



RESEARCH PROJECT

POLITICIANS FOR SALE



Brasil: EIGHTH MOST UNEQUAL COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

In 2022, Fabiano Zettel, a lawyer and partner in the law firm Magalhães e Zettel, donated 5 million reais to the election campaigns of Jair Bolsonaro and Tarcísio de Freitas. The lawyer, who works in the real estate and financial sectors, made a huge financial contribution to candidacies that might not even come to fruition, an action that begs the question: what is the return on investment that compensates for this risk?

According to Bruno Carazza, who holds a master's degree in economics from UnB and a doctorate in law from UFMG, in an interview with UM BRASIL: “Large national companies have begun to identify that it is cheaper to invest in the campaign of a politician or a party than in their production processes and offer better, more technologically developed products.” JBS, which became known during the “Car Wash” investigation, was a clear example of the return on investment in politics, since in 2014 it was one of the biggest investors in electoral campaigns, investing a total of 50 million reais, the same company that in the previous years, 2012 and 2013, had sucked up 12.3 billion reais from the BNDES.

Companies “invest” in candidates in order to get a return on these investments, a return that is realized through the release of public funds to these institutions. The financial contributions are intended to fund stratospheric electoral campaigns aimed at influencing voters' votes through the mass media for candidates who are aligned with the company's interests. The media are seen

by society as the holders of the truth (and not its representation). The power conferred on them makes them capable of creating passing symbols and momentary heroes who aim to sustain the economic and cultural environment in which they are inserted. Through images, the media dictates right and wrong, good and evil, as well as who should or should not occupy positions of power in politics, giving candidates symbols that lead to voter decision-making.

As a result, we get politicians who do not reflect the diversity of Brazilian society and its respective demands, since those with greater investment receive more votes because they reach more voters in the media. The lack of representation in politics has an impact on society in general, making social inequality an alarming issue in Brazil. According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), based on 2018 data, Brazil was the eighth most unequal country in the world, and the first outside the African continent. In the same country where 33 million people go hungry, we have almost 300 billionaires enjoying lives of extreme luxury.

This scenario can be seen in the profile of the elected candidates:



