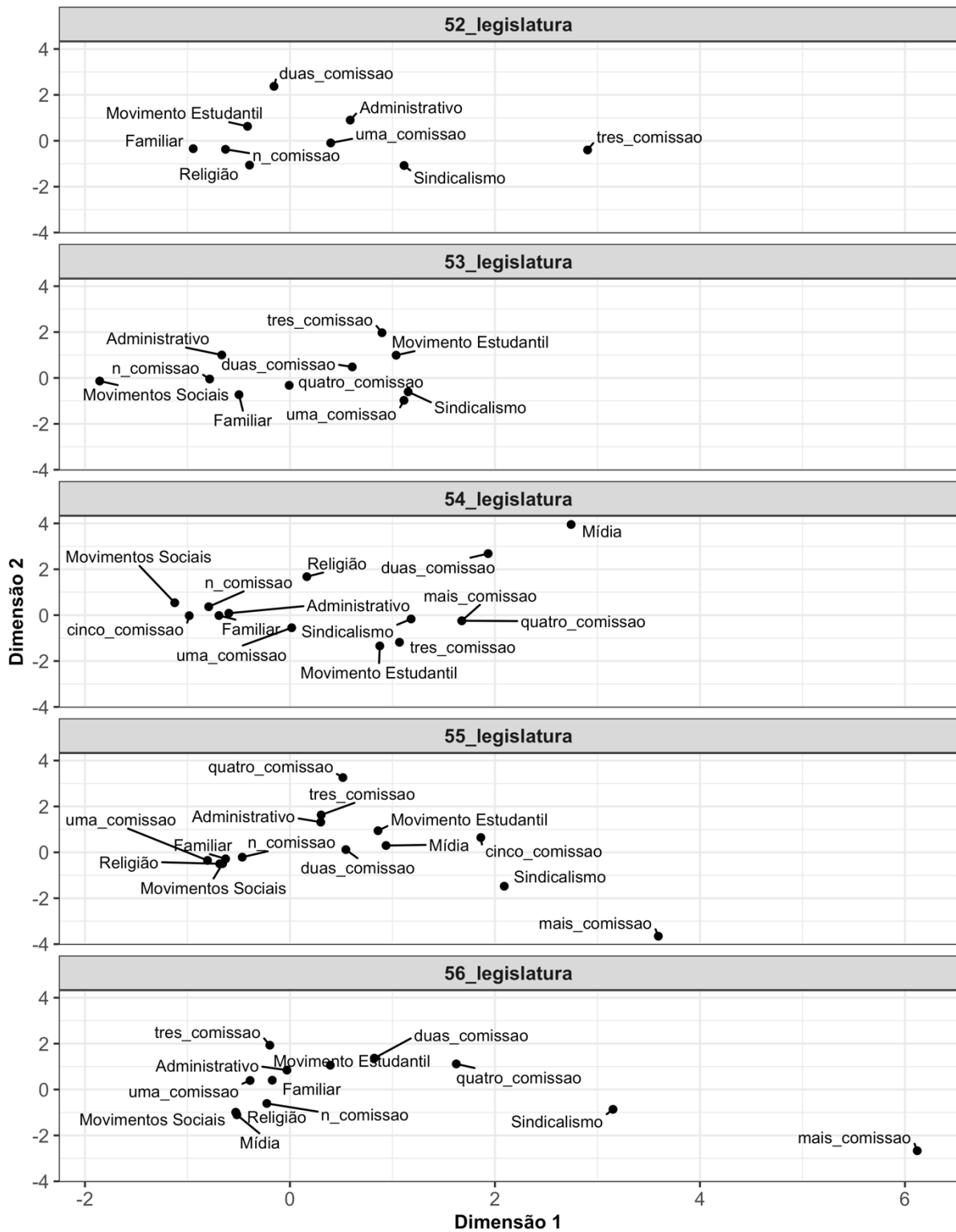
For dimension 1 of the 54th legislature, the category "No Committees" has the highest contribution with 16.38%, followed by "Two Committees" with 14.62%. This suggests that during the 54th legislature, occupying a variable number of committees or two committees had a strong correlation with political careers. In dimension 2, "Media" made the greatest contribution with 20.66%, closely followed by "Student Movement" with 16.67%. This indicates that, in this dimension of analysis, the media and the student movement had a

considerable association with political careers. Therefore, in the 54th legislature, the number of committees occupied, media exposure and participation in the student movement seem to have played a key role in political careers. As noted above, the contribution of different categories varies in each legislature, underlining the complexity and varied nature of politics.

In the 55th legislature, the contribution of the categories to dimensions 1 and 2 also presents an interesting picture. In dimension 1, the category "More Committees", which includes occupying more than four committees, represents the largest contribution with 16.01%, followed by "Trade Unionism" with 27.09%. This suggests that, in the 55th legislature, occupying several committees and having a history of trade unionism were important factors in political careers. As for dimension 2, the category "More Committees" again shows a high contribution, this time with 18.65%. However, "Four Committees" appears as the second highest contributor with 14.83%. This suggests that in the 55th legislature, the number of committees occupied continued to be a relevant factor in a politician's career. Thus, during the 55th legislature, it seems that occupying several committees and previous experience in trade unionism were key factors in a successful political career.

