POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICAL ADVERTISING: THE DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES IN ELECTIONS FOR MAYOR OF CURITIBA

Doacir Gonçalves de Quadros
Doctor in Sociology at Federal University of Paraná (UFPR). Professor of Political Science at Centro Universitário Uninter and coordinator of the research group on “Communication Media and Politics” (Uninter). E-mail: dgquadros2001@yahoo.com.br

ABSTRACT

This article aims to analyze the use of some discursive strategies in free political advertising time on television by the parties. The electoral advertising of Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (PMDB), Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (PSDB) and Partido da Frente Liberal-Democratas (PFL-DEM) in the elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 for Mayor of Curitiba, state of Paraná in Brazil were taken as object of investigation. It is questionable whether the current logic of electoral disputes that revolve around the centrality of television and personalistic strategies would be in electoral political advertising, reducing the debate as well as the various party positions and making the parties in electoral campaign increasingly similar with each other. The survey data in accordance with the communication strategy of the campaign was conducted in order to assess whether this strategy was consistent with the position of the candidate in contention with typical categories of authorized representative and challenger. The collected and analyzed data suggest that the use of strategies typical of challengers and authorized representatives was frequent in electoral programs of parties in the elections investigated. It could be also noticed that there was some consistency between the positions occupied by the parties, with the use of the strategies of the authorized representative and the challenger. In a certain way, this indicates that the parties acted as distinct alternatives for the voter in Curitiba.

Key words: Political communication. Political parties. Elections. Curitiba. Elections for Mayor.

1 Title in Portuguese: Partidos políticos e propaganda política: as estratégias discursivas nas eleições para prefeito de Curitiba. English version by SILVA, Edna Marta Oliveira da. 2013
INTRODUCTION

For the proper functioning of the electoral political machine in democratic countries, it is up to the political parties to simplify and make it clear to the voters what the existing alternatives are to assign their vote in an election campaign (SCHUMPETER, 1961, p. 343-344; DALTON; WATTENBERG, 2000).

The simplification and clarification of political alternatives arise from information and themes that the parties and their members disseminate and advocate in an election campaign. Dalton, McAllister and Wattenberg (2003) by means of studies that they have done in several countries, including Brazil, show that the voter is either mobilizing him/herself very little by the parties in political and campaign activities or has sought new ways to define his/her vote on replacing the partisan predispositions. In Brazil, these conclusions have been corroborated by a vast literature on the electoral volatility, showing that the "average Brazilian voter" is not the kind of the well-informed one or who votes for partisan identification (CARREIRÃO, 2002).

The decline of the strength of political parties in electoral mobilization is attributed to the loss of their identities, because the political parties began increasingly to confuse with each other. According to Mair (2003, p. 285-287), the loss of identity of the parties is a result of the parties’ concern in addressing their appeals to the opponent’s traditional voters and the use of similar techniques of the campaign organization which makes the parties alike to each other. Among the techniques of the campaign organization, the television occupies the central space in the majority electoral campaigns. This is also the medium that has driven the political parties into the increasingly frequent direct contact between the candidate and the voter by means of personalistic convincing strategies of the voters (RIBEIRO, 2004, p. 39). The personalistic partisan strategies are characterized as the ones that invite voters to anchor their choices on “reliable” people (personalistic vote). The decision is taken from the personal attributes that make up the candidate’s personality for the position as a public representative.

This logic of electoral disputes that revolves around the personalistic
strategies of campaign would be misrepresenting the electoral political advertising due to the reduction of the debate and the arguments among different partisan positions, by making the parties more similar among them (SARTORI, 2001, p.92). Therefore, the political advertising on television and the electoral personalism would not help the political parties fulfill their function to simplify and make it clear to the voters on the existing alternatives to assign their vote in an election campaign.

Concerning this problem, this is the analysis conducted in the present article. It is tested the hypothesis that even with the presence of personalistic strategies in political advertising on television, it is possible to identify the political parties fulfilling their function in simplifying and making it clear to the voters what the existing alternatives are to assign their vote. The clarification of existing alternatives is the result of political possibilities that the voter identifies when he/she perceives the positioning of the candidates’ parties. This occurs from the discursive strategies adopted and presented in free political advertising time during the election period.

The hypothesis that guides our search will be tested in this article. The goal is to verify if the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), the Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (PMDB), the Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (PSDB) and the Partido da Frente Liberal-Democratas PFL-DEM) in the elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 for mayor of Curitiba have fulfilled or not the function of presenting to the voters in Curitiba the existing options to direct their vote during the free political advertising time.

