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Does gender affect legislative behaviour?
Evidence from the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies

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Why should I read this research?

The year is 2020. The world is facing a pandemic and an unprecedented crisis. This is putting under stress and scrutiny every act and decision made by world leaders. Not all countries are acting and handling the crisis equally. News outlets all over the world¹ have been announcing that, compared to the average, some countries are doing a disproportionately better job: Germany, New Zealand, Finland, and Taiwan are leading the way. What do these countries have in common?

Women leaders. But can we really believe that the better acts and results are due to the gender of these leaders? A similar debate took place after the 2008 economic crisis, and articles and the news would ask: what if the Lehman Brothers had been the Lehman Sisters? Would the 2008 crisis have been any different? Would closing the gender gap to increase the number of women financial leaders improve financial institutions and prevent further damage to the global financial system? These reflections, in other words, posed the general question of whether gender has an impact on how world leaders and policymakers behave and conduct their decision-making processes.

Being born in a country in which men historically represent more than 85% of the total seats of elected Parliament, this research originated from my attempt to



In October 1950, the French magazine ELLE imagined and published its ideal, exclusively female cabinet

imagine what differences one could expect if, instead of 15%, women composed 100% of the seats. Answering these questions might be of interest to everyone who, like me, ever questioned themselves about whether the gender balance in the legislature could result in more initiation of bills and policies towards women's rights, and in a fairer use of public budget and expenditure. Ultimately, this research is an attempt to empirically test the opinions, literature, and analysis on the relationship between gender and political behaviour.

¹ (CNN, 2020; Forbes, 2020; The Guardian, 2020; 20 Minutes, 2020)

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1. Introduction

Women's rights activists, international organisations and various national governments have advocated for increasing the level of representation for women in positions of power and in public life over the past couple of decades. These advocates argue that, even if women legislate in exactly the same way as their male counterparts, justice should mean that, as roughly half of the population, they should be in politics and represent approximately half of the elected parliament members (Paxton & Hughes, 2007). As Phillips (1995) put as a question, to make this point, it is sufficient to reverse the gender position to demonstrate the democratic deficit. What would men think of a legislature in which they were outnumbered nineteen to one?

Yet, the arguments normally go beyond. In general, arguments imply that the participation of women in decision-making brings in office interests and priorities that are different from those of men. It is also believed that having more women leaders is a shortcut to policy changes. These changes typically promote gender equality and a fairer ambience, as women are believed to behave with more integrity when compared to men (see, for example, Dollar, et al., 2001; Chen 2009, 2013; Childs, 2002).

Such arguments might contribute to explain why, until 2013, 185 countries and territories were using some type of gender quota for an elected office (International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2014)². It may also explain why some countries have implemented measures to increase the number of females in the provision of public services. The strategy, aimed at reducing corruption, was implemented in Mexico City and Lima, where the police chief has created a new force consisting exclusively of women (Swamy, et al., 2001).

Are these reasonable expectations? In her “Concept of Representation”, Hanna Pitkin (1967) observes that legislators might be assessed by their actions. They may also be assessed by their closeness in characteristics to their constituents. The latter is often referred to as “descriptive representation”, i.e. the manner by which an individual representative “stands for” the represented by virtue of sharing similar characteristics with the represented. These

² Gender quota systems vary drastically from one country to another, but overall can be classified into three main types: **legislated candidate quotas**, intended to regulate the gender composition of the candidate lists; **legislated ‘reserved seats’**, intended to regulate the gender composition of elected bodies, by reserving a certain number or percentage of seats for women members; and the **party quotas**, which are adopted by individual parties for their own candidate lists.

According to the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), until 2013, 60 countries and territories/special areas around the world used the legislated candidate quotas (which may be used in conjunction with reserved seats or voluntary party quotas), 36 countries and territories/special areas used the system of reserved seats (few of which also used legislated candidate quotas as well) and in 37 countries and territories at least one political party represented in parliament uses a voluntary party quota (countries with both, legislated candidate quotas for national legislatures and voluntary party quotas are excluded from this number).

characteristics could include features such as race, sex, age, class, occupation, gender, ethnicity or geographical area. The former, by contrast, is usually referred to as “substantive representation”, i.e. the act of work in the interests of the represented in a manner responsive to them.

In this sense, are women in power active representatives, who *substantively* represent women by working for their interests? Or are they passive representatives that *descriptively* represent women just by being in office? (Reingold, 1992). In other words, will women in power work on behalf of other women and, therefore, promote a more egalitarian society? Can we even look at it in a different way; does the overrepresentation of men in Congress pose a risk for women, to the extent that they might fail to account for female-specific concerns? Contrastingly, could such overrepresentation result in a male-biased policy that might harm women? Would men in Congress have less ethical behaviours when compared to women, in accordance with the theory propagated by the “Lehman Sisters’ advocates”?

On the one hand, these questions might come from the fact that women have some shared interests in light of their similar positioning in a gender-structured society. Generally, women are primarily responsible for care work. In this context, it would be reasonable to expect women to find common ground in the search for childcare, maternity leave, and other policies that ease the care work burden. Moreover, to the extent that women traditionally have not been in positions of power, they might not be accustomed to the role or might lack the opportunities that would allow them to opt whether to participate in unethical or corrupt practices. Women might also take fewer risks due to the education they receive. In general, this education teaches them to behave more humbly than men.

These facts help us to understand, for example, the reasons why women and men behave differently regarding their household spending priorities or savings. Women earn less and hold lower levels of wealth than their male counterparts. Scholars report that they are, in general, more risk-averse than men and are more conservative in their investment choices (Bernasek & Shwiff, 2001; Embrey & Fox, 1997; Faff, et al., 2008). Other studies report significant gender differences in saving behaviours, for example, by showing that, among low to moderate-income households, women tend to save more than men do (Fisher, et al., 2015).

On the other hand, in order to discuss the representation of women, it is necessary to consider whether women (as a group) have unique politically relevant characteristics. Simply put, do they have special interests to which a representative could or should respond (Sapiro, 1981)? Women are half of humanity and are divided by class, religion, race, ideology, and other numerous cleavages. Therefore, while women have some interests in common, there is no consensus over what these are or how they are to be formulated (Molyneux, 1984). In other words, in certain circumstances, race, class, partisan identities, or other structures will generate interests that outweigh those produced by the structures of gender.

This research is therefore undertaken in an effort to understand how these considerations are reflected in the Brazilian Congress. This research intends to assess the main hypothesis and research question: **whether gender affects the behaviour of Federal deputies in Brazil when initiating bills and spending the public budget for the parliamentary activities.**

In order to answer the main hypothesis, this research will test whether:

- When initiating a bill, male deputies have the same theme priorities as female deputies do;
- When initiating a bill, gender interests are equally prioritised by male deputies as they are by female deputies; and
- Male deputies spend and prioritise the public budget for the parliamentary activities similarly to female deputies.

The first two secondary hypotheses intend to identify the general policy preferences of female and male deputies. This will be achieved firstly by focusing on all the bills initiated during the 52nd (from 2003) to the 56th legislatures (until 15 February 2020). Although most of the bills proposed by deputies do not pass³, deputy-initiated bills can be used as a way of drawing attention to particular issues and signalling that action has been taken on a policy of importance to an individual deputy (Murray & Sénac 2014). Therefore, the bills' initiation has been chosen in order to measure the policy priorities of Federal deputies.

This research deepens its focus on how deputies prioritise the bills that relate to gender interests. This research recognises that it is difficult, if not impossible, to generalise the interests of women, or “women’s issues” (the term that is generally used in the literature – see, for example, Swers, 1998; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008; and Dolan, 1998). However, in this research, it is assumed that women generally have certain interests in common. These common interests are hereby called “Gender Interests”, inspired by Molyneux’s effort to differentiate the term from the false homogeneity imposed by the notion of “women's issues” (Molyneux, 1984).

Finally, this research intends to capture any differences in the way deputies spend their budget for out-of-pocket expenses⁴. It will also look at whether there are differences in how they prioritise expenditures. By answering these three main questions, this research takes a “process-focused approach” that might eventually help “outcome-focused studies” answer whether these processes are translated into, for example, changes in political practices (e.g.

³ As an example, from the 1238 Bills initiated in 2006, 75 (6%) were transformed into a law or new proposition, 274 (22%) are still under the legislative procedure awaiting a conclusion, 6 were cancelled by the author, 9 have their status classified as unknown and the **majority, 874 (70%), did not pass**. And as shown by Htun & Power (2006), from 1985 to 2006, more than 75% bills approved by the Brazilian Congress have originated in the executive branch.

⁴ “**Out-of-pocket expenses**” are usually understood as the direct payment of money that may be later reimbursed from a third-party source, for example the amount spent by an employee while travelling for work, which is later reimbursed by the employer.

decreasing gender discrimination in politics) or to changes in public policies (e.g. adopting women-friendly legislation).

In other words, this research acknowledges that focusing on legislator attitudes might not be an adequate measure to address the subject of substantive representation fully. However, it is an important measure to capture *procedural aspects* of substantive representation. These are the first and basic ideas that might complement further (outcome-based) studies, and might help identify what the possible barriers for achieving substantive representation are.

As highlighted by Chattopadhyay & Duflo (2004), little is known about the causal effect of women's representation on policy decisions. The available evidence is often difficult to interpret, because the fact that women are better represented in a particular country or locality may reflect the political preferences of the group that elects them. The correlation between policy outcomes and women's participation then may not imply a causal effect from women's participation. In another example, Besley and Case (2000) show that worker compensation and child support enforcement policies are more likely to be introduced in states where there are more women in parliament, after controlling for state and year fixed effects. But they explicitly recognise that the fraction of women in Parliament may be a proxy for women's involvement in politics, more generally. These are a few reasons why the study of the actual attitudes of females and males are important for understanding representation fully, together with the analysis on the outcomes and on the electoral process that enable (or prevent) women to achieve leadership positions. That is to say, only a clear idea of what the behaviours *inside* the political process are might lead to understanding the whys and how women act (or not) towards substantive representation.

Finally, it is worth noting that this research tests multiple working hypotheses. According to List et al. (2019), multiple hypotheses in experimental economics can be justified in certain circumstances, for example when there are multiple variables of interest and it is desired to determine on which of these a treatment has an effect. This research does not consider gender as a treatment *per se*, but it understands that "behaviour" can be translated into several different procedural aspects. Therefore, it opts to test various factors that might lead to meaningful results to answer its main hypothesis. This method intends to avoid the pitfall of accepting weak or flawed evidence for one hypothesis when another could provide a more elegant hint or solution to answer the main hypothesis.

In short, this research is structured in five parts. Firstly, it describes the state of knowledge on the topic, including the existing literature in developed and developing countries. In the second part, the context is presented, i.e., the overview of the political system and law-making in Brazil, and the history of female deputies in Brazil's legislatures. The review of the literature and the Brazilian context help to formulate the main hypothesis and the three areas for testing, which are described in the third section. The findings are analysed in the

fourth section and, in the last part, the conclusions are used for the elaboration of recommendations.

1.1. What we know so far - literature review

Despite the importance of the questions around the present study, while they have been asked with a certain frequency in the United States and, to a lesser degree, in Western Europe, very little is known about the effect of gender in congressional behaviour in Brazil. Yet, the findings of the existing research may provide theoretical guidelines to understand developing contexts, including Brazil's case.

1.1.1. Evidence from the USA

Many scholars analysing the USA political context argue that male and female legislators behave differently according to their gendered interests. Caiazza (2004), for example, assessed whether there was a difference in behaviour by examining the relationship between the presence of women in Parliament of USA states and the enactment of women-friendly policies, while controlling for factors such as voter turnout, institutional resources for women, attitudes toward women's roles, labour force participation, and the strength of the two major political parties. She did so by examining variations in women's levels of elected representation and whether they coincided with trends in women friendly policy across the 50 American states: she examined whether states with higher levels of women's representation also have better policies for women. She concluded that women's representation and party dominance influence and help advance women-friendly policy.

Swers (1998) also tested the difference in behaviour by assessing the voting records of all representatives in Congress on a set of women's issues. The results of the regression analysis on the composite score of women's issue votes indicated that gender exerts a significant and independent effect on voting for women's issues, most significantly on votes that dealt with abortion and women's health.

Likewise, Thomas (1991) examined a different behaviour by assessing policy priorities of male and female deputies. Her findings revealed that women in USA states with the highest percentages of female representatives introduced and passed more priority bills dealing with issues of women, children, and families than men in their states and more than their female counterparts pass in low representation legislatures.

With a different approach and methodology, Pearson and Dancey (2011) analysed the different behaviours through speechmaking. The authors systematically analysed how members' gender and partisan identities affect gendered rhetoric in their floor speeches in the US Congress. In an analysis of more than 30,000 speeches from 1993 to 2008, they found that when members speak about issues of their choice during one-minute speeches, and

during specific legislative debates, congresswomen in both parties are significantly more likely than men to discuss women, enhancing women's representation.

Other studies focused on other consequences of having more women in politics, for example, the increase in the perception from women legislators that women have increased the extent to which the business of the US legislature is conducted in public, as opposed to behind closed doors (Carroll, 2001), or the influences gender has on social spending (Goertzel, 1983).

Particularly on integrity issues, a considerable body of scholars has found systematic differences in behavioural characteristics across gender. The basic hypothesis proposed by this literature is that men are more individually oriented than women. It has been demonstrated, for instance, that women are more likely to take stronger stances on ethical behaviour (Reiss & Mitra, 1998); behave more generously when faced with economic decisions (Eckel & Grossman, 1998); exhibit 'helping' behaviour (Eagly, 1986); and score more highly on 'integrity tests' (Ones & Viswesvaran, 1998).

1.1.2. Evidence from other Western countries

The findings above have also been reported in other Western countries, such as in Sweden, where Wängnerud (2000) showed that the increase in the participation of female members in the Parliament has increased the proposition of policies designed to women. Likewise, in Belgium, based on the analysis of the speeches from the budget debates of the Belgian Lower House (1900-1979), researchers concluded that women members of Parliament behaved towards the better representation of women (Celis, 2006).

Equally, through a content analysis of Germany's Bundestag plenary debates discussing laws sponsored or cosponsored by the Committee on Families, Seniors, Women, and Children, scholars found that female congressional representatives speak more frequently and more substantively in this set of debates (Xydias, 2007). Finally, a cross-national research on OECD countries demonstrated that an increase in women legislators leads to an increase in the ratio of educational expenditures to GDP. Conversely, as the fraction of female legislators in Ireland, Italy, and Norway decreased in the late 1990s, those countries experienced "a comparable drop in educational expenditures as a percentage of GDP" (Chen, 2009).

1.1.3. Evidence from developing countries

The literature on developing countries is much more limited, and the existing studies tend to focus on the activities and behaviour of females in the Executive branch rather than in the Legislature, or to combine both. For example, Chen (2013) investigated the effects of female

mayors in Taiwan on public spending while controlling for the incumbent party and gender mix in the council at each county. Results suggest that female mayors behave differently from their male colleagues, as they propose a higher share of government funding for social welfare.

Likewise, using a dataset on 265 Village Councils in India, Chattopadhyay & Duflo (2004) found that the reservation of a council seat for a woman affects the types of public goods provided. Specifically, they show that leaders invest more in infrastructure that is directly relevant to the needs of their own genders. Swiss et al. (2012) propose a different approach using cross-national data from 102 developing countries and found that an increase in women legislators leads to a prioritisation in health, an increase in social policy spending, and a decrease in poverty.

Specific studies on Latin America are even more scarce, yet the existing ones report interesting findings. One study on Argentina showed that the introduction of quotas led to a significant increase in the number of women's rights bills introduced into the Argentine Congress, with the vast majority introduced by women (Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008). Another study analysing the effect of gender on legislators' behaviour and bill initiation in Argentina, Colombia, and Costa Rica found statistical support to argue that female legislators place a higher priority on children and family concerns than male legislators (Schwindt-Bayer, 2006).

As for studies on Brazil's contexts, scholars provide evidence that female mayors might behave differently from their male colleagues, as the cities managed by females have better health outcomes and are awarded more federal discretionary transfers than the cities managed by male mayors do (Brollo & Troiano, 2016). Another study analysed whether there is opinion congruence or alignment in the policy preferences of legislators and citizens sharing various identities in Brazil. Drawing on legislative surveys and mass surveys, the scholars concluded that legislators and voters from an underrepresented group (women, Afro-Brazilians, evangelical Christians, and those of lower social class) are generally closer in their opinions than those sharing a party or electoral district are (Boas & Smith, 2019)

1.1.4. Opposing findings

On the opposite end, some studies have revealed conflicting results. By analysing the voting records of US female and male congressional representatives, Frederick (2016) concluded that gender exerts minimal influence on how legislators cast their votes, except for female Republican Senators who are noticeably more liberal than Republicans are, in both the US House and Senate. According to his findings, partisanship supersedes both gender and institution in determining ideological positioning in the US contemporary Congress.

Likewise, Schwindt-Bayer & Corbetta (2004) argue that the studies showing gender affecting congressional representatives' behaviour may have produced misleading results because of insufficient controls for constituency influences. Then, to better account for these effects, they used a longitudinal research design based on electoral turnover, holding constituency constant while allowing gender and party to vary. As a result, they concluded that gender is not a determinant of the liberalness of a representative's roll-call voting behaviour.

Finally, a study using a dataset of policy views of members of the Brazilian Congress assessed the nature of support for gender-related policy issues. It concluded that differences of opinions among congressional representatives derive from party membership more than from sex (Htun & Power, 2006).

Building on the lessons from Schwindt-Bayer (2006), this research considers that much of the variation may be derived from the various approaches adopted by the studies. On one hand, "process-focused studies" ask whether gender differences in legislators' attitudes and activities change the issues represented in the chamber. On the other hand, "outcome-focused studies" capture different dependent variables, looking either to changes in political practice (for example, decreasing gender discrimination in politics) or to changes in public policies (adopting women-friendly legislation).

Thus, while studies of legislator attitudes and behaviour might find that there are differences between male and female legislators, scholars focusing on outcomes often find that women's presence has neither empowered women as political actors nor dramatically transformed public policy. Thus, a focus on legislator behaviour often yields more optimistic conclusions than a focus on legislative outcomes does.

In this sense, this research acknowledges that focusing on legislator attitudes might not be the adequate measures of substantive representation: beliefs do not translate automatically into action, and actions might not be transformed into policy change. Legislators' attempts to represent women are mediated by the norms and procedures that shape the institutional environment. Therefore, although failing to reveal policy outcomes, bill introduction and public budget expenditure are important measure to capture *procedural aspects* of substantive representation. This research assumes that the comprehensive understanding of these procedural aspects is crucial for enabling further (outcome-based) studies to identify what the possible barriers for achieving substantive representation are.

1.2. What we still need to identify and why it matters

As seen, there is indeed a considerable body of scholars trying to address the question as to whether gender affects the behaviour of policymakers. However, most of the research focuses on the United States and a few other Western countries. In fact, as Paxton & Hughes (2007)

appoint, the way current research discusses women's impact is often Western—defining women's issues as Western feminist issues and assuming democratic channels of power.

Therefore, knowing that culture might play a significant role on behaviour and procedural practices, and given this research focus, the evidence must be collected, analysed and concluded at the country level. In this sense, researches focused on other countries, or using, for example, cross-country data, would not be externally valid and applicable to understand and capture Brazil's gendered behaviour context.

Additionally, having one of the most fragmented party systems and some of the highest rates of party switching in the world, ideology and congruence along party lines play a minor role in the country's political arrangements. Politicians tend to choose parties based on career ambitions and stance vis-à-vis the current government rather than policy positions (Boas & Smith, 2019; Desposato, 2009). These particularities can affect how congressional representatives behave, which would again pose limitations on the usability of other countries' research results to understand Brazil's reality.

Therefore, despite the considerable body of scholars studying gender and behaviour of policymakers all over the world, this research aims at providing evidence and explanations applicable to the Brazilian context. While the latter might lead to the conclusion that the results and analysis herein are limited to one context only, it is also believed that the present methodology can be easily replicated to other countries.

Furthermore, this research provides evidence on a field not commonly explored by scholars, given its rather low relevance to the public budget: how deputies spend the public budget for out-of-pocket expenses. A low scrutiny can result in more liberty for deputies to use the amount according to their individual preferences, without political captures or other interests, and therefore this field can bring interesting insights to the debate on gendered behaviours.

In this sense, this research aims at closing research gaps of a country in which men historically represent more than 85% of the total seats of the Parliament, and that has neither an extensive literature on deputies' behaviours, nor on the gender impact on policymaking. Finally, this research might contribute to the debate on the need to clarify the differences between practices (e.g. behaviours) from outcomes (e.g. the enactment of more women-friendly policies), and might eventually inspire future researches on the links between both.

2. Context

2.1. Overview of the political system and law-making in Brazil

The political scientist Mainwaring (1997) defined Brazil's political arrangement as a system with strong presidential powers, a large effective number of parties, comparatively weakly disciplined parties, and a strong federalism.

The country's Federal system dates back to the country's independence in 1889. Since 1988, Brazil's Federal Republic is composed of twenty-six autonomous states, one Federal District (Brasília), and 5,570 municipalities. The country is organised under a presidential system of government, ruled per the Federal Constitution of 1988, enacted following the end of the military dictatorship (1964 to 1985)⁵. The Constitution established the format of presidential elections to an absolute majority, with a runoff election between the two top finishers if nobody wins a majority in the first round. Since 1994, presidents are allowed one consecutive re-election⁶.