In the 56th legislature, the data reveals different patterns of contribution in dimensions 1 and 2 for the categorical variables. In dimension 1, the category "More Committees" emerges as the largest contribution, with 32.10%, indicating that having served on various committees was a relevant factor for politicians in this legislature. However, the category "Trade Unionism" stands out with a contribution of 42.57%, suggesting that politicians with a background in trade unionism also stood out in this dimension during the 56th legislature. As far as dimension 2 is concerned, the "Two Committees" category emerges as the largest contribution with 12.85%, followed by the "No Committees" category with 14.47%. This indicates that having participated in two committees or an undefined number of committees had a significant influence on the profile of politicians in this dimension in the 56th legislature. In short, in the 56th legislature, serving on several committees, having a union background and participating in two or an undefined number of committees seem to be determining factors in the political careers of members of the Federal Chamber.

Graph 3 - Multiple correspondence analysis of the association between committees held in the federal chamber and political careers



Source: Devised by the author

The multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) presented in graph 4 offers a rich insight into the careers of women in the Federal Chamber and the influences that shape their re-elections. Several variables were included in the analysis, including the number of re-elections (from none to six times) and the origin of the political careers (such as Administration, Family, Media, Student Movement, Social Movements, Religion, Trade Unionism).

Looking at the results in detail, in legislature 56, in dimension 1, the variable "Three Re-elections" is the one that contributes the most, with a weight of 22.45%. This suggests that the ability to be re-elected three times is a significant milestone for women's careers in the Federal Chamber, perhaps indicating a combination of political experience, leadership skills and continued support from voters. In addition, once again, the variable "Trade Unionism" has a significant contribution in this dimension, with a weight of 33.45%, suggesting that women who have come from trade union careers are more likely to be re-elected. In dimension 2 of the data for this legislature, the greatest contribution comes from the "Student Movement", with a weight of 35.50%, indicating that women who come from a student movement background have a great influence on this axis. The variable "Six Re-elections" also has a strong contribution in this dimension, with a weight of 29.12%, suggesting that the ability to be re-elected six times is another significant milestone.

In the 55th legislature, when we analyze dimension 1, we see that the "Student Movement" variable makes the biggest contribution, representing a significant weight of 31.05%. This finding once again highlights the importance of experience and involvement in the student movement for the professional progress of women in this institution. In addition, the variable "Three Re-elections" also stands out as a strong contributor, with a weight of 26.31%, reinforcing the relevance of obtaining a third re-election. In dimension 2 of this data, the variable "One Re-election" exerts the greatest influence, with a weight of 39.67%. This finding suggests that achieving a first re-election is a crucial milestone for women's political careers in the Federal Chamber. In addition, the "Social Movements" variable also plays a significant role in this dimension, with a weight of 32.32%, indicating the influence of women who entered politics through social movements.

When examining the 54th legislature, in dimension 1, the variable "no re-election" has the greatest contribution, with 20.81%, indicating that not having been re-elected also has an important relevance in shaping the careers of women in the Federal Chamber. In dimension 2,

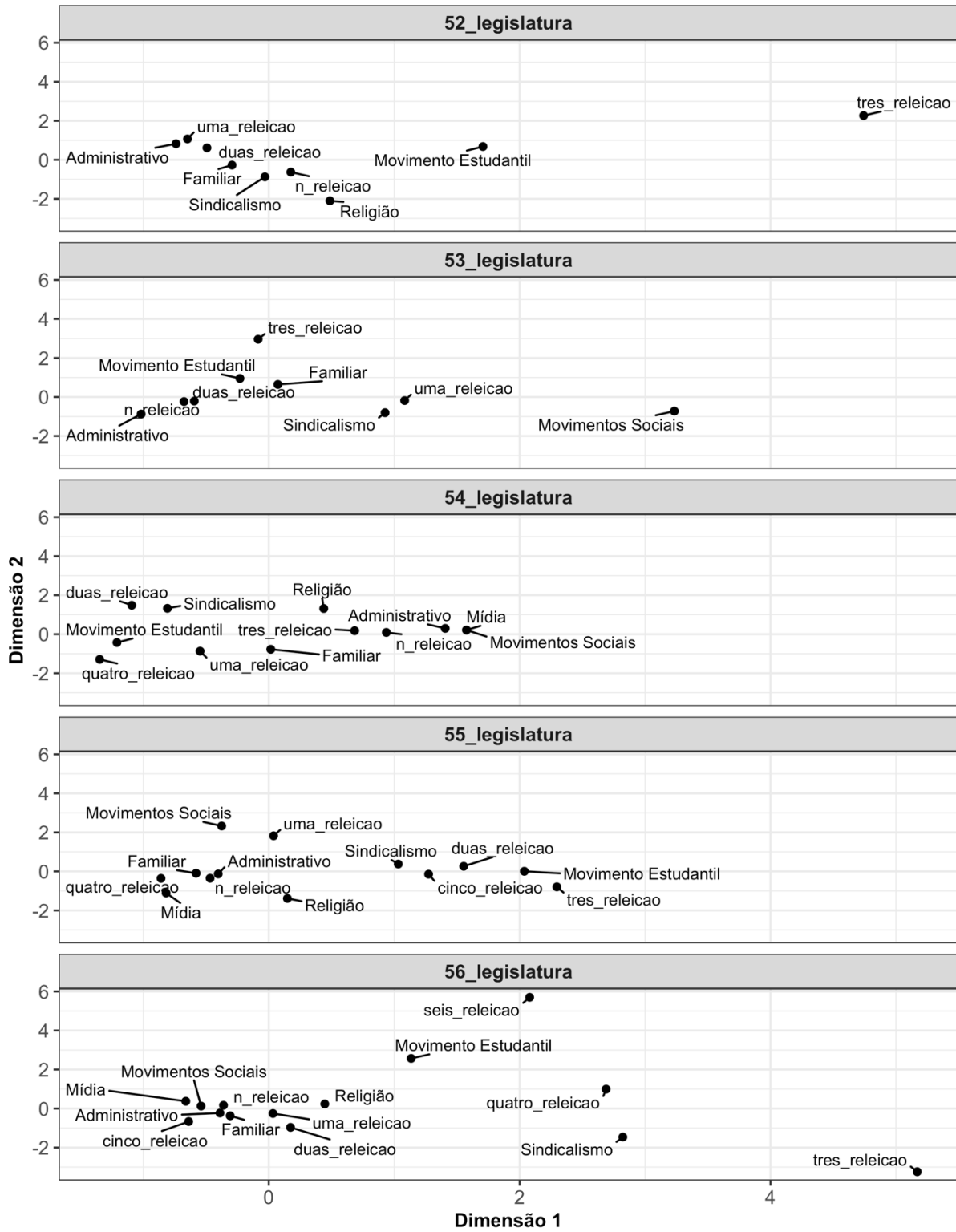
the variable "Two Re-elections" has the greatest influence, with 27.56%, suggesting that achieving a second re-election is also a significant milestone.