The chosen parties are the most significant ones in the partisan and electoral system at national, state, and municipal levels. The PFL-DEM and the PSDB are the parties that were in charge of the city management of Curitiba in the period between 2000 and 2008. When these parties tried re-election, they were the authorized representative. The PFL emerged victorious in the elections for mayor of Curitiba in 2000. In addition, it held the government position of Paraná state between 1997 and 2002. Because of its participation in the election of 2004 as the challenger, it was possible a better understanding of the strategies adopted by PSDB for assuming different positions in the disputes as opposition in 2004 and in the run for re-election in 2008. The PT and the PMDB were chosen due to their...
position as the "born" challengers in the dispute by the municipal government in the period investigated. But the positioning of these parties is associated with different causes: the PT, by having set itself as highly competitive in electoral terms in the 2000 elections and having started in pole position in the campaign of 2004 with support from the federal government and with real possibilities of winning. On the other hand, in the capital city of Paraná state, the PMDB was presented as a party with a history in the City Hall of Curitiba during the 1980s. In addition, during that period, it represented the political arm of the State Government in the capital. At that time, the State Government was under the administration of Roberto Requião, the state governor.

To achieve the proposed goal, the following structure of exposure in this article was chosen. In the first part, a reflection on some peculiarities of the investigations on the political advertising on television in election campaigns is made in order to identify the thematic studies that fit in this research. Then, some significant features of free time as an instrument of partisan political communication in force in Brazil are presented. At the end of this article, the exposure of the empirical analysis about the discursive strategies in free political advertising time is presented.

**Political advertising and electoral campaign**

Aiming at researching the maximization of electoral victory by the parties, Susan Scarrow, Paul Webb, David Farrell (2000, p. 129-153) assume that the increase of the electoral market available to parties is due to the electoral volatility combined with technological advances to some extent. Consequently, it has caused changes in the style of electoral campaigns. At the same time, the parties do not rely on the voluntary action for mobilization and, as a result, their expectations in relation to the work of advertising professionals and market consultants increase. The professional organization of parties aiming at electoral maximization is also pointed out by Farrell and Webb (2000, p. 102-128). The partisan organizations adapt themselves and invest time and resources of the new technologies by means of the
professionalization and the centralization of the organization of their electoral campaigns. However, it is important to highlight that there are some national contextual factors that may interfere with higher or lower propensity to the professionalization of electoral campaigns. Ribeiro (2004, p. 40-42), for example, attaches importance to the electoral legislation that controls the use or not of electronic media and the of campaign expenditure\(^2\).

The professionalization of electoral campaigns can be divided into three stages. The first refers to the campaign techniques by means of television and the internet for being models of direct communication nowadays. With the use of these media, it is necessary to adopt new techniques, in addition to expanding the number of professionals involved in the election campaign. The second stage of the professionalization refers to resources received by state fund. Such resources interfere significantly in the campaign organization and in the number of individuals of professional staff, formed by the consultants involved in the campaign coordination. Finally, the third stage refers to the thematic development in which attention is given to political discourse formed by means of campaign messages and adapted to the audience.

To prove empirically the outlines of the effects of the professionalization stages of the electoral campaigns on the political discourse, some work in the Political Communication research line focuses its efforts on investigating the concrete relation that is established between the construction of political discourse adapted to the direct communication models by means of television and the internet. These studies can be divided into three thematic lines.

From the 1990s, with the advent of information technology, a line of thematic studies arises with emphasis on the political discourse visibility via the internet, which would give new opportunities for the empowerment of citizens, facilitating discussion and transparency of governmental actions (EINSEBERG; Farrell and Webb (2000, p. 106) identified that professionalization of campaigns did not occur at the same time in European countries they investigated. For example: the election debates on television did not occur throughout the studied period in Italy and in Switzerland. At the same time, in several European countries there is a limited penetration of the digital revolution in electoral campaigns. Among the countries investigated, only the United States proved to be largely adapted to the professionalization of campaigns.

---

\(^2\) Farrell and Webb (2000, p. 106) identified that professionalization of campaigns did not occur at the same time in European countries they investigated. For example: the election debates on television did not occur throughout the studied period in Italy and in Switzerland. At the same time, in several European countries there is a limited penetration of the digital revolution in electoral campaigns. Among the countries investigated, only the United States proved to be largely adapted to the professionalization of campaigns.
CEPIK; 2002). However, there were some warnings regarding the use of the internet. Due to the visibility derived from the internet, there could be a weakening of traditional political institutions such as political parties or of marches, demonstrations etc. In addition, the warnings also revolve around arguments that internet is not an instrument of mass communication. Therefore, the information passed on by the internet would not be available to all. In relation to the internet, it seems that the more plausible and what has been verified up to the present time is the cost reduction in the dissemination of information and the possibility of increasing public access to political leaders. Especially, in electoral periods, the internet would make the political discourse more visible because of the high amount and speed of information transmission if compared to the television, radio and newspaper (CERVI; VIEIRA, 2010; IASULAITIS; NEBOT, 2013).

Another research line refers to electoral reception. It is sought to understand the political participation by means of theories and methodological tools such as interviews and focus groups. With these resources, it aims to verify the political discourse reception, formed by political messages transmitted during political advertising on television (BEZERRA; MUNDIM, 2011). This thematic line is concerned about understanding what the meaning of the voter "being informed" is, in order to make his/her choice in an electoral process and how he/she receives the political message transmitted during political advertising on television.

