**Clientelism and Local Politics: Interactions between Councilors and Voters in the State of Minas Gerais**

**Methodological Notes**

**Version 6, December 2018.**

This document gathers additional information on the sample of municipalities and councilors, their similarities and differences in relation to municipalities and elected councilors in the state of Minas Gerais and in Brazil; information on the fieldwork and the full version (in Portuguese) of the questionnaire used in the survey.

## About the sample

The survey was carried out with 422 councilors from forty-four municipalities of all ten planning regions of Minas Gerais. For the selection of municipalities we use two stratification criteria: number of inhabitants / size of the municipality and level of poverty. Municipalities were selected in three size ranges: with up to 20 thousand inhabitants (small), more than 20 thousand up to 100 thousand inhabitants (medium) and with more than 100 thousand inhabitants (large). And in three poverty ranges: municipalities with up to 20% of poor (wealthy); municipalities with more than 20% to 40% of the poor (median poverty); and municipalities with more than 40% of poor (poor). The "poverty" variable was operationalized from the Human Development Atlas "low income population ratio" which corresponds to the proportion of individuals with per capita household income equal to or less than 140.00 per month in Reais in August 2010 (the universe of individuals is limited to those living in permanent private households).

Our sample is not representative of the whole set of Minas Gerais' councilors; therefore our conclusions cannot be generalized to all municipalities and councilors. However, we can say that there are many similarities between the sample and the state of Minas Gerais regarding the municipalities and to the councilors elected in 2012.

As we can see in Table 1, the sample over-represents large municipalities (13.6% versus 3.4% in the state) at the expense of an underrepresentation of small ones, a choice made to enable a reasonable number of cases in the first stratum. However, when it comes to medium-sized municipalities the distribution is quite similar.

**Table 1. Municipalities by Size in Minas Gerais and in the Sample - N (%)**

| Type (N. inhabitants) | Minas Gerais | Sample |
|---|---|---|
| Small (0-20,000) | 675 | 31 |
| | (79.1) | (70.4) |
| Medium (20,001 a 100,000) | 149 | 7 |
| | (17.5) | (15.9) |
| Large (+ 100,000) | 29 | 6 |
| | (3.4) | (13.6) |
| Total | 853 | 44 |
| | (100.0) | (100.0) |

Source: The authors. Census 2010, IBGE.

By overrepresenting large municipalities, we also ended up overrepresenting wealthy municipalities (with up to 20% of poor) at the expense of an overrepresentation of municipalities with more than 20% to 40% of the poor (median poverty) (Table 2). The "poverty" variable was operationalized from the Human Development Atlas "low income population ratio" which corresponds to the proportion of individuals with per capita household income equal to or less than 140.00 per month in Reais in August 2010 (the universe of individuals is limited to those living in permanent private households).

**Table 2. Municipalities by Proportion of Poor People in Minas Gerais and in the Sample - N (%)**

| Type (Poor people proportion) | Minas Gerais | Sample |
|---|---|---|
| Wealthy (0-20%) | 538 | 32 |
| | (63.1) | (72.7) |
| Median poverty (+20-40%) | 277 | 10 |
| | (32.5) | (22.7) |
| Poor (+40%) | 38 | 2 |
| | (4.4) | (4.6) |
| Total | 853 | 44 |
| | (100.0) | (100.0) |

Source: The authors. Atlas of Human Development, 2013.

In the end, the 44 municipalities were selected in six strata with different combinations of size and poverty (Table 3).

**Table 3. Municipalities by stratum (size and poverty) in Minas Gerais and in the Sample - N (%)**

| | Minas Gerais | Sample |
|---|---|---|
| Small-Wealthy | 394 | 19 |
| | (46.2) | (43.2) |
| Small-Median poverty | 243 | 9 |
| | (28.5) | (20.4) |
| Small-Poor | 38 | 3 |
| | (4.4) | (6.8) |
| Medium-Wealthy | 115 | 5 |
| | (13.5) | (11.5) |
| Medium-Median poverty | 34 | 2 |
| | (4.0) | (4.5) |
| Large- Wealthy | 29 | 6 |
| | (3.4) | (13.6) |
| **Total** | 853 | 44 |
| | (100.0) | (100.0) |

Source: The authors. Census 2010, IBGE.

