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Left and Right in the Brazilian Party System

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Abstract

Despite the fact that ideological position of parties is a popular independent variable for several areas of research in political science, in Brazil it has not yet been sufficiently discussed. This paper starts by discussing the concepts of left and right from their historical and economic founding elements and also regarding the heritage of Brazilian former bipartisan system, to identify categories that can be used in a ideological scale to classify the Brazilian parties. Several methodological alternatives present in the literature are compared. Content analysis technique was applied to the programmatic documents and the saliency of left and right categories was measured. The results indicate that regarding their manifestos, the Brazilian parties differ less among each other than current classifications, mainly based on legislative behavior, seem to suggest.

Key-words: political parties, ideology, content analysis.

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Introduction

While there seems to be no controversy regarding the ordering of Brazilian parties in the left-right axis², their political identity is repeatedly questioned, either by the press, or by academic analysts, or even by public opinion polls. There appears to be a mismatch between the validity of the still persistent use of party ideology as an explanatory variable (in analysis of election results, coalitions, public policies) and the current diagnosis of the Brazilian parties' inconsistent ideology.

It is possible that this mismatch is due to a problem of identifying the parties' political preferences. In previous works, some methodological strategies were discussed to assess ideological positions (Tarouco, 2008; Tarouco and Madeira, 2009). Content analysis of parties' programmatic documents is one of the possible alternatives to access their political preferences³. Each theme's extension can indicate the party given emphasis to each issue. In this paper, the mentioned approach once again will be considered to measure the weight given to certain issues categories in the party manifestos.

This approach is based on MRG - *Manifestos Research Group* (Budge et al, 2001; Volkens, 2001) works, which created a category list to classify text fractions and proposed a left-right scale from a selection among those categories⁴. The direct application of the mentioned scale on Brazilian parties produced extremely distorted results compared to the usual classifications (Tarouco, 2008) which led to questioning the validity of that scale to the Brazilian reality.

The discrepancies between the current notions and the found results can be related to the fact that, in Brazil, the left and right distinction is "biased" by categories associated to the conservatism-liberalism dimension. For instance, the positions regarding the tension between

¹ This paper brings discussions started in previous works presented in conferences in Brazil and Argentina and it is one of the outcomes from the research project "Left and Right in the Brazilian Party System" developed with the support of CNPq. It is an overall balance of what was produced during the three year research program which we are concluding now with this article. Translated by Bianca Moraes.

² The analyses which mobilize the party ideology almost invariably classify PT and PDT as left wing, PMDB and PSDB as center, and PDS/PPR/PPB/PP, PTB and PFL/DEM as right wing.

³ Others include experts evaluations (academic or press), public opinion perception, parliamentary behavior and politicians self-declaration.

⁴ The complete categories list is available in the appendix.

political authority and human rights and freedom are fundamental for Brazilian parties' political identity during the military ruling transition: parties with a history of supporting dictatorship are classified as right wing for this reason and parties coming from the opposition are classified as left wing (Madeira e Tarouco, 2010).

The left-right dimension

The relevance of the authoritarian period was already shown in other works (Madeira, 2006 and Madeira, 2011) in regards to the configuration of the actual multiparty system. Also in the parties' identification in the left-right dimension, the heritage of the parties positioning during the military ruling is decisive (Madeira and Tarouco, 2010). Due to this, an ideological scale which intends to be applicable in Brazil cannot fail to consider this specific historical aspect.

To this, the 90's governments added issues related to the economic liberation: the positioning facing privatization and deregulation policies, for instance, started being considered in the parties' identification regarding left or right (Madeira and Tarouco, 2010; Power, 2008). For this reason, the economic criterion (position in relation to the state intervention desirable weight in the economy), dominant in the political science for ideological identification (Downs, 1999), it can and should be kept in a specific scale for Brazilian parties. This argument is in accordance with what is stated by Power (2008):

“The persistence of authoritarian-era cleavages colored Brazilian politics for at least the first decade after the transition to democracy, but the Plano Real and the election of Cardoso in 1994 inaugurated a new phase of economic and political management. The Plano Real ended hyperinflation, the alliance between the PSDB and PFL united forces that were on opposite sides of the coup of 1964, a broad reform agenda reshaped the overall development model in significant ways, and Cardoso's effective manipulation of “coalitional presidentialism” rewrote the playbook for the management of interparty alliances and power sharing. These changes had the effect of “rebooting” the democratic regimes in the mid-1990's sharply diminishing the relevance of the authoritarian-era cleavages that had shaped, for example, the writing of Brazil's new constitution in the late 1980s. This process has been reinforced by intergenerational population replacement within the political class: simply put, older politicians have died and younger ones have taken their place. The new recruits do not carry the baggage of 1964.” (Power, 2008, p. 84).