When analyzing the data set from the 53rd legislature, we noticed that dimension 1 is mostly structured around the "One Re-election" category, which made the largest contribution with approximately 31.25%. Other categories were also relevant to this dimension, particularly "Administrative" and "Social Movements", which contributed around 18.97% and 17.40% respectively. However, the "Family" and "Student Movement" categories showed a more modest contribution, suggesting a reduced influence on the structuring of this dimension. With regard to dimension 2, the "Three Re-elections" category stood out as the most influential, contributing 46.63%. In addition, the "Administrative" and "Family" categories also played a significant role, contributing 14.96% and 12.50% respectively. On the other hand, the "Two Re-elections" and "One Re-election" categories made the smallest contributions, indicating a less pronounced impact on this dimension.

As for the dataset from term 52, dimension 1 was strongly influenced by the category "Three Re-elections", which contributed 39.37%. The "Student Movement" and "Administrative" categories also played a key role in structuring this dimension, contributing 35.72% and 11.48% respectively. In contrast, the "Trade Unionism" category had the lowest contribution, indicating less relevance for this dimension. In dimension 2, the category "No Re-election" stood out with the highest contribution, approximately 18.21%, indicating a strong association with this dimension. "One Re-election" and "Administrative" were also considerable in this dimension, contributing around 16.83% and 15.03% respectively. The "Family" category showed the lowest contribution, suggesting a less significant association with dimension 2.

These analyses provide valuable insights for understanding the political careers of women in the Federal Chamber. They highlight the importance of winning re-election, with relevant milestones in the first, second, third and sixth re-elections. In addition, they highlight the influence of careers started in social movements, student movements and trade unions, indicating that these areas play a key role in developing and supporting future policies. These observations can be extremely useful in formulating strategies to support and promote women's political careers in the Federal Chamber. Although largely descriptive, these analyses provide us with important material for future research.

Graph 4 - Multiple correspondence analysis of the association between political careers and re-election



Source: Devised by the author

Final considerations

In this article we carried out a collective biographical survey of female federal deputies from 2002 to 2018, identifying them in groups, namely Family, Administrative, Social Movements, Student Movements, Media, Trade Unionism and Religion, as well as comparing their careers based on institutional aspects, such as occupation of leadership positions, re-election and committees occupied in a leadership position. The results indicate a strong growth in family groups, corroborating the trend identified in other studies, as the predominant career among those elected, followed by Administrative and Social Movements. It is important to note that the concentration of careers is linked to specific regions of the country and demonstrates, among other things, local peculiarities.

When we look at the institutional arrangements, we find a repetition of the difficulties encountered in the electoral process for female federal deputies. Gender roles from private life are widely reproduced in the institutional context. In this research, we found that in terms of leadership, committee seats and re-election, groups tend to structure different values and fit into their own patterns. Based on the analyses carried out using Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) of the different legislatures in the Federal Chamber, it was possible to identify various factors that influence women's political careers. The occupation of leadership positions, participation in student movements, union involvement, administrative experience and number of re-elections were key elements that shaped the political trajectories of the women analyzed. The MCA revealed that holding leadership positions, such as party leaders and government leaders, plays a significant role in women's political careers. In addition, participation in trade unions and student movements was associated with greater influence and prominence in the political field. These results suggest that deep political engagement, often associated with trade unionism and the student movement, can be an important factor in women's political success.

The analysis also revealed that the number of leadership positions held has a significant association with the arrangement of the dots on the MCA graph. This indicates that holding multiple leadership positions can have an important impact on women's political careers, while holding a single leadership position has also been shown to be relevant in certain legislatures. Furthermore, the research showed that the influence of these factors can vary over time and between legislatures. This suggests that changes in political structure, legislative priorities and other factors can affect women's political trajectories. It is important to note that the analyses carried out provide a descriptive and exploratory view of the

relationships between the variables analyzed. However, a more in-depth study and longitudinal analysis is needed to better understand the complexities and nuances of women's political careers in the Federal Chamber.