Regarding the gender of the councilors, there is a very close proximity between sample, state and country, with a slight underrepresentation in the sample. Female council members represent 13.3% of those elected in Brazil in 2012, 11.1% in the state of Minas Gerais and 9.7% in the sample (Table 4).

**Table 4. Local councilors elected in 2012 by gender – Brazil, Minas Gerais and in the Sample - N (%)**

| Gender | Brazil | Minas Gerais | Sample |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 49,780 | 7,498 | 381 |
| | (86.7) | (88.9) | (90.3) |
| Female | 7,654 | 940 | 41 |
| | (13.3) | (11.1) | (9.7) |
| **Total** | 57,434 | 8,438 | 44 |
| | (100.0) | (100.0) | (100.0) |

Source: The authors. Superior Electoral Court.

There is also considerable congruence regarding age distribution (Table 5). The age group between 35 and 59 years old is the one with the highest percentage of elected councilors in 2012 in Brazil (73.1%), in Minas Gerais (73.8%) and in the sample interviewed (75.8%).

**Table 5. Local councilors elected in 2012 by age group – Brazil, Minas Gerais and in the Sample - N (%)**

| Age group | Brazil | Minas Gerais | Sample |
|---|---|---|---|
| < 18 | 6<br>(0.01) | 1<br>(0.01) | 0<br>(0.0) |
| 18-20 | 258<br>(0.45) | 20<br>(0.24) | 1<br>(0.20) |
| 21-24 | 1,062<br>(1.85) | 145<br>(1.72) | 2<br>(0.50) |
| 25-34 | 10,659<br>(18.56) | 1,489<br>(17.65) | 47<br>(11.10) |
| 35-44 | 19,858<br>(34.58) | 2,829<br>(33.53) | 101<br>(23.90) |
| 45-59 anos | 22,126<br>(38.53) | 3,395<br>(40.23) | 219<br>(51.90) |
| 60-69 anos | 3,073<br>(5.35) | 505<br>(5.98) | 48<br>(11.40) |
| 70-79 anos | 354<br>(0.62) | 51<br>(0.60) | 4<br>(0.90) |
| > 79 | 38<br>(0.07) | 3<br>(0.04) | 0<br>(0.0) |
| Total | 57,434<br>(100.0) | 8,438<br>(100.0) | 422<br>(100.0) |

Source: The authors. Superior Electoral Court.

In relation to party affiliation (Table 6), we find greater discrepancies between elected councilors in the country, state and sample. In the three groups, the three most represented parties are PMDB, PSDB and PT. Beyond these, we perceive some differences, understandable when considering the unequal performance of parties at the national, state and municipal level in Brazil.

**Table 6. Elected local councilors from parties with the best performance in 2012 elections – Brazil, Minas Gerais and in the Sample - N**

| | Brazil | Minas Gerais | Sample |
|---|---|---|---|
| PMDB | 7,968 | 987 | 37 |
| PSDB | 5,260 | 979 | 44 |
| PT | 5,185 | 815 | 41 |
| PP | 4,937 | 650 | 30 |
| PSD | 4,666 | 328 | 7 |
| PDT | 3,664 | 537 | 26 |
| PTB | 3,581 | 549 | 33 |
| PSB | 3,555 | 360 | 21 |
| DEM | 3,285 | 741 | 36 |
| PR | 3,191 | 648 | 27 |
| PPS | 1,864 | 251 | 14 |
| PV | 1,583 | 351 | 21 |
| Total | 48,739 | 7,196 | 337 |