The Downsian criterion relevance, however, far from solving the adequacy problems of right and left concepts to the Brazilian reality, adds yet another problem: the distinction between left and right by the degree of state intervention in the economy does not differentiate the redistributive intervention from the “pro-capital” intervention. In Brazil, the military dictatorship governments were exactly the ones that adopted trade barriers for imports aiming to leverage the national industry development, as in various moments in history; it has been the right wing to demand the State action in the economy, in discrepancy with the *laissez-faire* and the minimum state which characterize the economic liberalism in Europe. We understand that this apparent paradox can be

treated adequately if we distinguish the economic liberalism from its other forms, belonging to the conservatism dimension.

Considering all this, we refined the scale initially adapted from the one elaborated by MRG and thus, we reached the following categories as indicative of right wing positioning: positive mention for the military, free-enterprise, incentives, economic orthodoxy, welfare limitation and favorable references to middle class and professional groups (to contrast with labor class references). The categories selected as left positioning indicators are the following: market regulation, economic planning, controlled economy, Marxist analysis, welfare expansion and positive references to the labor groups.

Thus, the left-right scale becomes the following:

Chart 1: Left-right scale composition:

Right positioning indicative categories			Left positioning indicative categories	
104	Military: positive		403	Market regulation
401	Free enterprise		404	Economic planning
402	Incentives		412	Controlled economy
414	Economic orthodoxy	less	415	Marxist analysis
505	Welfare limitation		504	Welfare expansion
704	Middle class and Professional groups		701	Labor groups: positive

This scale was created following the Klingemann et. al. (2006) model of left-right scale, which subtracts the document text proportion dedicated to left categories from the total text proportion dedicated to the right categories. Negative values represent left positions and positive values represent right positions. A hypothetical case in which a whole manifesto would be dedicated to left indicative categories would have a -100 value; on the other hand, a document in which its text contained only right indicative categories would have a 100 value on the scale.

The content analysis of the main Brazilian parties' manifestos from the MRG categories allows a classification according to following tables 1 and 2:

Table 1: Percentage of text dedicated to categories in the Right scale

Manifesto	Military: Positive	Free Enterprise	Incentives	Economic Orthodoxy	Welfare Limitation	Middle Class and Professional	Total
PDS 1979	2.21	2.21	3.43	0.00	0.00	0.12	7.97
PPB 1995	1.15	2.49	3.06	3.25	0.00	0.96	10.90
PP 2003	1.16	2.50	3.08	3.28	0.00	0.96	10.98
PDT 1979	0.71	0.40	0.71	0.20	0.00	0.20	2.22
PDT 1994	1.64	0.00	0.25	0.33	0.00	0.22	2.44
PT 1980	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
PT 1990	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
PTB 1979	0.69	0.39	0.69	0.20	0.00	0.20	2.17
PTB 2001	0.60	1.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.81
PMDB 1981	0.00	0.00	0.98	0.00	0.00	0.64	1.62
PMDB 1994	1.25	0.58	0.33	1.00	0.00	0.00	3.16
PFL 1995	0.08	7.38	1.27	3.56	1.70	1.27	15.27
PFL 2005	0.00	2.38	3.57	2.86	0.00	0.00	8.81
PFL fund	0.74	3.44	1.35	0.98	0.00	1.11	7.63
PSDB 1988	0.00	1.15	0.00	3.11	0.00	0.00	4.26
PSDB 2001	0.00	0.09	2.00	7.31	1.74	0.00	11.14

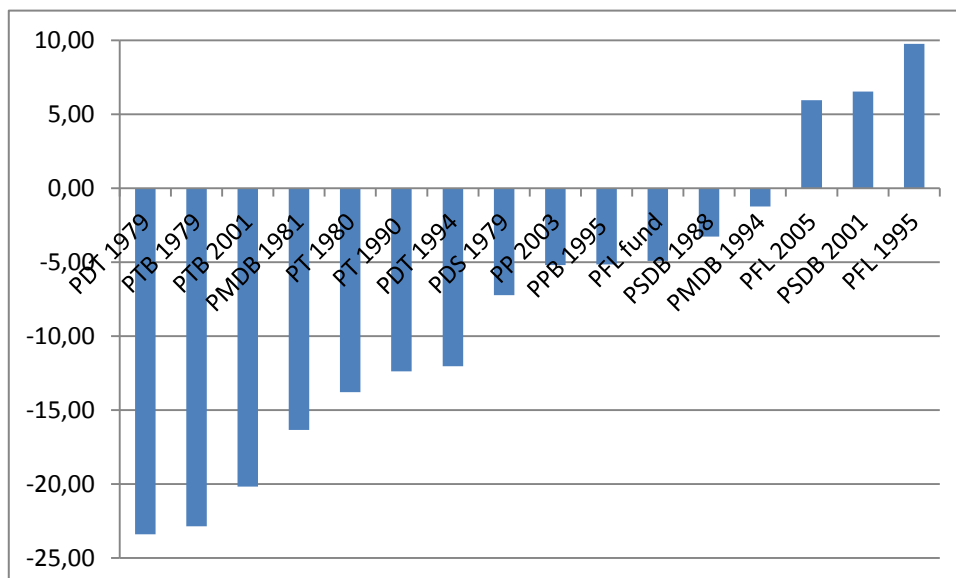
Table 2: Percentage of text dedicated to categories in the Left scale