Average declared income
per elected candidate

R\$ 6,7 MILLIONS

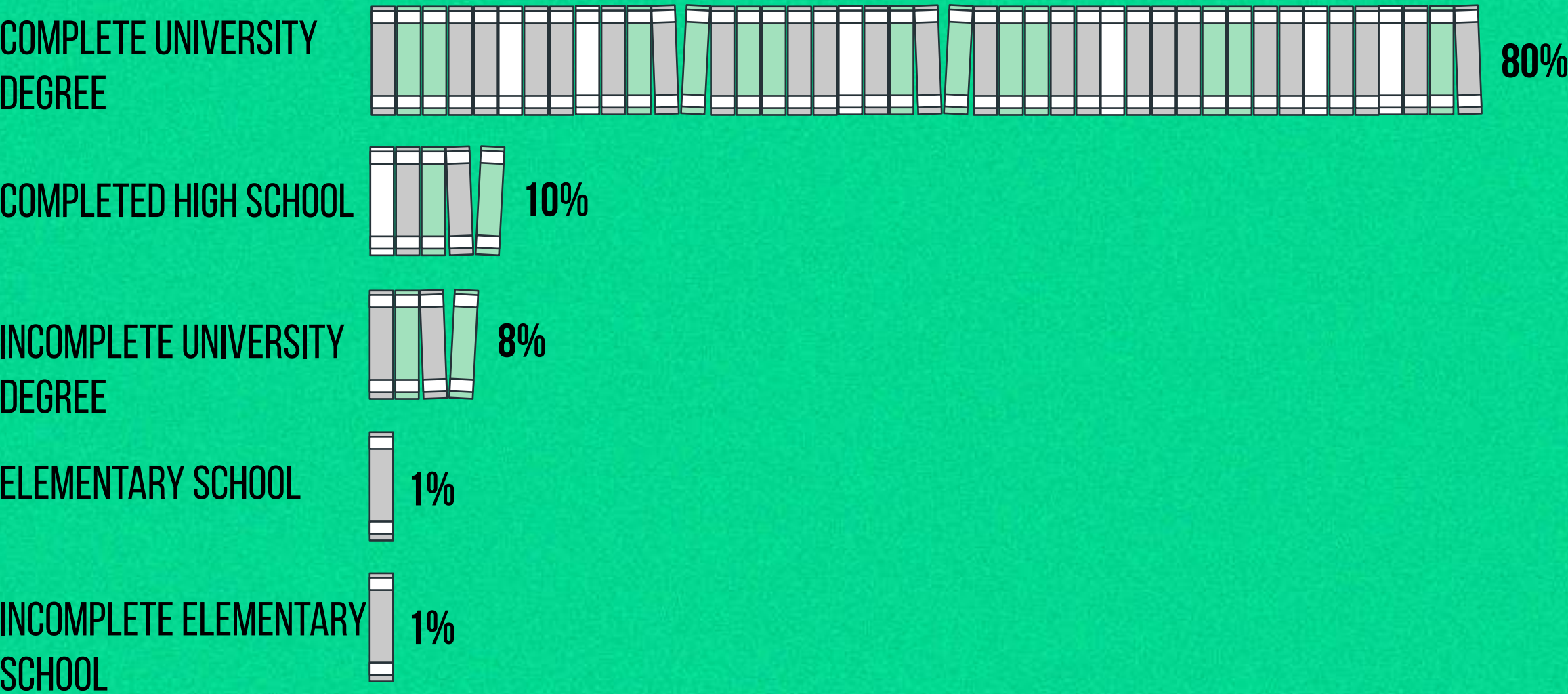


Average age
of elected candidates

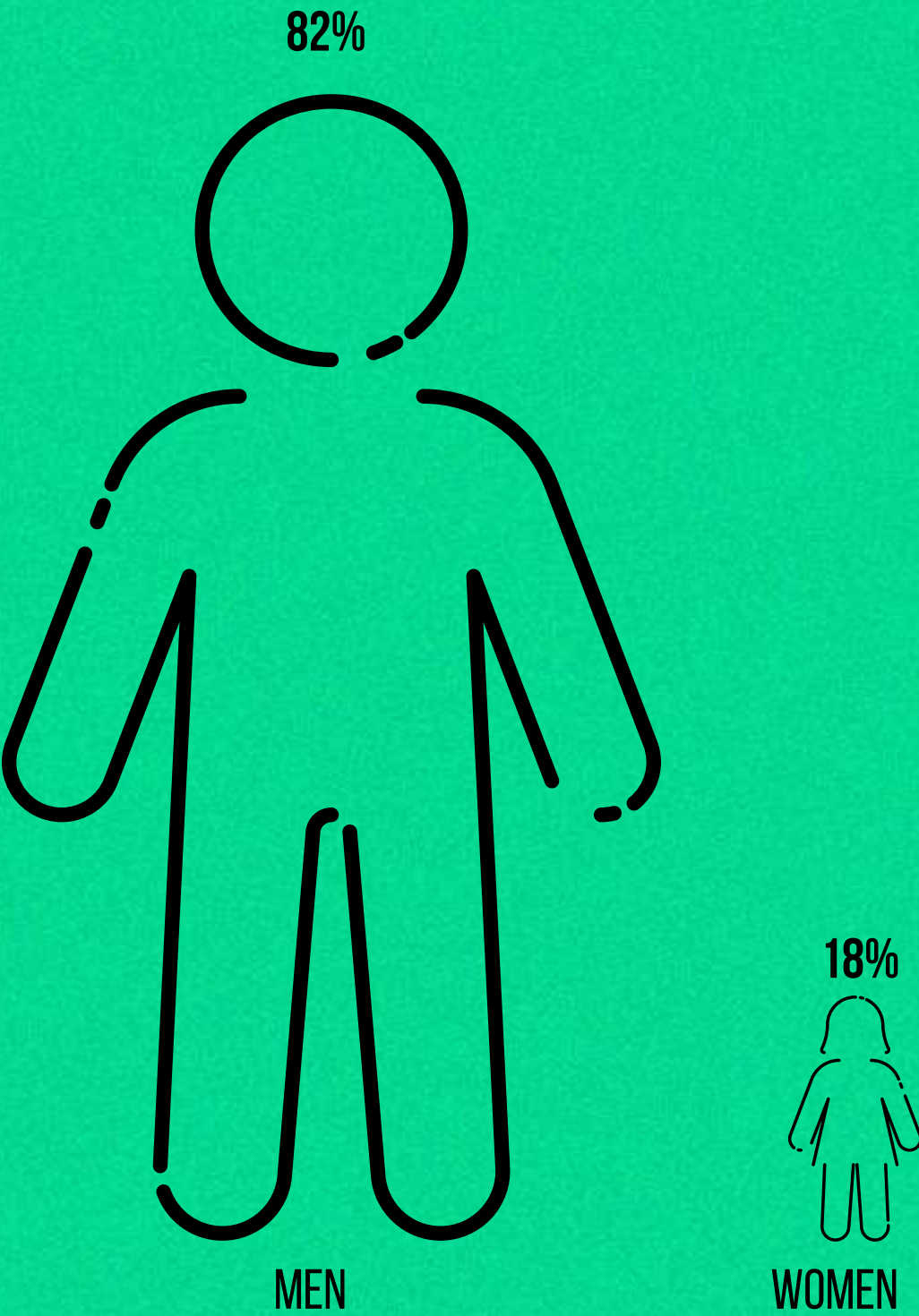
49 YEARS



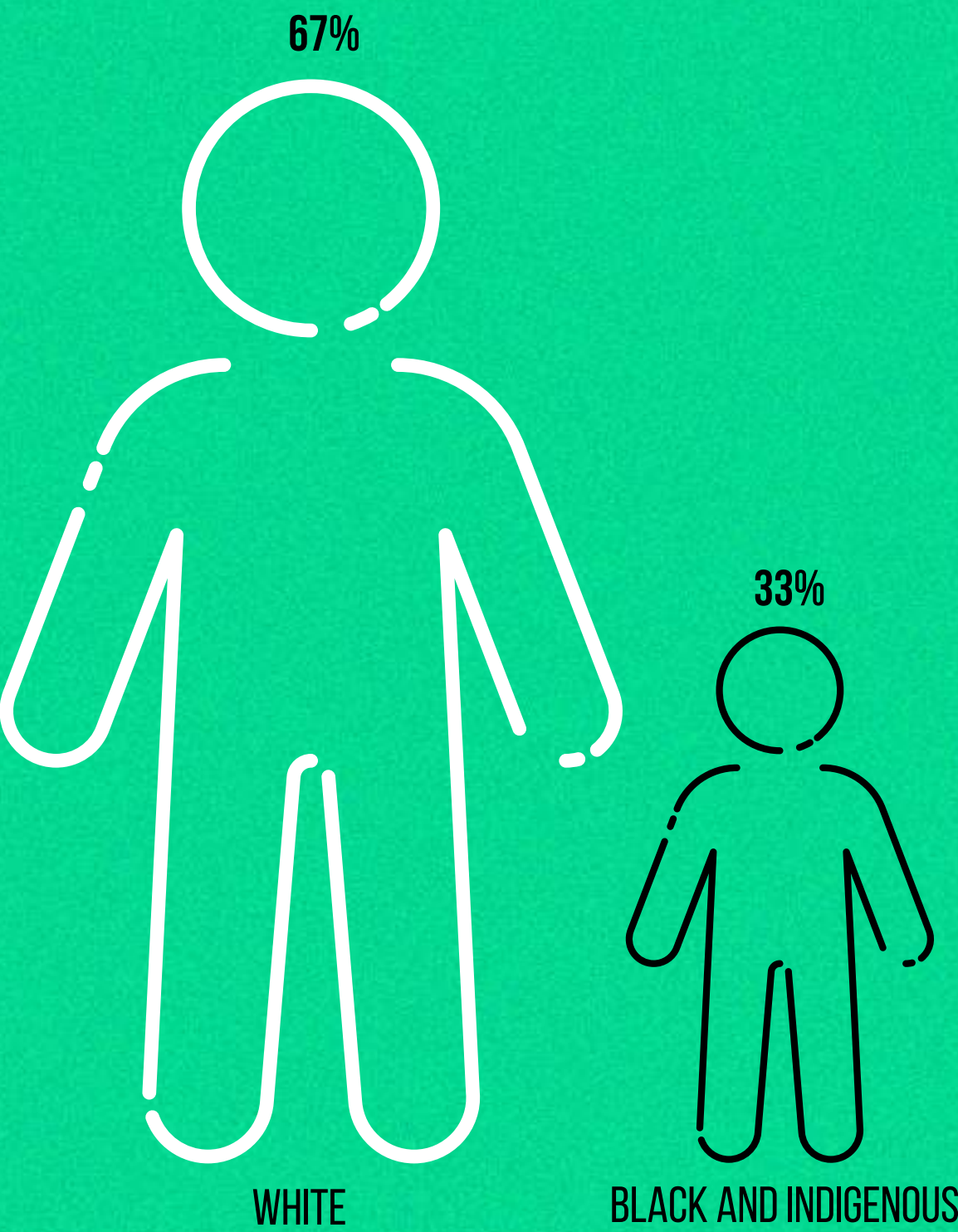
Percentage of elected candidates
by education



Percentage of elected candidates
by gender



Percentage of elected candidates
by race



Resources

ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

Electoral propaganda can be defined as a set of techniques for spreading and disseminating ideas, both informative and persuasive, the aim of which is to influence public opinion. Electoral advertising turns politicians into institutions and, just as in the marketing world, where millions are invested in advertising to reach more customers and sell their products, the availability of resources also influences the number of votes for each candidate.