Source: The authors. Superior Electoral Court

We did not consider the geographical criterion to select the municipalities. Even so, the final sample, to some extent, converges with the distribution of municipalities in the state planning macro-regions (Table 7). The regions with the highest number of municipalities in the universe - Central, Southern, Mata and Rio Doce - are also the most represented in the sample. The regions with the lowest number of municipalities in the universe - Midwest, Triângulo, Alto Parnaíba and Norwest - are also the least represented in the sample. The main difference was due to the North region, which in the sample was underrepresented in relation to the universe. Considering the 44 municipalities selected, five had less than 50% of this population in the urban area, presenting, thus, a rural profile. They are: Setubinha, Frei Gaspar, Alto Rio Doce, Estiva, Santa Bárbara do Tugúrio.

**Table 7: Municipalities by macro-region in Minas Gerais and in the Sample N (%)[1]**

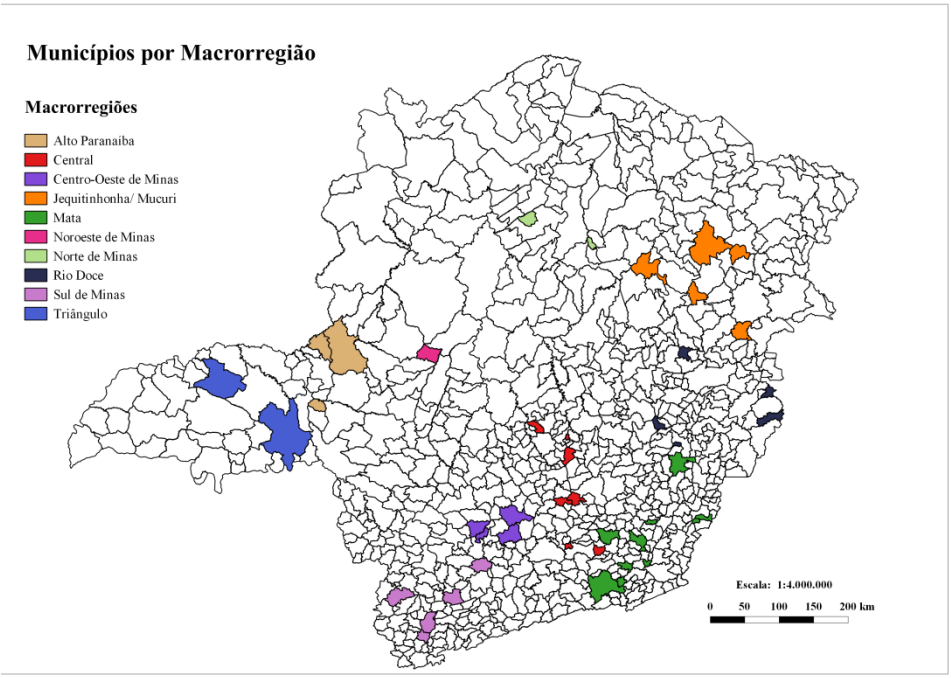
| Macro-region | Minas Gerais | Sample | Municipalities in the sample |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alto Paranaíba | 31<br>(3.6) | 3<br>(6.8) | Abadia dos Dourados<br>Coromandel<br>Pedrinópolis |
| Central | 158<br>(18.5) | 7<br>(15.9) | Barroso<br>Belo Horizonte<br>Confins<br>Congonhas<br>Inhaúma<br>Jeceaba<br>Santa Bárbara do Tugúrio |
| Midwest | 56<br>(6.6) | 4<br>(9.1) | Bom Sucesso<br>Campo Belo<br>Cana Verde<br>Oliveira |
| Jequitinhonha/ Mucuri | 66<br>(7.7) | 5<br>(11.4) | Araçuaí<br>Frei Gaspar<br>Padre Paraíso<br>Setubinha<br>Turmalina |
| Mata | 142<br>(16.7) | 10<br>(22.7) | Alto Rio Doce<br>Chácara<br>Coimbra<br>Faria Lemos<br>Itamarati de Minas<br>Juiz de Fora<br>Pedra Dourada<br>Raul Soares<br>Rio Novo<br>Ubá |