Manifesto	Market Regulatoio	Economic Planning	Controlled Economy	Marxist Analysis	Welfare Expansion	Labor Groups: Positive	Total
PDS 1979	3.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.37	5.39	15.20
PPB 1995	1.91	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.56	4.59	16.06
PP 2003	1.93	0.00	0.00	0.00	9.63	4.62	16.18
PDT 1979	0.71	1.61	5.85	0.50	6.05	10.90	25.63
PDT 1994	0.03	0.00	0.27	0.03	10.60	3.55	14.48
PT 1980	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.94	4.75	6.11	13.80
PT 1990	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.54	2.45	3.39	12.38
PTB 1979	0.69	1.58	5.71	0.10	5.91	11.03	25.02
PTB 2001	1.81	0.60	1.81	0.00	4.82	12.95	21.99
PMDB 1981	2.43	1.50	0.00	0.00	10.75	3.29	17.97
PMDB 1994	0.42	0.92	0.00	0.00	2.16	0.92	4.41
PFL 1995	0.34	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.46	2.71	5.51
PFL 2005	1.67	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.19	0.00	2.86
PFL fund	0.86	0.37	0.00	0.00	8.24	3.08	12.55
PSDB 1988	0.49	0.00	0.00	0.00	4.10	2.95	7.54
PSDB 2001	1.04	0.22	0.00	0.00	3.22	0.13	4.61

Table 3: Scale position calculation

Manifesto	Right	Left	Right-left
PDS 1979	8.0	15.2	-7.2
PPB 1995	10.9	16.1	-5.2
PP 2003	11.0	16.2	-5.2
PDT 1979	2.2	25.6	-23.4
PDT 1994	2.4	14.5	-12.0
PT 1980	0.0	13.8	-13.8
PT 1990	0.0	12.4	-12.4
PTB 1979	2.2	25.0	-22.9
PTB 2001	1.8	22.0	-20.2
PMDB 1981	1.6	18.0	-16.3
PMDB 1994	3.2	4.4	-1.2
PFL 1995	15.3	5.5	9.8
PFL 2005	8.8	2.9	6.0
PFL fund	7.6	12.5	-4.9
PSDB 1988	4.3	7.5	-3.3
PSDB 2001	11.1	4.6	6.5

Graph 1: Order according to values in the left-right scale



The above data shows a frame which has low relation to the usual classification of the Brazilian parties, but it indicates some consistency in regards to the main emblematic left and right parties, PT and PFL, respectively. It is possible to think some *ad hoc* explanations for the results concerning the PDT and PTB texts in 1979 (the origin connection with the Lisbon Charter,

outcome of an international meeting of socialist parties), although it seems more interesting to observe a movement in time among the parties' programmatic versions. All of them moved from left to right. The only exception is the 2005 revision of the PFL manifesto. Let's see in the next section how the conservative scale can help to understand this chart.

The conservatism dimension

Just like the left-right dimension, the conservatism dimension is not exempt from controversy. There are contributions, for instance, from the confusion among ethnical, national and religious dimensions, the neo-conservatism emergence and the various definitions of the opposing pole to the conservative one, that sometimes appear contrasting with liberal positions and sometimes with progressive ones.⁵

Although the right ideology followers are frequently conservative too, Brazil included, we argue that the left-right axis does not mix with the liberal-conservative axis, instead, it is cut by it, defining a two-dimensional political space. The categories selection to compose the conservative scale is this section proposal.

There is a vast debate in the political theory regarding the conservative and liberalism definitions. This debate brings up many conceptual problems that we are not able to approach in the scope of this paper, but that we mentioned just to place our choices.

The first challenge is to establish which ideology the conservative opposes to. In the political philosophy and ideas history literature, the duality is sometimes to the liberal thought, sometimes to the progressive one. If we opt for the liberalism, the second challenge is to specify which liberalism we refer to: the classic liberalism or its contemporary version; the economic liberalism or the political one. Furthermore, there is also the alleged alternation between the conservative and liberal positions, according to the *status quo* variation. Far from solving such issues, we turn to some notions generally adopted that, although very basic, seem to reach some consensus, at least in the political science bibliography.

Thus, for this analysis, we will consider that the conservatism can be understood as a set of defense positioning for the State social control against the individual fallibility; the tradition against the radical social changes; an organicist defense of national character. As a result of this definition, we will consider that the opposing position includes emblematic liberalism (non economic) elements, such as the protection of individual rights and freedom against State intervention; the protection of minority rights against discrimination and social segregation; citizen protection against governments arbitrariness.