The National Congress (*Congresso Nacional*), which is formed by the Chamber of Deputies (*Câmara dos Deputados*) and the Federal Senate (*Senado Federal*), represents the legislative branch at the Federal level. The Congress meets every year in two sessions of four and a half months each. The Brazilian Federal Constitution provides the Congress with the power to rule in matters involving the federal government, particularly those related to fiscal policies and its administration. The Congress also ratifies international treaties negotiated by the executive, authorises the President to declare war, and decides whether the federal government may intervene in the affairs of the states. If the President vetoes a congressional bill or any of its provisions, the Congress has 30 days to overrule the veto by an absolute majority vote.

Similar to other presidential countries, a relevant proportion of policies in Brazil is initiated by the government. Nonetheless, bills can also be initiated by any parliamentarian (deputy or senator), individually or collectively, by any committee of the Chamber of Deputies, the Federal Senate, or the National Congress, by the Supreme Federal Court, the Superior Courts, the Attorney General and by civic participation. Federal deputies can initiate several instruments that might lead to law or policy, for example: Proposed Amendment to the Constitution (*Proposta de Emenda à Constituição*, PEC), Conversion Bill (*Projeto de Lei de Conversão*, PLV), Draft Chamber Resolution (*Projeto de Resolução da Câmara*, PRC); Complementary Bill (*Projeto de Lei Complementar*, PLC) and Ordinary Bills (*Projeto de Lei Ordinária*, PL). Overall, *Projetos de Lei* (PL) are the most common instrument deputies

⁵ Presidentialism has usually been the rule during the country's democratic periods, except during a short-lived experiment of September 1961 to January 1963, when a semi-presidential regime was implemented

⁶ Originally, the 1988 Constitution prohibited reelections for the Executive branch. Such prohibition was changed due to a constitutional amendment of 1994

initiate to approve laws and represented 14% of all propositions initiated by deputies in 2019⁷⁸.

The Chamber of Deputies comprises 513 representatives of the country's states, who are elected every four years by direct universal suffrage. Deputies may be re-elected indefinitely. The number of deputies per state is proportional to the state's population, but no state can be represented in the chamber by more than 70 or by fewer than 8 deputies.

The 81-seat Federal Senate is composed of three representatives from each state and the Federal District, who serve eight-year terms and can be re-elected indefinitely. Senatorial elections are held every four years, alternating between one-third (27) and the remaining two-thirds (54) of the seats. Similar to the Chamber of Deputies, the residents of each state directly elect the senators.

Brazil's party system is among the most fragmented ones in the world (Mainwaring, 1997). Currently, there are thirty-three parties duly registered before the Electoral Superior Court to function (Appendix 1 for the complete list). As for the parties' representation in the 56th Legislature (2019 – 2023), twenty-four parties are represented in the Chamber of Deputies and sixteen in the Senate. Although often criticised (for example, by Sartori, 2001, and D'Agostino, 2013), the current situation of high fragmentation does not seem it will be addressed in the near future – in January 2019; there were 75 requests of parties' formation under review before the Electoral Superior Court⁹.

In this context of fragmentation, the President's party alone does not have the majority of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies, resulting in a need and incentive for the formation of coalitions, which is usually comprised of various parties. This system's particularity is commonly referred to as “coalitional presidentialism” (*presidencialismo de coalizão*). This concept is usually attributed to the Brazilian political scientist, Sergio Abranches (1988), who was among the first scholars to recognise that presidentialism can work like parliamentarism.

In addition to being highly fragmented, Brazil has some of the highest rates of party switching in the world. As evidenced by scholars, the phenomenon in the country is not “transitional”, but rather chronic and enduring: it exceeds one-third of deputies during the average legislative session (Desposato, 2006). As an example, Brazil's current President, Jair Bolsonaro, who was a deputy at the Chamber of Deputies from 1991 to 2018, switched parties nine times. After being elected President in 2018 as a member of the Social Liberal Party

⁷ Federal Deputies initiated 79 different types of instruments in 2019. The most initiated instrument was the Request (*Requerimento, REQ*), which does not lead to law, but might be used to request information, or to request the initiation of a public hearing. *Projeto de Lei* was the third most initiated instrument in 2019.

⁸ Hereinafter, Bills shall refer to *Projeto de Lei Ordinária* only

⁹ (2020).

(*Partido Social Liberal*), he left the party in November 2019 and announced his intention to form a new one – the Alliance for Brazil¹⁰.

In this context, there are fewer issues congruence along party lines, and ideology play a minor role in the country's political arrangements. In other words, politicians tend to choose parties based on career ambitions and stance vis-à-vis the current government rather than policy positions (Boas & Smith, 2019; Desposato, 2009).

Brazil's electoral system is also worth noting. Deputies are elected to the Chamber of Deputies through open list proportional representation. Voters cast their votes for either a political party or an individual. Votes given to candidates from each party are pooled and added to the votes received by that party to give a total party vote; this is used to determine the number of seats won by each party. The candidates with the most votes on each party list win the seats allocated to that party. Voting in Brazil is compulsory for all literate citizens over 18 and under 70, and optional for citizens who are aged 16 and 17, older than 70 or illiterate.

According to Nicolau (2006), the use of the open list system in Brazil is remarkable for a series of reasons, starting with its longevity. No other country in the world has utilised the open list for so many years. Moreover, one should note the size of the Brazilian electorate, particularly when compared to the other countries adopting the same model: there are 147 million voters in Brazil (2018), in contrast, there are, for example, 30.2 million in Poland (2019); 23.5 million in Peru (2018); 14 million in Chile (2017); and 4.2 million in Finland (2019) – some countries that adopt open list system (International Foundation for Electoral Systems, 2020).

2.2. History of females in Brazil's legislatures

Brazilian women have the right to vote since 1932, through the Decree nº 21.076, later consolidated in the Constitution of 1934. In the elections of 1933, Carlota Pereira de Queirós was the first female deputy in Brazil to be elected through direct elections, representing the State of São Paulo. She also carries the title of being the first elected deputy in all Latin America (Oriá, 2004). Since then, there has been a slow increase in the percentage of females in the Chamber of Deputies – from less than 1% in 1933 to 15% in 2018, when 77 women were elected (Table 1 and Figure 2-1).

Table 1 - Number of female deputies in Brazil, per election and legislature

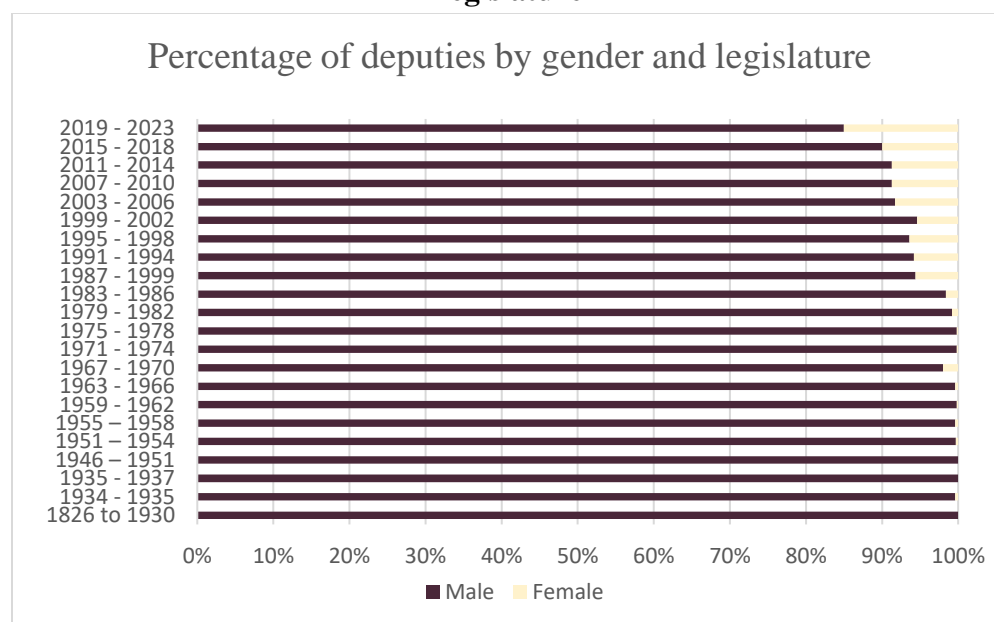
Legislature	Election year	Years	Number of Female Deputies
1 to 35	-	1826 to 1930	0
36	1933	1934 - 1935	1

¹⁰ As of February 2020, the Alliance for Brazil is yet to be formed, and therefore Jair Bolsonaro is the first President in Brazil after the redemocratization without a party affiliation.

37	1934	1935 - 1937	0
38	1945	1946 – 1951	0
39	1950	1951 – 1954	1
40	1954	1955 – 1958	2
41	1958	1959 – 1962	1
42	1962	1963 – 1966	2
43	1966	1967 – 1970	6
44	1970	1971 – 1974	1
45	1974	1975 – 1978	1
46	1978	1979 – 1982	4
47	1982	1983 – 1986	8
48	1986	1987 – 1990	29
49	1990	1991 – 1994	30
50	1994	1995 - 1998	33
51	1998	1999 – 2002	28
52	2002	2003 – 2006	43
53	2006	2007 - 2010	45
54	2010	2011 - 2014	45
55	2014	2015 - 2018	51
56	2018	2019 - 2022	77

Source: Author, based on the data from the *Câmara dos Deputados* (2020)

Figure 2-1 - Percentage of deputies in the Chamber of Deputies, by gender and legislature



Source: Author, based on the data from the Chamber of Deputies (2020)

In 1979, Eunice Michiles became the first female senator in Brazil, replacing Senator João Bosco de Lima after his demise. It was only in 1990 that the first females were directly elected senators¹¹ – Júnia Marise representing the state of Minas Gerais and Marluce Pinto, representing Roraima. Since its independence, Brazil has had 40 female senators, out of which only 34 have been directly elected. Moreover, two states have never had a female senator – Amapá and Pernambuco (see Table 2). In the current legislature, there are 12 female senators (14.8% of the seats).

Table 2 - Female senators in Brazil, per legislature

Legislature	Senator	Party	State	Total
1975-1983	Laélia de Alcântara	PMDB	Acre	1
1979-1987	Eunice Michiles	ARENA	Amazonas	1
1987- 1995	Eva Blay	PSDB	São Paulo	1
1991 - 1999	Júnia Marise	PRN	Minas Gerais	2
	Marluce Pinto	PTB	Roraima	
1995 - 2003	Benedita da Silva	PT	Rio de Janeiro	4
	Emília Fernandes	PTB	Rio Grande do Sul	
	Marina Silva	PT	Acre	
	Marluce Pinto	PTB	Roraima	
1999 - 2007	Heloísa Helena	PT	Alagoas	2
	Maria do Carmo Alves	PFL	Sergipe	
2003 - 2011	Ana Júlia Carepa	PT	Pará	8
	Fátima Cleide	PT	Rondônia	
	Ideli Salvatti	PT	Santa Catarina	
	Lúcia Vânia	PSDB	Goiás	
	Marina Silva	PT	Acre	
	Patrícia Saboya	PPS	Ceará	
	Roseana Sarney	PFL	Maranhão	
	Serys Shessarenko	PT	Mato Grosso	
2007 - 2015	Maria do Carmo Alves	PFL	Sergipe	4
	Marisa Serrano	PSDB	Mato Grosso do Sul	
	Rosalba Ciarlini	PFL	Rio Grande do Norte	
	Kátia Abreu	PFL	Tocantins	
2011 - 2019	Ana Amélia Lemos	PP	Rio Grande do Sul	
	Ana Rita Esgário	PT	Espírito Santo	

¹¹ By direct election, this research means the person that the electorate has directly chosen through the elections, in contrast to the appointment to a position due to the leave of the original elected person (for reasons such as death, voluntary dismiss, election to a position in the Executive branch, etc.).

	Ângela Portela	PT	Roraima	9
	Gleisi Hoffmann	PT	Paraná	
	Lídice da Mata	PSB	Bahia	
	Lúcia Vânia	PSDB	Goiás	
	Marinor Brito	PSOL	Pará	
	Marta Suplicy	PT	São Paulo	
	Vanessa Grazziotin	PCdoB	Amazonas	
2015 - 2023	Fátima Bezerra	PT	Rio Grande do Norte	6
	Kátia Abreu	PMDB	Tocantins	
	Maria do Carmo Alves	DEM	Sergipe	
	Regina Sousa	PT	Piauí	
	Rose de Freitas	PMDB	Espírito Santo	
	Simone Tebet	PMDB	Mato Grosso do Sul	
2019 - 2027	Daniela Ribeiro	Progressistas	Paraíba	8
	Eliziane Gama	PPS	Maranhão	
	Leila Barros	PSB	Distrito Federal	
	Mailza Gomes	PSDB	Acre	
	Mara Gabrilli	PSDB	São Paulo	
	Selma Arruda	PSL	Mato Grosso	
	Soraya Thronicke	PSL	Mato Grosso do Sul	
	Zenaide Maia	PHS	Rio Grande do Norte	

Source: Author, based on the data from the *Congresso Nacional* (2020)

Considering the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, Brazil has 89 congresswomen in the current legislature (approximately 15% of the total seats). With these numbers, together with Bahrain and Paraguay, Brazil ranks the 133th position on the map of Women in Politics, among 193 countries (Inter-Parliamentary Union & UN Women, 2019).

Electoral quotas for females in Brazil

As seen, the percentage of females in the Brazilian Congress has always been low, and the situation persists today, even after more than 20 years since the first introduction of electoral quotas for women. The electoral quotas for women in Brazil were first introduced in 1995 by the Law No. 9100, which regulated the following year's elections for mayors and members of the Municipal Chambers. Law No. 9504 of 1997, which regulated state and federal elections, extended the principle for the elections for state Legislative Assemblies and the Chamber of Deputies – until today, the quotas do still not concern the Senate.

Law No. 9100/1995 mandated that women should fill 20% of vacancies on party lists for the Municipal Chambers; Law No. 9504/1997 increased that figure to 30%, a proportion that has been kept in all subsequent elections, whether at the municipal, state or federal levels. According to Miguel (2008), Brazilian legislation on female quotas brings three

particularities. First, the quotas are for candidacies, not for seats in parliament. Second, at the same time as it instituted the vacancy reserve for women, the legislation also increased the number of candidacies each party or coalition may present. Finally, parties and coalitions are not required to fill all the vacancies allotted to women: it is just that they are not allowed to replace them with men. Taken together, these three peculiarities substantially reduce the impact of quotas on the composition of the legislature in Brazil.

Moreover, as seen above, Brazil's electoral system operates under open lists. In other words, and to the extent that open lists might motivate internal competition among candidates from the same party or coalition, those candidates with greater campaign resources, whether in the form of material assets or media attention, electoral contacts or other forms of political capital, are frequently advantaged (Miguel, 2008; Mainwaring, 1999). Therefore, it is not surprising men are found to be at an advantage in such systems.

Additionally, the law that imposes the quotas on parties foresees only weak sanctions in the cases it is not observed. Moreover, according to Miguel (2008), the higher number of female candidates pulverised votes for women overall, thus reducing each candidate's chances of success. Therefore, since its implementation, it has been challenging to transform candidacy vacancies into seats in the legislative branch and increase; therefore, the percentage of female representatives.

2.3. The quotas for the exercise of the parliamentary activity (CEAP)

The monthly salary of a Federal deputy in Brazil currently amounts to 33,763 Brazilian Reais¹², which is 32 times more than the country's minimum wage¹³. Besides the salary, most deputies are entitled to a housing allowance, amounting up to 4,253 Brazilian Reais per month. This budget is not intended to cover costs related to hiring staff, as each deputy is also entitled to receive, every month, up to 111.675,59 Brazilian Reais, only to cover the costs for hiring up to 25 parliamentary secretaries, who are freely appointed by the deputies.

In addition to the salary, housing allowance, and budget to hiring staff, each and all deputies are entitled to receive a "quota for the exercise of the parliamentary activity" (*Cota para o Exercício da Atividade Parlamentar*, the "CEAP"). The CEAP is intended to compensate costs (*out-of-pocket expenses*) that deputies may incur in the exercise of their activities. Although the reimbursable costs are expressly provided in the regulation of the CEAP, the list is broad and extensive, covering expenses related to: airfare; telephony and postal services; maintenance of offices; publications; meals; accommodation; transportation (including the rent of aircraft, vehicles, and boats); taxi services, parking and land, sea or

¹² Equivalent to, approximately, 7,184 EUR, in the Exchange rate in force on 22 February, 2020

¹³ As of February 2020, Brazil's minimum wage is 1,045 Brazilian Reais, equivalent to 222 EUR in the Exchange rate of 22 February 2020.

river passes; fuel; security services; hiring consultancy and technical work; participation in courses, lectures, seminars, congresses or similar events; and complementing housing assistance.

The maximum monthly amount of CEAP that the deputies are entitled to depends on the state that they represent¹⁴, ranging from 30,788 Brazilian Reais, for the deputies representing the Federal District, to 45,612 Brazilian Reais, for the deputies representing the State of Roraima. Overall, the CEAP is paid upon the receipt of the expenses incurred, and the deputies have up to three months to submit the receipts to receive the reimbursement. Any outstanding amount of the CEAP that has not been used in a month is accumulated throughout the year.

Therefore, in a month, one deputy might cost up to 195,303 Brazilian Reais¹⁵ for the Federal budget, or the equivalent to what would an employee earn receiving a minimum wage for more than 15 years.

¹⁴ This variation is due to the fact that flight tickets costs depend on the distance between the states and Brasilia, where the Chamber of Deputies is physically located, and the cost variation affects the calculation of the CEAP

¹⁵ Equivalent to, approximately, 41,000 EUR in the Exchange rate of 22 February 2020

3. Research question and hypotheses

This research intends to assess the main hypothesis of whether **gender affects the behaviour of Federal deputies in Brazil when initiating a Bill¹⁶ and spending the public budget for the parliamentary activities.**

To analyse the overall research question, this research tests three main secondary hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1.1: When initiating a Bill, male deputies have the same theme priorities as female deputies do;

Hypothesis 1.2: When initiating a Bill, gender interests are equally prioritised by male deputies as they are by female deputies;

- *Hypothesis 1.2.1:* Male and female deputies proportionally initiate the same number of Bills on each of the gender interests,
- *Hypothesis 1.2.2.:* The groups of male and female deputies equally prioritise Bills on Gender Interests, regardless of their parties.

Hypothesis 1.3: Male deputies spend and prioritise the CEAP¹⁷ budget similarly to female deputies;

- *Hypothesis 1.3.1:* Male deputies prioritise the same CEAP budget categories when compared to female deputies,
- *Hypothesis 1.3.2:* Male deputies spend equally the CEAP budget when compared to female deputies in each type of expenditure; and
- *Hypothesis 1.3.3:* Male deputies spend equally the CEAP budget when compared to female deputies in each political party.

The first two hypotheses intend to identify the general policy preferences of female and male deputies. This will be achieved firstly by focusing on all the Bills initiated during the 52nd (from 2003) to the 56th legislatures (until 15 February 2020). Although most of the Bills proposed by deputies do not pass, the Bills' initiation has been chosen in order to measure the policy priorities of Federal deputies.

This research deepens its focus on how deputies prioritise the Bills that relate to gender interests. Finally, the third hypothesis intends to capture any differences in the way deputies spend their budget for out-of-pocket expenses and whether there are differences in how they prioritise the expenditures.

By answering these three main questions, this research takes a “process-focused approach” that might eventually help “outcome-focused studies” answer whether these processes are translated into, for example, changes in political practice (e.g., decreasing gender

¹⁶ As defined in the Chapter 2, “Bills” refer to *Projeto de Lei Ordinária* only

¹⁷ The “quotas for the exercise of the parliamentary activity”, as defined in Chapter 2

discrimination in politics) or to changes in public policies (adopting women-friendly legislation).

In other words, this research acknowledges that focusing on legislator attitudes might not be an adequate measure to address the subject of substantive representation fully. However, it is an important measure to capture *procedural aspects* of substantive representation. These are the first and basic ideas for enabling further (outcome-based) studies on, for example, the identification of what the possible barriers for achieving substantive representation are.

It is worth noting that this research tests multiple secondary working hypotheses, since it assumes that “behaviour” can be translated into several different procedural aspects. Therefore, it opts to test the factors that can be empirically tested with the best available data and that might lead to meaningful results to assess behavioural aspects of Federal deputies.

3.1. Data and sources

In order to analyse the gender effect on the congressional behaviour at the Brazil’s Chamber of Deputies this research analyses:

- **Bills overview:** all Bills initiated during the legislatures 52nd to 56th (until 15 February 2020) - 37,493 Bills (herein referred to as “Bills Dataset”);
- **Gender interests:** Bills initiated during the legislatures 52nd to 56th (until 15 February 2020) that contain in their description or indexation the pre-determined keywords that refer to certain issues that might concern one gender more (specified in Table 3) - 3,508 Bills (herein referred to as “Gender Interests Dataset”);
- **Deputies’ data:** Data on the gender and party of 7,620 deputies that were elected or served from the 1st to 56th legislatures, until 15 February 2020 (herein referred to as “Deputies Dataset”);
- **Parties’ data:** Data on the organisation and acronyms of parties serving the Chamber of Deputies during the 52nd to 56th legislatures; and
- **CEAP:** Data sets on the use of the CEAP from January 2008 until February 2020 (herein referred to as “CEAP Dataset”);

The information on how the datasets were assembled and cleaned can be found in detail in the Appendix 2.