[1] State Legislative Assembly of Minas Gerais (ALMG). Available in: http://www.almg.gov.br/consulte/info_sobre_minas/index.html. Accessed in 31/08/2015.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Northwest | 19 (2.2) | 1 (2.3) | Varjão de Minas |
| North | 89 (10.4) | 2 (4.5) | São João do Pacuí<br>Glaucilândia |
| Rio Doce | 102 (12.0) | 5 (11.4) | Coronel Fabriciano<br>Cuparaque<br>Itueta<br>Pingo D'Água<br>Virgolândia |
| South | 155 (18.2) | 5 (11.4) | Caldas<br>Carmo da Cachoeira<br>Estiva<br>Pouso Alegre<br>São Gonçalo do Sapucaí |
| Triângulo | 35 (4.1) | 2 (4.5) | Monte Alegre de Minas<br>Uberaba |
| Total | 853 (100.0) | 44 (100.0) | |

Source. The authors. ALMG.

**Figure 1: Municipalities of the sample by macro-region**




Source: The authors.

**About Minas Gerais**

The state of Minas Gerais has 853 municipalities and its territory covers an area of 588,384.30 km², larger than that of Spain, the second largest country in the European Union. The state can be considered, regarding some aspects, a kind of amalgam of Brazil. Despite being part of the

Southeast region, the wealthiest and most developed in the country, a significant amount of its territory presents typical features of the Northeast region, the poorest and less developed. The smallest municipality in the state had, in 2010, less than one thousand inhabitants (IBGE), while its capital city, Belo Horizonte, had 2.5 million of people. The state also exhibits great socioeconomic diversity with the Human Development Index varying from 0.529, considered low, in São João das Missões to 0,813, considered very high, in the municipality of Nova Lima. Due to its geographical extension and socioeconomic and demographic diversity – Minas Gerais is the second largest electoral district in the country – some analysts consider the state a thermometer of the country's elections. In the period from 1994 to 2014, the results for the presidential elections in Minas Gerais were the closest to those registered throughout the country.[2] Successful candidates in the state were victorious in the nationwide, with high correlation between state voting and nationwide voting. The performance of presidential candidates by state regions also reflects the national dynamics observed since 2006, with PT candidates doing better in the poorer areas and PSDB candidates performing better in more developed regions. Analysts consider that this convergence is due to the fact that Minas Gerais condenses, by its extension, characteristics of all of Brazil.

**About the councilor sample**

The initial intention was to interview all the councilors of the selected municipalities. But among the 489 councilors from the forty-four municipalities we were able to interview 422, which represents 86.3% of the total. The main reasons for not interviewing were: the councilor was away from the municipality, on a work trip or for medical treatment; were alternates who had just taken office; impossibility of reconciling the councilor's schedule with the interviewer's permanence in the location. The cases of explicit refusal to participate in the survey were quite rare.

[2] See "Minas Gerais é o retrato do quadro eleitoral do Brasil". Jornal GGN, 28/08/2018. Available in: https://jornalggn.com.br/noticia/minas-gerais-e-o-retrato-do-quadro-eleitoral-do-brasil. Accessed in 12/09/2018. See also: "Minas reflete distribuição de votos no país", Estado de Minas, 28/10/2014. Available in: https://www.em.com.br/app/noticia/politica/2014/10/28/interna_politica,584200/minas-reflete-distribuicao-de-votos-no-pais.shtml. Accessed in 12/09/2018.