Among MRG (Klingemann, Volkens et al. 2006) categories, we selected the following to reflect such elements:

⁵ As we will later define, the choice between this two categories imply in some ambiguity risk, and, thus imprecision: for instance, liberalism, if defined in the sense of interventionism opposition, does not exclude conservative preferences in terms of morality, behavior and traditions. In this article, we refer to liberalism in the non economic sense, as will be discussed ahead.

Chart 2: Conservative scale composition

Conservative positioning indicative categories			Liberal positioning indicative categories	
305	Political Authority		201	Freedom and Human Rights
601	National Way of life: positive	less	303	Governmental and Administrative Efficiency
603	Traditional Morality: positive		604	Traditional Morality: negative
606	Social Harmony		705	Underprivileged Minority Groups

This scale was created following the left-right scale model, described above. Thus, here, we subtract the document text proportion dedicated to liberal categories from the total text proportion dedicated to the conservative categories. Negative values represent liberal positions (in the non economic sense, as highlighted above) and positive values represent conservative positions. A hypothetical case in which a whole manifesto would be dedicated to liberal indicative categories would have a -100 value; on the other hand, a document in which its text contained only conservative indicative categories would have a 100 value on the scale.

The content analysis of the main Brazilian parties' manifestos from the MRG categories allows a classification according to following tables 4 and 5:

Table 4: Percentage of text dedicated to conservative categories:

Manifesto	Political Authority	National Way of life: positive	Traditional Morality: positive	Social Harmony	Total
PDS 1979	0.0	1.5	0.2	0.2	2.0
PPB 1995	0.0	1.9	0.6	0.0	2.5
PP 2003	0.0	1.9	0.6	0.0	2.5
PDT 1979	0.0	4.1	0.0	0.0	4.1
PDT 1994	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	1.4
PT 1980	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
PT 1990	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
PTB 1979	0.0	3.7	0.0	0.0	3.7
PTB 2001	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.9	2.4
PMDB 1981	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.2	2.4
PMDB 1994	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	3.0

PFL 1995	0.0	0.6	0.4	0.0	1.0
PFL 2005	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.2	1.9
PFL fund	0.4	1.1	0.0	1.4	2.8
PSDB 1988	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
PSDB 2001	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3

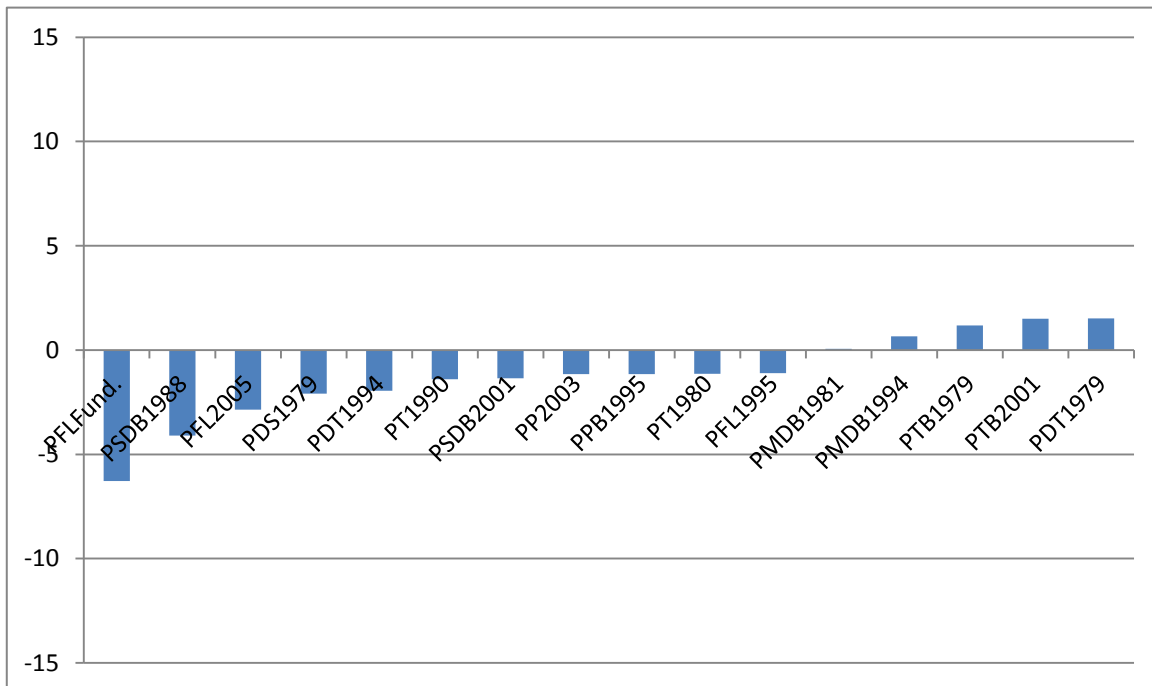
Table 5: Percentage of text dedicated to liberalism categories:

Manifesto	Freedom and Human Rights	Governmental and Administrative Efficiency	Traditional Morality: negative	Underprivileged Minority Groups	Total
PDS 1979	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.61	4.0
PPB 1995	2.5	1.1	0.0	0.00	3.6
PP 2003	2.5	1.2	0.0	0.00	3.7
PDT 1979	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.00	2.6
PDT 1994	2.1	1.1	0.0	0.13	3.4
PT 1980	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.00	1.1
PT 1990	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.00	1.5
PTB 1979	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.00	2.6
PTB 2001	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.00	0.9
PMDB 1981	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.06	2.4
PMDB 1994	0.4	1.7	0.2	0.00	2.3
PFL 1995	1.3	0.8	0.0	0.00	2.1
PFL 2005	1.7	3.1	0.0	0.00	4.8
PFL fund	6.3	2.7	0.0	0.12	9.1
PSDB 1988	0.5	4.8	0.0	0.00	5.2
PSDB 2001	0.0	0.3	0.3	1.09	1.7

Table 6: Conservative scale position calculation

Manifesto	Conservatism	Liberalism	Cons. – Lib.
PDS 1979	2.0	4.0	-2.1
PPB 1995	2.5	3.6	-1.1
PP 2003	2.5	3.7	-1.2
PDT 1979	4.1	2.6	1.5
PDT 1994	1.4	3.4	-2.0
PT 1980	0.0	1.1	-1.1
PT 1990	0.1	1.5	-1.4
PTB 1979	3.7	2.6	1.2
PTB 2001	2.4	0.9	1.5
PMDB 1981	2.4	2.4	0.1
PMDB 1994	3.0	2.3	0.7
PFL 1995	1.0	2.1	-1.1
PFL 2005	1.9	4.8	-2.9
PFL fund	2.8	9.1	-6.3
PSDB 1988	1.1	5.2	-4.1
PSDB 2001	0.3	1.7	-1.3

Graph 2: Order according to values in the conservative scale



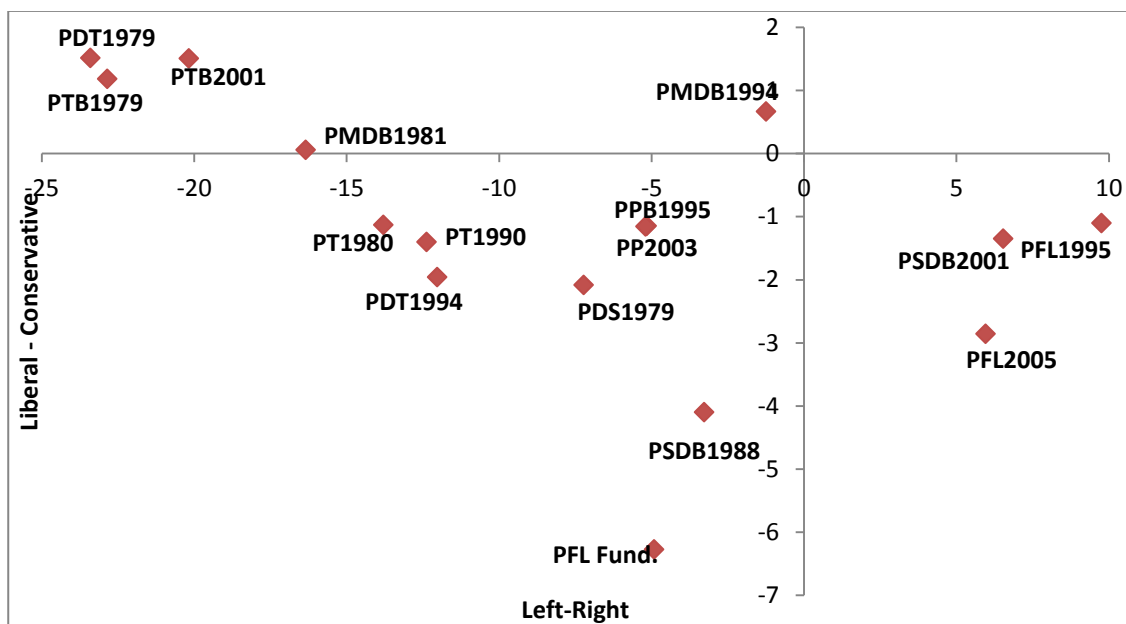
It is interesting to observe that in almost all parties, as time goes by, the programmes moved from liberal to more conservative positions (or less liberal). The exceptions are PDT, and again, the second revision of PFL's manifesto in 2005. An explanation for this movement is the change in the initial situation of ruling transition, in which all parties were committed to the necessary transformations for a later consolidation that the advanced initial process of the advocated changes leave more accomplishments to be defended by the parties (and claim as its taxable collaboration) than transformations to be demanded.

The following section shows how the intersection of the left-right dimension with the conservative one can help in understanding this picture.

The two-dimensional plan

According to our initial proposal, the following graph shows the positioning of the party programmes based on their values on the left-right and conservative scales.

Graph 3: party documents position according to both scales



It is observed that half of the manifestos were placed in the bottom left quadrant (left liberal). The other half is scattered between the bottom right (right liberal) and upper left (left conservative) quadrants. None of the analyzed texts can be positioned as right conservative.