These resources are acquired through three types of financing:

PRIVATE FINANCING

In this case, we have funds obtained through donations from individuals, who can donate a maximum of 10% of their gross income in the year prior to the election. In addition, they can donate or lend personal assets that can be estimated in cash. In addition, “virtual kitchens” or crowdfunding are allowed, where several individuals can donate money to fund political campaigns.

PUBLIC FINANCING

The Special Campaign Financing Fund is made up of federal budget appropriations, which are distributed to political parties as follows:

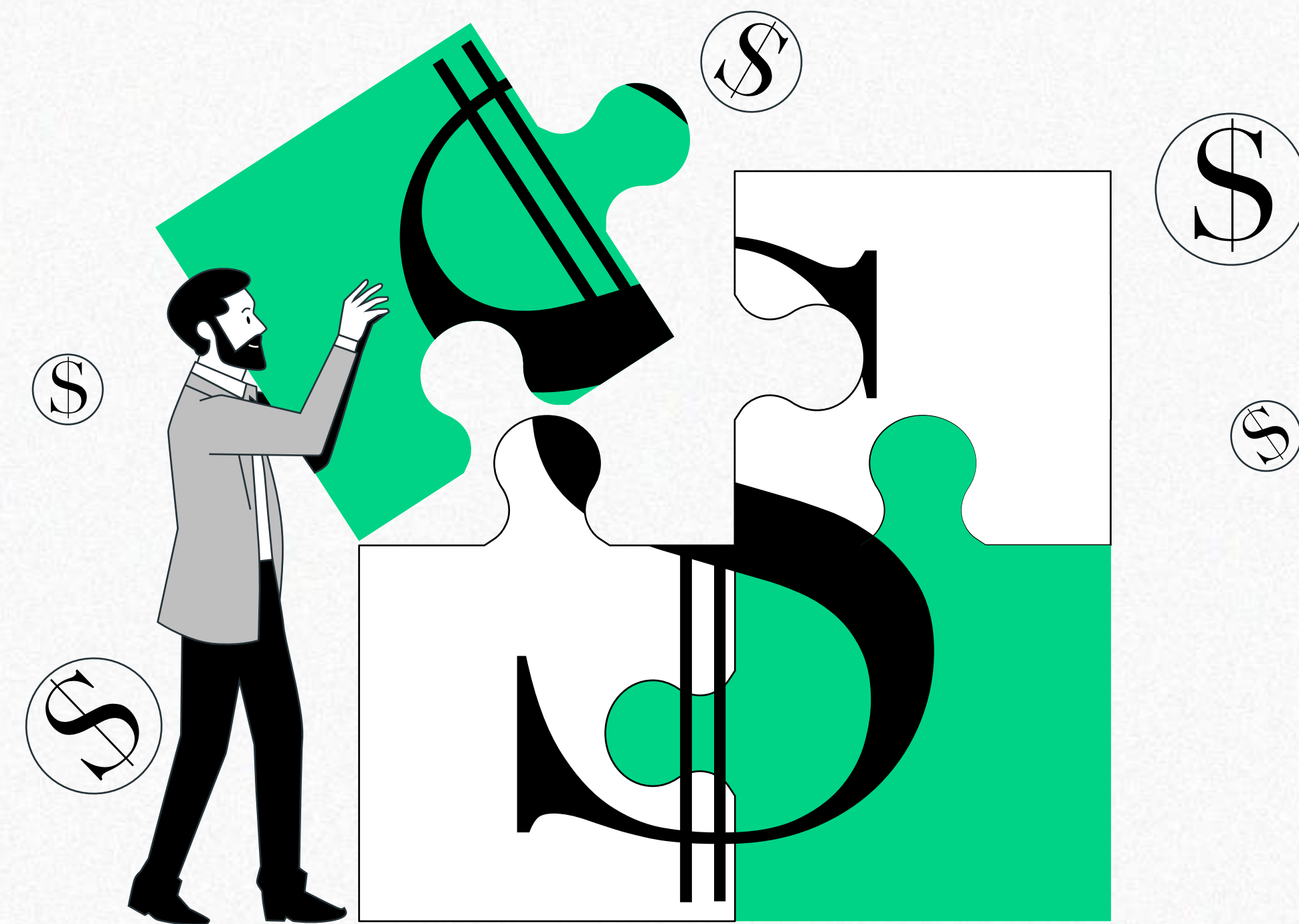
- 2% (two percent), divided equally among all parties with statutes registered with the TSE;