Table 3 - Keywords used in search for Bills on Gender Interests

Search keyword (original in Portuguese)	Search keyword (translation to English)
<i>Mulher e/ou mulheres</i>	Woman and/or women
<i>Criança</i>	Child
<i>Violência conjugal e/ou violência doméstica</i>	Conjugal violence and/or domestic violence

<i>Maternidade</i>	Maternity
<i>Estupro</i>	Rape
<i>Mãe</i>	Mother
<i>Gravidez</i>	Pregnancy
<i>Paternidade</i>	Paternity
<i>Amamentação</i>	Breast-feeding
<i>Prostituição</i>	Prostitution
<i>Licença parental</i>	Parental leave

Source: Author

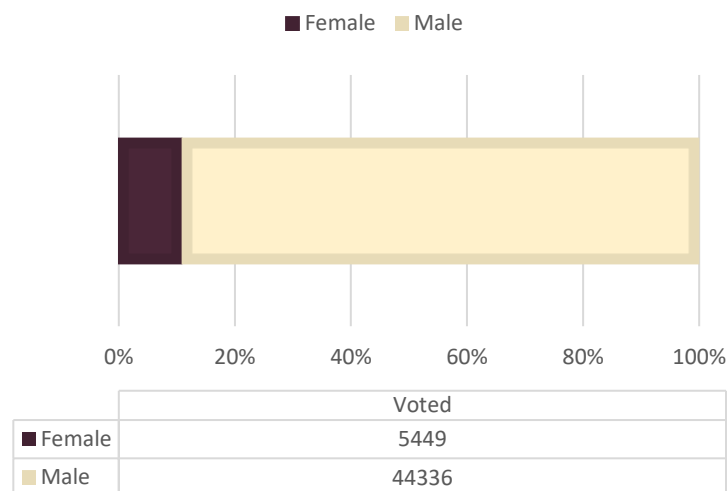
3.2. Methodology and findings

Hypothesis 1.1: When initiating a Bill, male deputies have the same theme priorities as female deputies do.

In order to test the first hypothesis, the researcher uses the Bills' Dataset. Firstly, it is noted that some Bills refer to two or three different themes. Therefore, for those cases, the rows with more than one theme were unlisted, and the values of the themes were added to new rows with the same values of other variables. This exercise extended the data to 50,033 observations.

Some Bills were initiated by a more than one deputy, sometimes of a different gender. For the analysis of the gender distribution of authors, these rows are removed; hence the table with Bills initiated by deputies of a sole gender had 49,785 observations of themes initiated by 190 female deputies and 1520 male deputies. The percentage of these results are presented in Figure 3-1.

Figure 3-1 – Percentage of Bills initiated by each gender – 2003 to 2020

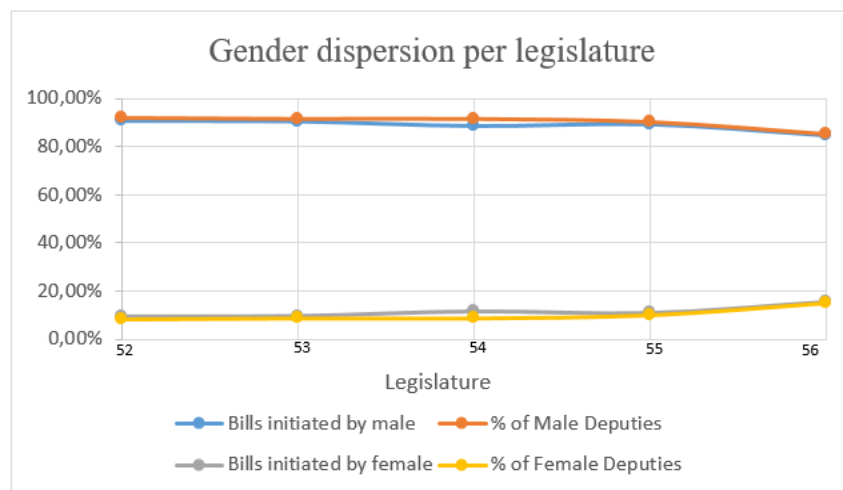


Source: Author

Thus, in order to analyse the gender distribution of initiated Bills, this research considers the total number of Bills initiated by males and females during the whole period.

As seen in **Figure 2-1**, there has been a significant growth of the female share in the legislatures in the past years. Likewise, the ratio of the total sum of Bills initiated by females and males to the correspondent number of female and male deputies are approximately the same (see **Figure 3-2** for the historical variations of the values).

Figure 3-2 – Percentage of Bills initiated by each gender, compared to the percentage of female and male deputies at the Chamber of Deputies – 52nd to 56th Legislatures



Source: Author

This research investigates female and male deputy activities and themes priority in initiating Bills. The results are presented in

Table 4. The columns on “Number of Bills” show how many Bills were initiated on each of the 31 themes listed in Table 2 – 1 of the Appendix 2, by female deputies, male deputies, and total.

Table 4 - Activity and odd distribution by themes and gender

<i>Description</i>	<i>Number of Bills</i>			<i>Priority Index</i>			<i>Strength and Ratio</i>		
<i>Theme</i>	<i>Femal e</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Fem ale %</i>	<i>Male %</i>	<i>Total %</i>	<i>Female Odd</i>	<i>Male Odd</i>	<i>Odd Rati o</i>
Human rights and minorities	884	3669	4553	16%	8%	9%	1.75	0.91	1.93
Labour and employment	472	3485	3957	9%	8%	8%	1.07	0.99	1.08
Criminal law	338	3115	3453	6%	7%	7%	0.88	1.01	0.87
Health	492	2950	3442	9%	7%	7%	1.29	0.96	1.33
Public Finance and Budget	282	3083	3365	5%	7%	7%	0.75	1.03	0.73
Public Administration	304	2941	3245	6%	7%	7%	0.84	1.02	0.83

Education	416	2653	3069	8%	6%	6%	1.22	0.97	1.25
Industry, Commerce and Services	182	2221	2403	3%	5%	5%	0.68	1.04	0.66
Transport and mobility	177	2150	2327	3%	5%	5%	0.68	1.04	0.66
Security and Defence	180	1785	1965	3%	4%	4%	0.82	1.02	0.81
Procedural law (civil)	172	1743	1915	3%	4%	4%	0.81	1.02	0.79
Environment and Sustainable Development	143	1643	1786	3%	4%	4%	0.72	1.03	0.70
Cities and Urban Development	164	1605	1769	3%	4%	4%	0.83	1.02	0.82
Tributes and Commemorative Dates	216	1493	1709	4%	3%	3%	1.14	0.98	1.16
Consumer Protection	151	1446	1597	3%	3%	3%	0.85	1.02	0.84
Communications	137	1199	1336	3%	3%	3%	0.92	1.01	0.91
Social security and pension	147	1153	1300	3%	3%	3%	1.02	1.00	1.02
Economy	84	1168	1252	2%	3%	3%	0.60	1.05	0.58
Energy, Water and Minerals	98	980	1078	2%	2%	2%	0.82	1.02	0.80
Politics, Parties and Election	109	712	821	2%	2%	2%	1.19	0.98	1.22
Art, Culture and Religion	90	659	749	2%	1%	2%	1.08	0.99	1.09
Sport and leisure	56	610	666	1%	1%	1%	0.76	1.03	0.73
Agriculture, Livestock, Fishing and Extraction	39	551	590	1%	1%	1%	0.59	1.05	0.57
Land protection and land structure	28	400	428	1%	1%	1%	0.59	1.05	0.56
Sciences, Technology and Innovation	29	236	265	1%	1%	1%	0.98	1.00	0.98
Law and Justice	15	237	252	0%	1%	1%	0.54	1.06	0.51
Tourism	13	180	193	0%	0%	0%	0.61	1.05	0.58
International Relations and Trade	9	137	146	0%	0%	0%	0.55	1.06	0.53
Constitutional Law	7	67	74	0%	0%	0%	0.85	1.02	0.84
Legislative procedures	9	43	52	0%	0%	0%	1.56	0.93	1.67
Social Sciences and Humanities	6	22	28	0%	0%	0%	1.93	0.88	2.18
Sum	5449	44336	5	4978	100	%	100%	100%	

Source: Author

The columns on “Priority Index” (PI) of

Table 4 show the priority of female and male deputies on each theme, and were calculated as:

$$\begin{aligned}PI(female)_A &= \frac{ThemeInitiated_{Female_A}}{TotalInitiated_{Female}} \\PI(male)_A &= \frac{ThemeInitiated_{Male_A}}{TotalInitiated_{Male}} \\PI(total)_A &= \frac{ThemeInitiated_{Total_A}}{TotalInitiated_{Total}}\end{aligned}$$

Being:

$ThemeInitiated_{Female_A}$: Number of Bills initiated by females on theme A

$ThemeInitiated_{Male_A}$: Number of Bills initiated by males on theme A

$TotalInitiated_{Female}$: Number of all Bills initiated by females

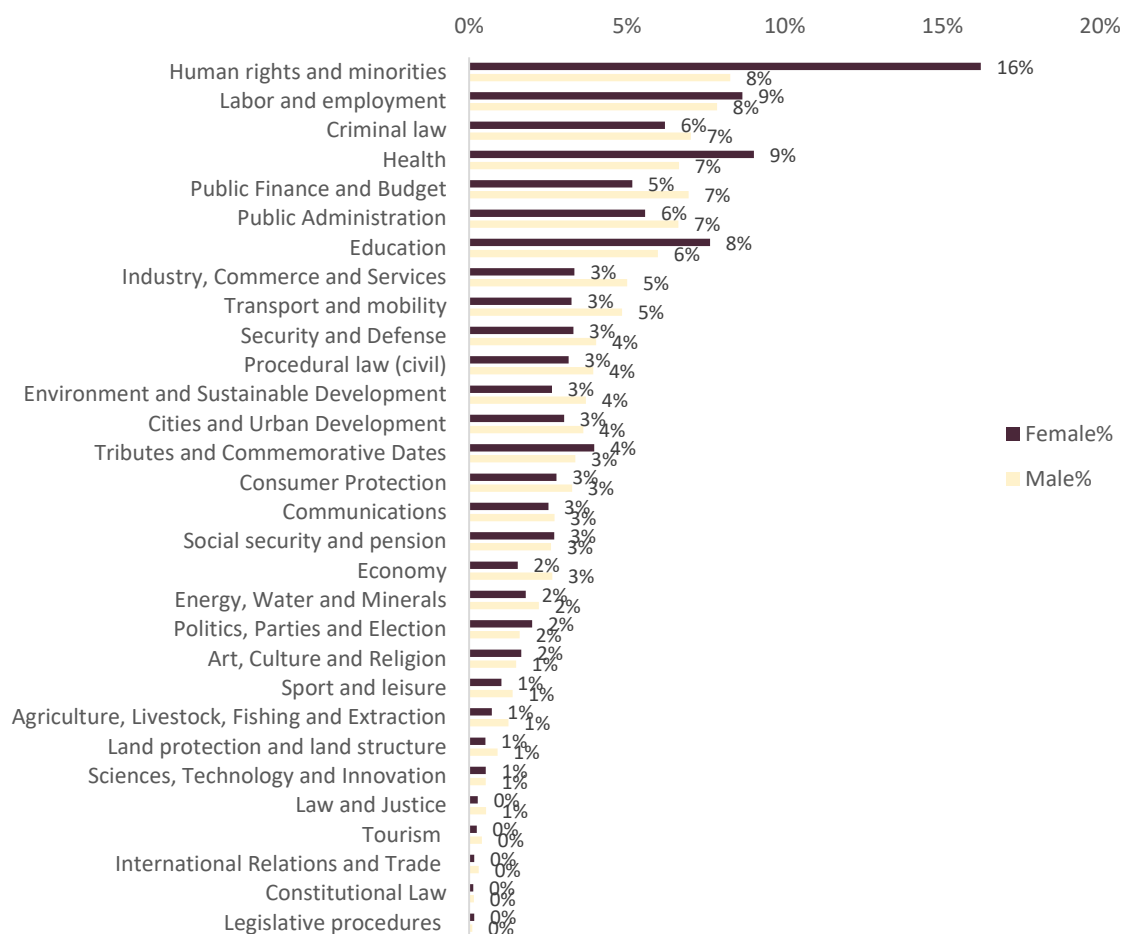
$TotalInitiated_{Male}$: Number of all Bills initiated by males

$ThemeInitiated_{Total_A}$: Number of Bills initiated by males and females on theme A

$TotalInitiated_{Total}$: Number of all Bills initiated by males and females

This measure represents the relation between all Bills males and females presented on theme A, related to all Bills initiated by the relevant gender. In other words, it can be interpreted as the priority a gender applies to each theme. Figure 3-3 shows these values ordered by the decreasing value of ‘total %’.

Figure 3-3 – Themes priority in Bills Initiation, by gender (52nd to 56th Legislature)



Source: Author

The columns of Table 4 on “Strength and Ratio” show the participation of a gender in a theme relative to the gender share of the total number of themes in the data set. They are calculated as:

$$Odd_{Female\ A} = \frac{\frac{ThemeInitiated_{Female\ A}}{ThemeInitiated_{Total\ A}}}{\frac{TotalInitiated_{Female}}{TotalInitiated_{Total}}}$$

$$Odd_{Male\ A} = \frac{\frac{ThemeInitiated_{Male\ A}}{ThemeInitiated_{Total\ A}}}{\frac{TotalInitiated_{Male}}{TotalInitiated_{Total}}}$$

The last column ‘odd ratio’ is the ratio of the previous measures. It represents the comparison between female and male priorities for each theme and is calculated as:

$$OddRatio A = \frac{Odd_{Female A}}{Odd_{Male A}} = \frac{\frac{ThemeInitiated_{Female A}}{ThemeInitiated_{Male A}}}{\frac{TotalInitiated_{Female}}{TotalInitiated_{Male}}}$$

The themes whose odd ratio is greater than 1.0 might be considered as being of female domain. In contrast, themes whose odd ratio is smaller than 1.0 might be considered as being of male domain, as shown in Figure 3-4.

Figure 3-4 – Odd distribution of themes per Bills Initiated, by gender



Source: Author

Hypothesis 1.2: When initiating a bill, gender interests are equally prioritised by male deputies as they are by female deputies.

Hypothesis 1.2.1: Male and female deputies proportionally initiate the same number of Bills on each of the Gender Interests

Hypothesis 1.2.2.: The groups of male and female deputies equally prioritise Bills on Gender Interests, regardless of their parties.

In order to test the Hypothesis 1.2.1., this research considers each Gender Interest separately, and for the Hypotheses 1.2.2., all Gender Interests are collectively taken into account.

Before starting the quantitative assessments, the research intended to qualitatively assess whether the Bills of the Gender Interest Dataset would not act against Gender Interests (e.g., by decreasing the rights of females). In order for the qualitative assessment to be based on objective criteria, it has been established that a Bill would only be characterised as “against Gender Interests”, and therefore discarded from the sample of the analysis, if:

- It intended to create new criminal charges, or increase existing criminal penalties, against children or adolescents;
- It intended to revoke or diminish women’s rights that are currently in force (or were by the time of the bill proposition), or if it intended to create new criminal charges or increase existing criminal penalties against women; or
- It disproportionately and negatively affected the LGBTQ+ community.

Given the research’s scope and hypotheses, these three criteria were elected due to their relative objectivity. Otherwise, other methodologies would have been needed in order to assess and classify each Bill per their contribution or conflict against Gender Interests. For example, several Bills within the Gender Interest “Child” were initiated intending to amend the current laws on children adoption, which is criticised by some for being too “bureaucratic” and for making the judicial procedures for adoption too long. However, others argue that the existing laws are necessary and are in place to protect the children.

Likewise, several Bills are initiated to make the communication from the hospitals to the police force mandatory at any sign of violence against women. The possible effects of such measures are often supported, but are also criticised by feminist groups¹⁸. Therefore, although recognising its importance for better understanding the impact of gender on deputies’ behaviour, given this research limitations, it would not have been feasible to classify each one of the Gender Interest Bills according to their possible effects on Gender Interests.

Thus, in accordance with these limited criteria, the research found 72 Bills within the Gender Interest “Child” intending to create new criminal charges or increase existing penalties against children or adolescents (see Appendix 3). Overall, such Bills intended to amend the Federal Statute of the Child and Adolescent, approved in 1990. The Statue provides for

¹⁸ For example, the PL 2538/2019 authored by the female deputy Renata Abreu (Pode-SP) intended to oblige health care services immediately notify police authorities when in contact with suspected cases of violence against women. In its justification, the author mentions that the communication between hospitals and police stations would improve data collection and would assist in mapping the areas with the highest concentration of domestic violence, allowing for targeted public policies. The Bill was voted and approved in the Chamber of Deputies, but was then vetoed by the President Bolsonaro, who argued that the bill is against the “public interest” and would make women more vulnerable. The veto was supported by some feminists, who argued that any complaint must be initiated by the woman who suffered the violence. Feminists were also concerned that if the bill was approved, seeking care before health service could automatically be result in a complaint against the aggressor, and therefore some women could potentially refrain from seeking health care, being even more at risk (O Globo, 2019).

children's rights, including the often-challenged provision on the criminal legal age. According to it, only adults over 18 years old can be criminally charged in Brazil. Adolescents and children below this age have the right to a different treatment, including the "incarceration" in special institutions when committing certain illegal acts. The provision is often accused of being too loose and of creating incentives for adolescents and children to commit crimes. Out of these 72 Bills, 3 have been initiated by female deputies, 68 by male deputies, and 1 was co-authored by a male and a female deputy.

The research identified 25 Bills intending to diminish women's rights, or to create or increase criminal charges against women, within the Gender Interests "Rape", "Pregnancy", "Child", "Mother", and "Women" (see Appendix 4). Overall, such Bills intend to criminalise women undertaking abortion, or prevent the act by other means (e.g., criminalising the doctor responsible for the procedure). It is worth noting that taking an abortion is a crime in Brazil, regardless of the stage of the pregnancy: both the mother and anyone that might have assisted the practice might face prison sentences. Brazil's criminal law only provides for two cases under which women might legally opt for an abortion: pregnancy resulting from rape or in case of life risk for the mother. Yet, three Bills have been initiated in an attempt to revoke these two legal exceptions, aiming for a complete criminalisation of the abortion in the country (one bill initiated by a male deputy, and the other two were co-authored by male and female deputies). In total, out of these 25 Bills, males initiated 22 Bills, and 2 bills were co-authored by males and females.

Finally, the research identified 7 Bills that disproportionally and negatively affect the LGBTQ+ community (see Appendix 5). Three Bills are intended to prohibit the adoption of children by homosexual couples; one Bill intends to change the existing law on the protection against women's violence to restrict its applicability based on the "sex" of women, rather than on "gender" (therefore, excluding transgender women); one Bill intends to prohibit transgender women from participating in female sports competitions and two Bills intend to prevent children from being educated on "gender and sexuality". Six of these Bills were initiated by male deputies and one by a female deputy.

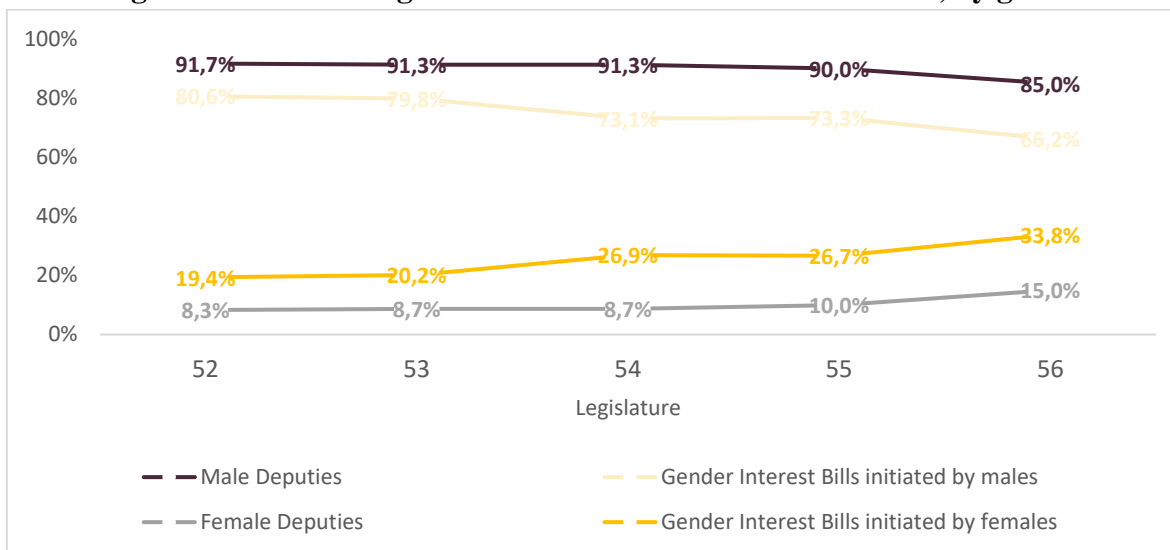
Taking into account the considerations above, the Bills Dataset was used together with the Gender Interest Dataset to assess both hypotheses. This research found 3,508 Bills referring to Gender Interests. Similar to the analysis on the Bills' themes contained in the Bills' Dataset, here too the research considers one Bill for each Gender Interest. For instance, if Bill X was retrieved on both 'Child' and 'Paternity' searches, it counts one for 'Child' and one for 'Paternity'.

