



WOMEN IN CHARGE OF THE PRESIDENCY AND VICE-PRESIDENCY OF THE PERMANENT COMMITTEES OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES: WHO ARE THEY AND HOW TO GET THERE?

Elisabete Busanello¹
Malena Rehbein²

1 Introduction

The topic of gender has been discussed by society, provoking debate and raising different opinions, both from its proponents and its opponents. This was evidenced, for example, in 2011, when the first Member joined the roll of the members of the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Deputies; in the debate on political reform and on PEC 590/2006, and is often cited in the commemorations of International Women's Day. Gender is also a category that can be used to analyze inequalities between men and women in different.

The inequalities between women and men are observed even in the political field. For example, they express themselves, in the Chamber of Deputies, in terms of political representation, in the form of female political under-representation (AVELAR, 2001; MIGUEL, MITUEL, 2009; MIGUEL, BIROLI, 2011; MOISÉS; SANCHEZ, 2014) . In addition to the difficulty of entering the Chamber of Deputies institution, it can be said that there is another barrier of access to women: the occupation of strategic positions of power within the legislative house.

It was questioned: after they were elected, these MPs occupy important positions in the structures of the Chamber of Deputies? And so, how was the occupation of the positions of presidents and vice-presidents of the standing committees of the Chamber of Deputies, by the federal deputies, in the 52nd to 54th legislatures? Moreover, in which permanent committees have they been able to occupy the presidency and in which have they been restricted to the vice-presidencies? What kind of committees did they hold the chair and vice-chair? What is the prosopographic profile of these parliamentarians who have been in the chair and vice-chairs of the standing committees?

The female performance within the standing committees is a field to be investigated. This

¹ Lawyer. Master in Legislative Power by the Chamber of Deputies (elisabete.busanello@camara.leg.br).

² PhD in Political Science and Sociology at IUPERJ. Master of International Relations and Contemporary Political Theory from the University of Westminster. Master and Bachelor in Communication from the University of Brasília. Legislative analyst of the Chamber of Deputies and professor of the Master in Legislative Power (Cefor) (malena.rodrigues@camara.leg.br).

study presents an overview of how the federal deputies from 52nd to 54th legislatures held positions as president and vice-chairs of standing committees and highlights the issue of the roles played by them. Studying the characteristics of those who were presidents and vice presidents led to the construction of a collective profile through which it is possible to apprehend how political representation occurred in these commissions. This can generate new formulations towards the actions of female inclusion in political institutions.

The article is organized in four parts, in addition to this introduction. The first brings the definition of the concepts of gender and parliamentary elite and adopts special political representation for groups as theoretical foundation along with theories of economic redistribution, identity recognition and "glass ceiling". The second describes the methodological procedures. The third analyzes the occupation of federal deputies in the chair and vice-chair of the permanent committees, considering the formal and informal aspects that permeate the choices for these positions. The fourth brings some information about the prosopographic profile of this female parliamentary group. Finally, the conclusions.

2 The Brazilian Federal Deputies and the Political Representation in the Chamber of Deputies

2.1 The Gender Concept.

Gender is a concept that can be used as a category of analysis and enables us to understand how social inequalities are produced and generated, how structures of hierarchies are constructed and how situations of domination between men and women occur (SCOTT, 2008). That is, through the concept of gender, it is possible to understand how the asymmetries between men and women are structured in society.

Scott conceptualizes gender as "a constitutive element of social relations based on the perceived differences between the sexes" and also a "first form of meaning relations of power" (Scott, 1989, p.21). For this author, the concept of gender is related to the differences between men and women and integrates social relations, which makes other elements are inherent to it. She explains that the concept should encompass a broad view that includes systems, such as the economic, labor market, and political system (Scott, 1989).

It teaches that "gender is a primary form of symbolic power relations" (SCOTT, 2008, 65). For example, power is outsourced by detaining control of material and economic resources, gaining control in the appointment of important positions such as chairing committees, occupying prominent spaces. These situations are experienced in politics. It is possible to infer that gender relations are intrinsic to the political world, where power materializes in acts, words, actions and symbols.

Bourdieu explains that society functions as a gigantic symbolic machine that tends to ratify masculine domination, structured in the "social division of labor", in the attributions of the

considered activities of men and women that are incorporated in the actions and perceptions as habitus, being reinforced in places such as social institutions, churches, schools, the family and in the State itself, exercised through symbolic violence (BOURDIEU, 2012).