The third thematic line is called "studies of electoral persuasion". This is the line in which the present research is placed. The studies that integrate this line investigate the political actors - in this case, candidates and political parties - in the production or construction of political messages and partisan strategies transmitted during political advertising on television (QUADROS, 2013; OLIVEIRA; MATINS, 2013). Despite the disagreement on the issues that motivate them, the studies converge with the present research, because their goal is also to verify the construction of the political discourse in free political advertising time on television. Besides, they also converge with emphasis given to the construction of political discourse and not in their effectiveness or in their success on the electoral behavior. In a way, this exempts the present research from including a more systematic or profound review.
about the electoral behavior based on the reception of political messages by the voters.

Free political advertising time as a model of election advertising in force in Brazil

The obligation of free political advertising time emerged in Brazil in 1965. Since then, several changes in its presentation to the viewer-voters have occurred. The first took place in 1967, formulated by the Minister of Justice, Armando Falcão, with Law no. 6339 /67 that prevented the political debate during the party programs. Over the course of 18 years, the presentation of candidates during the free political advertising time suffered heavy restrictions. It was shown on television only the candidate's picture. Besides, only the candidate's number and the political party’s name were mentioned. Moreover, the candidate's personal and political curriculum was presented through an off-screen narration.

With the return of the multiparty system, the milestone in the democratization in the country, the free political advertising time (HGPE) suffered some modifications. However, major changes occurred in the style of the programs only after 1985. For example, Law no. 7,332 /85 allowed the production of programs with external images and with the participation of political and community leaders, as well as artists. However, in comparison to the previous years, the most significant change was the concession of the right to the candidates to introduce themselves and talk about their political proposals. In 1995, Law no. 9,100 /95 reduced the duration of electoral programs from two hours a day to an hour and a half in the broadcast programming on radio and television. But the political advertising remained free of charge. Furthermore, the period of time available to each political party was previously determined by the Electoral Justice. This differentiates our model from the model in the United States, where the political advertising in the spot form is paid by the partisan organizations.

However, it must be considered that, in the American model, the political marketing consultants have greater possibility of acting in the guidance of spots with ample freedom in production and in the control of the campaign conditions. Moreover, they can choose the broadcasting station, the schedule and time to...
exhibit the political message. This is not possible in free political advertising time programs. The spots presented during the commercial programming are seen by the same viewers of the programming. On the other hand, the free political advertising time programs appear as isolated programming in a pre-arranged time by the Electoral Justice. This makes them limited in their primary function, which is to influence the viewer-voters, because the viewer can simply switch off their TV during the exhibition (ALBUQUERQUE, 1995, p. 101-105).

In comparison with the spot format, the free political advertising time favors the political parties to occupy a central role in its implementation. Different from the American model, the free political advertising time represents limits to the professional consultants’ activity by ensuring, in a subtle way, the political feature of the electoral advertising. According to Albuquerque (1995, p. 105-106), an aspect that corroborates this statement refers to the free political advertising time determined by the Electoral Justice that is assigned to political parties and not directly to the candidates. In this way, it allows greater influence of parties in relation to what is broadcasted. With the free political advertising time, the "normal programming" on television is interrupted which signals to the viewer the existence of an electoral campaign. Thus, the political parties can provide daily information about the campaign, and they are not restricted to traditional means of information linked to private groups. The analysis of the free political advertising time was chosen because it encourages political parties to occupy a central role in its implementation.

3 However, it is worth highlighting that the free political advertising time suffers a gap in the construction of the public agenda, if the normal programming of broadcasters does not embed the topics discussed in the HGPE. According to Luis Felipe Miguel (1999), Globo TV, in the 1998 elections sought to take an impartial posture to safeguard its credibility, and it reserved low space for the coverage of political campaigns during the pre-election period. The beginning of the electoral period coverage coincided with the end of the Soccer World Cup in 1998 and, during the almost 28 hours of TV news "Jornal Nacional", only 1 hour and 15 minutes was allocated for the elections. In other words, in 4.6% of the total, the electoral debate received 0.6% of the time in the news programming. According to the author, this stripping of election coverage by the broadcaster, analyzed from its TV news was providential for the candidate's campaign strategy for re-election. This was due to the fact of not incorporating the issues presented on the HGPE by the candidates, in particular, the opposition, during the TV news.
Adopted methodology

Regarding the empirical material - the electoral programs of parties broadcasted on television in free political advertising time in 2000, 2004 and 2008 - all programs broadcasted in the first round are analyzed.

For the data collection presented in the sequence, the methodology by Marcus Figueiredo et alii (2000) was applied to the analysis of the programs of the parties selected. The survey data was carried out in accordance with the communication strategy of the campaign. The intention was to assess whether this strategy was consistent with the position of the candidate in contention, with typical categories of authorized representative and challenger.

Among the typical strategies of authorized representative are: recourse to the charisma and competence, resulting from the position held by the candidates; an "above the fray" posture in relation to the competition with little or no attack on opponents; emphasis on achievements and association with the administration in progress. The typical strategies of a challenger comprise: appeal to change; offensive in relation to substantive issues; attack on the administration in progress and on opponents. These two categories allow us to infer with what objective the parties selected for this research used in their programs: for the exhortation of their candidates and their proposals or for the direct confrontation against the opponents (FIGUEIREDO et alii, 2000, p. 180).