Likewise, Bills initiated by more than one deputy were counted as one for each author. For instance, if Bill X was initiated by 'Deputy A', 'Deputy B' and 'Deputy C', it counts 1 for each deputy. These data arrangements allow the analysis of each issue separately instead of evaluating Bills. The arrangements lead to an increase in the number of issues compared to the number of Bills, as one Bill can contain more than one issue (i.e.: 2 deputies and 3 Gender

Interests, being 2*3=6 Interests). Results and more information can be found in Table 6 - 1, Table 6 - 2 and Table 6-3 of the Appendix 6.

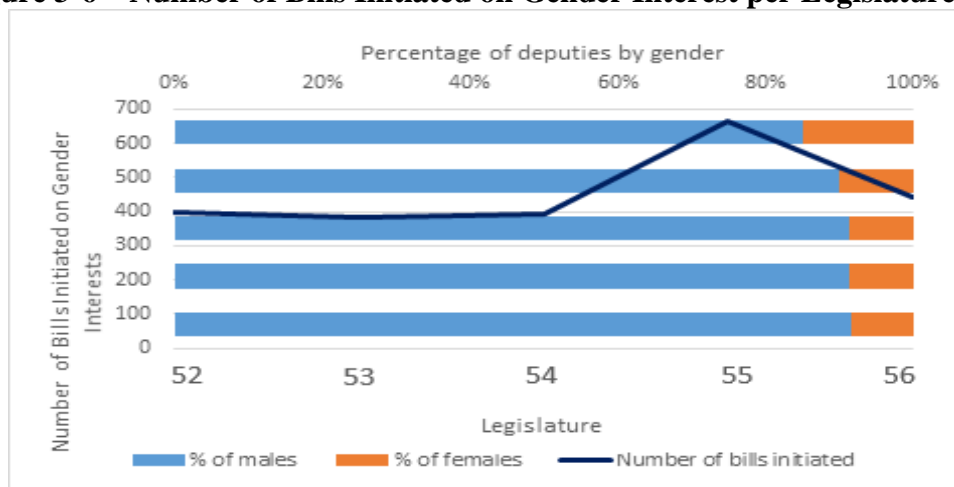
Firstly, in order to have a preliminary view of the distribution by gender of Bills initiation on Gender Interests, this research investigates what percentage of Gender Interests Bills was initiated by males and females, and then it compares the results to the percentages of male and female deputies in each legislature (Figure 3-5 and Figure 3-6).

Figure 3-5 – Percentage of bills initiation on Gender Interests, by gender



Source: Author

Figure 3-6 – Number of Bills Initiated on Gender Interest per Legislature



Source: Author. Note: 56th Legislature only refers to the period until 15 February, 2020.

Hypothesis 1.2.1: Male and female deputies proportionally initiate the same number of Bills on each of the Gender Interests.

In order to estimate the priority of female and male deputies on Gender Interests, some calculations have been made and hereinafter, the following terms shall be understood as follows:

- 1) Regarding the Gender Interests Dataset:
 - **Group (“G”)**: the category that is being analysed, for example: females or males, Party A, gender in a specific year (e.g. females in 2008), and gender in a specific party (e.g. females of Party A).
 - **Interest (“I”)**: each Gender Interest, e.g. child, breast-feeding.
 - **Total group and Issue (“B”)**: number of Bills initiated by a group in a specific issue, e.g. females initiated Bills on ‘breast-feeding’.
 - **Interest Total (“IT”)**: number of all Bills initiated in a specific issue, e.g.: Bills initiated on ‘breast-feeding’.
- 2) Regarding the Bills Dataset:
 - **Total group (“TG”)**: number of all Bills initiated by a group, e.g.: females initiated TG Bills in total
 - **Total absolute (“TA”)**: number of all Bills initiated.

Table 5 - Nomenclature used for Gender Interests Dataset

Gender	Breast-feeding	Child	Conjugal violence	..	..	Rape	Woman; women
F	B (G(F),1)	B (G(F),2)	..	..	..	..	B (G(F),11)
M	B (G(M),1)	B (G(M),2)	..	..	..	..	B (G(M),1)
Total	IT (1)	IT (2)	..	..	..	..	IT (11)

Source: Author

Firstly, a priority index (“**PI**”) is calculated for each group, related to the number of Bills initiated by the group on an issue, comparing it to the number of all Bills initiated by the relevant group. In other words:

$$PI \text{ (for group } G \text{ and issue } I) = \frac{B(G,I)}{TG}$$

As an example, the **PI** (female, breast-feeding) represents the Bills females initiated on the issue ‘breast-feeding’ as a percentage of all Bills initiated by female deputies. In other words, it can be interpreted as the priority the female deputies have on the theme ‘breast-feeding’.

On one hand, the **PI** can be useful when comparing the groups, but on the other hand, it fails when comparing issues. In order to enable the comparisons, the values can be normalized according to above equations, i.e. first finding PI for the issue:

$$PI \text{ (issue } I) = \frac{IT}{TA}$$

Then, calculating the strength index (“S”):

$$S \text{ (for group } G \text{ and issue } I) = \frac{PI \text{ (for group } G \text{ and issue } I)}{PI \text{ (issue } I)}$$

For instance, **S** (female, breast-feeding) can be interpreted as the **PI** of females on the issue breast-feeding, related to the **PI** for breast-feeding. In other words, it shows the priority the female deputies have on breast-feeding, but considering other issues. The strength index allows issues to be assessed at the same level of greatness.

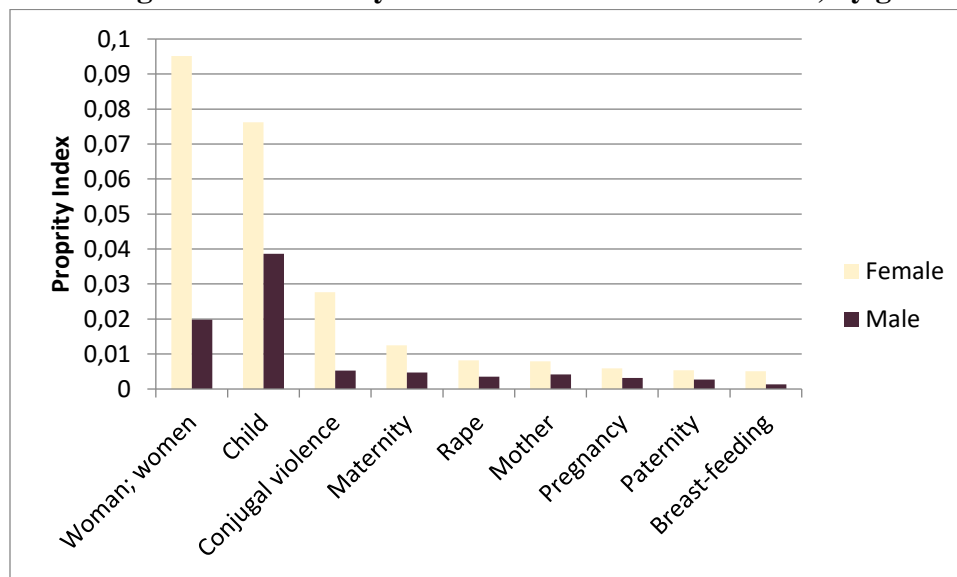
Lastly, in order to compare the behaviour of deputies by their gender, the ratio (**R**) for female and male indexes was calculated as follows:

$$R \text{ (for issue } I) = \frac{S \text{ (female and issue } I)}{S \text{ (male and issue } I)}$$

The ratio represents the comparison between female and male priorities for each Gender Interest.

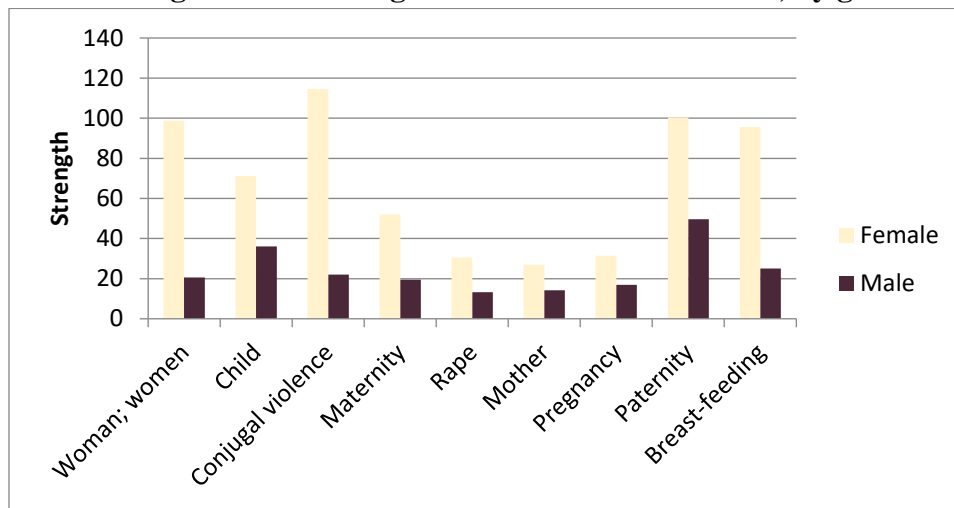
In order to assess the hypothesis 1.2.1., this research calculates the Priority Index (Figure 3-7), Strength (Figure 3-8) and Ratio (Figure 3-9) for each of the Gender Interests, by gender.

Figure 3-7 – Priority index for each Gender Interest, by gender



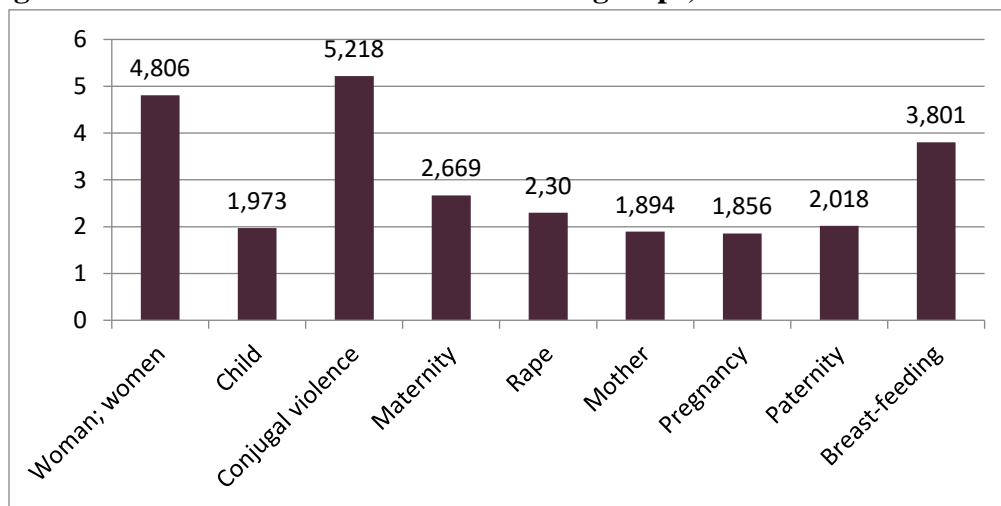
Source: Author

Figure 3-8 – Strength for each Gender Interest, by gender



Source: Author

Figure 3-9 – Ratio between female and male groups, for each Gender Interest

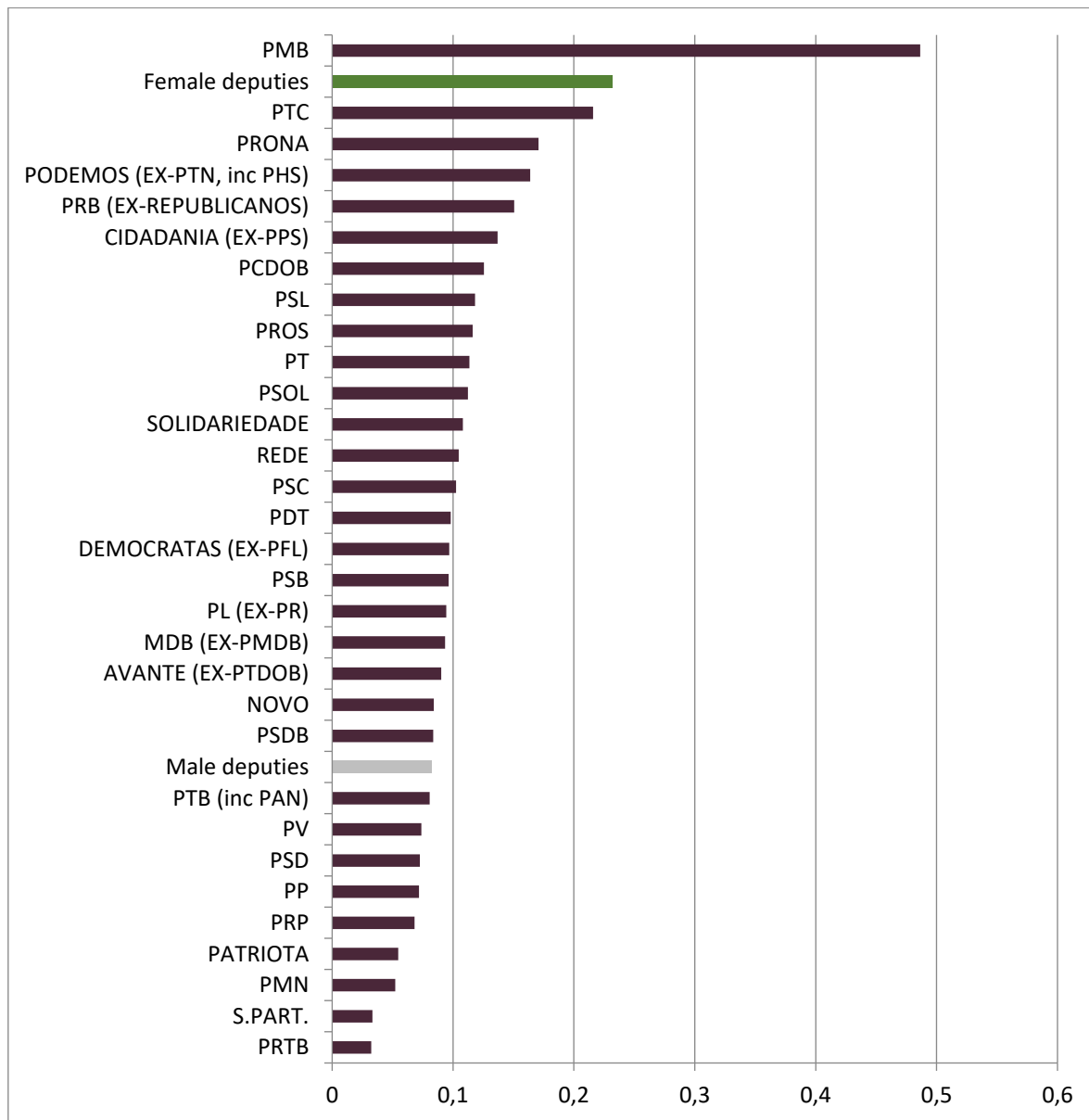


Source: Author

Hypothesis 1.2.2.: The groups of male and female deputies equally prioritise Bills on Gender Interests, regardless of their parties

In order to assess hypothesis 1.2.2, this research considers all Gender Interests collectively (i.e. not by each one of the issues). Firstly, the Priority Index for Gender Interests for each party is calculated, and subsequently these results are compared to the results obtained for female and male deputies (Figure 3-10).

Figure 3-10 – Priority Index of Gender Interests by party, compared to female and male deputies



Source: Author

Finally, this research applies a two-way ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) on the results. The method intends to provide evidence on whether the results are statistically significant, i.e., whether the results for the Priority Index of one group (a party, female deputies or male deputies) are statistically different than the other results. The ANOVA analysis is based on the law of total variance, where the observed variance in a particular variable is partitioned into components attributable to different sources of variation.

The variations can be considered from mainly two sources: between treatments and within treatments. The *between* treatments variations represents the variations caused by any

different treatment or feature, i.e.: variation caused by different genders; and the *within* treatments variation represents variations independent from any treatment, (also called error or residual). ANOVA therefore intends to compare the variation from the different features in relation to residual variation, if the variation caused by a determined feature is significantly higher than the residual (or error) variation, it is understood that the feature is significant to results. This comparison occurs through an F-test to acquire statistical significance on results. Results are shown in Table 6.

Table 6 - ANOVA results for Gender Interests

Source of variation	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	Mean Square	Ratio of Mean Squares	Significance Probability P
Party	SP = 0.322	vP = 30	mP = 0.011	$F_{30,30} = mP/mR = 0.694$	0.838
Gender	SD = 0.087	vD = 1	mD = 0.087	$F_{1,30} = mD/mR = 5.64$	0.024
Residuals	SR = 0.465	vR = 30	mR = 0.015		
Total	ST = 0.875	vT = 61			

Source: Author

Hypothesis 1.3: Male deputies spend and prioritise the CEAP budget similarly to female deputies.

- *Hypothesis 1.3.1: Male deputies prioritise the same CEAP budget categories when compared to female deputies.*
- *Hypothesis 1.3.2: Male deputies spend equally the CEAP budget when compared to female deputies in each type of expenditure.*
- *Hypothesis 1.3.3: Male deputies spend equally the CEAP budget when compared to female deputies in each political party.*

In order to assess the third hypothesis, this research uses the CEAP Dataset combined with the Deputies' Dataset. After gathering the data, the researcher used Python programming language (interface Jupyter Notebook) to manipulate, visualise and analyse the data. The main libraries used in Python were Pandas, in order to read and clean the datasets; NumPy and ResearchPy to manipulate the data; and SciPy and Pingouin, to test the hypotheses and proceed with the statistical analyses.

After cleaning and eliminating the errors and values below zero, the results presented in table Table 7 are found.

Table 7 – Summary of CEAP expenditure

	nuLegislatura	codLegislatura	virLiquido	numMes	numAno	Number legis	Age
count	1497288.00	1497288.00	1497288.00	1497288.00	1497288.00	1497288.00	1497288.00
mean	2011.64	54.16	499.25	6.56	2013.31	2.07	47.28
std	2.84	0.71	1119.25	3.30	2.68	0.97	10.11
min	2007.00	53.00	5.00	1.00	2009.00	1.00	21.00
25%	2011.00	54.00	50.00	4.00	2011.00	1.00	41.00
50%	2011.00	54.00	133.38	6.00	2013.00	2.00	48.00
75%	2015.00	55.00	442.68	9.00	2015.00	3.00	54.00
max	2019.00	56.00	11200.00	12.00	2019.00	4.00	83.00

Source: Author

In the evaluation of the hypotheses 3, this research conducts a descriptive analysis looking for significant expenditure mean differences between the expenditure of male and females. The results are shown in Table 8.

Table 8 – Descriptive analysis of CEAP expenditure, by gender

	N	Mean	SD	SE	95% Conf.	Interval
Gender						
F	163503	481.71	1083.00	2.68	476.46	486.96
M	1333785	501.40	1123.59	0.97	499.49	503.31

The CEAP median expenditure for men is 135.0

The CEAP median expenditure for women is 120.13

Source: Author

Men's mean expenditure is 501.40, while women's mean expenditure is 481.71. There is a difference of 19,69 Brazilian Reais. The median value is lower than the average; this explains that the data are accumulating towards the right (large expenditure values) in both women and men. In order to test if the difference is statistically significant, a t-test is applied.

Given the size of the sample (1,497,288 observations after cleaning), the researcher assumes that the samples have a normal distribution. In order to identify if the samples have equal variance, the Levene test for equal variances is applied. `LeveneResult(statistic=16.774022556022324, pvalue=4.210800496807291e-05)`

The p-value is smaller than 0.05 and therefore the researcher concludes that variances are unequal. Finally, a t-student test for unequal variances is used to assess the significant expenditure mean differences between the expenditure of women and men.

`6.908961350833664 4.896022418337969e-12`

The resulting p-value in this test is smaller than 0.05. There is enough statistical evidence to reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is indeed a significant expenditure mean differences between women and men CEAP expenditure.

Hypothesis 1.3.1: Male deputies prioritise the same CEAP budget categories when compared to female deputies

In order to calculate how deputies priority the CEAP budget, it is applied:

$$PI(female)_A = \frac{CategorySpent_{Female A}}{TotalSpent_{Female}}$$

$$PI(male)_A = \frac{CategorySpent_{Male A}}{TotalSpent_{Male}}$$

$$PI(total)_A = \frac{CategorySpent_{Total A}}{TotalSpent_{Total}}$$

Being:

$CategorySpent_{Female A}$: The amount of money spent by females on category A

$CategorySpent_{Male A}$: The amount of money spent by males on category A

$TotalSpent_{Female}$: Total amount of money spent by females on all categories

$TotalSpent_{Male}$: Total amount of money spent by males on all categories

$CategorySpent_{Total A}$: Total amount of money spent by males and females on category A

$TotalSpent_{Total}$: Total amount of money spent by males and females

This measure represents the relation between the amount males and females spent on category A, related to all money spent by the relevant gender. In other words, it can be interpreted as the priority a gender applies to each expenditure category.