By the habitus men would occupy public places like assemblies and markets, and women the space of the house, of the home (BOURDIEU, 2012). Both habitus and symbolic struggles become incorporated and naturalized between men and women, and externalized in structures. It is possible that the processes of differentiated socialization contribute to this, since they generally reinforce male domination. These processes occur from birth, where clothes with different colors and different toys are used for girls and boys, and are reinforced socially in the various spaces, among which the politician³.

From the above, it was verified that gender can be used as a category of analysis of social relations and its concept can explain the inequalities between women and men, encompassing the differentiated socialization process that is reinforced by families and institutions, in the public and private spaces. For purposes of this work, gender is understood as a social construction that can be modified by human relations according to each society. The term is related to power, which structures and constitutes relations, even in the political field.

2.2 The Concept of Parliamentary Elite

Débora Messenberg defines the Brazilian parliamentary elite as "a select group of congressmen, whose members stand out from the other participants of the National Congress in terms of their positions, the interests they represent and / or the reputation achieved" (MESSENERG, 2007, p. 311). According to the author, these elite parliamentarians present certain conditions regarding the occupation of key seats in the Legislative, represent social or institutional interests and have certain specific characteristics, which are recognized among the members as being typical of a leadership (MESSENERG, 2007).

The author used four criteria to select the parliamentarians who would be part of this elite group: those who held strategic positions, such as the presidency and secretariat of leadership boards, party or government leaderships; those who served as rapporteurs or authors of important propositions that became law; those who were chairmen of permanent, special or CPI committees, and, finally, those who were nominated in a survey by other members as elite members (MESSENERG, 2007). She considered the requirement of chairing commissions one of the criteria to be classified as elite, which is in line with what is proposed for this work: analyze where

³ Barros says that the process of differentiated socialization for women is reflected in the political field through female underrepresentation, which occurs through several factors, such as cultural, institutional and structural. For the author, "women are therefore seen and seen as politically disabled because of the process of symbolic domination that is inherent in the forms of male domination that serve as the basis for political socialization" (2015, p.189).

women are in the presidencies and vice-presidencies of the standing committees and who they are.

For the purposes of this study, the group of MPs who managed to occupy the chair and vice-chair of the standing committees of the Chamber of Deputies were considered as a type of parliamentary elite, because somehow they stood out and were and because this is a criterion of analysis of the elites.

2.3 Special Political Representation for Groups

Focusing on the importance of the relationship of representatives with those represented, Iris Marion Young (2006, pp. 158-159) explains that a person can be represented in three ways: "interests, opinions and perspectives," although he remarks that he may have other ways. It defines "interests" as being something that affects or is important to the person's life or to the goals and purposes of the organizations. Thus, it considers as part of the communicative democracy the organization of people with similar interests to obtain political influence and the realization of political pressure in order that their interests are served.

"Opinions "would be" ... principles, values and priorities assumed by a person insofar as they ground and condition their judgment on which policies should be pursued and which ends should be pursued" (YOUNG, 2006, pp. 159-160). According to Young, the most common way to represent opinions is through political parties, which develop their party programs where they express their opinions, principles and values.

For her, the "social perspective is the point of view that the members of a group maintains about social processes in function of the positions they occupy in them" (YOUNG, 2006, 164). The author cites the example of an American senator accused of sexual harassment by various counselors. His colleagues understood that there was no need for investigation because of their influence and the work done to the organ. The senators and deputies of different parties had different opinions, but they united in the same perspective: to press the Senate to investigate the case (YOUNG, 2006). With this example it shows that the social perspective of a group, in the case of women, even with divergences was unified around a common perspective: the verification of the facts.

She argues that for political equality measures should be taken to include social groups and minorities who would not have their perspectives present in the discussions if they were excluded. The inclusion of these marginalized groups can be achieved in a variety of ways, depending on the political situation, the nature of social segmentation, and the existing arrangements and exchanges. For these specific groups, as a temporary option, a certain number of seats could be reserved in an elective body. Quotas for women in party conventions could be the alternative (YOUNG, 2006).

Regarding the special representation of groups, although it is a controversial issue, it is an effective way to include different perspectives in political decision making, making decision spaces somewhat more representative and more responsive because they incorporate social groups (SACCHET, 2012). In addition, the representation of women and minorities in parliaments serves as an indicator for measuring the quality of democracy (LIJPHART, 2003).