Overall, these analyses contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the influences and obstacles faced by women in politics. The results highlight the importance of promoting women's participation in leadership positions, strengthening political engagement in social and student movements, and supporting the progression of political careers through inclusive and egalitarian policies. A detailed analysis of these trajectories would require extensive research with interviews, covering the personal lives and setbacks that these women representatives have faced throughout their careers. However, it is essential that we visualize the differences between these types and seek to observe how the different careers impact on the institutional life of these women within the Federal Chamber. Whether their differences constitute different perspectives on the difficulties faced by Brazil and, above all, the social and political constants that affect women in civil society.

REFERENCES

ANTONIO, G. H. B. DE; LAHUERTA, M. O neopentecostalismo e os dilemas da modernidade periférica sob o signo do novo desenvolvimentismo brasileiro. **Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política**, [S. l.], p. 57–82, ago. 2014.

ARAÚJO, C. Rotas de ingresso, trajetórias e acesso das mulheres ao legislativo: um estudo comparado entre Brasil e Argentina. **Revista Estudos Feministas**, [S. l.], v. 18, n. 2, p. 567–584, ago. 2010.

ARAÚJO, C.; ALVES, J. E. D. Impactos de indicadores sociais e do sistema eleitoral sobre as chances das mulheres nas eleições e suas interações com as cotas. **Dados**, [S. l.], v. 50, n. 3, p. 535–577, 2007.

ARAÚJO, C. M. DE O.; BORGES, D. Trajetórias políticas e chances eleitorais: analisando o “gênero” das candidaturas em 2010. **Revista de Sociologia e Política**, [S. l.], v. 21, n. 46, p. 69–91, jun. 2013.

BOLOGNESI, B.; DE MEDEIROS, P. **Aspectos motivacionais do recrutamento político: um estudo inicial dos candidatos a deputado federal no Brasil (2010)**. 2014.

BOURDIEU, P. **Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste**. London: Routledge, 2010.

BOURDIEU, P. O campo político. **Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política**, [S. l.], v. 5, p. 193–216, 2011.

BRINGEL, B. O futuro anterior: continuidades e rupturas nos movimentos estudantis do Brasil. **EccoS – Revista Científica**, [S. l.], v. 11, n. 1, p. 97–122, 31 jul. 2009.

CARDOSO, A. M. Dimensões da crise do sindicalismo brasileiro. **Caderno CRH**, [S. l.], v. 28, p. 493–510, dez. 2015.

DANTAS, E. G. et al. Prosopografia dos ajudantes do Ministério da Fazenda: uma análise das lógicas de recrutamento, dos itinerários profissionais e do perfil social do segundo escalão. **41º Encontro Anual da Anpocs**, [S. l.], n. 41, 2017.

ENGLER, I. G. DA F. Ricos e políticos: uma análise da origem familiar, trajetória profissional e carreira política dos 30 deputados federais brasileiros com maior patrimônio econômico da 55ª Legislatura (2015-2019). **Colombia Internacional**, [S. l.], n. 95, p. 137-164, 1 jul. 2018.

FOLKE, O.; RICKNE, J. Electoral Competition and Gender Differences in Political Careers. **Quarterly Journal of Political Science**, [S. l.], v. 11, n. 1, p. 59-102, 18 abr. 2016.

HUSSON, F.; LÊ, S.; PAGÈS, J. **Exploratory multivariate analysis by example using R**. 2. ed. Boca Raton: CRC Press, 2017.

KROOK, M. L. Why Are Fewer Women than Men Elected? Gender and the Dynamics of Candidate Selection. **Political Studies Review**, [S. l.], maio 2009.

LOVENDUSKI, J.; NORRIS, P. (ed.). **Gender and party politics**. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 1993.

MARCELINO, P.; GALVÃO, A. O sindicalismo brasileiro diante da ofensiva neoliberal restauradora. **Tempo Social**, [S. l.], v. 32, p. 157-182, 11 maio 2020.

MARENCO, A.; SERNA, M. Por que carreiras políticas na esquerda e na direita não são iguais? Recrutamento legislativo em Brasil, Chile e Uruguai. **Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais**, [S. l.], v. 22, n. 64, p. 93-113, jun. 2007.

MARQUES, D. **Gênero e carreira política: o que diferencia deputadas e deputados federais**. 2010. 28 p.

MARTINS, T. J.; DONADONE, J. C. Realidade e desejo: as trajetórias formativas e profissionais de um grupo de elite no mundo das finanças. **Estudos de Sociologia**, [S. l.], v. 22, n. 43, 2018.

MATLAND, R. E. Enhancing Women's Political: Legislative Recruitment and Electoral Systems. In: **Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers**. [S. l.: s. n.], 2005.

MIGUEL, L. F.; BIROLI, F. Práticas de gênero e carreiras políticas: vertentes explicativas. **Revista Estudos Feministas**, [S. l.], v. 18, n. 3, p. 653-679, dez. 2010.

MIGUEL, L. F.; MARQUES, D.; MACHADO, C. Capital Familiar e Carreira Política no Brasil: Gênero, Partido e Região nas Trajetórias para a Câmara dos Deputados. **Dados**, [S. l.],

v. 58, n. 3, p. 721-747, set. 2015.

NEMER, D. De las fake news a la radicalización en línea: el caso del auge de la extrema derecha en Brasil. *In: Extremas Derechas y Democracia: Perspectivas Iberoamericanas*. Fundación Carolina, 2023. p. 173-192. Available: <https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=8974144>. Access: 14 July 2023

NORRIS, P. Recrutamento político. *Revista de Sociologia e Política*, [S. l.], v. 21, n. 46, p. 11-32, jun. 2013.