Additionally, “Strength and Ratio” are also calculated, and show how the genders spent the CEAP relative to the gender share of the total amount spent. They are calculated as:

$$Odd_{Female A} = \frac{\frac{CategorySpent_{Female A}}{CategorySpent_{Total A}}}{\frac{TotalSpent_{Female}}{TotalSpent_{Total}}}$$

$$Odd_{Male A} = \frac{\frac{CategorySpent_{Male A}}{CategorySpent_{Total A}}}{\frac{TotalSpent_{Male}}{TotalSpent_{Total}}}$$

Lastly, this research calculates the ‘odd ratio’, i.e., the ratio of the previous measures. It represents the comparison between female and male priorities for each category and is calculated as:

$$OddRatio A = \frac{Odd_{Female A}}{Odd_{Male A}} = \frac{\frac{CategorySpent_{Female A}}{CategorySpent_{Male A}}}{\frac{TotalSpent_{Female}}{TotalSpent_{Male}}}$$

The categories whose odd ratio is greater than 1.0 might be considered as being of female priority. In contrast, themes whose odd ratio is smaller than 1.0 might be considered as being of male priority. The results are shown in Figure 3-11, Figure 3-12 and Table 6 - 4 of the Appendix 6.

Figure 3-11 – Priority of CEAP expenditure, by expenditure category and gender

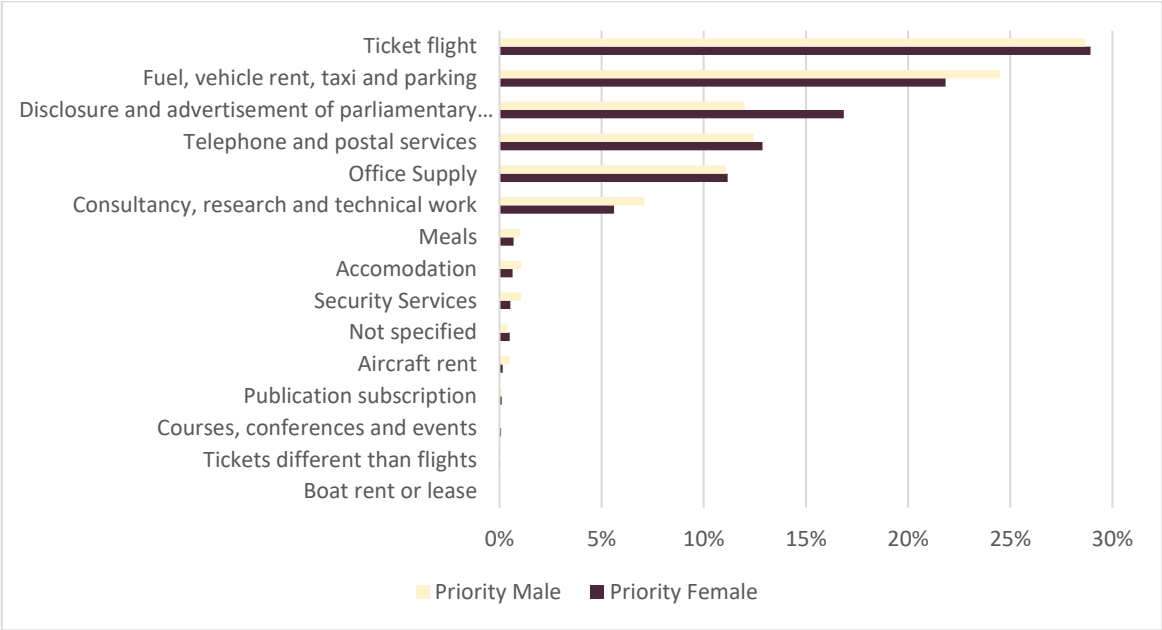
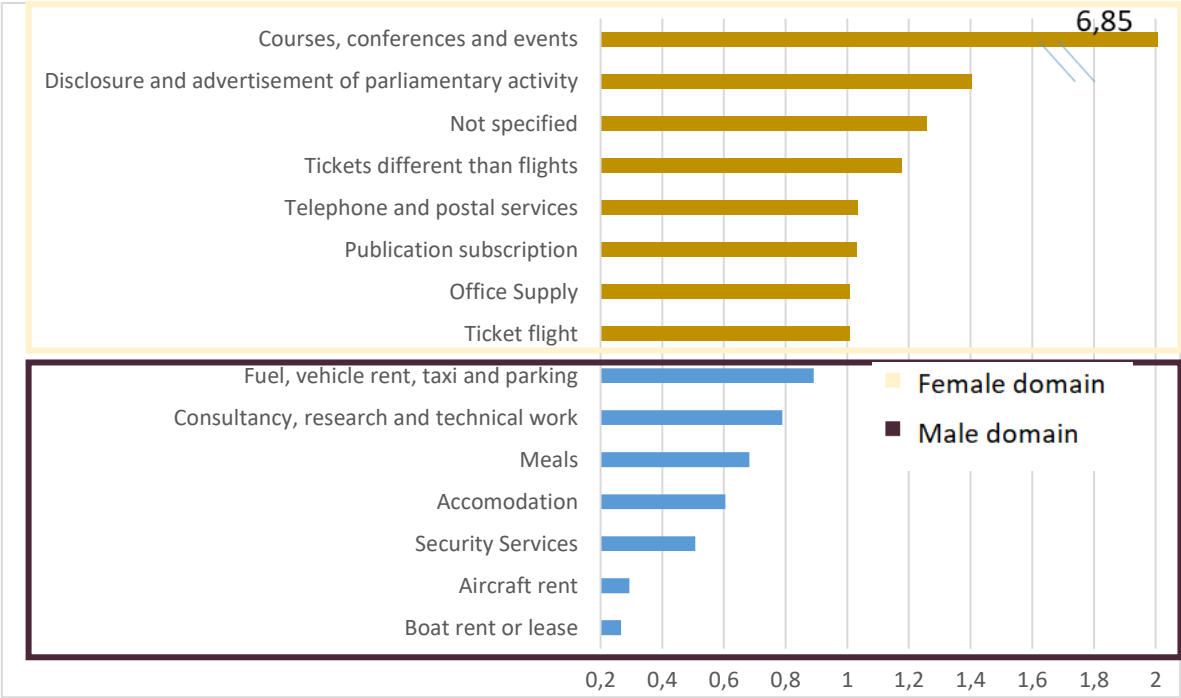


Figure 3-12 – Odds ratios of CEAP expenditure, by category and gender



Source: Author

Hypothesis 1.3.2: Male deputies spend equally the CEAP budget when compared to female deputies in each type of expenditure.

In order to assess hypotheses 3.2, the research focuses on *how* the deputies spend the CEAP on average, per use. Results are shown in Figure 6 - 1 and in Table 6-5 of Appendix 6.

In order to assess whether the differences are statistically relevant, a couple of tests are applied¹⁹, including the Welch's ANOVA correction. This correction looks for differences between the median and not the mean. As for this hypothesis, the study aims to identify the differences between genders, but also between the description codes, therefore a new variable is created, representing the interaction between those two. The p-value for this model is smaller than 0.05. Thus, there is enough statistical evidence to reject the null hypothesis that states sample medians of all of the groups are equal.

The next step is the identification of which categories might present statistical differences in their median; for this, a post hoc test is used. The Conover's test is executed as it is appropriate for Welch's ANOVA correction. Statistically significant difference between the median expenditure of male and female deputies are found on the following activities: **Fuel, vehicle rent, taxi, and parking; Security Services; Meals; Office Supply; and Not specified activities**. Males' median expenditure is higher than female' median expenditure in each of these categories. There is not a statistically significant difference in the median expenditure between other activities. More information on the methodology and post hoc test can be found in the Table 6 - 6 of the Appendix 6.

Hypothesis 1.3.3: Male deputies spend equally the CEAP budget when compared to female deputies in each political party

Finally, in order to test hypothesis 1.3.3, the research focuses on the average CEAP expenditure of male and female deputies of each political party. Results are shown in Figure 6 – 2 and Table 6 – 7 of the Appendix 6.

Like in hypothesis 1.3.2, in order to assess whether the differences are statistically relevant, a couple of tests are applied²⁰, including the Welch's ANOVA correction. In this case, the study aims to know the differences between gender, but also between political parties; therefore, a new variable is created, representing the interaction between those two. The p-value for this model is smaller than 0.05. Thus, there is enough statistical evidence to reject the null hypothesis that states sample medians of all of the groups are equal.

The next step is the identification of which parties might present statistical differences in their mean; for this, a post hoc test is used. The Conover's test is executed as it is appropriate for Welch's ANOVA correction. Statistically significant difference between the median

¹⁹ Firstly, a two-way ANOVA test, in which the assumptions of the normality and homogeneity of variance were found to be violated and led therefore to the application of a Welch's ANOVA correction

²⁰ Firstly, a two-way ANOVA test, in which the assumptions of the normality and homogeneity of variance were found to be violated and led therefore to the application of a Welch's ANOVA correction

expenditure of male and female deputies are found on the following parties: CIDADANIA, MDB, PDT, PL, PROS, PSB, PSC, PSDB, PTB – where females' median expenditure is higher than males' median expenditure. As for DEM, Pcdob, PHS, PMN, PODE, PT, PV, Republicanos, males' median expenditure is higher than females' median expenditure (Table 6 - 8 of the Appendix 6).

4. Analysis – Findings

This research intended to answer whether gender affects Federal deputies' behaviours in Brazil when initiating a Bill and spending the public budget for the parliamentary activities and it finds that gender **does** have an influence on such behaviours. More specifically, the analyses reveal that gender affects the priorities of deputies when initiating Bills, with a greater effect on the Bills' initiated on Gender Interests. As for the expenditure behaviours, this research leads to inconclusive findings on the differences of average use and amounts spent, but it reveals interesting insights on how female and male deputies prioritise the public budget.

More specifically, and as for the first hypothesis, which tested whether males and females have the same theme priorities when initiating a Bill, the results show that, when not controlling for any variable other than gender:

- There has been a significant growth of the female share in the legislatures in the past years. The proportion of bills initiated by female and male deputies closely follows this variation, as Figure 3-2 shows. Therefore, overall, the Bill initiation activity of female and male deputies are very similar (when considered as two groups of deputies separated by gender).
- Women prioritise bills on “human rights and minorities”: 16% of all bills initiated by females are on the theme. The other highest priorities are health (9%), labour and employment (9%), and education (8%). Men prioritise human rights and minorities (8%), labour and employment (8%), criminal law (7%) and health (7%).
- The analysis on the relationship between the male and female priorities (odds ratios) show that some themes can be considered to be of “female domains” (where odds are greater than 1.0). These include social sciences and humanities (2.18), human rights and minorities (1.93), legislative procedures (1.67), health (1.33) and education (1.25). By contrast, the themes that can be considered of “male domain” includes law and justice (0.51), international relations and trade (0.53), land protection (0.56) and agriculture, livestock, fishing and extraction (0.57).

Regarding the second hypothesis, intended to assess whether males and females would prioritise equally Gender Interests when initiating a Bill, the results show that:

- In the period under analysis (52nd to 56th Legislatures), women have proportionally initiated more Bills on Gender Interests than males. Therefore, the growth of the female share in the legislatures resulted in a growth of the number of Gender Interests Bills initiation. Until February 2020 – less than a half of the 56th Legislature – more Gender Interests Bills have been initiated in the period

than during the 52nd, 53rd and 54th Legislatures. During the 56th Legislature, females – while only representing 15% of the total seats at the Chamber of Deputies – initiated approximately 34% of the Gender Interests' Bills.

- In relation to all Bills each group of deputies has initiated, female deputies prioritised each Gender Interest more than male deputies. When comparing the different Gender Interests, females give highest priority on “conjugal violence and/or domestic violence”. The ratio, higher than 5, shows that the female priority on this topic is more than five times higher than the priority found for men. The next highest ratios found were for the term “women and/or women” (4.8) and “breast-feeding” (3.8).
- When assessing whether the groups of male and female deputies proportionally initiate the same number of Bills on Gender Interests, regardless of their parties, the research considered all Gender Interests collectively. The priority to the Gender Interests each party has demonstrated was compared to the results obtained for females and males considered as groups. The party “*Partido da Mulher Brasileira*” (Party of the Brazilian Woman, PMB) was found as the one with the highest priority, including over female deputies. Therefore, except for the PMB, the females' group has prioritised more Gender Interests than any party has.
- When assessing whether the differences were statistically relevant, the research performed a two-way ANOVA (Analysis of Variance) on the results, in order to compare the variation from different variables in relation to residual variation, i.e. if the variation caused by a variable is significantly higher than the residual (or error) variation, that variable is considered as significant to results. From the analysis, the research has found that the variations are attributed to the different gender, with a probability of $F > 5.64228$ of 2.0% (a probability of 2% that the variable ‘Gender’ would imply in no significant difference on results). For parties, the research has found a probability of $F > 0.69441$ of 84.0% (a probability of 84% that the variable ‘Party’ would imply in no significant difference on results). Therefore, the ‘Gender’ is found as being a more relevant variable than ‘Party’.

Finally, regarding the third hypothesis, which assessed whether male deputies spend and prioritise the public budget for the parliamentary activities similarly to female deputies, the results show that:

- Males' mean CEAP expenditure is 501.40 and the median expenditure is 135 Brazilian Reais, while females' mean expenditure is 481.71 and the median 120 Brazilian Reais. The analysis show statistical difference in the medians, although relatively small.
- Both female and male deputies spent the highest share of the CEAP on “ticket flights” (around 28% of the total amount spent), followed by “fuel, vehicle rent, taxi and parking (24% of males' expenditure and 22% of females' expenditure),

and “disclosure and advertisement of parliamentary activity” (12% for males and 17% for females).

- The highest differences among expenditure priorities of men and women was found on “courses, conferences and events”. The ratio higher than 6 shows that women’s priority on this was more than six times greater than men’s expenditure priority on it. The following highest ratio was “disclosure and advertisement of parliamentary activity” (1.4). By contrast, the lowest ratios were “boat rent” (0.26) and “aircraft rent” (0.39).
- When assessing whether male deputies spend equally the CEAP when compared to female deputies in each type of CEAP expenditure, the research found significant differences between the median expenditure of male and female deputies in the following activities: **“Fuel, vehicle rent, taxi, and parking”**; **“Security Services”**; **“Meals”**; and **“Office Supply”**. Males’ median expenditure is higher than female’ median expenditure in each of these categories.
- When assessing whether male deputies spend equally the CEAP when compared to female deputies of each political party, the research found significant differences between the median expenditure of male and female deputies within some parties: CIDADANIA, MDB, PDT, PL, PROS, PSB, PSC, PSDB, PTB – where females’ median expenditure is higher than males’ median expenditure. As for DEM, Pcdob, PHS, PMN, PODE, PT, PV, Republicanos, males’ median expenditure is higher than females’ median expenditure.
- Therefore, the results of the third hypothesis lead to the conclusion that male and females might prioritise differently the CEAP expenditure, however, the results found on the different amounts spent (general average and medians) do not lead to significant conclusions about gendered behaviours. Neither does the results of the analysis on the differences within parties – while females of some parties spend a higher amount of the CEAP than their male counterparts do; in other parties, men are spending more than women.

Discussion of results and future research

Firstly, it is important noting that, as shown by Htun & Power (2006), from 1985 to 2006, more than 75% bills approved by the Brazilian Congress have originated in the executive branch. This has had huge consequences for the nature of legislative branch, for example, the fact that the executive branch's agenda has emphasized economic stabilisation, while Congress has put higher priority on social agenda. This might help understand both female and male highest priority on bills in the theme of “human rights and minorities”.

Additionally, as previously stated, this research’s focus on behaviours does not aim a full understanding of substantive representation, as the “outcomes” of having more women in

power are not under analysis. It is also important to bear in mind that neither are the performance of women in *electoral politics*.

The latter is important because, as suggested by Anzia & Berry (2011), the process of selection into office is different for women than it is for men, resulting in important differences in the attitudes and performance of male and female legislators once they are elected. The phenomenon, called by the authors a “sex-based selection”, can occur if voters discriminate against female candidates, and then only the hardest working female candidates will win elections. Or if women underestimate their qualifications for office, or if they perceive there to be sex discrimination in the electoral process, then only the most politically ambitious females will run as candidates.

If a sex-based selection is present in Brazil electoral process, then it is possible to conclude that the women who run and win office might perform differently than their male counterparts. Simply put, if it takes more talent and greater effort for female candidates to be taken seriously by voters, then the women who succeed in the electoral process are likely to be more talented and hardworking than the men who do the same. Hence, if female legislators feel they need to prove themselves more than their colleagues in the male-dominated Chamber of Deputies, this might help explain why women spend more in disclosure and advertisement of parliamentary activity than men do. Likewise, if they feel they need to work harder, it might also explain their greater expenditure priority on “courses, conferences and events”.

Moreover, given their positioning in a gender-structured society (*and not due to their "essential nature"*), women have different beliefs and interests than men. Women are treated differently, they experience the world differently and this leads to different needs and different priorities. Edlund, et al. (2002) suggest, for example, some factors for explaining why women might have different preferences than men: this is likely because women have default rights to children, and may therefore favour policies related to children and family more than men when they participate in the decision-making process.

Likewise, Swers (1998) theorises that the differences may be due to gender-role socialization. Because women are taught to take primary responsibility for the care of children and elderly relatives, they tend to focus on relations to others and on contextual factors when solving problems. These scholars provide possible explanations for the present research’s findings on the different policy priorities between men and women, particularly the much greater priority female deputies give to Gender Interests when compared to male deputies. However, and as argued by Swamy, et al. (2001), it is important noting that the empirical designation of the causes of gender differentials in behaviour is a very difficult, not to mention politically charged task.

This research provides a number of directions for future research on representation. First, researchers could explore what are the outcomes of the factors identified (different priorities

in out-of-pocket expenses and in bills initiation), or whether these are translated into more ability for women to undertake substantive representation. A few concrete examples of research would be whether the different behaviours lead to more policies towards women's rights, or to more efficiency in the public budget allocation for policies. The relationship between women's representation and women-friendly policy could also be studied to examine whether policies themselves influence women's levels of representation. Do better policies for women encourage women to run for political office? In this sense, a look at the electoral process and the sex-based selection could be particularly interesting in order to complement this research's findings.

5. Conclusion and policy recommendations based on findings

As demonstrated in the first part of this study, there is a significant body of scholars trying to address the question as to whether gender affects the behaviour of policymakers. However, most of the research focuses on the United States and a few other Western countries. Having one of the most fragmented party systems and some of the highest rates of party switching in the world, parties and ideology might have a more limited impact on how Brazilian congressional representatives behave when compared to other political systems.

Thus, recognising that culture and the political system might play a significant role on behaviour and procedural practices, this study collects and analyses evidence at the country level. In addition to analysing the extensively studied field of bills initiation, this research provides evidence on a field not commonly explored by scholars, given its rather low relevance to the public budget: how deputies use the public budget for out-of-pocket expenses. Bills initiation and the expenditure of small amounts of public budget usually do not attract parties and society's scrutiny; therefore, with lower risks of political capture or other interests, these variables might represent deputies' *actual* behaviour and are therefore chosen for the elaboration of the hypotheses of this study.

As seen in chapter two, this research aims at helping to close research gaps of a country in which men historically represent more than 85% of the total seats of the Parliament, and that has neither an extensive literature on deputies' behaviours, nor on the gender impact on policymaking. Finally, to the extent that this research clearly state that it does not aim at answering "whether women are better represented by female deputies than by males", this research might contribute to the debate on the needs for clarification of the differences between process and practices (e.g. behaviours) from outcomes (e.g. the enactment of more women-friendly policies). This distinction might eventually inspire future research on the links between both.

As shown in chapter 3, the results reveal that gender does affect the priorities of deputies when initiating Bills, with females prioritising Bills in social sciences and humanities, human rights and minorities, legislative procedures, health and education more than male deputies. By contrast, men prioritise Bills in law and justice, international relations and trade, land protection, and agriculture, livestock, fishing and extraction more than female deputies.

Women also proportionally initiate and prioritise more Bills on Gender Interests than men: during the 56th Legislature, females – while only representing 15% of the total seats at the Chamber of Deputies – initiated approximately 34% of the Gender Interests' Bills. When comparing the different Gender Interests, females give highest priority on "conjugal violence and/or domestic violence". The ratio higher than 5 shows that the female priority on this topic is more than five times higher than the priority found for men. The next highest ratios found were for the term "women and/or women" and "breast-feeding".

Regarding the spending behaviours, this research reveals differences in spending prioritisation between men and women, especially for "courses, conferences and events". The ratio higher than 6 shows that women's priority on this was more than six times greater

than men's expenditure priority on it. The following highest ratio was "disclosure and advertisement of parliamentary activity". By contrast, men prioritise expenditure in "boat rent" and "aircraft rent" much more than women do.