To draw some overall conclusions of the elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 for Mayor of Curitiba from the methodological proposal by Marcus Figueiredo et alii, it should be initially located the central argument of the campaign of each party, from its discursive structure in line with the logic of the competition. From the analysis of classical studies of Political Science on electoral behavior, communication and political advertising, Figueiredo et alii (2000, p. 152) suggest that the electoral process is a process of communication in which two actors - candidates and voters - dialog and establish a pact between them.

This pact is based on an exchange of intentions, in which the voters want their desires, interests and demands implemented by the chosen candidate, and the candidates want to be elected, in their turn. To achieve this objective, the Systemic Organization Magazine, no. 1, July/Dec. 2013
candidates make use of the election debate to build an argumentative rhetoric of fictional character, “visando a convencer os eleitores, todos [os candidatos] constroem um mundo atual possível, igual ou um pouco diferente do mundo real e, com base nele, projetam um novo e bom mundo futuro possível” (FIGUEIREDO et alii, 2000, p. 152). In this rhetorical construction, there are two possible argumentative structures. In one of them, the candidates can use in election campaigns: “the current world is bad, but it will be good”. This is the typical argument of opposition. The other says that ”the present world is good and it will be even better". This is the predominant argument among the candidates and political parties that represent the situation. Once the objective with which the parties use their programs is known, it could be observed the messages transmitted and that constitute the core of political programs (that is, to point out social problems and make suggestions for their solution).

Strategies of authorized representatives and challengers in elections for Mayor of Curitiba

The campaign of 2000 for the municipal succession in Curitiba did not present anything new in the beginning. The PFL candidate for re-election, Cássio Taniguchi, had great chances of winning the election in the first round, because he represented the continuity of the political group of Jaime Lerner, the State Governor. The group had already been in the administration of Curitiba for 12 years, by maintaining the same "victorious" strategy in electoral campaigns with emphasis on urban planning and technical expertise. The first electoral poll, conducted at the beginning of July, showed the PFL candidate for re-election with 49% of the vote intentions, surpassing the 19% of the vote intentions of the other opposition candidates had. However, during the election campaign, the candidate for re-election had his image worn off. This resulted in a change in voters’ decision, leading to the contention for the second round against the PT candidate.

Identifying the communication strategies is a useful variable to verify the positioning or not of parties as distinct alternatives for voters to direct their vote in
Curitiba. In Table 1, the communication strategies of the campaigns of the investigated parties are presented, with the aim of assessing whether such strategies were consistent with the candidates’ positions in contention.

**Table 1 - Situation and Opposition: Strategies used in The Contention for Mayor, In Curitiba (2000)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE STRATEGIES</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>PFL (S)</th>
<th>PMDB</th>
<th>PSDB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Use of the position</strong></td>
<td>28,0</td>
<td>72,0</td>
<td>18,3</td>
<td>81,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Posture above the fray</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>72,9</td>
<td>27,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Association to the administration in progress</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>57,2</td>
<td>42,8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Challenger Strategies**

| **Appeal to change** | 46,4 | 53,6 | 0,8 | 99,2 | 36,6 | 63,4 | 35,3 | 64,7 |
| **Attacks on the administration in progress** | 12,4 | 87,7 | 0 | 100 | 54,3 | 45,7 | 30,9 | 69,1 |
| **Attacks on the opponents** | 1,7 | 98,3 | 9,6 | 90,4 | 18,6 | 81,4 | 1,1 | 98,9 |

Source: Research Group "The means of communication and politics" (s/d).

Notes:
1) The numbers correspond to the percentage of times in which the rhetorical element appeared (yes) in the programs; their difference in relation to 100% represents the percentage of absence (not rhetorical) element.
2) (s) = authorized representative-situation party

According to the data exposed in Table 1, it can be noticed that some aspects of typical rhetoric of a challenger are present in the speech of all parties in elections during their programs on television. For being the situation party, the use of authorized representative strategies in the PFL programs prevailed as expected, with the use of the position (18.3 %), posture above the fray (72.9 %) and emphasis on administrative achievements (57.2 %) of its own candidate, who was trying the re-election. However, the parties that ran for the 2000 elections as opposed to the municipal government in force (PT, PMDB and PSDB) assumed a posture "above the fray", typical of the authorized representative, as well as they performed few "attacks on opponents" most of the time. In that election, it stands out the PMDB party as the one closer to a challenging posture among the opposition parties, with its candidate Mauricio Requião. According to the “attack to the administration in progress” (54.3 %) indicator, he was the candidate who showed a critical stance regarding the city management. In relation to the "appeal to change" indicator, it
can be noticed that this item was present in the programs of the opposition parties PT (46.4 %), PMDB (36.6 %) and PSDB (35.3 %). It was an attempt to use the free political advertising time as a channel to offer, by means of their election speeches, “another future world” to the voter of Curitiba.