PERISSINOTTO, R. M.; CODATO, A. N. (ed.). *Como estudar elites*. Curitiba, Paraná, Brasil: Editora UFPR, 2015.

PINTO, C. R. J.; SILVEIRA, A. Mulheres com carreiras políticas longevas no legislativo brasileiro (1950-2014). *Opinião Pública*, [S. l.], v. 24, n. 1, p. 178-208, abr. 2018.

PRAINO, R.; STOCKEMER, D. The Career Length and Service of Female Policymakers in the US House of Representatives. *Government and Opposition*, [S. l.], v. 53, n. 3, p. 437-460, jul. 2018.

RAMOS DE OLIVEIRA, E. **O fenômeno MBL: protagonismo no apogeu de novas frações da direita na política brasileira (2013-2018)**. 2023. Dissertação (Mestrado) – Faculdade Latino-Americana de Ciências Sociais, Fundação Perseu Abramo, São Paulo, 2023.

ROSSIER, T. Prosopography, Networks, Life Course Sequences, and so on. Quantifying with or beyond Bourdieu? *Bulletin of Sociological Methodology/Bulletin de Méthodologie Sociologique*, [S. l.], v. 144, n. 1, p. 6-39, 1 out. 2019.

SACCHET, T. Partidos políticos e (sub)representação feminina: um estudo sobre recrutamento legislativo e financiamento de campanhas. *In: PAIVA, D. (org.). Mulheres, Política e poder*. Goiânia: Cânone Editorial, Fundação de Apoio à Pesquisa do Estado de Goiás, 2011.

SCHWINDT-BAYER, L. A. Women Who Win: Social Backgrounds, Paths to Power, and Political Ambition in Latin American Legislatures. *Politics & Gender*, [S. l.], v. 7, n. 01, p. 1-33, mar. 2011.

SETTON, M. DA G. J. A teoria do habitus em Pierre Bourdieu: uma leitura contemporânea. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, [S. l.], n. 20, p. 60-70, ago. 2002.

SILVA, L. G. T. DA. O Brasil ao pé da cruz: notas sobre a representação política de pentecostais e neopentecostais. *Pensamento Plural*, [S. l.], n. 17, p. 101-127, 2016.

SILVA, T. C. DA. **Somos Governo!:** uma análise do sindicalismo brasileiro nos anos de 2003 a 2016. São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 15 mar. 2023.

WYLIE, K. **Party institutionalization and women's representation in democratic Brazil**. Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

CRediT Author Statement

Acknowledgements: I would like to thank the reviewers who enriched the work with their suggestions, allowing new insights into the problem analyzed.

Funding: Yes. São Paulo Research Support Foundation (FAPESP - 17/26776-6).

Conflicts of interest: There are no conflicts of interest.

Ethical approval: Was not necessary.

Availability of material and data: Not applicable.

Authors' contributions: Single author.

Processing and editing: Editora Ibero-Americana de Educação.
Proofreading, formatting, normalization and translation.



Annex:

Table 1 - Distribution of female federal deputies elected by ideological spectrum from 2002 to 2018

ideology	Frequency	Percentage
Center	68	26.2%
Right	85	32.7%
Left	107	41.2%
Total	260	100%

Source: Devised by the author

Table 2 - Party Belonging of Federal Deputies

Political Party	Frequency	Percentage
(P)MDB	31	11.9%
AVANTE/PTdoB	3	1.2%
DEM/PFL	17	6.5%
NOVO	1	0.4%
PCdoB	23	8.8%
PDT	8	3.1%
PL	1	0.4%
PMN	2	0.8%
PODEMOS/PTN	3	1.2%
PP	14	5.4%
PPB	1	0.4%
PPS	6	2.3%
PR	12	4.6%
PRB	5	1.9%
PRONA	1	0.4%
PROS	1	0.4%
PRP	1	0.4%
PSB	21	8.1%
PSC	4	1.5%
PSD	2	0.8%
PSDB	25	9.6%
PSL	9	3.5%
PSOL	6	2.3%
PST	1	0.4%
PT	48	18.5%
PTB	6	2.3%
PTC	3	1.2%
PV	3	1.2%
REDE	1	0.4%
SOLIDARIEDADE	1	0.4%
Total	260	100%

Source: Devised by the author

Table 3 - Distribution of elected women by Federative Region

Region	Frequency	Percentage
Midwest	26	10%
Northeast	50	19.2%
North	61	23.5%
Southeast	91	35%
South	32	12.3%
Total	260	100%

Source: Devised by the author

Table 4 - Declared Educational Level of Federal Deputies

Educational Level	Frequency	Percentage
Reads and Writes	3	1.2%
Elementary School Completed	4	1.5%
High School	45	17.3%
Higher Education	208	80%
Total	260	100%

Source: Devised by the author

Table 5 - Declared Higher Education of Federal Deputies

Higher Education Degree	Frequency	Percentage
Administration	8	3.1%
Arts	1	0.4%
Public Service	4	1.5%
Library Science	1	0.4%
Political Science	1	0.4%
Social Sciences	5	1.9%
Accountancy	1	0.4%
Law	37	14.2%
Economics	7	2.7%
Physical Education	4	1.5%
Nursing	5	1.9%
Engineering	7	2.7%
Pharmacy	7	2.7%
History	4	1.5%
Journalism	10	3.8%
Letters	15	5.8%
Mathematics	2	0.8%
Medicine	16	6.2%
Not available	73	28.1%
Dentistry	1	0.4%
Pedagogy	22	8.5%
Psychology	18	6.9%
Chemistry	1	0.4%
Social Work	6	2.3%
Occupational Therapy	3	1.2%
Tourism	1	0.4%