- 35% (thirty-five percent), divided between the parties that have at least one representative in the Chamber of Deputies, in proportion to the percentage of votes they obtained in the last general election for the Chamber of Deputies;
- 48% (forty-eight percent), divided between the parties, in proportion to the number of representatives in the Chamber of Deputies, considering the legends of the incumbents; and
- 15% (fifteen percent), divided between the parties, in proportion to the number of representatives in the Federal Senate, considering the legends of the incumbents.

No donations from:

- Legal entities;
- Foreign entity or government;
- Direct or indirect public administration body;
- Company that has a concession to carry out a public service;
- Class or trade union entity;
- Non-profit legal entity that receives funds from abroad;
- Charitable and religious organizations;
- Sports organizations.

Source: Politize



Minorities

INEQUALITY OF REPRESENTATION

Slavery and colonial despoliation that gave the right to vote to a select group of people are some of the characteristics of our history that reflect the social inequalities found today. Minorities such as black men and women are the majority at the bottom of the Brazilian social pyramid and continue to be the most disadvantaged in this context.

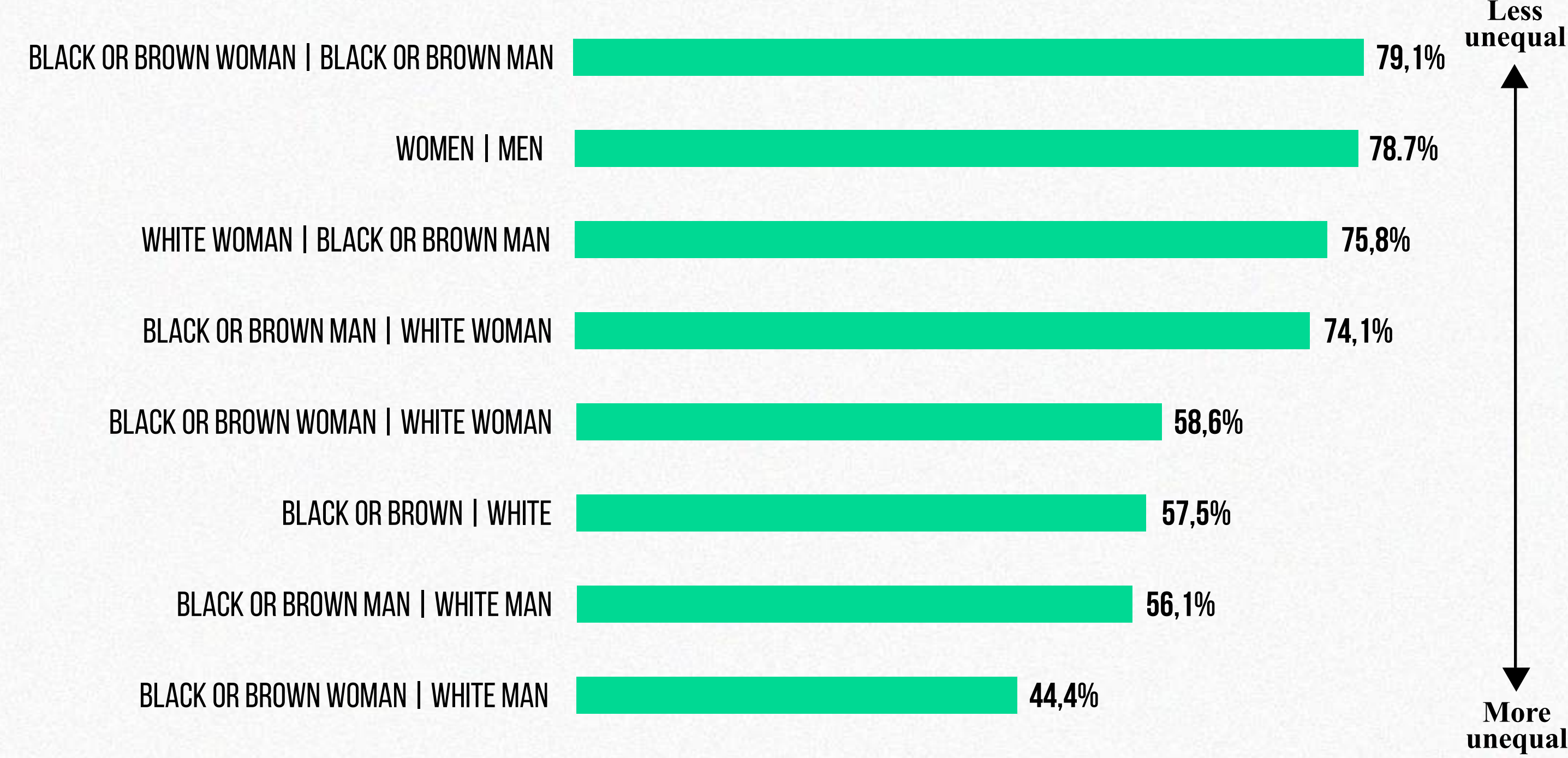
The impact of inequality is not restricted to politics, but also affects the economy as decision-making elites continue to fail to reflect the demands of the diversity of those they represent. Thus, for our democracy to be effective, there needs to be a standard of equality between citizens, so that groups with greater access to resources and information do not exert disproportionate influence over those in positions of government.

The 2018 World Inequalities Report by the World Inequality Lab proves that Brazil is one of the most unequal countries in the world. The following points were highlighted by BBC Brasil:

- The richest 10% in Brazil earn almost 59% of the total national income;
- The poorest 50% earn 29 times less than the richest 10%;
- The poorest half in Brazil own less than 1% of the country's wealth;
- The richest 1% own almost half of Brazil's wealth.
- Those most affected in this scenario are black or brown people, specifically black women. The IBGE

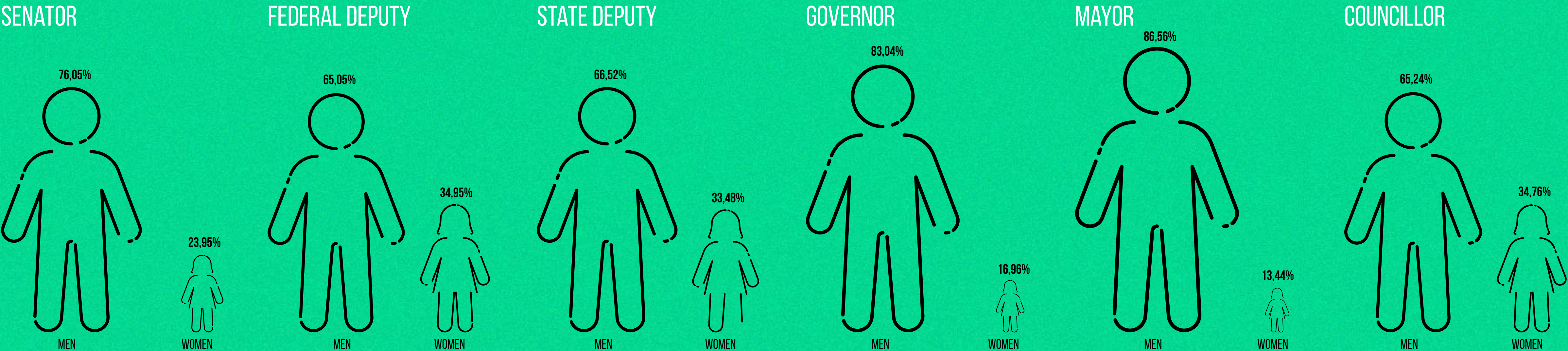
survey carried out in 2018 portrays this scenario:

Percentage of income of employed people



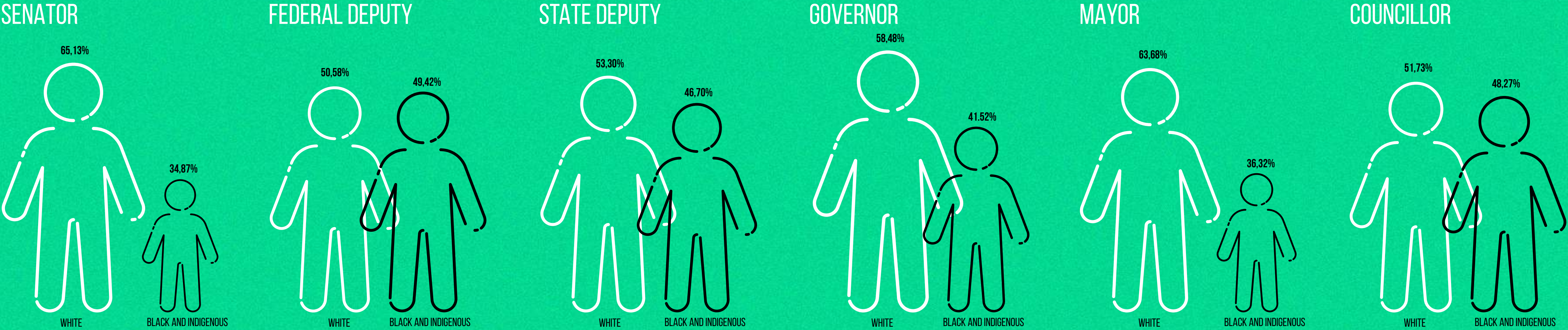
Representation by gender

CANDIDATES

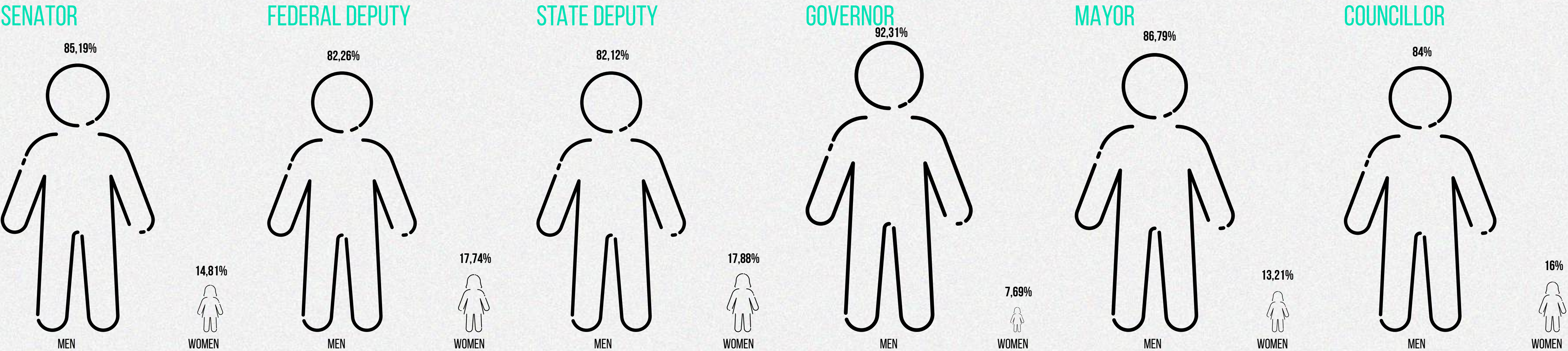


Representation by race

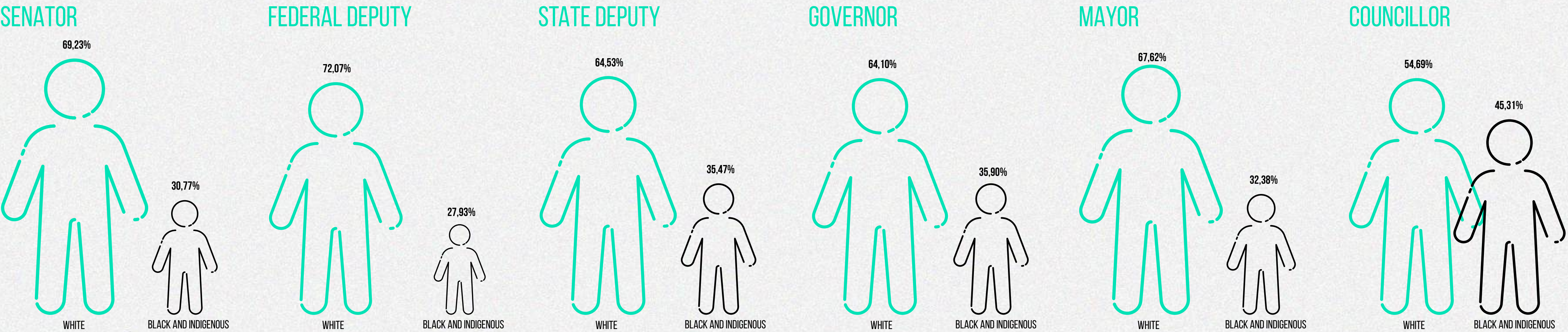
CANDIDATES



Representation by gender ELECTED



Representation by race
ELECTED

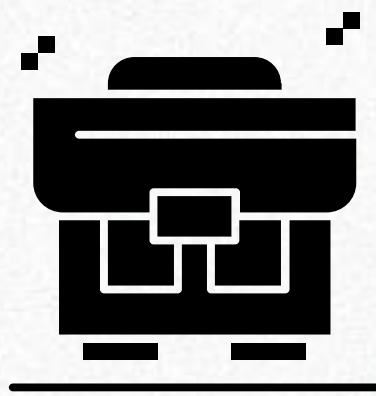


Political Campaigns DONATION INEQUALITY

Today's media is capable of transforming cultures, creating concepts and values, selling products and also electing candidates. Realizing this problem, the Federal Supreme Court carried out the “Electoral Mini-Reform” in which it established a ban on donations by legal entities and for individuals, a ceiling of 10% of gross annual income. However, these measures have not solved the problem, as businesspeople are now donating as individuals and the media continues to convert votes.

R\$ 1.542,60

AVERAGE DONATION PER INDIVIDUAL



R\$ 5.242.133.075,00
PUBLIC RESOURCES

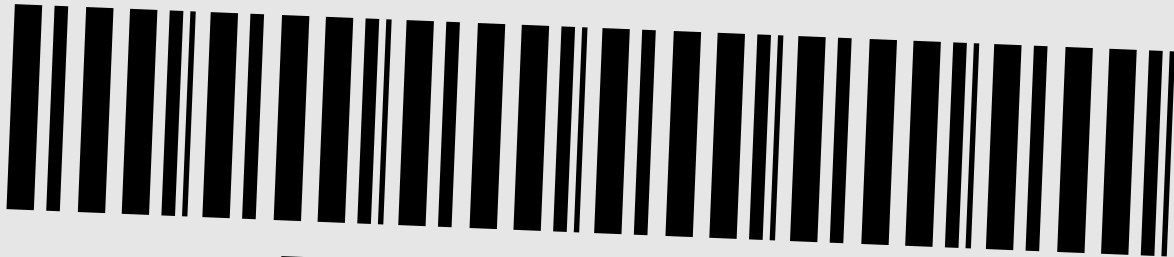
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R\$ 796.664.166,80
PRIVATE RESOURCES



DONATIONS BY SOURCE

SOURCE	QUANTITY	TOTAL
POLITICAL PARTY RESOURCES	92445	R\$ 5.242.900.590,00
RESOURCES FROM INDIVIDUALS	519377	R\$ 801.793.845,00
OWN RESOURCES	17772	R\$ 189.296.053,70
OTHER CANDIDATES' FUNDS	24355	R\$ 189.027.817,60
CROWDFUNDING RESOURCES	3525	R\$ 19.862.149,48
INCOME FROM FINANCIAL INVESTMENTS	523	R\$ 941.842,53
FUNDS FROM UNIDENTIFIED SOURCES	396	R\$ 343.838,12
INTERNET DONATIONS	163	R\$ 73.330,18
SALE OF GOODS WITH OR	138	R\$ 39.365,00
SALE OF GOODS WITH FEFC	4	R\$ 1.887,90