Chapter 4 brings insights on the possible explanation for the results and highlights fields for further research. This research argues that if a sex-based selection is present in Brazil electoral process, then it is reasonable to expect that the women who run and win office might perform differently than their male counterparts. That is to say, if female deputies feel they need to prove themselves more than their colleagues in the male-dominated Chamber of Deputies, this might help explain why women spend more in disclosure and advertisement of parliamentary activity than men do. Likewise, if they feel they need to work harder, it might explain their greater expenditure priority on "courses, conferences and events".

Gender-role socialisation might also help explain the differences in deputies' behaviours. Because women are taught to take primary responsibility for the care of children and elderly relatives, they tend to focus on relations to others and on contextual factors when solving problems. This may help explain the much greater priority female deputies give to Gender Interests when compared to male deputies, as well as their greater prioritisation of bills on social sciences and humanities, human rights and minorities, legislative procedures, health and education.

Therefore, if it is true that one cannot assume that having women in Parliament will guarantee better policy for women, it is now confirmed that elected women behave differently from their male colleagues. Therefore, until females compose at least 50% of the seats in Congress, it is necessary to balance the underrepresentation of these different behaviours, voices and perspectives with artificial measures. The following recommendations could be applied at Brazil's Chamber of Deputies in order to fill these gaps:

1) Creation and adoption of a "Parliamentary Delegation for Women's Rights".

Inspired by several initiatives, such as the French "*Délégations parlementaires aux droits des femmes et à l'égalité des chances*", the Mexican Gender Equality Parliamentary Commission, the Gender Equality Committee of Denmark's Parliament and the Belgium's Advisory Committee for Social Emancipation. With the aim to engender all areas of legislation, this delegation should be a cross-party body, composed of both male and female deputies. The delegation should be granted powers to scrutinise bills through the gender perspective, as well as conduct consultation and research to produce reports that might influence future legislation. In the Belgian case, for example, the Committee for Social advised on amendments to the Civil Code on introducing equality between men and women in the passing of a surname to a child (OECD, 2019).

- 2) Introduction of a mechanism to facilitate civic participation and Bills initiation by women.** The Brazilian Constitution sets forth that citizens might initiate Bills at the Chamber of Deputies. The restrict requirements, however – collection of signatures of at least 1% of the national electorate (approximately 1.5 million people), with representatives of at least five states, with not less than three-tenths percent of the voters of each one of them – prevent the broad application and use of the mechanism by citizens. As a result, only four bills initiated by civic participation²¹ have passed since the Constitution enactment in 1988. The mechanism could therefore be used for the initiation of Bills by women, but in a considerable less burdensome process (for example, easing the need for having representatives of five states, and reducing the signatures to 0,1% of the national female electorate²²). This measure could lead to an increase of bills initiated by women.
- 3) Dissemination of gender equality-related information to deputies and the adoption of mandatory hearing with women's groups.** In an effort to raise awareness about gender-role socialisation and its impact on women's lives, deputies should be exposed to information about gender equality, by attending specific trainings and hearings with women's groups. These mandatory activities could be organised by the Parliamentary Delegation for Women's Rights and should take place at regular intervals. In order for the measure to be effective, deputies not attending the activities could be subject to penalties, such as a decrease in their CEAP budget. This measure could influence the initiation of bills to address females' concerns.
- 4) Provision of technical support and gender advice for legislative work.** In the initiation of bills, deputies could have the opportunity to consult gender advice on the potential impacts of their bills. This technical support could include, for example, the provision of sex-disaggregated data relevant to the bills in question. This measure could influence the content and focus of the bills being initiated.
- 5) Advertisement of the work of the female deputies.** As this research has shown, female deputies prioritise more the expenditure on the advertisement of their work than male deputies, which might be explained by the “sex-based selection” during the electoral process. Therefore, the Chamber of Deputies could advertise the work of females. For example, female deputies could have a slot to broadcast their activities,

²¹ Including the well-known “*Lei da Ficha Limpa*” (the Clean Record Law), which renders ineligible for elective office during eight years persons who have committed an electoral crime or other offense related to their mandate.

²² Brazil's total electorate was composed of approximately 150 million people, and 52% (77,311,195) of these were women (Tribunal Superior Eleitoral, 2019). Therefore, 0,1% of the female electorate would represent around 77,000 females.

or bills they initiate, on the TV Câmara, which is a Brazilian public television network responsible for broadcasting activities from the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies 24 hours a day.

- 6) **Training specifically targeted for female deputies and female candidates.** As this research has shown, female deputies prioritise more the expenditure on courses and conferences than male deputies, which might also be explained by the “sex-based selection” during the electoral process. Therefore, after an understanding of the pressing topics women are in search for (e.g. techniques for fundraising, electorate engagement, etc.), specific training could be offered by the Chamber of Deputies to the elected women. The programme could be funded by offsetting the CEAP budget of deputies in breach with the mandatory activities for the dissemination of gender equality-related information (item 3 above). Moreover, parties could be responsible for offering these trainings to the female candidates.
- 7) **Amend the law on the electoral quotas for females.** The analysis of the current law on the quotas for females was out of the scope of this research. However, there is a significant body of scholars that have already raised the problems with it, which may help explain why, since its implementation in Brazil, it has not significantly increased the number of congresswomen (see, for example, Miguel, 2008; Sacchet, 2018; Sacchet & Speck, 2012). In short, the problems include the fact that the quotas are for candidacies, not for seats in parliament. Additionally, parties and coalitions are not required to fill all the vacancies allotted to women: it is just that they are not allowed to replace them with men. Therefore, in order to raise the number of females in the Chamber of Deputies, and therefore raise the diversity of behaviours, the current law on electoral quotas must be amended. The exercise can be inspired, for example, by the Belgium’s case, where the laws on easing access of women to the Parliament influenced female representation to increase from as low as 16% in 1999 to more than 40% in 2014 (OECD, 2015).

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Appendix 1 – List of Brazil’s political parties registered as of February 2020

Movimento Democrático Brasileiro
Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro,
Partido Democrático Trabalhista,
Partido dos Trabalhadores,
Democratas,
Partido Comunista Do Brasil,
Partido Socialista Brasileiro,
Partido Da Social Democracia Brasileira,
Partido Trabalhista Cristão,
Partido Social Cristão,
Partido Da Mobilização Nacional, Cidadania,
Partido Verde,
Avante,
Progressistas,
Partido Socialista Dos Trabalhadores Unificado,
Partido Comunista Brasileiro,
Partido Renovador Trabalhista Brasileiro,
Democracia Cristã,
Partido Da Causa Operária,
Podemos,
Partido Social Liberal,
Republicanos,
Partido Socialismo E Liberdade,
Partido Liberal,
Partido Social Democrático,
Patriota,
Partido Republicano Da Ordem Social,
Solidariedade,
Partido Novo,
Rede Sustentabilidade,
Partido Da Mulher Brasileira,
Unidade Popular

Appendix 2 – Data and Sources

Bills overview

The data for the Bills Dataset were obtained from the open data website of the Chamber of Deputies at <https://dadosabertos.camara.leg.br/>. Firstly, the researcher obtained the data on all the Bills proposed in each of the analysed years. After, from the different types of Bills, “*Projetos de Lei*” are filtered and selected, together with the information on the Bills’ number, year and theme codes. Subsequently, errors and empty fields are verified and removed in the raw data, leading to 37,493 Bills. The Bills are codified as shown in Table 2 – 1.

Table 2 – 1 – Bills’ themes and codes

Code	Theme (original in Portuguese)	Translation into English
34	<i>Administração Pública</i>	Public Administration
35	<i>Arte, Cultura e Religião</i>	Art, Culture and Religion
37	<i>Comunicações</i>	Communications
39	<i>Esporte e Lazer</i>	Sport and leisure
40	<i>Economia</i>	Economy
41	<i>Cidades e Desenvolvimento Urbano</i>	Cities and Urban Development
42	<i>Direito Civil e Processual Civil</i>	Procedural law (civil)
43	<i>Direito Penal e Processual Penal</i>	Criminal law
44	<i>Direitos Humanos e Minorias</i>	Human rights and minorities
46	<i>Educação</i>	Education
48	<i>Meio Ambiente e Desenvolvimento Sustentável</i>	Environment and Sustainable Development
51	<i>Estrutura Fundiária</i>	Land protection and land structure
52	<i>Previdência e Assistência Social</i>	Social security and pension
53	<i>Processo Legislativo e Atuação Parlamentar</i>	Legislative procedures and parliamentary action
54	<i>Energia, Recursos Hídricos e Minerais</i>	Energy, Water and Minerals
55	<i>Relações Internacionais e Comércio Exterior</i>	International Relations and Trade
56	<i>Saúde</i>	Health
57	<i>Defesa e Segurança</i>	Security and Defence
58	<i>Trabalho e Emprego</i>	Labour and employment
60	<i>Turismo</i>	Tourism
61	<i>Viação, Transporte e Mobilidade</i>	Traffic, transport and mobility

62	<i>Ciência, Tecnologia e Inovação</i>	Sciences, Technology and Innovation
64	<i>Agricultura, Pecuária, Pesca e Extrativismo</i>	Agriculture, Livestock, Fishing and Extraction
66	<i>Indústria, Comércio e Serviços</i>	Industry, Commerce and Services
67	<i>Direito e Defesa do Consumidor</i>	Consumer Protection
68	<i>Direito Constitucional</i>	Constitutional Law
70	<i>Finanças Públicas e Orçamento</i>	Public Finance and Budget
72	<i>Homenagens e Datas Comemorativas</i>	Tributes and Commemorative Dates
74	<i>Política, Partidos e Eleições</i>	Politics, Parties and Election
76	<i>Direito e Justiça</i>	Law and Justice
86	<i>Ciências Sociais e Humanas</i>	Social Sciences and Humanities

Source: Author

Finally, in order to get information about the deputies who initiated each Bills, the researcher accessed the data from the Chamber of Deputies' search engine, available at <https://www.camara.leg.br/busca-portal/proposicoes/pesquisa-simplificada>. The Bills Dataset is composed of such information.

Gender Interests

From the Bills Dataset, the researcher assembled all the Bills containing in their description or indexation the pre-determined words evidenced in Table 2 – 2, which are hereinafter called “Gender Interests”.

Table 2 – 2 – Keywords used in search for Bills (Gender Interests)

Search keyword (original in Portuguese)	Search keyword (translation to English)
<i>Mulher e/ou mulheres</i>	Woman and/or women
<i>Criança</i>	Child
<i>Violência conjugal e/ou violência doméstica</i>	Conjugal violence and/or domestic violence
<i>Maternidade</i>	Maternity
<i>Estupro</i>	Rape
<i>Mãe</i>	Mother
<i>Gravidez</i>	Pregnancy
<i>Paternidade</i>	Paternity
<i>Amamentação</i>	Breast-feeding
<i>Prostituição</i>	Prostitution
<i>Licença parental</i>	Parental leave

Source: Author

As ‘parental leave’ just retrieved three Bills (all initiated by female deputies), it is considered as non-relevant and is therefore discarded them from the analysis.

Deputies' data

The Deputies Dataset, containing information on the deputies and their party, gender and state was generated from the open data website of the Chamber of Deputies. The dataset contains information about all the 7,620 deputies who have served the parliament.

Parties' Data

Since 2003, some parties have undergone rearrangements or changed their names and/or acronyms. Therefore, in order to make the analysis meaningful, the researcher collected historic data on the parties since 2003 until 2020 from the Supreme Electoral Court (<http://www.tse.jus.br/partidos>).

For the parties that have changed names or acronyms or have been incorporated into other parties, the analysis consider the most recent acronym, name or party. In order words, the analysis hereinafter take into consideration the arrangements detailed in Table 2 – 3.

Table 2 – 3 – Parties Arrangements

Acronym	Party	Notes
AVANTE	AVANTE	Formerly named PtdoB (Partido Trabalhista do Brasil)
CIDADANIA	CIDADANIA	Formerly named PPS (Partido Popular Socialista)
DC	DEMOCRACIA CRISTÃ	N/A
DEM	DEMOCRATAS	Formely named PFL (Partido da Frente Liberal)
MDB	MOVIMENTO DEMOCRÁTICO BRASILEIRO	Formerly named PMDB (Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro)
NOVO	PARTIDO NOVO	N/A
PATRI	PATRIOTAS	Includes PRP (Partido Republicano Progressista), incorporated into PATRI in 2019
PATRIOTA	PATRIOTA	N/A
PCB	PARTIDO COMUNISTA BRASILEIRO	N/A

PcdoB	PARTIDO COMUNISTA DO BRASIL	Includes PPL (Partido Pátria Livre), incorporated into PcdoB in 2019
PCO	PARTIDO DA CAUSA OPERÁRIA	N/A
PDT	PARTIDO DEMOCRÁTICO TRABALHISTA	N/A
PL	PARTIDO LIBERAL	Formerly named PR (Partido da República)
PMB	PARTIDO DA MULHER BRASILEIRA	N/A
PMN	PARTIDO DA MOBILIZAÇÃO NACIONAL	N/A
PODE	PODEMOS	Includes PHS (Partido Humanista da Solidariedade), incorporated into PODEMOS in 2019
PP	PROGRESSISTAS	N/A
PROS	PARTIDO REPUBLICANO DA ORDEM SOCIAL	N/A
PRTB	PARTIDO RENOVADOR TRABALHISTA BRASILEIRO	N/A
PSB	PARTIDO SOCIALISTA BRASILEIRO	N/A
PSC	PARTIDO SOCIAL CRISTÃO	N/A
PSD	PARTIDO SOCIAL DEMOCRÁTICO	N/A
PSDB	PARTIDO DA SOCIAL DEMOCRACIA BRASILEIRA	N/A
PSL	PARTIDO SOCIAL LIBERAL	N/A

PSOL	PARTIDO SOCIALISMO E LIBERDADE	N/A
PSTU	PARTIDO SOCIALISTA DOS TRABALHADORES UNIFICADO	N/A
PT	PARTIDO DOS TRABALHADORES	N/A
PTB	PARTIDO TRABALHISTA BRASILEIRO	N/A
PTC	PARTIDO TRABALHISTA CRISTÃO	N/A
PV	PARTIDO VERDE	N/A
REDE	REDE SUSTENTABILIDADE	N/A
REPUBLICANOS	REPUBLICANOS	Formerly named PRB (Partido Republicano Brasileiro)
SOLIDARIEDADE	SOLIDARIEDADE	Formerly, the party used SD and SDD as acronym
UP	UNIDADE POPULAR	N/A
S.PART.	Sem Partido	It means “No Party”

Source: Author, based on the data from <http://www.tse.jus.br/partidos> (accessed 20 February 2020)

CEAP

The CEAP Dataset is obtained from the open data website of the Chamber of Deputies. The data refer to the years 2008 to 2020. From the various variables contained therein, the following variables are filtered:

- *txNomeParlamentar*: Deputies' names
- *nuLegislatura*: year
- *sgUF*: State the Deputy represented on the date of the use of the CEAP
- *sgPartido*: Party the Deputy represented on the date of the use of the CEAP
- *codLegislatura*: legislature
- *txtDescricao*: description of how the CEAP was used
- *Description_Code*: description codified

- *vlrDocumento*: amount spent

The description of how the CEAP was used is coded as seen in.

Table 2 – 4 – Description of the use of CEAP

Code	Description (original in Portuguese)	Translation into English
1	<i>Manutenção de escritório e apoio à atividade parlamentar</i>	Office supply and support to parliamentary activity
2	<i>Combustíveis e Lubrificantes</i>	Fuel and lubricant
3	<i>Consultorias, Pesquisas e Trabalhos Técnicos.</i>	Consultancy, research and technical work
4	<i>Divulgação da Atividade Parlamentar.</i>	Disclosure and advertisement of parliamentary activity
5	<i>Serviço de Segurança Prestado por Empresa Especializada.</i>	Security services
6	<i>Passagens Aéreas</i>	Ticket flight
7	<i>Telefonia</i>	Telephone
8	<i>Serviços Postais</i>	Postal services
9	<i>Assinatura de Publicações</i>	Publication subscription
10	<i>Fornecimento de Alimentação do Parlamentar</i>	Meals
11	<i>Locação de Veículos Automotores Ou Fretamento De Embarcações</i>	Vehicle rent
12	<i>Emissão Bilhete Aéreo</i>	Issue of ticket flight
13	<i>Hospedagem, Exceto do Parlamentar no Distrito Federal.</i>	Accommodation (except in the Federal District)
14	<i>Serviço De Táxi, Pedágio e Estacionamento</i>	Taxi, parking
15	<i>Locação Ou Fretamento De Aeronaves</i>	Aircraft rent
16	<i>Passagens Terrestres, Marítimas Ou Fluviais</i>	Tickets (other than flights)
17	<i>Locação Ou Fretamento De Embarcações</i>	Boat rent or lease
18	<i>Participação Em Curso, Palestra Ou Evento Similar</i>	Courses, conferences, events

Source: Author, based on the data from <https://dadosabertos.camara.leg.br/> (accessed 20 February 2020)

In order to simplify the analysis, the following codes and descriptions were combined and analysed together:

- “issue of ticket flight” (12) and “ticket flight” (6) were analysed together as “ticket flight”

- “telephone” (7) and “postal services” (8) were analysed together as “telephone and postal services”
- “fuel” (2) “vehicle rent” (11) and “taxi, parking” (14) were analysed together as “fuel, vehicle rent, taxi and parking”

Appendix 3 – Bills against Child Interests

Author	Author's gender	Bill	Summary	Party
Solange Amaral	Female	PL 109/2007	Altera Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de Julho de 1990, que “Dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente e dá outras providências”.	PFL
Rita Camata	Female	PL 7398/2010	Dá nova redação ao § 3º do art. 121 da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990.	PSDB
Joice Hasselmann	Female	PL 12/2019	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente), para dispor sobre a responsabilização de adolescentes por atos infracionais e estabelece uma gradação na aplicação da medida socioeducativa de internação, e dá outras providências.	PSL
Chiquinho Brazão	Male	PL 3858/2019	Altera o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente para prever a obrigação de reparar o dano material, moral e psicológico, em caso de lesão praticada contra profissionais da educação no exercício da função ou em razão dela; a transferência do infrator para outro estabelecimento de ensino e a obrigação do adolescente ou seus responsáveis ressarcir os ...	AVANTE
Alexandre Leite	Male	PL 1895/2011	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, e dá outras providências.	DEM
Alberto Fraga	Male	PL 387/2015	Altera dispositivos da lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente e dá outras providências.	DEM
Osório Adriano	Male	PL 4753/2009	Altera os § 3º e 5º e acrescenta o § 7º do art. 121 da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente).	DEM
Fernando de Fabinho	Male	PL 4808/2009	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente e dá outras providências.	DEM

Francisco Floriano	Male	PL 8801/2017	“Altera a Lei altera a Lei 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente e dá outras providências, para dispor sobre a violência praticada por alunos contra professores em sala de aula”.	DEM
Washington Coração Valente	Male	PL 11220/2018	Inclui a violência contra o professor como causa de aumento da pena para os crimes e contravenções penais que especifica e como hipótese de internação do adolescente em conflito com a lei.	PDT
Dagoberto	Male	PL 1243/2015	Altera os artigos 2º, 108, 121 e 122 da Lei nº 8.069, de 1990 (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente).	PDT
Pompeo de Mattos	Male	PL 1791/2015	Modificam-se os art. 104 e 121 da Lei nº 8.069, de 1990 (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente), para alterar o período de internação nos casos de cometimento de atos infracionais análogos aos crimes previstos na Lei nº 8.072, de 1990 (Lei dos Crimes Hediondos).	PDT
Vieira da Cunha	Male	PL 322/2007	Dá nova redação ao caput e aos parágrafos 2º e 3º, e suprime o § 5º do art. 121 do Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente (Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990).	PDT
Major Olimpio Gomes	Male	PL 508/2015	Altera o art. 242, da Lei Nº 8.069, de 30 de Julho de 1990 (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente), revoga o inciso V, do parágrafo único, do art. 16, da Lei Nº 10.826, de 22 de dezembro de 2003 (Estatuto do Desarmamento), revoga os arts. 18 e 19 do Decreto-Lei Nº 3.688, de 3 de outubro de 1941 (Lei de Contravenções Penais).	PDT
Marcos Rogério	Male	PL 5425/2013	Altera os §§ 3º e 5º do art. 121 da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente.	PDT
Fábio Henrique	Male	PL 5507/2019	Altera os arts. 121 e 123 da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, para modificar os critérios de aplicação da medida de internação e dá outras providências.	PDT