Higher Education Degree	Frequency	Percentage
Total	260	100%

Source: Devised by the author

Table 6 - Declared Profession of the Federal Deputies

Profession	Frequency	Percentage
Administrator	6	2.3%
Lawyer	17	6.5%
Administrative Agent	1	0.4%
Farmer	2	0.8%
Agronomist	1	0.4%
Social Worker	6	2.3%
Banker	1	0.4%
Biologist	1	0.4%
Singer And Songwriter	1	0.4%
Political Scientist	1	0.4%
Shopkeeper	1	0.4%
Accountant	1	0.4%
Housewife	1	0.4%
Economist	1	0.4%
Businessman	20	7.7%
Nurse	3	1.2%
Engineer	2	0.8%
Students, Scholars, Interns and the like	2	0.8%
Pharmacist	1	0.4%
Physiotherapist and Occupational Therapist	2	0.8%
Manager	1	0.4%
Historian	1	0.4%
Journalist and Editor	4	1.5%
Magistrate	1	0.4%
Medical Doctor	12	4.6%
Musician	1	0.4%
Not listed	2	0.8%
Other	13	5%
Pedagogue	3	1.2%
Military Policeman	2	0.8%
Politician	113	43.5%
Teacher	18	6.9%
Psychologist	4	1.5%
Public Servant	12	4.6%
Sociologist	1	0.4%
Veterinarian	1	0.4%
Total	260	100%

Source: Devised by the author

Table 7 - Declared and Heteroclassified Color of Federal Deputies

Color	Frequency	Percentage
White	213	81.9%
Non-white	47	18.1%
Total	260	100%

Source: Devised by the author

Table 8 - Relationship between Region and Group

	Region					Total
	<i>North</i>	<i>Northeast</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>Southeast</i>	<i>Midwest</i>	
<i>Family</i>	27	19	7	29	13	95
<i>Administrative</i>	15	7	7	16	7	52
<i>Trade Unionism</i>	7	12	2	10	4	35
<i>Social Movements</i>	1	5	2	13	1	22
<i>Student Movement</i>	6	5	9	12	1	33
<i>Religion</i>	3	2	5	7	0	17
<i>Media</i>	2	0	0	4	0	6
Total	61	50	32	91	26	260

Source: Devised by the author

Table 9 - Relationship between Ideology and Group

	Ideology			Total
	<i>left</i>	<i>Center</i>	<i>Right</i>	
<i>Family</i>	20	40	35	95
<i>Administrative</i>	15	18	19	52
<i>Trade Unionism</i>	28	1	6	35
<i>Social Movements</i>	8	4	10	22
<i>Student Movement</i>	30	3	0	33
<i>Religion</i>	4	2	11	17
<i>Media</i>	2	0	4	6
Total	107	68	85	260

Source: Devised by the author

Table 10 - Relationship between Color and Group

	Color		Total
	<i>White</i>	<i>Non-white</i>	
<i>Family</i>	88	7	95
<i>Administrative</i>	47	5	52
<i>Trade Unionism</i>	20	15	35
<i>Social Movements</i>	18	4	22
<i>Student Movement</i>	24	9	33
<i>Religion</i>	11	6	17
<i>Media</i>	5	1	6
Total	213	47	260

Source: Devised by the author

Quadro 1 - Multiple Correspondence Analysis of the Association between Leadership in the Federal Chamber and Political Careers (Graph 2)

Variável	Dim1	Dim2
<i>cinco lideranca 56</i>	4.6503912	12.6729784
<i>dez lideranca 56</i>	23.0141128	9.1545278
<i>doze lideranca 56</i>	7.0917208	18.2685965
<i>duas lideranca 56</i>	0.1311591	0.0369829
<i>n lideranca 56</i>	0.0011257	2.8394945
<i>oito lideranca 56</i>	0.2873488	0.8947001
<i>quatro lideranca 56</i>	2.0543044	0.5636365
<i>tres lideranca 56</i>	9.3266419	0.0080752
<i>uma lideranca 56</i>	3.4431953	5.5610081
<i>Administrativo 56</i>	1.2843986	2.9105289
<i>Familiar 56</i>	0.3999951	4.3096148
<i>Mídia 56</i>	1.0228743	1.7867580
<i>Movimento Estudantil 56</i>	12.6794977	23.7716650
<i>Movimentos Sociais 56</i>	0.2535981	5.4001142
<i>Religião 56</i>	0.0699579	1.8945226
<i>Sindicalismo 56</i>	34.2896783	9.9267965
<i>cinco lideranca 55</i>	0.3542806	0.0559043
<i>dez lideranca 55</i>	10.7687522	0.1087884
<i>duas lideranca 55</i>	1.7516343	16.4660395
<i>n lideranca 55</i>	0.8424110	7.3179904
<i>quatro lideranca 55</i>	32.7157020	0.0011267
<i>seis lideranca 56</i>	0.3542806	0.0559043
<i>sete lideranca 56</i>	0.3461065	5.7833623
<i>tres lideranca 55</i>	2.4801588	17.2088432
<i>uma lideranca 55</i>	0.3866742	3.0020409
<i>Administrativo 55</i>	2.1105940	19.7348962
<i>Familiar 55</i>	1.6114525	15.4807991
<i>Mídia 55</i>	0.4067097	5.0430959
<i>Movimento Estudantil 55</i>	43.7793242	0.2474833
<i>Movimentos Sociais 55</i>	0.6344286	5.8030295
<i>Religião 55</i>	0.5927160	1.5606197
<i>Sindicalismo 55</i>	0.8647750	2.1300762
<i>cinco lideranca 54</i>	30.9549657	14.9042885
<i>duas lideranca 54</i>	3.8772636	0.0000005
<i>n lideranca 54</i>	3.5312521	9.9752289
<i>oito lideranca 55</i>	4.8402899	6.9859236
<i>quatro lideranca 54</i>	2.3111492	0.9283015
<i>tres lideranca 54</i>	3.7271142	8.8684662
<i>uma lideranca 54</i>	0.7579654	8.3377907
<i>Administrativo 54</i>	32.2286793	12.1209124
<i>Familiar 54</i>	0.0188253	9.6012474
<i>Mídia 54</i>	0.1400019	1.9716217
<i>Movimento Estudantil 54</i>	14.1104734	15.9076464
<i>Movimentos Sociais 54</i>	0.0351884	3.7666279
<i>Religião 54</i>	0.3203007	5.1096308
<i>Sindicalismo 54</i>	3.1465311	1.5223133
<i>cinco lideranca 53</i>	5.1024843	14.3750178
<i>duas lideranca 53</i>	1.2274899	27.9354211
<i>n lideranca 53</i>	16.5754837	0.6004433
<i>quatro lideranca 53</i>	0.0722949	5.9150268
<i>tres lideranca 53</i>	6.0719458	0.7020457
<i>uma lideranca 53</i>	20.9503015	0.4720452