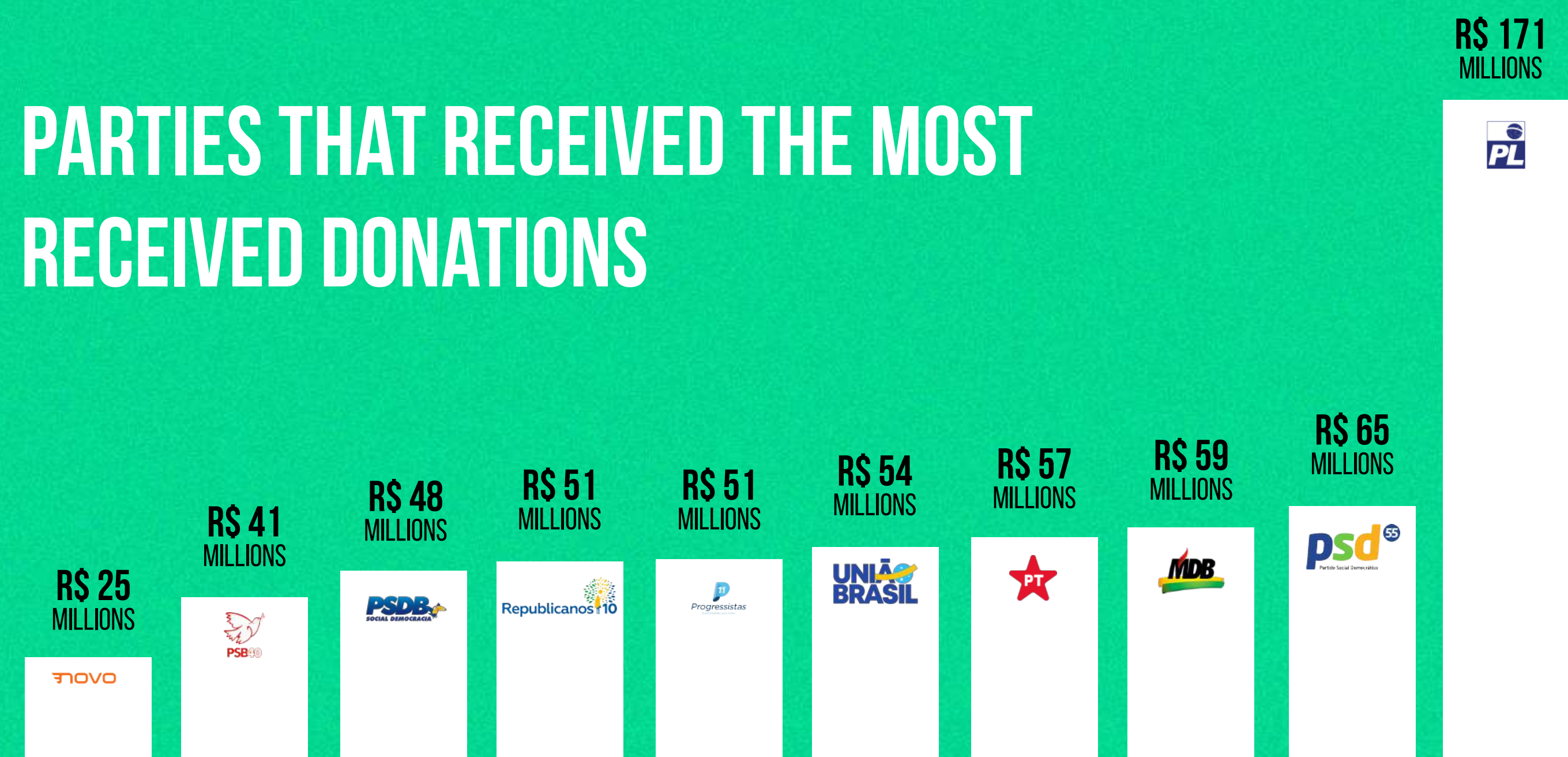
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Donations

WHO DID IT COME FROM? WHO ARE YOU GOING TO?

Among the donors totaling more than 796 million reais, the main ones are pastors, lawyers, businessmen from the footwear, automotive, livestock and health sectors. Thus, considering this audience, we can see that the policy implemented is not effective, since the proportional amount for them results in an exorbitant disparity in investments for the candidates they support in relation to the other candidates.

PARTIES THAT RECEIVED THE MOST RECEIVED DONATIONS



13,66%
OF CANDIDATES
RECEIVED
80%
OF INVESTMENTS

In donations, 13.66% of the candidates received 80% of their investments from individuals, with Jair Bolsonaro alone accounting for 11% of these investments, followed by Tarcísio Gomes de Freitas and Roberto Argenta.

	FABIANO CAMPOS ZETTEL 1st PLACE R\$ 5.000.000,00
	JOSE SALIM MATTAR JUNIOR 2nd PLACE R\$ 4.901.200,00
	PEDRO GRENDENE BARTELLE 3rd PLACE R\$ 4.730.000,00
	ALEXANDRE GRENDENE BARTELLE 4th PLACE R\$ 4.040.000,00
	ORLANDO VITORIO BAGATTOLI 5th PLACE R\$ 2.891.292,70
	PEDRO DE GODOY BUENO 6th PLACE R\$ 2.725.000,00
	HEITOR VANDERLEI LINDEN 7th PLACE R\$ 2.600.000,00
	LUIS ALBERTO SALDANHA NICOLAU 8th PLACE R\$ 2.155.100,00
	OTTO MEDEIROS DE AZEVEDO JUNIOR 9th PLACE R\$ 2.000.000,00
	MARCOS ERMIRIO DE MORAES 10th PLACE R\$ 1.920.000,00

Donations

WHO'S OUT OF THE GAME?

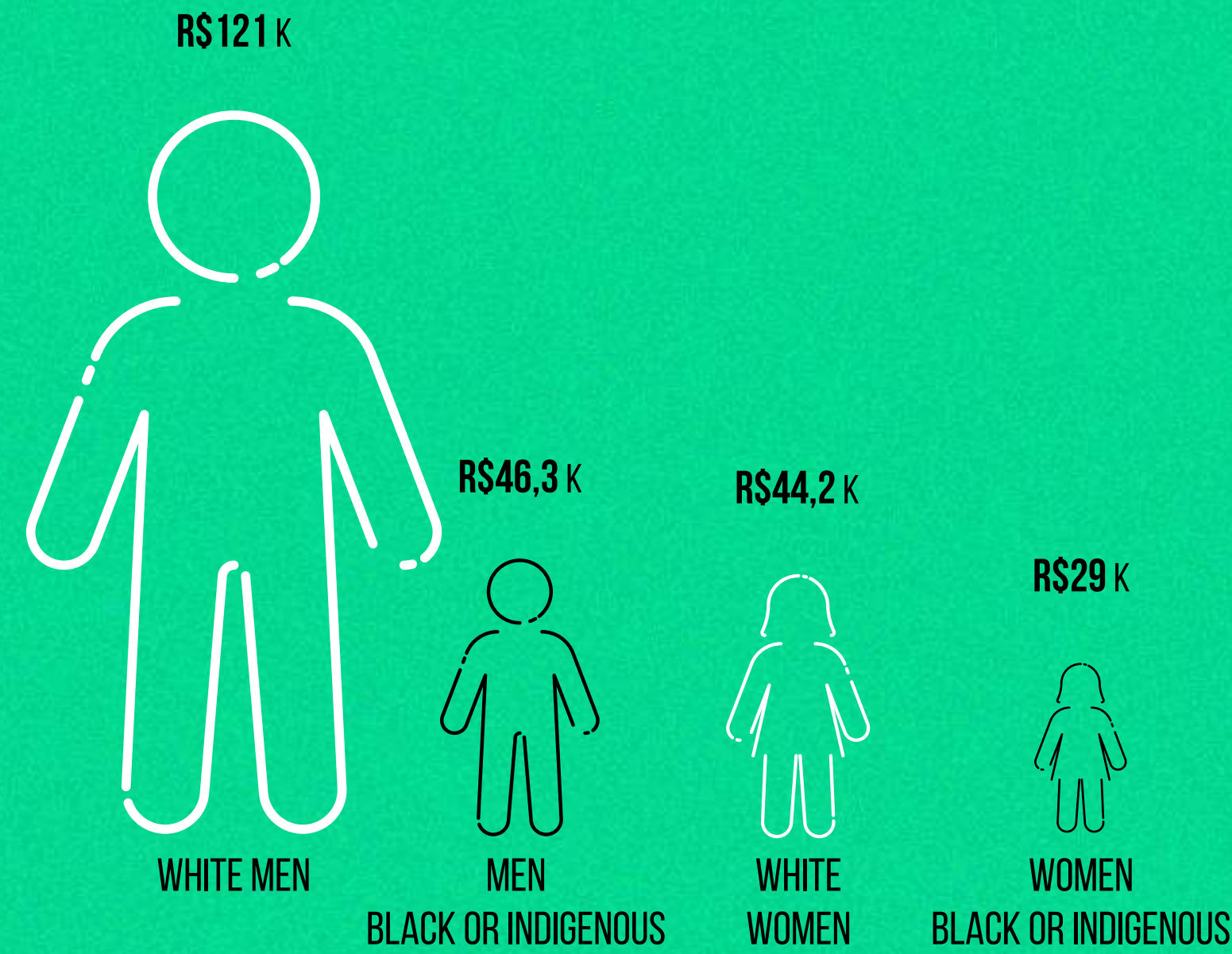
Black women face disadvantages in the electoral race compared to white men, black men and white women. This is due to economic inequalities and persistent gender and racial prejudices.