In Frame 1, it can be observed a comparison in relation to the structure of election speeches presented by the four main political parties and their candidates in their free political advertising time programs, during the election of 2000.

<p>| FRAME 1 – The Speech Structure of The Situation and the Opposition Parties In Curitiba (2000) |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERPRETATION</th>
<th>PFL (S)</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>PSDB</th>
<th>PMDB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current world</td>
<td>Good: Nossa Rua Program, 1000 Plan, Vilas Rurais Program.</td>
<td>Good: the city is admired for its ability to innovate in solutions</td>
<td>Bad: the current administration is retrograde, outdated and with lack of transparency</td>
<td>Bad: a city only of appearances. The current Mayor belongs to group of the state Government, involved in corruption scandals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future world</td>
<td>Continuation and extension of the programs</td>
<td>Change with innovation in social aspects</td>
<td>Change with security, intelligence and administrative efficiency</td>
<td>Change the current politics of Curitiba by means of transparency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What to do</td>
<td>Administrative continuation with extension of the programs</td>
<td>Innovate in social with the PT social programs (Banco do Povo; Bolsa Escola; Creche Educacional etc.)</td>
<td>Expand the public works, invest in security, transportantion and education</td>
<td>Expand public works, invest in education, public safety and employment; extinguish the Social Communication Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guarantee</td>
<td>Efficiency of what is being offered</td>
<td>The administrative experience: &quot;The PT way of governing&quot;</td>
<td>Forte Neto, &quot;stronger Curitiba&quot;</td>
<td>Mauricio Requião will bring transparency to the city administration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: the author
NOTE: (S) = Authorized representative-situation party

For Figueiredo et alii (1871, p. 200), the election strategies to be adopted during an election campaign are dependent on the position that each party occupies in the persuasion game. In the 2000 elections in Curitiba, the candidate for
re-election was Cássio Taniguchi (PFL), and the opponents were Angelo Vanhoni (PT), Forte Neto (PSDB) and Mauricio Requião (PMDB). As it can be seen in Frame 1, the candidate for re-election in Curitiba showed in his electoral programs the efficiency of what is offered "by Cássio", the mayor, emphasizing the need to continue the actions in progress. His campaign motto - “Here I go again, again with Cássio" - expresses well the election speech in favor of administrative continuation.

On the other hand, the PT candidate’s election speech was organized around the "appeal to social" and not on the expected rhetorical argument of criticism to the "current world". The PT programs combined the image of seriousness, of experience and social commitment of its candidate with the social exclusion theme. As previously shown in Table 1, the PT programs of 2000 did not embrace strategies of "typical challenger" with punchy attacks against the administration in progress and against the candidate for re-election. The PT strategy was to change the focus of the election debate for social solutions from the recognition that the city of Curitiba in the "current world" had innovated in urban solutions, and it was nationally known as “a model city". Therefore, if the urban development of the city was well administered, the PT urged the voters, in its programs, to decide their votes from the administrative "change" to bring progress to the social area of the city that had been forgotten by the candidate for re-election, during his administration.

The PSDB, in its programs of 2000, despite maintaining a "position above the fray", by not attacking its opponents directly, unlike the PT programs, focused the attacks on the current administration in the city of Curitiba (30.9% - Table 1). These attacks were more frequent in order to characterize, as Frame 1 portrays, "the world today" as bad, due to the retrograde administration of the city and the lack of

---

The proposals for public policies that were presented during the PFL programs more often were focused on transportation (6.1 %), education (5.4 %), infrastructure and health (5.3 %) areas.

The strategy adopted by the candidate for re-election was sustained by a survey conducted by Institute Bonilha, which results were the following: 3.16% of the interviewees revealed "very dissatisfied" with respect to the performance of the Mayor’s management; 15.19% "little dissatisfaction"; 21.52% "great satisfaction" and 49.37% "low satisfaction" (CURITIBANO QUER VOTAR, 2000, p. 17). Although the highest rate of dissatisfaction with the Mayor was in the suburbs at the time, we can conclude that, in general, the Cássio’s administration presented a low rejection in the city.

The proposals for public policies presented more often during the PT programs were the ones focused on transportation (6.6 %) and education (6.2 %).
transparency in its actions. For a better "future world", the PSDB programs suggested a change with security in the administration (35.3% - Table 1) as a solution, taking intelligence and administrative efficiency to the decisions of the City Hall. For this purpose, in the PSDB programs, it was offered to the voter of Curitiba the expansion of public works with investment in public safety, transportation and education. The "guarantee" for this "future world" proposed by the PSDB occurred with its candidate Forte Neto, under the motto "For a stronger Curitiba".

The PMDB electoral program of 2000 presented an election speech on "the current world", much more critical in relation to the administration of that period in the city of Curitiba (45.7% - Table 1). This strategy was built from a series of allegations of corruption and misuse of public resources against the governor Jaime Lerner, political godfather of Cássio Taniguchi, the PFL candidate for re-election. The PMDB strategy was also to expose a series of testimonies of the party's candidate to the City Hall, Mauricio Requião, on the high expenses of the Social Communication Department in the City Hall with political advertising, making Curitiba a city of "appearances". For a better "future world", the PMDB programs suggested the option for changing the political group until then in charge of the city management (63.4% - Table 1). For this change to happen, the guarantee was the party's candidate, Mauricio Requião, who would give greater transparency to the administration of Curitiba.