<i>Administrativo_53</i>	19.0610075	18.4278225
<i>Familiar_53</i>	0.2328769	10.9398467
<i>Movimento Estudantil_53</i>	25.6370000	10.1930735
<i>Movimentos Sociais_53</i>	4.1127047	0.2700346
<i>Sindicalismo_53</i>	0.9564109	10.1692227
<i>cinco lideranca4</i>	0.0764152	14.9247029
<i>duas lideranca4</i>	2.7832935	0.0169711
<i>n lideranca4</i>	18.2085540	9.0658633
<i>sete lideranca_55</i>	4.6389969	5.1287580
<i>tres lideranca_52</i>	1.0359361	19.9080344
<i>uma lideranca_52</i>	23.2568042	0.9556703
<i>Administrativo_52</i>	15.7672054	12.5325959
<i>Familiar_52</i>	0.3758628	12.7547824
<i>Movimento Estudantil_52</i>	12.8393775	14.5853102
<i>Religião_53</i>	7.5632270	5.2377246
<i>Sindicalismo_52</i>	13.4543273	4.8895869

Source: Devised by the author

Chart 2 - Multiple Correspondence Analysis of the Association between Committees Held in the Federal Chamber and Political Careers (Graph 3)

Variável	Dim1	Dim2
<i>duas_comissao_56</i>	4.0663745	12.8466932
<i>mais_comissao_56</i>	32.1045808	6.9806110
<i>n_comissao_56</i>	1.7480098	14.4722161
<i>quatro_comissao_56</i>	9.0299985	4.8849671
<i>tres_comissao_56</i>	0.0661944	7.3139553
<i>uma_comissao_56</i>	2.9848420	3.5015572
<i>Administrativo_56</i>	0.0111476	10.5246188
<i>Familiar_56</i>	0.6664912	4.1782387
<i>Mídia_56</i>	0.9191146	4.7688998
<i>Movimento Estudantil_56</i>	0.7969960	6.5960036
<i>Movimentos Sociais_56</i>	3.3591845	13.5148068
<i>Religião_56</i>	1.6795923	6.7574034
<i>Sindicalismo_56</i>	42.5674738	3.6600289
<i>cinco_comissao_56</i>	12.8963967	1.7442663
<i>duas_comissao_55</i>	5.1598640	0.2803815
<i>mais_comissao_55</i>	16.0106251	18.6506279
<i>n_comissao_55</i>	4.0286607	0.9394786
<i>quatro_comissao_55</i>	0.3304791	14.8341997
<i>tres_comissao_55</i>	0.3444696	11.1271247
<i>uma_comissao_55</i>	11.2295049	2.4239213
<i>Administrativo_55</i>	1.0065630	21.7844365
<i>Familiar_55</i>	10.2708050	2.3520750
<i>Mídia_55</i>	1.0890697	0.1227387
<i>Movimento Estudantil_55</i>	5.4870227	7.4288842
<i>Movimentos Sociais_55</i>	2.1408621	1.3565173
<i>Religião_55</i>	2.9141923	1.7392550
<i>Sindicalismo_55</i>	27.0914852	15.2160933
<i>cinco_comissao_55</i>	1.2587553	0.0007958
<i>duas_comissao_54</i>	14.6201471	28.5571258
<i>mais_comissao_54</i>	3.6622982	0.0795079
<i>n_comissao_54</i>	16.3770496	3.5566627
<i>quatro_comissao_54</i>	3.6622982	0.0795079
<i>tres_comissao_54</i>	10.4149874	12.9359307