Some authors argue that "discrimination that excludes women from representative democracy, whether formal or informal, undermines the quality of democracy and, in the case of Brazil, compromises the inclusion required by the principle of political equality" (MOISÉS, SANCHEZ, 2014, p. Female representation in parliaments can be seen as an important contribution to strengthening democracy. Women's groups may have their perspective present in the debates if they have feminist and feminist representatives working in the legislature, ie the physical presence of women coupled with a policy of ideas.

The discussion about the importance of a policy of ideas or a policy of presence is also made by Phillips (2001). It considers inappropriate a representation based only on a policy of ideas or only on a policy of presence. The author argues that a balanced representation embodies both the politics of ideas - which can be done by men and women, as well as the politics of presence. This is ensured by the physical presence of groups which are generally excluded from discussions.

For the purposes of this article, with respect to political representation, Young's (2006) point of view, which advocates the special representation of groups, is adopted, despite the criticisms that this type of representation may elicit. It is considered that the special representation of groups, such as women, can be a means of making political representation more balanced. And it is based on this premise that will be made the analysis of the occupation of positions of president and vice president in permanent committees in the Chamber of Deputies.

2.4 Brazilian women in Politics: Redistribution and Recognition in Strengthening Women's Political Representation

The process of symbolic domination, described by Bourdieu (2012), indicates that historically women were more closely linked to the private space, while men occupied the public space. The differentiated occupation of the public and private spaces contributed to the women being further away from the political field, which, over time, became naturalized as an area of masculine predominance.

The probability that a woman who lives with her spouse or partner accounts for most of the household chores is seven times greater than men, and this is also repeated in relation to child care (FOX; LAWLESS, 2012). It is still the responsibility of women to take care of their children and perform domestic tasks, both of which, although to varying degrees, require time and attention, thus reducing women's free time availability. This is one of the factors that influence

political disputes. The self-perception of not being qualified enough to run for an elective position is another factor that contributes to the small number of women candidates in electoral disputes (FOX, LAWLESS, 2012).

Other causes limiting the participation of women in political representation: (a) socio-economic conditions unfavorable to women such as unemployment and wage discrimination; (b) still restricted access to public policies; (c) the small partisan support both in the choice of candidates and in the financing of their campaigns; (d) reduced political and cultural capital due to the lack of political experience; (e) the existence of discrimination against women candidates as well as the indifference of voters regarding their legislative production in Parliament (VOGEL, 2012).

Moreover, the electoral system, political parties and campaign financing are seen as limiting elements for women's competition in the political arena. The open list proportional electoral system favors candidates who have financial resources and political capital; the strong dispute between candidates weakens the political parties, since those who have greater availability of their own resources to finance their campaign prevail; On the other hand, political parties unevenly distribute partisan fund resources and media times, which hampers the success of female candidates (MOISÉS, SANCHEZ, 2014).

To overcome some of the limiting factors, identity recognition and economic redistribution are alternatives that may contribute to the expansion of female political representation. These theories are addressed by Fraser (2007). The author argues that for parity participation, two conditions are necessary: the distribution of material resources and recognition. The distribution of resources would ensure the independence and voice of the people. This is what she calls the "objective condition" of participatory parity (FRASER, 2007: 119). With the recognition people would be in a situation of equality and respect, which would lead to the reach of social esteem. This is what the author calls the "intersubjective condition" of participatory parity (FRASER, 2007: 119).

Based on the theories of economic redistribution and identity recognition one can think about the relation of women to politics. With regard to redistribution, one can assume a better economic redistribution between women and men can more balance the political participation, since the use of financial resources can impact in the political disputes.

With regard to the issue of identity recognition, it also seems to be a necessary element in the political field. Women are likely to need recognition from the population so that they can obtain enough votes to be elected or re-elected, and that they need recognition from parliamentarians, and especially from party leaders, so that after having been prominent in internal structures such as the Presiding Board and the chairs of standing committees and thus.

2.5 The "Glass Ceiling"

The phenomenon of the "glass roof" represents the barriers women face to reach high positions. The term glass ceiling was created to "describe the artificial and invisible barriers created by behavioral and organizational biases that block women from access to senior executive positions" (WIRTH, 2001, p. 1). It means a symbolic representation of the barriers, which are subtle yet transparent and strong, faced by executive women to ascend to high command positions in business organizations (SANTOS, TANURE, CARVALHO NETO, 2014).