This two-dimensional distribution helps to note that, according to the programmatic documents content, the parties seem to have some identity in the political competition arena. The 2001 PFL and PSDB, allied parties in the market liberalization policies conduction during the 90's occupy close positions. PDT and PTB manifestos occupy close positions, except by the 1994 PDT's manifesto. PT and PDS/PPB/PP, generally indicated as opposing fields' samples, were kept in the same field even after the changes done in the programmes. Finally, PMDB was always near the center: in 1981, center of the conservative scale, and, in 1994, center of the left-right scale.

It is worth to briefly mention the intersection resulting combinations: if both analyzed dimensions were not distinct, as argued that they are, we would have observed less cases (or none) of left conservatives or right liberals. The occurrence of these observations confirm that a left political position is compatible with a conservative position in terms of customs – indeed, nothing prevents the advocacy of the labor groups’ interests to coexist with cultural and tradition dictated behavior standards, since this conservatism in principle doesn’t constitute a direct barrier to the redistributive politics struggle, for instance.

Finally, it is possible that the left-right and liberal-conservative axis classifications, so far, must be weighted by the fact that some parties seem to give more importance to issues that do not fit in these dimensions. Undoubtedly, there are more dimensions through which parties position themselves, besides the two we discussed in this work, for instance, a possible materialism – post-materialism dimension (Inglehart, 1990). Thus, the political competition environment would be multidimensional, which could even imply that the effort to identify and measure each of its various dimensions would either be unsuccessful or it would produce results which its complexity, instead of helping, would jeopardize the analysis.

Comparing the results with other current classifications

The literature presents different measuring party position methods in the left-right axis. Each has its own limitations, as political positions are abstract concepts that cannot be directly observed and any method used to estimate them can only grasp some of its empirical manifestations.⁶ We will briefly discuss the classifications done from the manifestos analysis, voters’ surveys, experts’ surveys and parliamentary behavior analyses.

The problem to use the programmatic documents is, according to Miguel (2008), the naive assumption that the political competition really corresponds to a dispute among different platforms. This is the approach of this article.

The problem of using the voters’ classification as indicator of the real party position pointed by Budge (2000; Budge, Volkens et al. 2001) is that the electoral perceptions regarding political parties should be taken as dependable variable which can or cannot coincide with the party’s tentative to define its own position. This approach is applied by Singer (2002).

The direct classification problem, that each interviewee should define his/her position on the left-right scale, is that each interviewee may have a different understanding of what is left and right and this can jeopardize the measuring validity.

The indirect analyses, which mobilize other categories to deduce the positioning on the scale, have at least two types of problems. The first one emerges when behavior (for instance, parliamentary voting) is adopted as ideological positioning indicator as done by Fernandes (1995) and Leoni (2002). Zucco Jr. (2009) points to the strategic content that affects behaviors in the legislative and shows that in multiparty presidential configurations, parliamentary action

⁶ An exhaustive discussion on all this methodological options and its substantive consequences can be found in Benoit, K. and M. Laver (2006). *Party policy in modern democracies*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, Routledge.

results not only from ideology, but also from the electoral calculation and government and parties relations in the legislative. Thus, the parliamentary behavior variable, by its strategic aspects, would not be a good measure for the ideological positioning concept. The second problem is how to determine which categories (behaviors, attitudes or opinions) are indicative of left and which are of right positioning. Power and Zucco (2011) face this problem to convert in ideological positioning the parliamentary answers to a series of questions about economy and politics.

The problem of adopting experts' judgments (academic or press), on its turn, is in the validity of the measures produced this way. According to Budge (2000), the problem would be in the uncertainty of which party aspect is evaluated by the experts. No matter how clearly the criteria are defined in the questionnaire, it would not be possible to determine what is considered by the experts at the evaluation moment. If, by any measure, the judgments are based in the party's behaviors or its members, these exact judgments, under the risk of producing circularity, can no longer, for instance, be used to explain the party's action in governments which also constitutes behavior.⁷

The Brazilian parties underwent to this approach in at least two researches: Wiesehomeier and Benoit (2007) applied questionnaires over the internet, between the end of 2006 and beginning of 2007, asking Brazilian analysts to classify the main parties in a 20 point scale where 1 corresponded to the left and 20 to the right. Later, in 2010, during the Political Science Brazilian Association (ABCP) meeting, the participants of the thematic areas of Elections and Representation and Political Institutions were invited to answer a questionnaire where the Brazilian political parties should be classified in a seven point scale, in which 1 represented extreme left and 7 the extreme right. The results are discussed in detail in Tarouco and Madeira (2012).

Let's see the results of these different approaches applied to the Brazilian parties. The following table 7 gathers some classifications present in the literature:

⁷ Mair (2001) compares some of the well known surveys that were done with experts in many countries and show how the resulting classifications do not coincide, suggesting validity and reliability problems in these measurements.