<i>uma comissao_54</i>	0.0044641	4.7904692
<i>Administrativo_54</i>	2.3178152	0.0465265
<i>Familiar_54</i>	11.2597901	0.0066004
<i>Mídia_54</i>	9.8064998	20.6585007
<i>Movimento Estudantil_54</i>	7.0065856	16.6718727
<i>Movimentos Sociais_54</i>	4.9432259	1.1578159
<i>Religião_54</i>	0.1061242	11.1655981
<i>Sindicalismo_54</i>	14.5599593	0.2930858
<i>duas comissao_53</i>	2.3102003	1.5307688
<i>n comissao_53</i>	22.0619625	0.0804196
<i>quatro comissao_53</i>	0.0002677	0.5124097
<i>tres comissao_53</i>	6.2967742	32.1284434
<i>uma comissao_53</i>	19.3307952	15.7479585
<i>Administrativo_53</i>	7.6062872	18.2518359
<i>Familiar_53</i>	6.5720659	14.9245455
<i>Movimento Estudantil_53</i>	11.7398930	11.3670909
<i>Movimentos Sociais_53</i>	5.3841905	0.0297060
<i>Sindicalismo_53</i>	18.6975634	5.4268216
<i>duas comissao_52</i>	0.1787764	43.9316230
<i>n comissao_52</i>	13.8212359	5.1428535
<i>tres comissao_52</i>	31.0537390	0.6274991
<i>uma comissao_52</i>	4.9462487	0.2980244
<i>Administrativo_52</i>	7.6330099	19.0251641
<i>Familiar_52</i>	21.3295298	3.0152420
<i>Movimento Estudantil_52</i>	2.2097793	5.4250501
<i>Religião_52</i>	0.5728646	4.3986141
<i>Sindicalismo_52</i>	18.2548164	18.1359298

Source: Devised by the author

Chart 3 - Numerical data from the Multiple Correspondence Analysis of the Association between Political Careers and Re-election (Graph 4)

Variável	Dim1	Dim2
<i>cinco releicao_56</i>	0.6848341	0.7904595
<i>duas releicao_56</i>	0.1760501	5.8322951
<i>n releicao_56</i>	4.8184186	1.1200021
<i>quatro releicao_56</i>	18.2212589	2.6671051
<i>seis releicao_56</i>	3.6324310	29.1212036
<i>tres releicao_56</i>	22.4490967	9.3867965
<i>uma releicao_56</i>	0.0179107	1.0821381
<i>Administrativo_56</i>	1.9077158	0.6977775
<i>Familiar_56</i>	2.0721093	3.2050580
<i>Mídia_56</i>	1.4696717	0.5010764
<i>Movimento Estudantil_56</i>	6.4959121	35.5044494
<i>Movimentos Sociais_56</i>	3.4274575	0.2046965
<i>Religião_56</i>	1.1721831	0.3499898
<i>Sindicalismo_56</i>	33.4549505	9.5369524
<i>cinco releicao_55</i>	4.0489136	0.0613951
<i>duas releicao_55</i>	9.0308615	0.3040061
<i>n releicao_55</i>	8.7501456	5.8488410
<i>quatro releicao_55</i>	1.8419571	0.3813048
<i>tres releicao_55</i>	26.3134466	3.7347379
<i>uma releicao_55</i>	0.0146756	39.6697150
<i>Administrativo_55</i>	1.8269104	0.2312543
<i>Familiar_55</i>	8.7987062	0.2831132

<i>Mídia 55</i>	0.8357960	1.8244223
<i>Movimento Estudantil 55</i>	31.0527335	0.0001621
<i>Movimentos Sociais 55</i>	0.7044884	32.3154068
<i>Religião 55</i>	0.1368639	14.2996999
<i>Sindicalismo 55</i>	6.6445016	1.0459414
<i>duas releicao 54</i>	13.3077493	27.5606637
<i>n releicao 54</i>	20.8112970	0.2157913
<i>quatro releicao 54</i>	7.5961796	7.7972836
<i>tres releicao 54</i>	3.2673448	0.2489733
<i>uma releicao 54</i>	5.0174292	14.1772881
<i>Administrativo 54</i>	13.7769455	0.6945119
<i>Familiar 54</i>	0.0063695	16.8480010
<i>Mídia 54</i>	3.4611029	0.0716604
<i>Movimento Estudantil 54</i>	14.2930988	1.9964485
<i>Movimentos Sociais 54</i>	10.3833087	0.2149811
<i>Religião 54</i>	0.8030648	8.1525686
<i>Sindicalismo 54</i>	7.2761097	22.0218285
<i>duas releicao 53</i>	3.5228256	0.4686479
<i>n releicao 53</i>	15.1958259	1.9564346
<i>tres releicao 53</i>	0.0359363	46.6267587
<i>uma releicao 53</i>	31.2454123	0.9481588
<i>Administrativo 53</i>	18.9665265	14.9620576
<i>Familiar 53</i>	0.1481117	12.4982250
<i>Movimento Estudantil 53</i>	0.6161599	11.2487545
<i>Movimentos Sociais 53</i>	17.3977324	0.9318571
<i>Sindicalismo 53</i>	12.8714694	10.3591057
<i>duas releicao 52</i>	3.4053747	5.5478380
<i>n releicao 52</i>	1.3478225	18.2063119
<i>tres releicao 52</i>	39.3652474	9.4135421
<i>uma releicao 52</i>	5.8815555	16.8323081
<i>Administrativo 52</i>	11.4816372	15.0251939
<i>Familiar 52</i>	1.9541025	1.7376556
<i>Movimento Estudantil 52</i>	35.7193000	5.9458468
<i>Religião 53</i>	0.8318227	16.1417033
<i>Sindicalismo 52</i>	0.0131376	11.1496004

Source: Devised by the author