The next election in 2004, the candidates who ran for the elections for mayor of Curitiba were: Osmar Bertoldi, by the PFL, as the situation or authorized representative party; Angelo Vanhoni, whose candidacy was again launched by the PT, colligated to the PMDB, and Beto Richa, the PSDB candidate and former vice-mayor of the previous administration. Unlike 2000, the candidate launched by the PT was ahead in the electoral surveys in 2004 due to the low evaluation of Cássio Taniguchi's administrative performance as mayor of Curitiba and a political member of the PFL.

---

7 The proposals for public policies presented more often during the PSDB programs were the ones focused on health (11.9%), transportation (11.3%) and education (9.3%).
8 This motto was chosen due to the meaning of the candidate's name. Forte means “strong” in Portuguese.
In its programs in 2004, the PFL had similar behavior to the one identified in 2000. It exclusively positioned itself as an authorized representative party in its programs. In the programs of its candidate Osmar Bertoldi, priority was given to the "above the fray" discourse (97.9 %), with emphasis on the administrative advances of the city (42.6 %) and on ensuring the continuity of ongoing policies. According to the data in Table 2 about the election of 2004, the opposition parties (PT and PSDB) assumed an "above the fray" posture most of the time, which is typical of the authorized representative. In addition, there were very few "attacks on opponents" and "attacks on the administration in progress". This strategy identified in the PT programs may have been motivated by the success of the same strategy used in the campaign of 2000, when a second round occurred in Curitiba for the first time.

Concerning to the PSDB candidate, the low confrontation can be associated with the fact that Beto Richa had taken part of the city administration in the current government as vice-mayor. This interpretation on the PSDB strategy is corroborated by 28.2% of the "appeal to change" indicator, remarkably inferior to the PT (52.7%). By adopting this behavior, it is assumed that the PSDB candidate aimed to take advantage of the positive points of the administration, in which he took part. The political party abbreviation as well as its number was little seen...
POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICAL ADVERTISING: THE DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES IN ELECTIONS FOR MAYOR OF CURITIBA

during the TV programs. Priority was given to the candidate’s name and the office sought. This behavior was frequently identified in the PSDB programs in the 2004 elections for Mayor in Curitiba, in which the campaign motto “Beto Richa for Mayor” was presented on the TV screen. Such strategy may have been motivated due to the PSDB’s concern to associate its candidate with his acquired administrative experience in previous years as vice-Mayor.

In Frame 2, the structures of election speeches that these three main political parties and their candidates presented in their programs during the free political advertising time in the election of 2004 are compared.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERPRETATION</th>
<th>PFL (S)</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>PSDB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current world</td>
<td>Good: Curitiba cannot stop; there was the implementation of public programs with quality and nationally recognized</td>
<td>Bad: Curitiba wants to change; the current city administration does not care about the suburbs.</td>
<td>Good, but the city needs a new way of governing, &quot;more seriously and more humane&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future world</td>
<td>Expand programs: &quot;Curitiba cannot stop&quot;</td>
<td>All suburbs will have the City Hall’s attention.</td>
<td>A more humane government; a change for the better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What to do</td>
<td>Continue and expand programs in the health, education and urban planning areas.</td>
<td>The city needs changes in the health, transportation, education and public safety areas.</td>
<td>Implement an action plan in the social area (health, safety and infrastructure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guarantee</td>
<td>Osmar Bertoldi’s seriousness and competence</td>
<td>Mayor Vanhoni</td>
<td>The team of experts from Beto Richa’s team</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: the author
NOTE: (S) = Authorized representative-situation party

As it can be seen in Table 2, the PFL presented in its electoral programs the results obtained "by Câssio", the Mayor, in the previous seven years. The emphasis was given to the "current world", which shows the need to continue the actions in progress and that are nationally recognized. The administrative continuity is well expressed in the campaign motto - "Curitiba cannot stop" - adopted by the PFL in its programs. The administrative continuity in the programs of the situation party was marked by the expansion of social programs in the urban planning, education and

Systemic Organization Magazine; no. 1, July/Dec. 2013
health areas. This PFL strategy was presented in its programs by means of the local party leaders’ testimony like Cássio Taniguchi, former Mayor of the city, who stated his support for the candidate chosen by the party. In Cássio Taniguchi’s testimonies, the seriousness and competence of Osmar Bertoldi, the PFL candidate, was the "guarantee" for the administrative continuity emphasized during the programs.