Mário Heringer	Male	PL 5703/2016	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que “Dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente e dá outras providências”, para tratar dos casos de ato infracional correspondente a crime hediondo, e dá outras providências.	PDT
Subtenente Gonzaga	Male	PL 6510/2016	Modificam-se os art. 104 e 121 da Lei nº 8.069, de 1990 (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente), para alterar o período de internação nos casos de cometimento de atos infracionais análogos aos crimes previstos na Lei nº 8.072, de 1990 (Lei dos Crimes Hediondos).	PDT
Subtenente Gonzaga	Male	PL 6581/2016	Modificam-se os artigos 108, 183 e 185 da Lei nº 8.069, de 1990 (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente), para alterar os prazos previstos nestes dispositivos.	PDT
Marcos Rogério	Male	PL 7553/2014	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente (ECA) para permitir a divulgação de imagem de criança e adolescente a quem se atribua ato infracional, e dá outras providências.	PDT
Jorge Tadeu Mudalen	Male	PL 102/2007	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que institui o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente.	PFL
Alberto Fraga	Male	PL 114/2007	Altera o art. 121 da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1.990, Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, para ampliar o prazo de internação de adolescente infrator e o limite de idade de liberação compulsória, e dá outras providências.	PFL
Onyx Lorenzoni	Male	PL 157/2007	Altera o Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 1940 – Código Penal, e a Lei nº 8.069, de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, e dá outras providências.	PFL
Onyx Lorenzoni	Male	PL 177/2007	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, e dá outras providências.	PFL

Moroni Torgan	Male	PL 2523/2003	Acrescenta art. À Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, para aumentar o limite máximo da medida de internação do menor que comete ato infracional descrito como homicídio, e dá outras providências.	PFL
Ronaldo Benedet	Male	PL 1325/2015	Altera dispositivos na Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, e dá outras providências.	PMDB
Valdir Colatto	Male	PL 1659/2015	Dá nova redação aos parágrafos 3º e 5º do art. 121 e parágrafo 1º do art. 122 da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente e dá outras providências.	PMDB
Alexandre Santos	Male	PL 179/2007	Altera o art. 121 da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, para ampliar, a critério do juiz, o prazo de internação de adolescente infrator e dá outras providências.	PMDB
Darcísio Perondi	Male	PL 2116/2015	Altera o Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 7 de dezembro de 1940 (Código Penal), a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente), e a Lei nº 12.594, de 18 de janeiro de 2012 (Institui o Sistema Nacional de Atendimento Socioeducativo – Sinase), para dispor sobre a responsabilização de adolescentes por atos infracionais, e dá outras providências.	PMDB
Laerte Bessa	Male	PL 2215/2007	Altera o inciso I do art. 122 da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, e dá outras providências.	PMDB
Rogério Peninha Mendonça	Male	PL 7307/2014	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1.990, que dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, para prever sanções à criança e ao adolescente estudante que desrespeitar as regras de conduta da instituição de ensino na qual estiver matriculado.	PMDB

Sergio Souza	Male	PL 989/2015	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente) para possibilitar a aplicação de pena prevista no Código Penal para o adolescente infrator, no caso de reincidência na prática de infração grave.	PMDB
Professor Pacco	Male	PL 10842/2018	Altera o Decreto-Lei 2.848, de 1940 – Código Penal -, o Decreto-Lei 3.688, de 1941 – Lei das Contravenções Penais -, e a Lei 8.609, de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente -, no intuito de prevenir e reprimir infrações penais contra profissionais da educação no exercício da função ou em razão dela.	PODE
Paulo Maluf	Male	PL 241/2007	Altera o artigo 121 da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, para aumentar o prazo máximo de internação do adolescente infrator e o limite de idade para a liberação compulsória.	PP
Severino Cavalcanti	Male	PL 3109/2004	Altera a redação do art. 61 do Código Penal, que trata do conceito de reincidência para efeitos penais.	PP
Eduardo da Fonte	Male	PL 5524/2013	Altera a redação o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente (ECA) para aumentar o tempo de internação e prever a reincidência em caso de ato infracional equivalente a crime hediondo e elevar a pena para o crime de corrupção de menor.	PP
Ronaldo Carletto	Male	PL 5899/2019	Altera o Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 7 de dezembro de 1940 – Código Penal, aumentando a pena da lesão corporal cometido contra professores, em razão da função, e altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, aumentando o tempo máximo de internação aos menores infratores autores de atos infracionais contra os professores, em razão da função.	PP
Guilherme Mussi	Male	PL 7590/2014	Altera o artigo 121 e parágrafos e inclui o art. 121 A na Lei 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 (ECA – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente).	PP

William Woo	Male	PL 7208/2010	Altera os arts. 103, 108, 121, 122 e 123, da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, dispondo sobre medidas de repressão aos atos infracionais graves e aos correspondentes aos crimes hediondos.	PPS
Rogério Silva	Male	PL 904/2003	Modifica a redação dos § 3º e 5º do art. 121, da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente.	PPS
Capitão Augusto	Male	PL 1004/2019	Altera o art. 69 da Lei nº 9.099, de 26 de setembro de 1995; os arts. 301 e 304 do Decreto-lei nº 3.689, de 3 de outubro de 1941; o art. 172 da lei nº 8069 de 13 de julho de 1990 e o art. 11 da lei nº 11.340 de 07 de agosto de 2006.	PR
Cabo Sabino	Male	PL 1570/2015	Altera a Lei n. 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, para estabelecer tempos máximos de aplicação de medidas socioeducativas e dá medidas correlatas.	PR
Lincoln Portela	Male	PL 3029/2015	Aumenta o tempo máximo de internação aos menores infratores autores de atos infracionais contra professores, em razão da função.	PR
Delegado Waldir	Male	PL 6216/2016	Altera dispositivos do Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente – Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 e da lei nº 12.594, de 18 de janeiro de 2012.	PR
Léo Alcântara	Male	PL 719/2007	Altera dispositivos do Livro II, Título III, Capítulo IV, da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente), para ampliar o período de internação de adolescentes para seis anos no caso de crimes hediondos e assemelhados.	PR
Capitão Augusto	Male	PL 922/2015	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente.	PR
Vinicius Carvalho	Male	PL 1777/2015	Aumenta a pena do homicídio, da lesão corporal e da ameaça cometidos contra professores, em razão da função, e aumenta o tempo máximo de internação aos menores infratores autores de atos infracionais contra os professores, em razão da função.	PRB

Vinicius Carvalho	Male	PL 3666/2015	Aumenta a pena do homicídio, da lesão corporal e da ameaça cometidos contra professores, em razão da função, e aumenta o tempo máximo de internação aos menores infratores autores de atos infracionais contra os professores, em razão da função.	PRB
Dr. Ubiali	Male	PL 1052/2011	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente – para ampliar o prazo de internação do adolescente infrator, estabelecer a possibilidade de aplicação de medidas de segurança, e dá outras providências.	PSB
Keiko Ota	Male	PL 7154/2014	Altera artigos da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, no que tange às medidas socioeducativas.	PSB
Hugo Leal	Male	PL 346/2011	Altera dispositivo da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente e dá outras providências, para prever aumento do tempo de internação de adolescente autor de ato infracional grave e conceder-lhe formação técnico-profissional.	PSC
Hugo Leal	Male	PL 347/2011	Altera dispositivos da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente e dá outras providências, para tratar dos casos de aplicação da medida de internação.	PSC
Hugo Leal	Male	PL 3680/2012	Altera a redação do art. 122 da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que “dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, e dá outras providências”, a fim de estabelecer critério para a aplicação do conceito de reiteração, com vistas à aplicação da medida de internação.	PSC
Professor Victório Galli	Male	PL 5322/2016	Incluí os Art. 241, 241-A e 241-B todos do Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, Lei 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, no rol dos crimes hediondos.	PSC
Professor Victório Galli	Male	PL 8380/2017	Incluí o inciso VIII, ao Art. 112, da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente.	PSC

Fábio Trad	Male	PL 10852/2018	Propõe adotar medidas de prevenção e repressão à violência praticada contra profissionais da educação nos estabelecimentos de ensino ou fora dele em razão da profissão, do cargo, e do ofício.	PSD
Irajá Abreu	Male	PL 7732/2014	Modificar a lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente	PSD
Jutahy Junior	Male	PL 2628/2003	Altera dispositivos da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que institui o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente.	PSDB
William Woo	Male	PL 4617/2009	Altera a redação do parágrafo único do art. 2º e o § 5º do art. 121 da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente.	PSDB
Jutahy Junior	Male	PL 5561/2013	Altera dispositivos da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que institui o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente.	PSDB
William Woo	Male	PL 565/2007	Acrescenta parágrafos ao art. 105 e altera a redação do “caput” do art. 108 e do § 1º do art. 122 da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990.	PSDB
João Campos	Male	PL 7306/2014	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente e dá outras providências), para estabelecer o uso da medida de monitoração eletrônica no regime de semi-liberdade e internação com atividades externas como meio de fiscalizar o cumprimento das medidas socioeducativas que obrigam o adolescente.	PSDB
Carlos Jordy	Male	PL 1297/2019	Altera a pena do art. 233 do Decreto-Lei nº 2.848 (Código Penal), de 7 de setembro de 1940 e acrescenta o parágrafo único que dispõe sobre o agravamento da pena.	PSL
Delegado Antônio Furtado	Male	PL 1394/2019	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 (Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente), para possibilitar a aplicação da medida socioeducativa de internação por até dez anos, no caso de prática de ato infracional análogo a crime hediondo ou equiparado.	PSL

Vicente Cascione	Male	PL 2588/2003	Altera os arts. 103, 108, 121, 122 e 123, da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, dispondo sobre medidas de repressão aos atos infracionais graves e aos correspondentes aos crimes hediondos.	PTB
Luiz Antonio Fleury	Male	PL 852/2003	Modifica os arts. 121, 123, 124 e 185 da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, e dá outras providências.	PTB
Clodovil Hernandez	Male	PL 820/2007	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que “Dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente e dá outras providências”.	PTC
William Woo	Male	PL 544/2015	Altera a redação do parágrafo único do artigo 2º e o parágrafo 5º do artigo 121 da Lei 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1.990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente.	PV
William Woo	Male	PL 974/2015	Acrescenta parágrafos ao art. 105 e altera a redação do “caput” do art. 108 e do §1º do art. 122 da Lei 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990.	PV
Cabo Daciolo	Male	PL 2233/2015	Altera dispositivos da lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente e dá outras providências, para aumentar o tempo máximo de internação de menores infratores em casos de crimes hediondos.	S.PART.
Perpétua Almeida;Abelardo Camarinha	Male, Female	PL 165/2007	Acrescenta parágrafo único ao art.103 e altera a redação do § 3º do art. 121, ambos da Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, e dá outras providências.	Pcdob;PSB
Keiko Ota;Capitão Augusto	Male, Male	PL 6090/2013	Introduz o art. 190-A na Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, de modo a explicitar que a obtenção da maioria no curso da representação ou da aplicação da medida socioeducativa não constitui causa de extinção do processo.	PSB;PR

Appendix 4 – Bills intending to diminish women’s rights, or to create or increase criminal charges against women

Gender Interest	Author	Author’s gender	Bill	Summary	Party
Estupro	Eduardo Cunha	male	PL 1545/2011	Inclui art. 128-A no Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 07 de dezembro de 1940.	PMDB
Gravidez	Eduardo Cunha	male	PL 1545/2011	Inclui art. 128-A no Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 07 de dezembro de 1940.	PMDB
Gravidez	Dr. Talmir	male	PL 2273/2007	Modifica o art. 126 do Código Penal.	PV
Mulher mulheres	Dr. Talmir	male	PL 2273/2007	Modifica o art. 126 do Código Penal.	PV
Mulher mulheres	Marcelo Serafim	male	PL 2433/2007	Altera os arts. 124, 125 e 126 do Código Penal (Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 7 de dezembro de 1940).	PSB
Mulher mulheres	Márcio Labre	male	PL 260/2019	Dispõe sobre a proibição do aborto.	PSL
Gravidez	Miguel Martini	male	PL 2690/2007	Acrescenta o art. 127-A ao Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 7 de dezembro de 1940 – Código Penal.	PHS
Estupro	Chris Tonietto;Filipe Barros	male, female	PL 2893/2019	Revoga o art. 128 do Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 7 de dezembro de 1940 (Código Penal).	PSL;PSL
Mulher mulheres	Chris Tonietto;Filipe Barros	male, female	PL 2893/2019	Revoga o art. 128 do Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 7 de dezembro de 1940 (Código Penal).	PSL;PSL

Criança	Diego Andrade	male	PL 3161/2012	Altera o caput do art. 4º, da Lei nº 11.770 de 9 de setembro de 2008, para alterar regras da concessão de licença-maternidade.	PSD
Gravidez	Miguel Martini	male	PL 3204/2008	Obriga a impressão de advertência nas embalagens de produtos comercializados para a detecção de gravidez.	PHS
Mãe	Miguel Martini	male	PL 3204/2008	Obriga a impressão de advertência nas embalagens de produtos comercializados para a detecção de gravidez.	PHS
Mulher mulheres	Miguel Martini	male	PL 3207/2008	Acresce os incisos VIII, IX e X ao art. 1º da Lei nº 8.072, de 25 de julho de 1990.	PHS
Mulher mulheres	Daniel Coelho	male	PL 3341/2015 => PL 358/2015	Altera a redação do art. 384 da Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho – CLT, a fim de tornar facultativo o intervalo de 15 minutos para mulheres antes do início de jornada extraordinária.	PSDB
Mulher mulheres	Silvio Costa	male	PL 358/2015	Revoga o art. 384 da Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho, aprovada pelo Decreto-lei nº 5.452, de 1º de maio de 1943.	PSC
Mãe	Coronel Alves	male	PL 3750/2004	Dá nova redação ao art. 123 do Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 07 de dezembro de 1940, Código Penal.	PL
Criança	Celso Jacob	male	PL 3900/2015	Revoga o Parágrafo Único do art. 5º da Lei nº 13.146 de 06 de julho de 2015.	PMDB
Mulher mulheres	Flavinho	male	PL 4642/2016	Dispõe sobre a prevenção e conscientização dos riscos e consequências relacionados ao aborto.	PSB
Mulher mulheres	Rômulo Gouveia	male	PL 4880/2016	Acrescenta dispositivo à Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, para tornar obrigatória a comunicação, pelos estabelecimentos de saúde, de aborto ou de sua tentativa.	PSD

Estupro	Osmânio Pereira	male	PL 5058/2005	Regulamenta o art. 226, § 7º, da Constituição Federal, dispondo sobre a inviolabilidade do direito à vida, definindo a eutanásia e a interrupção voluntária da gravidez como crimes hediondos, em qualquer caso.	PTB
Gravidez	Osmânio Pereira	male	PL 5058/2005	Regulamenta o art. 226, § 7º, da Constituição Federal, dispondo sobre a inviolabilidade do direito à vida, definindo a eutanásia e a interrupção voluntária da gravidez como crimes hediondos, em qualquer caso.	PTB
Mãe	Osmânio Pereira	male	PL 5058/2005	Regulamenta o art. 226, § 7º, da Constituição Federal, dispondo sobre a inviolabilidade do direito à vida, definindo a eutanásia e a interrupção voluntária da gravidez como crimes hediondos, em qualquer caso.	PTB
Mulher mulheres	Osmânio Pereira	male	PL 5058/2005	Regulamenta o art. 226, § 7º, da Constituição Federal, dispondo sobre a inviolabilidade do direito à vida, definindo a eutanásia e a interrupção voluntária da gravidez como crimes hediondos, em qualquer caso.	PTB
Mulher mulheres	Luiz Bassuma; Angela Guadagnin	male, female	PL 5364/2005	Dispõe sobre a punibilidade do aborto no caso de gravidez resultante de estupro.	PT;PT
Estupro	Luiz Bassuma; Angela Guadagnin	male, female	PL 5364/2005	Dispõe sobre a punibilidade do aborto no caso de gravidez resultante de estupro.	PT;PT

Gravidez	Luiz Bassuma; Angela Guadagnin	male, female	PL 5364/2005	Dispõe sobre a punibilidade do aborto no caso de gravidez resultante de estupro.	PT;PT
Mulher mulheres	Pr. Marco Feliciano	male	PL 5617/2016	Institui o Dia Nacional de Conscientização Antiaborto.	PSC
Estupro	Salvador Zimbaldi;Alberto Filho	male, male	PL 6115/2013	Acrescenta-se o parágrafo único ao art. 128, do Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 7 de dezembro de 1940 (Código Penal).	PDT;PMD B
Mulher mulheres	Darci de Matos	male	PL 6493/2019	Revoga o art. 386 do Decreto-Lei nº 5.452, de 1º de maio de 1943, que aprova a Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho (CLT)	PSD
Gravidez	Rodvalho	male	PL 7022/2010	Inclui dispositivo na Lei nº 10.406, de 10 de Janeiro de 2002 – Código Civil, dispondo sobre o registro público da gravidez.	PP
Mulher mulheres	Miro Teixeira	male	PL 760/2015 => PL 358/2015	Inclui parágrafo único ao art. 384 da Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho, aprovada pelo Decreto-lei nº 5.452, de 1º de maio de 1943, para permitir que o descanso previsto entre o término do trabalho normal e o início do trabalho extraordinário possa ocorrer após este, na hipótese que menciona.	PROS
Mulher mulheres	Capitão Augusto	male	PL 9105/2017	Altera o Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 1940.	PR
Mulher mulheres	Capitão Augusto	male	PL 9106/2017	Altera o Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 1940.	PR
Mulher mulheres	Capitão Augusto	male	PL 9107/2017	Altera o Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, de 1940.	PR

Appendix 5 –Bills specifically targeted against LGBTQ+ community

Gender Interest	Author	Author's Gender	PL	Summary	Party
Criança	Salvador Zimbaldi	male	PL 1865/2011	Regulamenta o artigo 226, § 3º da Constituição Federal.	PDT
Criança	Júlia Marinho	female	PL 620/2015	Altera a Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990 – Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, para vedar a adoção conjunta por casal homoafetivo.	PSC
Criança	Pr. Marco Feliciano	male	PL 3235/2015	Acrescenta o art. 234-A à Lei nº 8.069, de 13 de julho de 1990, que “Dispõe sobre o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente e dá outras providências”.	PSC
Criança	Victório Galli	male	PL 5487/2016	Institui a proibição de orientação e distribuição de livros às escolas públicas pelo Ministério da Educação e Cultura que verse sobre orientação de diversidade sexual para crianças e adolescentes.	PSC
Mulher mulheres	Eros Biondini	male	PL 477/2015	Altera os artigos 5º e 8º da Lei nº 11.340, de 7 de agosto de 2006, que cria mecanismos para coibir a violência doméstica e familiar contra a mulher, substituindo o termo gênero por sexo.	PTB
Mulher mulheres	Pastor Sargento Isidório	male	PL 2200/2019	Dispõe sobre a proibição da participação de atletas transexuais do sexo masculino (HOMENS TRAVESTIDOS OU FANTASIADOS DE MULHER) em competições do sexo feminino em todo o Território Nacional.	AVANTE
Criança	Vinicius Carvalho	male	PL 9948/2018	Altera o Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente para dispor sobre classificação de programas com conteúdo que aborde ideologia de gênero.	PRB
Violencia	Eros Biondini	male	PL 477/2015	Altera os artigos 5º e 8º da Lei nº 11.340, de 7 de agosto de 2006, que cria mecanismos para coibir a violência doméstica e familiar contra a mulher, substituindo o termo gênero por sexo.	PTB

Appendix 6 –Further results and analysis

Table 6 - 1 - Number of results found for each Gender Interest

Gender Interest	Results	Results considering rearrangement
Woman; women	952	1034
Child	1510	1590
Conjugal violence	255	285
Maternity	189	206
Rape	132	151
Mother	142	171
Pregnancy	121	129
Paternity	91	110
Breast-feeding	60	65
Prostitution	53	53
Parental leave	3	3
Total	3508	3797

Source: Author

Table 6 - 2 - Cross table for each Gender Interest, by gender

Gender	Breast-feeding	Child	Conjugal violence	Maternity	Mother	Parental leave	Paternity	Pregnancy	Prostitution	Rape	Woman; women	Total
F	20	298	108	49	31	3	21	23	9	32	372	966
M	45	1292	177	157	140	0	89	106	44	119	662	2831
Total	65	1590	285	206	171	3	110	129	53	151	1034	3797

Source: Author

Table 6 - 3 - Cross table for each Gender Interest, by party

Party	Breast-feeding	Child	Conjugal violence	Maternity	Mother	Parental leave	Paternity	Pregnancy	Prostitution	Rape	Woman; women	Total
AVANTE (EX-PTDOB)	0	9	2	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	5	21
CIDADANIA (EX-PPS)	2	67	9	11	8	0	2	3	4	3	38	147
DEMOCRATAS (EX-PFL)	2	152	15	21	19	0	11	8	3	11	62	304
MDB (EX-PMDB)	14	191	22	30	23	0	17	18	7	23	103	448
NOVO	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	9
PATRIOTA	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7
PCDOB	2	22	5	12	2	0	3	3	0	1	51	101
PDT	2	87	15	13	6	0	3	4	0	14	43	187
PL (EX-PR)	3	132	26	15	11	0	6	14	7	12	80	306
PMB	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	18
PMN	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	8
PODEMOS (EX-PTN, inc PHS)	3	60	6	8	11	0	4	8	1	5	43	149
PP	5	84	15	8	2	0	7	9	2	8	44	184
PRB (EX-REPUBLICANOS)	2	64	20	6	9	0	3	3	3	8	56	174
PRONA	0	6	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	3	1	14
PROS	1	17	5	2	2	0	3	2	0	3	16	51
PRP	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	3
PRTB	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2
PSB	1	98	29	9	10	0	1	2	3	6	70	229
PSC	2	37	7	2	3	0	3	1	1	6	23	85
PSD	0	78	10	6	4	0	5	5	5	2	29	144
PSDB	5	154	18	14	14	1	11	7	6	3	66	299
PSL	1	44	12	4	5	0	3	0	0	5	35	109
PSOL	1	9	0	1	1	1	0	6	1	0	18	38
PT	14	145	31	25	20	1	15	23	7	20	164	465
PTB (inc PAN)	4	41	12	8	8	0	1	6	1	9	20	110
PTC	0	5	0	3	5	0	1	1	0	2	2	19