Table 7: Brazilian political parties' classifications

Author	Coppedge ⁸ (1997)	Power e Zucco (2011) ⁹	Mainwaring et al. (2000) ¹⁰	Wiesehomeier and Benoit (2007) ¹¹	Tarouco e Madeira (2012) ¹²	Tarouco and Madeira (2011) ¹³	Fernandes (1995) ¹⁴
Method	Other experts' evaluations compilation	Parliamentarians' Interviews	Congress Voting. + parliamentary surveys	Experts' Survey	Experts' Survey	Manifestos content analysis	Voting in the Constituent according to other authors
Party							
PSOL	--	1.6	-	2.95	1.4	-	-
PCB/PPS	SL	4.8	-	10.38	4.0	-	E
PCdoB	SL	2.6	-	4.96	2.3	-	E
PDC/PSDC	SCR	-	CD	-	-	-	-
PDS...PP	SR	7.6	D	16.78	6.0	-5.20	D
PDT	SCL	4.0	-	8.38	3.3	-12.00	E
PFL/DEM	SR	7.8	D	17.33	6.2	6.00	D
PJ/PRN/PTC	P	-	D	-	-	-	-
PL	SR	-	D	-	-	-	D
PR	-	6.9	-	-	-	-	-
PMDB	SC	5.9	-	11.50	4.2	-1.20	C
PMN	U	-	CD	-	-	-	E
PRONA	SR	-	D	-	-	-	D
PRP	U	-	-	-	-	-	D
PSB	SL	3.7	-	7.50	3.0	-	E
PSC	XC	-	CD	15.62	5.2	-	D
PSD	SR	-	D	-	-	-	D
PSDB	SCL	5.8	-	13.46	4.6	6.50	C
PSL	-	-	CD	-	-	-	-
PST	SCR	-	CD	-	-	-	-

⁸ XC = Christian Center Parties; SR = Secular Right Parties; SCR = Secular Center-Right Parties; SC = Secular Center Parties; SCL = Secular Center-Left Parties; SL = Secular Left Parties; P = Personalist Parties; O = Others; U = Unknown. E = Left; D = Right; C = Center.

⁹ Average calculated from available data. Scale of 1 (left) to 10 (right).

¹⁰ C = Center; D = Right; CD = Center-Right.

¹¹ Scale of 1 (left) to 20 (right).

¹² Scale of 1 (left) to 7 (right).

¹³ Scale of -100 (left) to +100 (right). Used the relative measurements of the most recent programmes.

¹⁴ C = Center; D = Right; E = Left.

PT	SL	3.6	-	6.37	2.9	-13.80	E
PTB	SCR	6.5	CD	13.60	5.0	-20.20	D
PTdoB	U	-	-	-	-	-	-
PTR/PP	SCR	-	CD	-	-	-	C
PV	O	4.5	-	7.36	3.5	-	E

The above table analysis is difficult due to the fact that different classifications do not all apply to the same parties, besides being based on different unit measurements. To compare the classifications, only the parties that appear in all of them were selected: PDS/.../PP, PDT, PFL/DEM, PMDB, PSDB, PT and PTB. The Mainwaring et al (2000) classification was excluded as it had only the so called conservative parties. The correlation test can be verified in the table 8 below:

Table 8: Spearman correlation among the 6 measurements of ideological positioning.

	Tarouco and Madeira (2012)	Tarouco and Madeira (2011)	Coppedge (1997) ¹⁵	Fernandes (1995) ¹⁶	Wiesehomeier and Benoit (2007)	Power and Zucco (2011)
Tarouco and Madeira (2012)	1.0 .					
Tarouco and Madeira (2011)	0.3571 (0.4316)	1.0 .				
Coppedge (1997)	0.9274 (0.0026)	0.1818 (0.6964)	1.0 .			
Fernandes (1995)	0.9449 (0.0013)	0.1323 (0.7774)	0.9238 (0.0030)	1.0 .		
Wiesehomeier and Benoit (2007)	1.0000 .	0.3571 (0.4316)	0.9274 (0.0026)	0.9449 (0.0013)	1.0	
Power and Zucco (2011)	0.9643 (0.0005)	0.2857 (0.5345)	0.9820 (0.0001)	0.9449 (0.0013)	0.9643 (0.0005)	1.0

(Significance in parentheses)

The correlation test shows that all measurements, except the programmatic content analysis (Tarouco and Madeira, 2011), are strongly related, that is, in different ways, they produce the same ordering among the parties¹⁷. On the other hand, the programmatic content analysis, as it is

¹⁵ Transformed into numeric ordinal scale, in which the SR was codified as 5, SCR as 4, SC as 3, SCL as 2 and SL as 1.

¹⁶ Transformed into numeric ordinal scale, in which D was codified as 3, C as 2 and E as 1.