Vaz (2013) used the concept to demonstrate that the glass ceiling is also found in the Brazilian public sector, in which the female presence decreases at the highest levels of DAS positions, a situation that also occurs in teaching and research institutions. According to the author, in the public sector of Brazil are found replicas of segregations traditionally found in society, which distance women from positions of power. They still experience conflicts to reconcile personal and professional life, because they still have the responsibility of caring for the offspring in the traditional division of roles. Added to this is also the introjection of secularized norms of behavior to prioritize private life over public life, being conditioned not to be so competitive. The structures of public bodies would contribute to maintaining the framework of female exclusion (VAZ, 2013).

The glass roof phenomenon can help to understand the presence or absence of MEPs in the presidency of certain standing committees because it allows to indicate the existence of invisible barriers for them to reach high posts and for this reason it will be used in this work to analyze the occupation of spaces the Chamber of Deputies.

In the light of these considerations about gender, parliamentary elite, special political representation for groups and theories of economic redistribution, identity recognition and glass ceiling, we next proceed to the presentation of the adopted methodology.

3 Methodology

Regarding the methodological aspects, the research universe is restricted to the Chamber of Deputies, involving the period of the 52nd, 53rd and 54th legislatures. This research is qualitative-quantitative because it has elements of both natures.

With regard to data collection proper, to know who and how many were the presidents and vice-presidents in standing committees was sent an e-mail to the Chamber of Deputies. Afterwards, the commissions were grouped in the hard, soft and middle politics typologies, which are categories described by Miguel and Biroli (2011) and Miguel and Feitosa (2009). The hard politics area concentrates the most relevant points of the political process, such as the exercise of state power and the management of the economy. On the other hand, in soft politics are subjects that are more focused on social issues. Finally, in middle politics are mixed themes, such as Social Security, which includes both issues related to pensioners as well as the balance of public accounts

Women in charge of the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the permanent committees of the Chamber of Deputies: who are they and how to get there?

(MIGUEL, BIROLI, 2011).

This type of analysis of the speeches elaborated by Miguel and Feitosa (2009) was used to separate the permanent committees of the Chamber of Deputies. The 22 permanent committees of the Chamber of Deputies were framed within the categories hard, middle and soft politics, according to the table below, with adaptations for this work:

Frame 1 - Division of standing committees by categories: hard, middle and soft politics.

Commissions Hard Politics	.Middle Politics Commissions.	Soft Politics Commissions.
Commission for Constitution and Justice and Citizenship (CCJC); Commission for Economic Development, Industry and Trade (CDEIC); Finance and Taxation Commission (CFT); Financial Control and Control Committee (CFFC); Committee on Agriculture, Livestock, Supply and Rural Development (CAPADR); Commission on Mines and Energy (CME); Public Security and Combating Organized Crime Commission (CSPCCO); Committee on Transport and Transportation (CVT).	Committee on Foreign Relations and National Defense (CREDN); Committee on Labor, Administration and Public Service (CTASP), Commission on Science and Technology, Communication and Informatics (CCTCI).	Education Commission (EC); Commission for the Environment and Sustainable Development (CMADS); Committee on Culture (CCULT); Committee on Urban Development (CDU); Social Security and Family Commission (CSSF); Commission for National Integration, Regional and Amazonian Development (CINDRA); Committee on Sport (CESPO); Commission on Human Rights and Minorities (CDHM); Tourism Commission (CTUR); Consumer Protection Commission (CDC), Committee on Participative Legislation (CLP).

Source: the authors (2017) based on Miguel and Feitosa (2009).

This division will make it possible to verify that (a) MEPs are in the chair of committees that have a greater impact on the political agenda or in others that are less disputed, and (b) in which committees they are more concentrated, occupying the vice-presidencies.

In relation to prosopography, it is "the investigation of the common characteristics of a group of actors in history through a collective study of their lives" (STONE, 2011, 115). The term is also understood as synonymous with collective biographies (Heinz, 2006; Charle, 2006).

For purposes of this work, prosopography is assumed as a method for the collective study of the characteristics of a group of people. In this case, the characteristics of the group of MEPs who have been chairmen and vice-chairmen of standing committees during the 52nd to 54th.

The analysis of the prosopographic profile of the deputies will be elaborated considering the data available on the web, such as the institutional portals of the Chamber of Deputies, the Superior Electoral Court (TSE), personal pages of parliamentarians and biographical dictionaries, such as the Brazilian Historical-Biographical Dictionary (DHBB), developed by the Center for Research and Documentation of Contemporary History of Brazil of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (CPDHB / FGV), as well as information contained in the Biographical Repertory of the Chamber of Deputies of each legislature and in publications of the Inter- (DIAP).