The election speech of the PT candidate in free political advertising time programs in 2004 was organized around the rhetorical argumentation that in "current world" the City Hall did not care about the suburbs. The PT programs combined the image of humane commitment of its candidate, by proposing an administration in the “future world”, with all suburbs receiving attention from the City Hall. The "guarantee" for a better future was its candidate. In Table 2, it can be observed that, in the election of 2004, the "typical challenger strategies", with incisive attacks on the administration in progress and on the candidate indicated by the PFL, gave rise to the PT strategy to change the election debate to the "appeal to change" in the management. The changes would occur with the creation of programs focused on the education, transport and security areas.

The PT maintained the "above the fray" posture (97.6% - Table 2) with few attacks to opponent candidates (2.4% - Table 2). This less challenging behavior adopted by the party in the elections 2004 may have probably occurred as a result of opinion polls disclosed at that time. The polls showed that the party’s candidate was ahead on the preference among the voters.

In 2004, the PSDB maintained a "position above the fray" (98.5% - Table 2), not directly attacking its opponents (1.5% - Table 2) and the city administration of Curitiba. It occurred due to the fact that the PSDB’s candidate, Beto Richa, had occupied the office as the vice-Mayor of Cássio Taniguchi from the PFL, during the previous three years. This assumption is corroborated by the "appeal to change" item in the PSDB programs, when it was identified the lowest percentage among the opposition parties: only 28.2% (Table 2). In its electoral programs, the PSDB portrayed the "current world" as good. However, according to the discourse, the

---

9 The proposals for public policies presented more often during the PFL programs were the ones focused on urban planning (13.8%), education (10.6%), health (5.5%) and public safety (4.3%) areas.
10 The proposals for public policies presented more often during the PT programs were the ones focused on health (13.3%), public safety (11.5%) and education (7.3%) areas.
city needed a new way of governing, "more serious and more humane". To achieve this type of management in the "future world", the PSDB proposed to implement an action plan in the social, health, public security areas, besides the urban area and infrastructure". The "guarantee" to accomplish this "future world" was the specialist staff of the candidate.

In the election of 2008, the electoral framework in Curitiba was more favorable to the PSDB candidate, Beto Richa, who was the candidate for re-election at the City Hall. Beto Richa’s administration had significant approval by the population of Curitiba, according to the polls. The data collected on the PSDB programs may be associated with this context. It is that can be observed by the presence of the "above the fray" posture, the emphasis on the administration achievements and the use of the PSDB’s position, as shown in Table 3 below. It was up to the opposition-challenging parties to try to deconstruct the positive image of the city administration, by means of criticism and denunciation against the candidate for re-election in the electoral programs.

Table 3 - Situation and Opposition: Strategies used in the Contention for mayor, In Curitiba (2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authorized Representative (situation party)</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>Pmdb</th>
<th>PSDB(S)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use of the position</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posture above the fray</td>
<td>98,8</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>93,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association to the administration in progress</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2,2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Challenger Strategies

| Appeal to change                           | 40  | 60   | 37,1   | 62,9 | 0 | 100 |
| Attacks on the administration in progress  | 16,9| 83,1 | 33,7   | 66,3 | 0 | 100 |
| Attacks on the opponents                   | 1,9 | 98,1 | 3,4    | 96,6 | 0 | 100 |

Source: Research Group "The means of communication and politics" (s/d).

NOTES:
1) The numbers correspond to the percentage of times in which the rhetorical element appeared (Yes) in the programs; their difference in relation to 100% represents the percentage of absence (not rhetorical) element.
2) (S) = Authorized representative-situation party

According to the data on Table 3, the deconstruction of the positive image of the city administration made by the opposition parties, PT and PMDB, are

---

The proposals for public policies presented more often during the PT programs were the ones focused on health (9.2%), infrastructure (4.6%) and school meal (7.3%) areas.
corroborated by the "attack on the administration in progress" item (16.9% and 33.7 %, respectively). It is worth mentioning that in 2008, the PMDB did not mention directly the opponent candidates’ names, nor the candidate’s name for re-election in its attacks on the opponents and on the administration in progress. This strategy in the campaign of 2008 allowed assigning to the party 100% of a "posture above the fray".

Frame 3 shows the speech structure of political parties in the election of 2008.

**Frame 3 – The Speech Structure of the Situation and the Opposition Parties In Curitiba (2008)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERPRETATION</th>
<th>PSDB (S)</th>
<th>PT</th>
<th>PMDB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current world</td>
<td>Good: Curitiba wants more four years with Beto Richa</td>
<td>Bad: the current administration has no sensitivity to the problems in the suburbs of the city.</td>
<td>Bad: governed by a Mayor of appearances, with high advertising expenses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future world</td>
<td>The work goes on</td>
<td>Curitiba for all</td>
<td>The City Hall of Curitiba united to the State Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What to do</td>
<td>Expand programs in the health, safety and infrastructure areas.</td>
<td>Create programs for the health and transportation areas; create programs for children and young people</td>
<td>Not only viable proposals, but also practical and objective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guarantee</td>
<td>Beto Richa, the best Mayor in Brazil</td>
<td>Gleisi, a modern and humane government</td>
<td>Reitor Moreira, the ideal Mayor for the city.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: the author