PV	1	42	11	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	15	79
REDE	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	9
S.PART.	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
SOLIDARIE DADE	0	29	7	4	3	0	5	3	0	4	20	75
Total	65	1590	285	206	171	3	110	129	53	151	1034	3797

Source: Author

Table 6 - 4 - Amount spent and odd distribution by CEAP category and gender

<i>Description</i>	<i>Amount Spent (in Brazilian Reais)</i>			<i>Priority Index</i>			<i>Strength and Ratio</i>		
	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>F Odd</i>	<i>M Odd</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
Accommodation	507517,05	7127524,65	7635041,7	0,006443717	0,010657765	0,01021376	0,63088585	1,043471	0,604603
Aircraft rent	119700	3464324,34	3584024,34	0,001519777	0,005180193	0,004794521	0,31698212	1,08044	0,293382
Boat rent or lease	4000	127393,65	131393,65	5,07862E-05	0,000190491	0,000175772	0,28893302	1,083744	0,266606
Consultancy, research and technical work	4412811,36	47451490,45	51864301,81	0,05602749	0,070954064	0,069381354	0,80752949	1,022668	0,78963
Courses, conferences and events	59310,1	73511,8	132821,9	0,000753034	0,000109922	0,000177682	4,2380935	0,618644	6,850622
Disclosure and ad of parliamentary activity	13276743,96	80275265,24	93552009,2	0,168568873	0,120035351	0,125148992	1,34694551	0,95914	1,404327
Fuel, vehicle rent, taxi and parking	17194686,39	163815380	181010066,4	0,218313233	0,244952621	0,242145813	0,90157757	1,011591	0,891247
Meals	547989,99	6811727,64	7359717,63	0,006957584	0,010185555	0,009845446	0,70668039	1,034545	0,683083
Not specified	392963,34	2651884,46	3044847,8	0,00498928	0,003965354	0,004073238	1,22489261	0,973514	1,258218
Office Supply	8795473,28	74046893,8	82842367,08	0,111672186	0,110722087	0,110822192	1,00766989	0,999097	1,008581
Publication subscription	91946,32	756225,73	848172,05	0,001167401	0,001130782	0,00113464	1,02887345	0,9966	1,032384
Security Services	418704,04	7005155,78	7423859,82	0,005316098	0,010474787	0,009931252	0,53528978	1,05473	0,507514

Phone/ postal services	10136979,9	83156120,3	93293100,2	0,128704694	0,124343084	0,124802637	1,03126583	0,996318	1,035077
Ticket flight	22780234,1	191838450,2	214618684,3	0,289230431	0,286855429	0,287105667	1,00740064	0,999128	1,008279
Tickets different than flights	22479,93	162185,1	184665,03	0,000285418	0,000242515	0,000247035	1,15537206	0,981702	1,176908
Total	78761539,76	668763533,2	747525072,9						

Figure 6 - 1 - Average CEAP expenditure per use, by expenditure category and gender

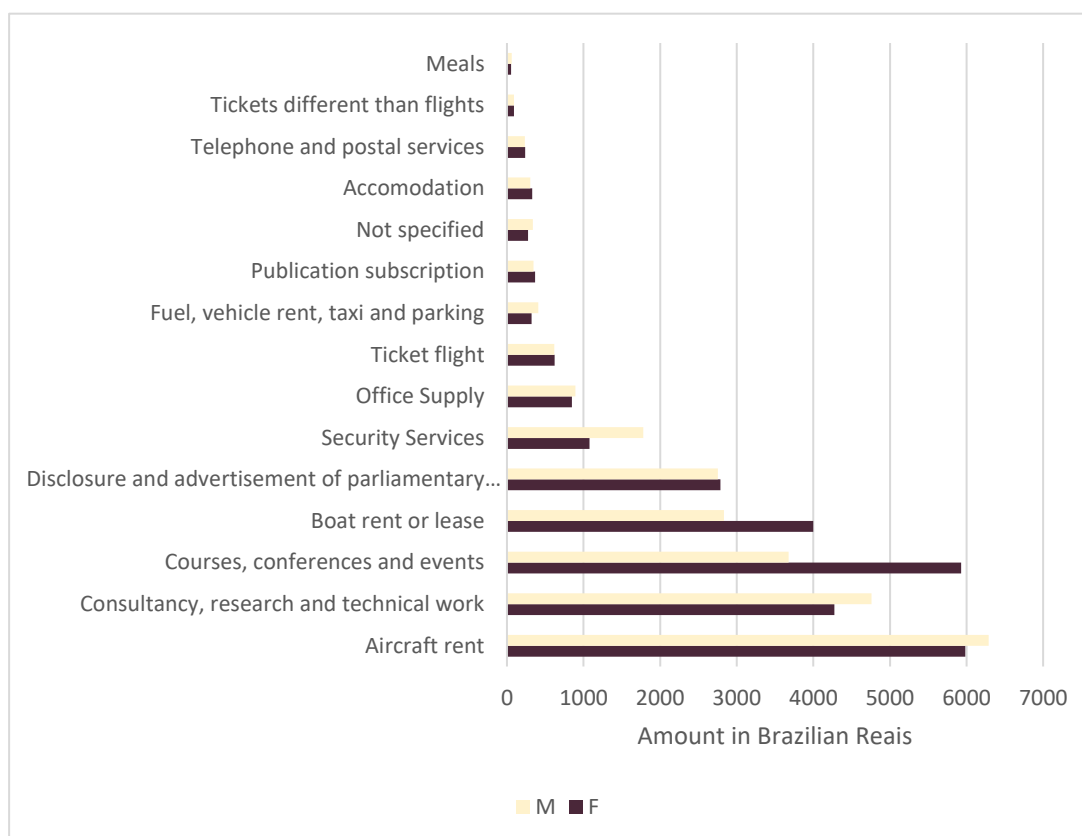


Table 6 - 5 - Descriptive analysis of CEAP expenditure, by expenditure category and gender

Description	Gender	N	Mean	SD	SE	95% Conf.	Interval
Accommodation	F	1545	328.49	469.15	11.94	305.09	351.88
	M	23405	304.53	408.40	2.67	299.30	309.77
Aircraft rent	F	20	5985.00	2073.46	463.64	5076.27	6893.73
	M	551	6287.34	2326.38	99.11	6093.09	6481.59
Boat rent or lease	F	1	4000.00	nan	nan	nan	nan
	M	45	2830.97	3865.66	576.26	1701.50	3960.43
Consultancy, research and technical work	F	1032	4275.98	3253.97	101.29	4077.45	4474.51
	M	9971	4758.95	3220.04	32.25	4695.74	4822.15
Courses, conferences and events	F	10	5931.01	2525.33	798.58	4365.80	7496.23
	M	20	3675.59	2766.57	618.62	2463.09	4888.09
Disclosure and advertisement of parliamentary activity	F	4764	2786.89	2789.39	40.41	2707.68	2866.10
	M	29132	2755.57	2758.78	16.16	2723.89	2787.25
	F	53501	321.39	1016.75	4.40	312.78	330.01

Fuel, vehicle rent, taxi and parking	M	398500	411.08	1189.74	1.88	407.38	414.77
Meals	F	10581	51.79	69.12	0.67	50.47	53.10
	M	108692	62.67	57.45	0.17	62.33	63.01
Not specified	F	1421	276.54	996.92	26.45	224.70	328.37
	M	7874	336.79	1009.72	11.38	314.49	359.09
Office Supply	F	10352	849.64	1187.28	11.67	826.77	872.51
	M	82697	895.40	1376.18	4.79	886.02	904.78
Publication subscription	F	251	366.32	482.12	30.43	306.68	425.97
	M	2173	348.01	544.28	11.68	325.13	370.90
Security Services	F	389	1076.36	1850.59	93.83	892.46	1260.27
	M	3934	1780.67	2639.31	42.08	1698.19	1863.15
Telephone and postal services	F	42810	236.79	478.99	2.32	232.25	241.33
	M	353585	235.18	457.56	0.77	233.67	236.68
Ticket flight	F	36583	622.70	557.13	2.91	616.99	628.41
	M	311421	616.01	561.51	1.01	614.04	617.99
Tickets different than flights	F	243	92.51	110.56	7.09	78.61	106.41
	M	1785	90.86	93.54	2.21	86.52	95.20

Source: Author

Figure 6 - 2 - Average CEAP expenditure per use, by gender within each party

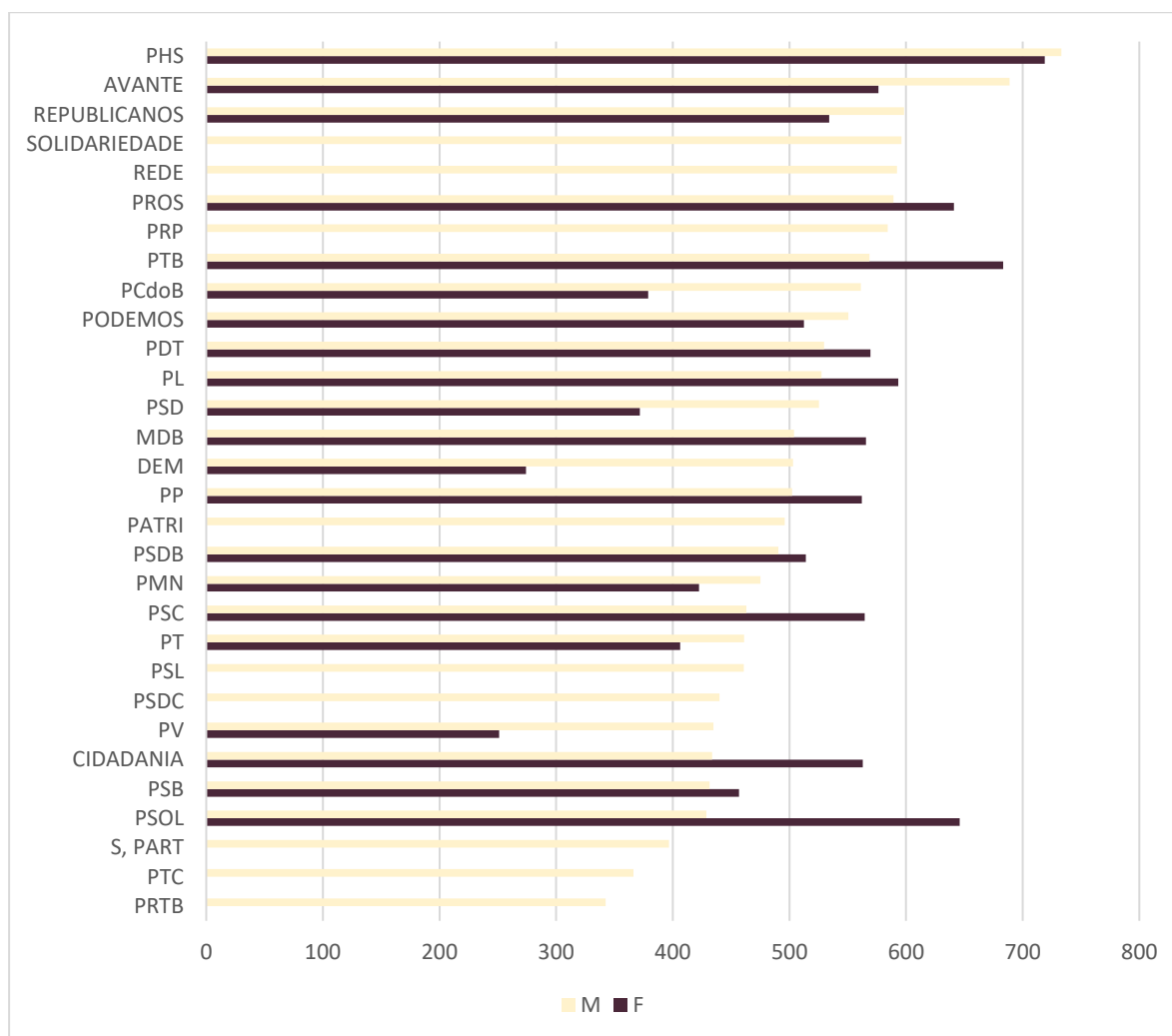


Table 6 - 6 - Post Hoc Test on Gender-Description Codes

Factor 1	Factor 2	N	Median	Median diff	P-value
Accommodation	F	1545	328	-24	1
	M	23405	305		
Aircraft rent	F	20	5985	302	1
	M	551	6287		
Boat rent or lease	F	1	4000	-1169	1
	M	45	2831		
Consultancy, research, and technical work	F	1032	4276	483	0,1040
	M	9971	4759		
Courses, conferences, and events	F	10	5931	-2255	1
	M	20	3676		
Disclosure and advertisement of parliamentary activity	F	4764	2787	-31	1
	M	29132	2756		
Fuel, vehicle rent, taxi, and parking	F	53501	321	90	0

	M	398500	411		
Meals	F	10581	52	11	0
	M	108692	63		
Not specified	F	1421	277	60	0,009
	M	7874	337		
Office Supply	F	10352	850	46	0,002
	M	82697	895		
Publication subscription	F	251	366	-18	1
	M	2173	348		
Security Services	F	389	1076	704	0,001
	M	3934	1781		
Telephone and postal services	F	42810	237	-2	1
	M	353585	235		
Ticket flight	F	36583	623	-7	1
	M	311421	616		
Tickets different than flights	F	243	93	-2	1
	M	1785	91		

Source: Author

Table 6 - 7 - Descriptive analysis of CEAP expenditure, by gender within each party

Party	Gender	N	Mean	SD	SE	95% Conf	Interval
AVANTE	F	2935	576.37	1240.02	22.89	531.51	621.23
	M	9106	688.66	1492.45	15.64	658.01	719.32
CIDADANIA	F	4690	562.88	1344.24	19.63	524.41	601.36
	M	24770	433.72	992.88	6.31	421.35	446.08
DEM	F	1295	274.13	840.81	23.36	228.33	319.92
	M	92434	503.15	1167.65	3.84	495.62	510.68
MDB	F	12938	565.55	1286.17	11.31	543.38	587.71
	M	143824	504.05	1109.25	2.92	498.32	509.79
PATRI	M	11305	495.91	1101.81	10.36	475.60	516.22
PCdoB	F	26046	378.80	803.87	4.98	369.04	388.56
	M	26665	561.36	1146.32	7.02	547.60	575.12
PDT	F	2478	569.39	1249.38	25.10	520.20	618.59
	M	40923	529.77	1173.96	5.80	518.39	541.14
PHS	F	2510	718.80	1403.33	28.01	663.90	773.71
	M	5528	733.27	1379.98	18.56	696.89	769.65
PL	F	12614	593.37	1302.95	11.60	570.64	616.11
	M	86073	527.55	1242.97	4.24	519.24	535.85
PMN	F	825	422.44	994.50	34.62	354.58	490.30
	M	5047	475.07	1360.97	19.16	437.52	512.62
PODE	F	5327	512.38	1117.72	15.31	482.36	542.39

	M	21303	550.42	1391.79	9.54	531.73	569.11
PP	F	5790	561.95	1217.17	16.00	530.60	593.31
	M	112915	502.35	1115.93	3.32	495.84	508.86
PROS	F	5489	641.09	1414.69	19.09	603.66	678.51
	M	22240	589.24	1134.93	7.61	574.32	604.15
PRP	M	3831	584.35	1426.69	23.05	539.17	629.53
PRTB	M	245	342.30	1101.53	70.37	204.37	480.24
PSB	F	21375	456.70	1052.51	7.20	442.59	470.81
	M	79090	431.63	1022.93	3.64	424.50	438.76
PSC	F	5103	564.50	1109.83	15.54	534.05	594.95
	M	48538	463.14	1058.02	4.80	453.73	472.55
PSD	F	3987	371.68	701.74	11.11	349.90	393.46
	M	86815	525.34	1166.80	3.96	517.58	533.10
PSDB	F	12697	513.95	1005.58	8.92	496.46	531.45
	M	153494	490.50	1082.26	2.76	485.09	495.91
PSDC	M	221	440.03	1187.33	79.87	283.49	596.58
PSL	M	10059	460.87	1084.89	10.82	439.67	482.07
PSOL	F	652	646.08	1454.21	56.95	534.46	757.71
	M	5669	428.79	969.47	12.88	403.55	454.02
PT	F	28996	406.41	939.86	5.52	395.59	417.23
	M	200196	461.17	1008.12	2.25	456.75	465.58
PTB	F	2634	683.35	1533.35	29.88	624.79	741.90
	M	40866	568.65	1221.29	6.04	556.81	580.49
PTC	M	3392	366.26	1039.67	17.85	331.27	401.25
PV	F	3710	251.01	631.87	10.37	230.68	271.34
	M	29592	434.86	1000.52	5.82	423.46	446.26
REDE	M	3117	592.10	942.02	16.87	559.03	625.17
Republicanos	F	1412	534.19	990.64	26.36	482.51	585.86
	M	33080	598.34	1351.00	7.43	583.78	612.90
S.PART.	M	5886	396.72	551.03	7.18	382.64	410.79
SOLIDARIEDADE	M	27561	596.19	1223.80	7.37	581.74	610.64

Source: Author

Table 6 - 8 – Post Hoc Test on Political Parties

Factor 1	Factor 2	N	Median	Median diff	P-value
AVANTE	F	2935	576	112	1,00
	M	9106	689	-	
CIDADANIA	F	4690	563	-129	1,00

	M	24770	434	-	
DEM	F	1295	274	229	0,00
	M	92434	503	-	
MDB	F	12938	566	-61	0,00
	M	143824	504	-	
PcdoB	F	26046	379	183	0,00
	M	26665	561	-	
PDT	F	2478	569	-40	0,00
	M	40923	530	-	
PHS	F	2510	719	14	0,04
	M	5528	733	-	
PL	F	12614	593	-66	0,00
	M	86073	528	-	
PMN	F	825	422	53	0,00
	M	5047	475	-	
PODE	F	5327	512	38	0,00
	M	21303	550	-	
PP	F	5790	562	-60	1,00
	M	112915	502	-	
PROS	F	5489	641	-52	0,00
	M	22240	589	-	
PSB	F	21375	457	-25	0,00

	M	79090	432	-	
PSC	F	5103	565	-101	0,00
	M	48538	463	-	
PSD	F	3987	372	154	0,16
	M	86815	525	-	
PSDB	F	12697	514	-23	0,00
	M	153494	491	-	
PSOL	F	652	646	-217	1,00
	M	5669	429	-	
PT	F	28996	406	55	0,00
	M	200196	461	-	
PTB	F	2634	683	-115	0,00
	M	40866	569	-	
PV	F	3710	251	184	0,00
	M	29592	435	-	
Republicanos	F	1412	534	64	0,00
	M	33080	598	-	

Source: Author

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Does gender affect legislators' behaviours?

Evidence from the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies

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Abstract

This research intends to assess whether gender affects the behaviour of Federal deputies in Brazil when initiating bills and spending the public budget for the parliamentary activities. After analysing large datasets on the bills initiated during the 52nd to 56th Legislatures, and on the use of the quota for the exercise of the parliamentary activity (*Cota para o Exercício da Atividade Parlamentar*), the results reveal that gender does affect certain behaviours of the Federal deputies.

Regarding the themes of initiated bills, females prioritise social sciences and humanities, human rights and minorities, legislative procedures, health and education more than male deputies. By contrast, men prioritise law and justice, international relations and trade, land protection, and agriculture, livestock, fishing and extraction more than female deputies.

Women also proportionally initiate and prioritise more bills on gender interests than men. During the 56th Legislature, females – while only representing 15% of the total seats at the Chambers of Deputies – initiated approximately 34% of the gender interests' bills. When comparing the different bills on gender interests, females give highest priority on “domestic violence”.

Regarding the spending behaviours, the highest difference among expenditure priorities of men and women was found on “courses, conferences and events”. Women also prioritise “disclosure and advertisement of parliamentary activity” more than man. By contrast, men prioritise “boat rent” and “aircraft rent” more than women do.

These different behaviours might be attributed to gender-role socialisation and sex-based selection during electoral process. Therefore, until females compose at least 50% of the seats in Congress, it is necessary to balance the underrepresentation of the different behaviours, voices and perspectives with artificial measures. For that, I propose 7 recommendations: the creation of a “Parliamentary Delegation for Women's Rights”; the introduction of a mechanism to facilitate civic participation and Bills initiation by women; dissemination of gender equality-related information; provision of technical support and gender advice for legislative work; advertisement of the work of the female deputies; training specifically targeted for female deputies and female candidates; and the amendment of the law on the electoral quotas for females.

Key words

Gendered behaviour; legislative behaviour; gender politics; bills initiation; gender interests; gendered spending