R\$

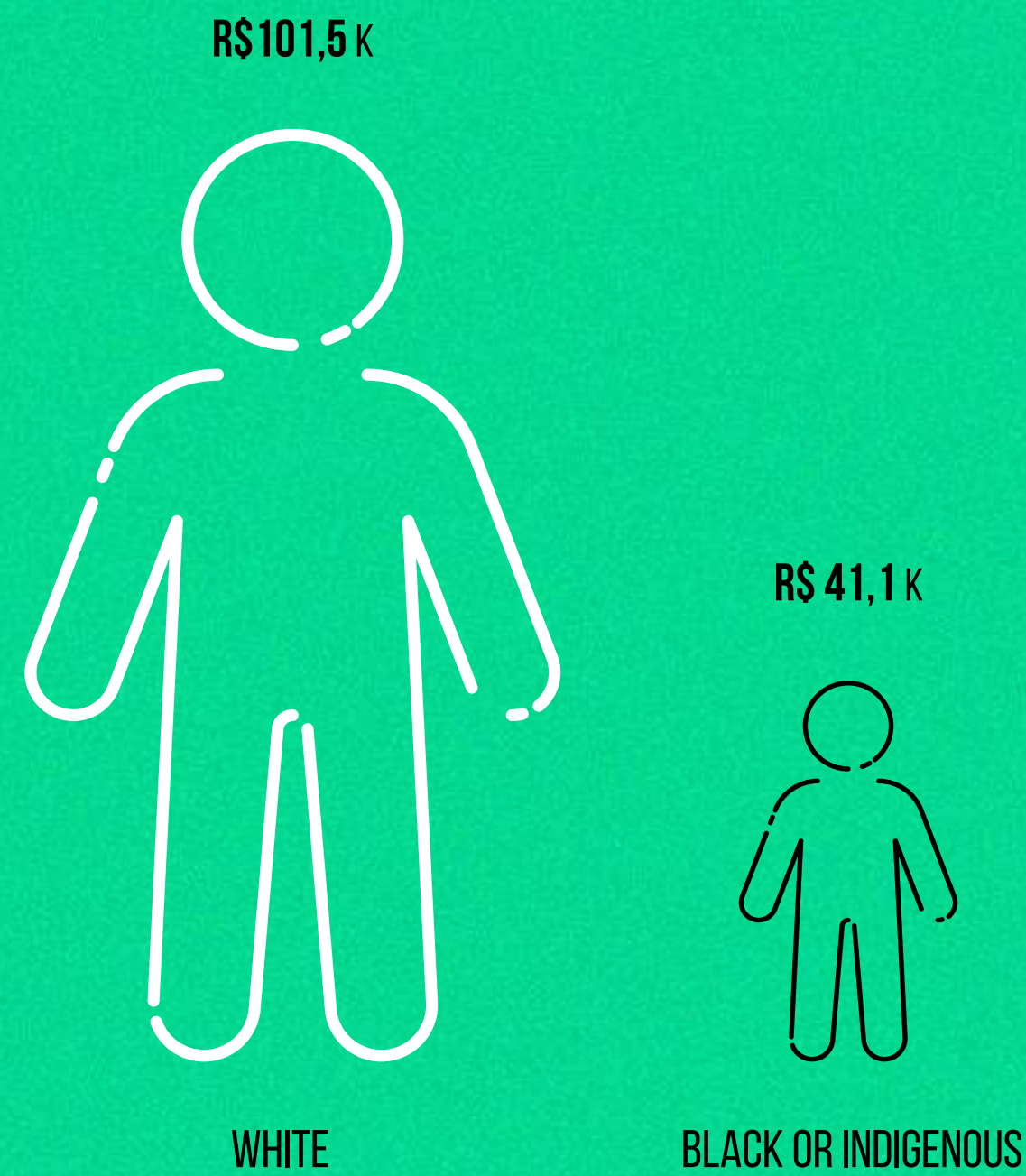
76,133,81

AVERAGE INVESTMENT PER CANDIDATE

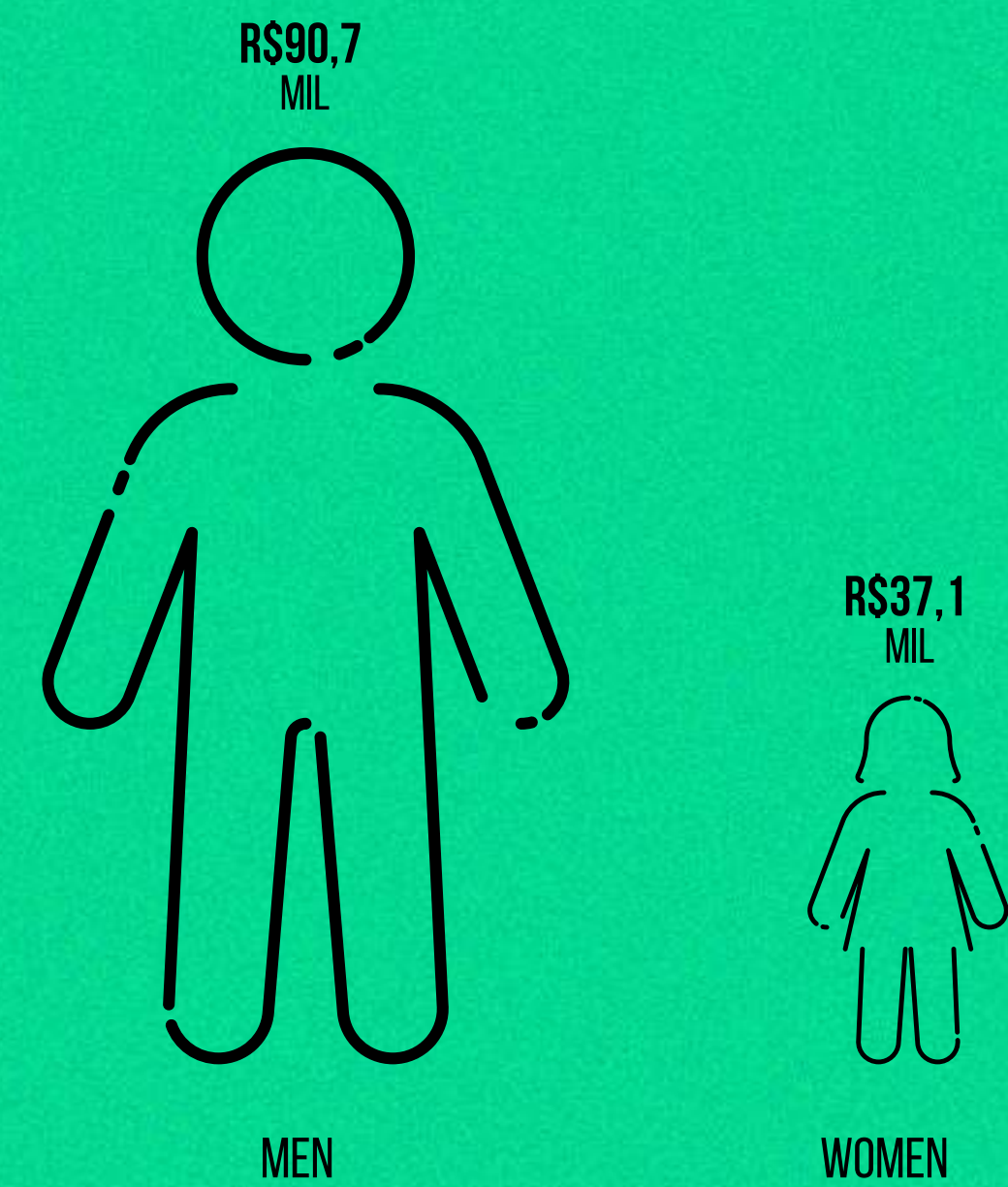
AVERAGE INVESTMENT VALUE PER CATEGORY



AVERAGE INVESTMENT VALUE PER RACE



AVERAGE INVESTMENT VALUE BY GENDER

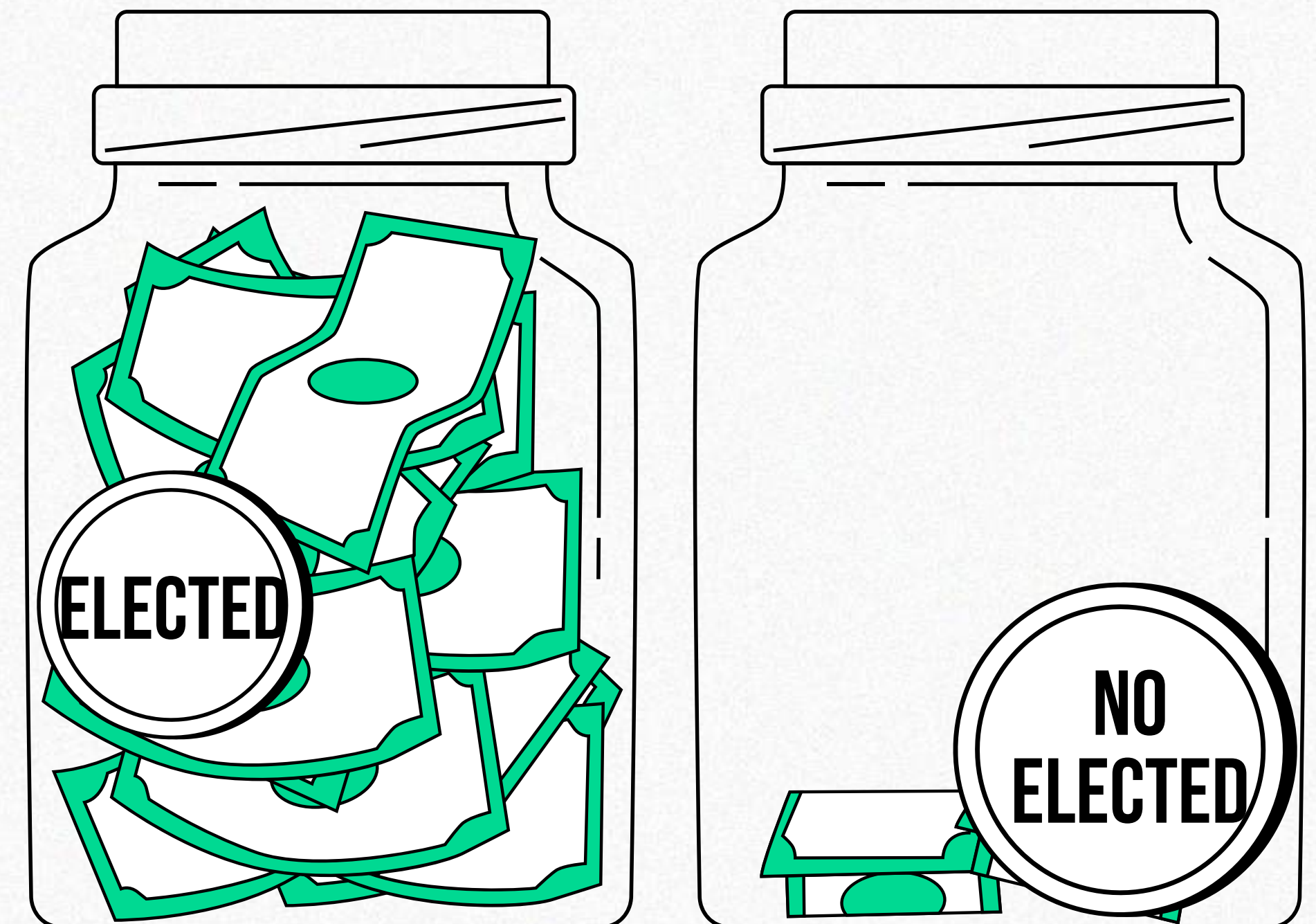


Elections

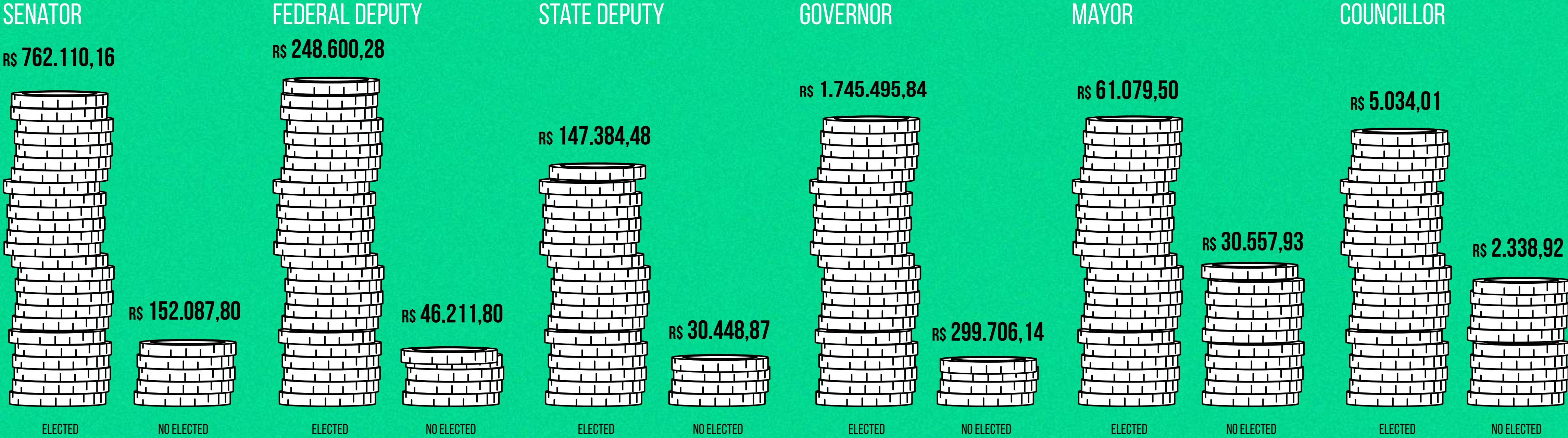
IS POWER IN THE HANDS OF THE PEOPLE OR THE COMPANIES?

Today's media is capable of transforming cultures, creating concepts and values, selling products and also electing candidates. Realizing this problem, the Federal Supreme Court carried out the “Electoral Mini-Reform” in which it established a ban on donations by legal entities and for individuals, a ceiling of 10% of gross annual income. However, these measures have not solved the problem, as businesspeople are now donating as individuals and the media continues to convert votes.

THE AMOUNT INVESTED BY
CANDIDATES WHO WERE ELECTED IS
6X BIGGER
THAN THOSE WHO DID NOT
MAKE THEIR ELECTION



Average of investments ELECTIONS PER CATEGORY



Impact on results

HOW DOES THE MEDIA WORK IN ELECTION CAMPAIGNS?

Media can be understood as the vehicle, space or channel in which a message is transmitted, and we can have Offline, Digital, OOH, Organic and Paid media. In order to understand the impact of investments in electoral campaigns, we will work with paid media.