**Table 8: Interviews carried out by municipalities and macro-region**

| Municipalitiy | Region | N. of councilors | Councilors interviwed | Councilors not interviwed |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abadia dos Dourados | Alto Parnaíba | 9 | 6 | 3 |
| Alto Rio Doce | Zona da Mata | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| Araçuaí | Jequitinhonha/Mucuri | 11 | 11 | 0 |
| Barroso | Central | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| Belo Horizonte* | Central | 41 | 31 | 10 |
| Bom Sucesso | Centro-Oeste | 11 | 11 | 0 |
| Caldas | Sul | 9 | 7 | 2 |
| Campo Belo | Centro-Oeste | 15 | 15 | 0 |
| Cana Verde | Centro-Oeste | 9 | 5 | 4 |
| Carmo da Cachoeira | Sul | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| Chácara | Zona da Mata | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| Coimbra | Zona da Mata | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| Confins | Central | 9 | 5 | 4 |
| Congonhas | Central | 13 | 13 | 0 |
| Coromandel | Alto Parnaíba | 11 | 8 | 3 |
| Coronel Fabriciano | Rio Doce | 17 | 16 | 1 |
| Cuparaque | Rio Doce | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| Estiva | Sul | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| Faria Lemos | Zona da Mata | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| Frei Gaspar | Jequitinhonha/Mucuri | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| Glaucilândia | Norte | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| Inhaúma | Central | 9 | 6 | 3 |
| Itamarati de Minas | Zona da Mata | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| Itueta | Rio Doce | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| Jeceaba | Central | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| Juiz de Fora** | Zona da Mata | 19 | 14 | 5 |
| Monte Alegre de Minas | Triângulo | 11 | 11 | 0 |
| Oliveira | Centro-Oeste | 13 | 11 | 2 |
| Padre Paraíso | Jequitinhonha/Mucuri | 11 | 8 | 3 |
| Pedra Dourada | Zona da Mata | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| Pedrinópolis | Alto Parnaíba | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| Pingo D'água | Rio Doce | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| Pouso Alegre | Sul | 15 | 14 | 1 |
| Raul Soares | Zona da Mata | 11 | 9 | 2 |
| Rio Novo | Zona da Mata | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| Santa Bárbara do Tugúrio | Central | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| São Gonçalo do Sapucaí | Sul | 11 | 9 | 2 |
| São João do Pacuí | Norte | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| Setubinha | Jequitinhonha/Mucuri | 9 | 7 | 2 |
| Turmalina | Jequitinhonha/Mucuri | 11 | 8 | 3 |
| Ubá | Zona da Mata | 11 | 9 | 2 |
| Uberaba | Triângulo | 14 | 11 | 3 |
| Varjão de Minas | Noroeste de Minas | 9 | 9 | 0 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Virgolândia | Rio Doce | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| **TOTAL** | | 489 (100.0) | 422 (86.3) | 67 (13.7) |

**Source: The authors.**

* 5 councilors among who were not interviewed were alternates who had just taken office in the place of the councilors elected for Sate Assemblies and Chamber of Deputies in the 2014 elections.

** 2 councilors among who were not interviewed were alternates who had just taken office in place of the councilors elected for Sate Assemblies and Chamber of Deputies in the 2014 elections.

**About the questionnaire and fieldwork**

The interviews were conducted in person in the councilor's city. In most cases, the researcher stayed for a week in the selected municipality, during which time all the councilors should be interviewed. The interviews took place mostly in the presence of the councilor and the interviewer, based on a structured questionnaire with 121 multiple-choice questions distributed among 14 thematic units. Less than 10% of the questionnaire consisted of free response questions (open-ended). The latter were subsequently coded as follows: the similar and more frequent answers were put together under the same code and the less frequent were grouped under the category "other". The questionnaires were administered by the interviewers who, for each question, read aloud the statements while displaying to the councilors a card with the response alternatives. The instrument was pre-tested twice in 10 different municipalities of different sizes and levels of poverty during its assembly. The goal was to adapt the language to the target audience with a more direct and objective formulation of the issues and less technical and formal language.