NOTE: (S) = Authorized representative-situation party

The PSDB, now as the situation party colligated to the DEM (former the PFL), showed in its electoral programs the efficiency of works carried out by the Mayor Beto Richa, during the four years of his management. The emphasis of the party’s speech in its programs was placed on the public hearings held in the suburbs of the city by the PSDB administration. The people's participation in decisions about what to do in the city, by means of the public hearings, promoted the idea that the city of Curitiba, in the "current world", wanted more four years with Beto Richa as the Mayor in the City Hall. The "future world" item was portrayed in the programs based on the motto that "the work goes on” with the extension of programs in the

*Systemic Organization Magazine, no. 1, July/Dec. 2013*
health, safety and infrastructure areas\textsuperscript{12}. The "guarantee" was in fact Beto Richa had been elected the best Mayor of Brazil, as it was presented in the programs. This is corroborated by the "use of the position" item (74.9\% - Table 3) recurrently adopted by the party in its programs to show the candidate’s performance as Mayor of the city in the previous four years.

During the election for Mayor in 2008, the PMDB electoral program presented an election speech on "the current world" with emphasis on criticism about the candidate’s administration for re-election (33.7\% - Frame 3). As in the election of 2000, the "attacks on the administration in progress" were based on a series of testimonies, including the one of the then Governor Roberto Requião, on the high advertising spending made by the City Hall, aiming at creating a city of "appearances". The PMDB showed in its programs the need for change (37.1\% - Frame 3) in this type of city management. The "future world" would be better if the municipal government shared the same ideas of management of the State Government ruled by PMDB at that time. The "guarantee" for such change was based on the support given to the candidate Reitor Moreira by the Governor and the party leaders during the programs\textsuperscript{13}.

Finally, in the election of 2008, as in 2004, the election speech of PT in its electoral programs was organized around the rhetorical argumentation that in "current world" the management of the PSDB candidate for re-election did not have any sensibility in relation to the problems in the city suburbs. The "appeal for change" (40\% - Frame 3) in the party programs for a better "future world" revolved around the motto "Curitiba for all". The "guarantee" to reach this "better" world was its candidate, Gleisi, who would make a modern and more humane government\textsuperscript{14}.

\textsuperscript{12} The proposals for public policies presented more often during the PSDB programs were the ones focused on health (12.2\%), infrastructure (8.1\%), safety (7.4\%) and transportation (4.8\%) areas.
\textsuperscript{13} The proposals for public policies presented more often during the PSDB programs were the ones focused on urban planning (24.7\%), transportation (5.6\%), public policies for children and young people (9.0\%) areas.
\textsuperscript{14} The proposals for public policies presented more often during the PT programs were the ones focused on health (12.5\%), transportation (5.6\%), public policies for children and young people (6.3\%) areas.
FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The present article aimed at identifying if the main parties that ran for Mayor of Curitiba in the elections of 2000, 2004 and 2008 fulfilled or not the function of demonstrating to the voter in Curitiba the existing options to direct the vote in their free political advertising time programs.

From the analysis of the data shown in Tables 1, 2 and 3, it is observed that the use of typical strategies of challengers and authorized representatives were frequent in the electoral programs parties during the elections investigated. It could be also noticed that there was a consistency between the positions occupied by the parties, with the use of strategies by the authorized representative and the challenger. The analysis about the partisan strategies for challenger and administrative representative suggests that, even with the logic of the customization in election campaigns, the political parties acted as distinct alternatives for the voter in Curitiba, in a way.

It is worth noting that the studies on the electoral behavior have shown that the voters choose the candidates based on the government’s performance in the majority elections in large cities. This aspect that guides the voters during the election allows the parties and candidates that are trying re-election to adopt strategies with less confrontation and great emphasis in their administrative actions. This fact can be observed in the "association to the administration in progress" item that is present in the PFL programs of 2000 (57.2 %) and 2004 (42.6 %) as well as in the PSDB programs of 2008 (71.6 %). Regarding the typical strategies of challengers, the data shown in Tables 1, 2 and 3 indicate that, among the possible strategies to be adopted by the challenging parties at each election, the "appeal to change" was the most used indicator in programs, during the three elections in Curitiba. The adopted strategy by the challenging parties, the "appeal to change" is expected in any election. After all, if those outside the government do not appeal to change, they will contribute to the world interpretation built by the situation.

In relation to the other challenger’s strategies, the data in Tables 1, 2 and 3 shows that they were not very frequent in the programs of the challenging parties.
The exception is made for the PMDB programs in 2000, in which "attacks on the administration in progress" were present in 54.3% of the programs. In respect to this behavior of the challenging parties, several studies have shown that the frequent use of "attacks on opponents" or "attacks on the administration in progress" in an election campaign becomes dangerous. The fact that the candidate or the political party makes criticisms against the opponents can cause damage to their own image and, at the same time, expose themselves to the counter-attacks from the opponents. Therefore, it can be concluded that, the lower the percentage of attacks by opposition/challenging political parties in the programs, the greater is the concern to preserve a positive image before the viewer-voters.
REFERENCES