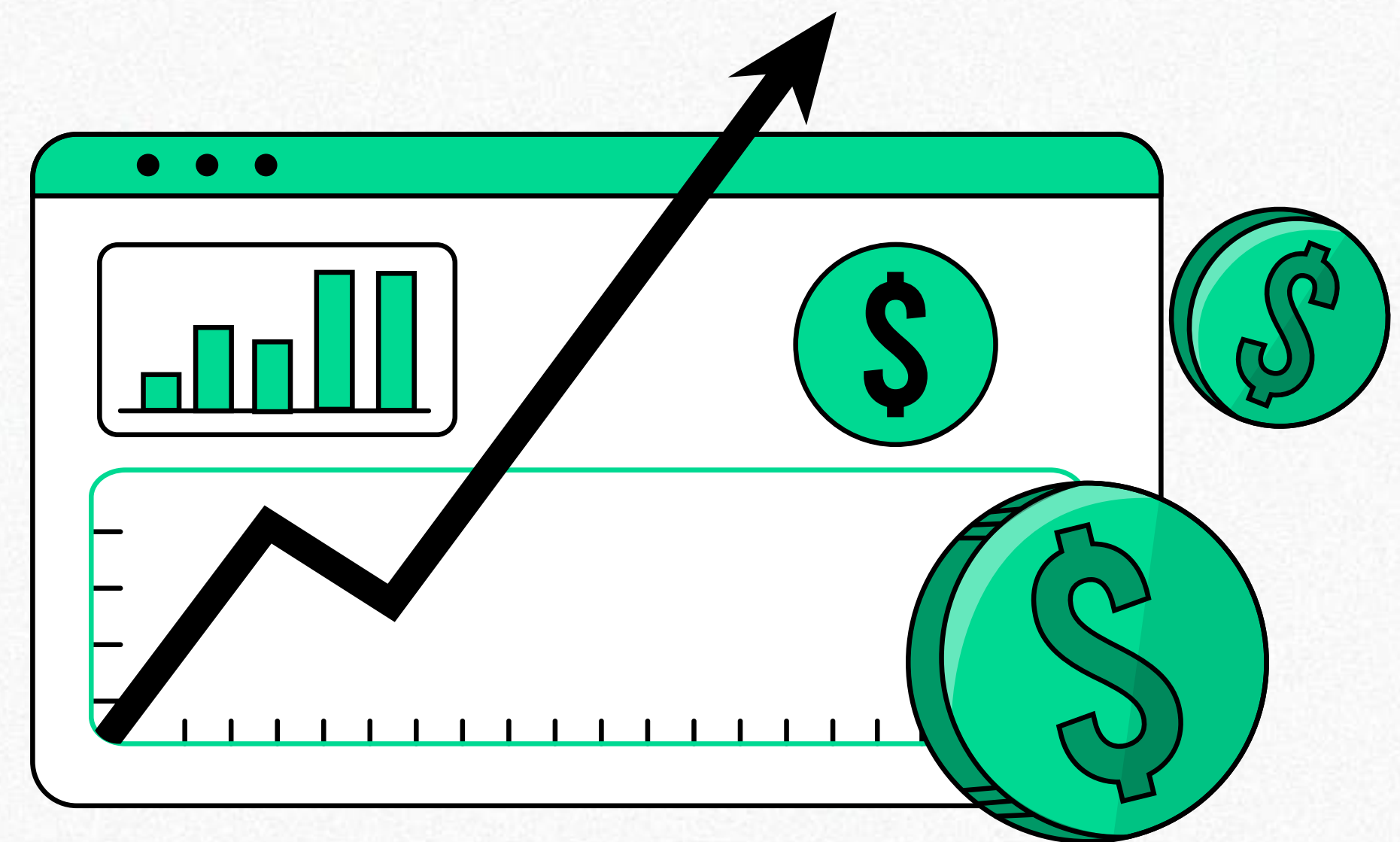
The following media are allowed for an election campaign:

- Magazine;
- Newspaper;
- Reproduction of content on the vehicle's website;
- Radio and TV
- News programs;
- Debates and interviews;
- Free electoral advertising;
- Internet
- Political debates, messages of support or criticism of a party or candidate;
- Electoral propaganda on the website of a candidate, party or coalition;
- Sending electronic messages to people who have registered free of charge and voluntarily;
- Electoral propaganda on blogs, social networks and instant messaging applications;
- Content boosting carried out in the application itself by the candidate, party or coalition;
- New content on blogs, websites and social networks.

Remember that all paid media is allowed until two days before the first round. **The 2015 Electoral**

Mini-Reform shortened campaign time from 90 to 45 days on the streets, and from 45 to 35 days on radio and TV. The reason for the change was to reduce the costs of electoral campaigns, but this favors those with greater economic power, as they get a greater impact on their investment.

While in marketing campaigns the success factors are the KPIs - Key Performance Indicators - which include ROI, Average Ticket, Conversion Rate, Leads per Channel, Cost per Lead, when we think of an election campaign the **main KPI is the number of votes**. To take election campaigns as an analysis tool applied to a marketing campaign, we can apply the Cost per Conversion KPI to the following case.



#SIMONE TEBET VS EYMAEL



SIMONE TEBET

Her father, Ramez Tebet, was mayor of Três Lagoas, state deputy, vice-governor and governor of MS, senator, minister of National Integration and president of the Senate, always for the MDB.

The candidate was a PMDB state deputy, mayor of Três Lagoas, vice-governor of MS and senator. She is running for the Presidency of the Republic for the first time for the MDB in 2022. The senator has received the support of several businessmen, and is considered the third way in the polarization between Bolsonaro and Lula.

RESULTS

4.915.423 total votes received.

R\$ 49.252.236,00 invested in media.

R\$10,02 (0,00002%) cost per conversion (vote).



EYMAEL

A lawyer, businessman and politician, Eymael founded the Christian Democracy party. In his political career, he ran for several offices and was elected in 1986 as a federal deputy, where he served until 1995. Despite his jingle created in 1985, which is still well known today, he ran for president of Brazil six times: 1998, 2006, 2010, 2014, 2018 and 2022, without success. In 2010, he won the most votes with 89,350 (0.09% of the valid votes at the time).

RESULTS

16.604 total votes received.

R\$78.921,60 invested in media.

R\$4,76 (0,006%) cost per conversion (vote).

We can see that even when spending double the amount per vote, Simone Tebet still has a much lower percentage of cost per vote over the total invested than Eymael. Several factors influence the number of votes for Simone, such as the support of politicians, parties and influential people in society. The candidate, who on **July 25 was polling at 2%, came in at 5% in the latest poll released on October 1**, and ultimately won 4.2% of the votes for president of Brazil.

As the “Image Algorithm” channel pointed out, Simone has the “**Inheritance that Matters**”, in which, because she comes from a wealthy **family with a strong presence in politics and contacts** with influential people, she is favored over other candidates such as Eymael, who without significant support and a relevant background in politics, **ran for several executive positions without success**.

The support of several businessmen, **who made her one of the candidates who received the most donations for her election campaign**, made her gain notoriety in her first run for the presidency of Brazil through an expressive campaign in mass media such as TV, internet, radio and print. However, we must not fail to question the motivation for such investments.

The name itself hints at its meaning - “**investments**”. The dictionary translates the word as “**application of resources, time, effort, etc. in order to obtain something**”. In the case of politics, this “something” can be

seen as favoritism in the provision of public resources through corrupt bidding processes, project approvals, among others.

The articulation of the Brazilian elite so that the ruling class, characterized mostly by white people, from four hundred families, owners of Brazilian estates, **remain in power is present in all areas of our society, especially in politics**. This data seeks precisely to analyze the way in which politics is being conducted and to question it:



democracy exists if the result
of the elections is about how much
each candidate can afford?

RESEARCH PROJECT POLITICIANS FOR SALE

Sources

UNDP. 2020. Human Development Report 2020 — The next frontier: Human development and the Anthropocene. Disponível em <https://bit.ly/3pR6IZp>. Acessado em 29 de julho de 2021 - APUD - file:///G:/Meu%20Drive/An%C3%A1lise%20de%20Dados/Projetos/Monarquia%20Brasileira/relatorio_democracia_inacabada_vs07.pdf

Folha São Paulo - Quantas pessoas passam fome no Brasil?

O Globo - Brasil tem quase 300 bilionários, veja se eles ficam no seu estado.

Toda Matéria - Sistemas econômicos

Portal Intercom - Por um conceito de Propaganda e Publicidade: divergências e convergências

TSE - Propaganda político eleitoral

Nexo - A estrutura política no Brasil se confunde com genealogias e famílias

Politize - Financiamento de campanha eleitoral - como funciona?

MPF - Sabe o que é e como funciona o fundo especial de financiamento de campanha?

MPF - Você sabe como funciona a vaquinha virtual nas eleições?

Politize - Fundo especial de financiamento de campanha.

Rock Content - O que é mídia?

TRE - Confira o que pode e não pode na propaganda eleitoral.

Globo - Somone Tebet recebe apoio de grupo de economistas e empresarios para pacificar o país

CNN Brasil - DC Oficializa José Maria Eymael como candidato a presidência nesta terça

InfoMoney - Simone Tebet

YouTube - A Herança que Importa

InfoMoney - JBS doa R\$50 milhões para campanhas; outras 15 empresas da bolsa investem nas eleições