¹⁷ The Spearman correlation coefficient varies from -1 to +1. The value zero indicates that two variables have no relation between them. The values -1 and +1 indicate the situation in which two variables are perfectly correlated. The positive sign indicates the direct relation, that is, the increase in the values of a variable follows the increase in the other; the negative signal indicates the opposite relation, that is, the values of a variable increase as the values of

not correlated with any other measurement, it seems to be expressing something different from the other ones. There are many possible explanations for this discrepancy. One of them is that the parties' programmatic documents do not contain sufficient indicators of its ideological position¹⁸, while the experts and politicians own evaluations are capturing the same concept: the party political position, its ideology, with or without mixed strategic behavior elements.

Anyway, the results bring the good news that, despite the alleged Brazilian parties' ideological inconsistency, its classification in the left-right dimension is recognized by the politicians themselves as well as by the analysts. This means that the current classifications are valid in its majority and can continue to be used in the studies that, still today, search for the party ideology effects over other variables.

Final considerations

From the above mentioned analyzed data, we can conclude that the Brazilian parties' positioning in the two-dimensional environment, starting from the programmatic documents content, does not directly coincide with the usual classifications. However, far from being random, such positioning has some consistency either with the context changes, either among different moments of the same parties, or among allied parties or historically connected.

This suggests that the manifestos texts contain information on the parties' preferences and about the identity that they want to project, that should not be ignored if we plan to understand the Brazilian Party system. What the parties say about themselves in their programmes allow them to be identified, if not in ideological terms, in terms of programmatic emphasis, and, thus, political preferences.

It is important to not lose sight that we are not analyzing parties' behaviors (which contain strategic aspects), but rather published preferences. The programmatic content that parties launch fulfills the role to expose to the public opinion (voters, opposition parties and the press) and to its own militants and affiliates (creation of new internal charts, for instance – party youth) the image that the parties aim to construct of themselves. On the other hand, the behavior, either on the parliamentary elections, or in the governments, is consequence of many other factors, especially of related questions to the government coalitions and to the opposing strategies. This point was emphasized by Zucco Jr. (2009) and it allows us to call attention to the fact that what we are creating here is a measurement of the parties' political preference variable, which can be deployed as explanatory of its behavior.

the other one decreases. The literature uses to consider moderate values from 0.4 to 0.7, and strong the correlations above 0.7.

¹⁸ This would be in accordance with the *saliency theory* hypothesis, discussed in Tarouco (2011), according to which, having reduced the competitive possibilities of ideological distinction, the parties would have started to focus on different public agenda issues, especializing in specific themes, in place of the typical ideological appeal.

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APPENDIX: Codification table adapted from BUDGE, Ian et al. (2001)

Categories of Domain 1: External Relations	
101	USA: positive ¹⁹
102	USA: negative
103	Anti-Imperialism
104	Military: positive
105	Military: negative
106	Peace
107	Internationalism: positive
109	Internationalism: negative
Categories of Domain 2: Freedom and Democracy	
201	Freedoms and Human Rights
202	Democracy
203	Constitutionalism: positive
204	Constitutionalism: negative
Categories of Domain 3: Political System	
301	Decentralisation
302	Centralisation
303	Governmental and Administrative Efficiency
304	Political Corruption
305	Political Authority
306	Institutions of the political system ²⁰
Categories of Domain 4: Economy	
401	Free Enterprise
402	Incentives
403	Market Regulation
404	Economic Planning

¹⁹ The original definition of categories 101 and 102 refers to a country with which the home country of the party whose manifesto is under analysis has special relations. The choice of the United States is an adaptation for the research about Brazil.

²⁰ This category is not present in the original classification, but was inserted to accommodate recurring references found in the manifestos of the parties studied.

405	Corporatism
406	Protetionism: positive
407	Protetionism: negative
408	Economic Goals
409	Keynesian Demand Management
410	Productivity
411	Technology and Infrastructure
412	Controlled Economy
413	Nationalisation
414	Economic Orthodoxy
415	Marxist Analysis
416	Anti-Growth Economy
Categories of Domain 5: Welfare and Quality of Life	
501	Environmental Protection
502	Culture
503	Social Justice
504	Welfare Expansion
505	Welfare Limitation
506	Education Expansion
507	Education Limitation
Categories of Domain 6: Fabric of Society	
601	National Way of Life: positive
602	National Way of Life: negative
603	Traditional Morality: positive
604	Traditional Morality: negative
605	Law and Order
606	Social Harmony
607	Multiculturalism: positive
608	Multiculturalism: negative
Categories of Domain 7: Social Groups	
701	Labour Groups: positive
702	Labour Groups: negative

703	Agriculture and Farmers
704	Middle Class and Professional Groups
705	Underprivileged Minority Groups
706	Non-economic Demographic Groups

Domain 000²¹: Outlying subject (Sentences that do not fit into any of the previous categories. Description of the current setting, historical narratives, internal party matters, sentences with very vague content, statistical data.)

²¹ This category is not present in the original classification, but was inserted to accommodate references to the parties themselves found in all the manifestos of the parties studied, among other issues.