For the elaboration of collective biographies, the methodology proposed by Braga and Nicolas (2008) was adapted to three broad categories: (a) social and biographical profile, (b) electoral behavior, (c) political trajectory.

Regarding the category of social and biographical profile, in some items, a subdivision was made, such as naturalness, schooling, religion, skin color, marital status, number of children

and the age group. For the definition of schooling, religion, skin color and marital status, the segmentations used by the Brazilian Institute of Statistical Geography (IBGE, 2010a; 2010b). With regard to the number of children or stepchildren, they will be segmented according to the quantity. Regarding the age groups, it was categorized every 9 years, with the exception of the initial range, which starts at the age of 21.

Regarding the category of electoral behavior, the total value of the declared equity (in Reais) will be classified according to the type adopted by Rodrigues (2009). The amount collected by the deputies from their campaign revenues, in Reais, was divided into donations from individuals, donations from legal entities and own resources. The total amount that the candidate herself applied in her campaign was also divided into banners. These bands will give an indication of the need to have financial resources for an electoral campaign.

Regarding the analysis of the main corporate donors, the 10 largest companies that have made direct donations to the individual candidatures in the electoral campaigns during the period will be grouped together. The data will be collected from the accounts of the elections, made to the TSE, by each of the deputies who were chairmen and vice-chairmen of the standing committees. The National Registry of Legal Entities (CNPJ) of donors, which is included in the rendering of accounts of the deputies, will be posted on the website of the Federal Revenue Office so that the main activity can be consulted.

Within the political trajectory category some items were subdivided: the partisan spectrum, the existence of kinship in politics, the type of political capital, the experience in the public area, the amount of reelections for the position of federal deputy. As for the party for which it was elected, the party political spectrum used was "left, center and right" which is a usual classification in the literature (MIGUEL, QUEIROZ, 2006; RODRIGUES, 2009; KRAUSE; GODOI, 2010).

The data will also be analyzed in four aspects that may favor the inclusion of women in the political field and are associated with the type of political capital: (a) family capital, (b) capital from participation in movements social, (c) delegated capital of the occupation of public and political positions and (d) capital converted from other fields (PINHEIRO, 2007).

4 The Federal Deputies in the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the Permanent Commissions

The person who holds the chair of a committee can be considered an important figure because - among the various attributions provided for in art. 41 of the Internal Rules of the Chamber of Deputies (BRAZIL, 2015), such as signing correspondence, convening and chairing committee meetings, informing the committee of all matters received, signing opinions - it is up to the agenda, propositions that will be voted on. Another task is to define the draftsmen of draft laws that deal with the structure of that structure. It is the political actors - principally the

presidents - who direct the functioning and the rhythm to the commissions as he / she chooses, so much that there is no provision in the Internal Regulation setting a minimum number of annual meetings or indicating a minimum number of propositions that must be analyzed during the period of each annual ordinary legislative session.

In the formal aspect, each standing committee consists of a president and three vice presidents, elected for a one-year period, with the re-election prohibited (article 39, Internal Rules) (BRAZIL, 2015). The President shall, in his / her impediments, be replaced by a Vice-President in the ordinal sequence. That means that the possibilities of the 2nd and 3rd vice-presidents to assume the presidency are more remote, because before that, they are the first vice-presidents. However, being in the 2nd and 3rd vice-presidencies is still interesting, because these positions carry a symbolic power.

However, apart from the formal aspect, it should be noted that there are informal aspects in the standing committees, which are not written, but are fulfilled by the parliamentarians. Informal rules have two central characteristics: (a) regulation and behavioral limitation without the existence of "a legal, coercive and legal apparatus for them to take effect"; and, (b) they are "socially shared, generally unwritten, communicated and validated outside officially sanctioned channels" (AGUIAR, 2015, p.34). These informal rules can influence to make it easier or more difficult for MEPs to access the posts of president and vice-committees, after all, much of the power lies in the hands of party leaders⁴.

Aguiar (2015) interviewed City officials, plenary advisors, leaders of party leaders, and when analyzing matters published in the *Jornal da Câmara*, noted the presence of informal rules in choosing the chair of the permanent committees of the 54th legislature, expressed in "Agreements" of leaderships, which, if not fulfilled, would subject the offender to punishments. Informal rules help to bring security to the process of choosing committee chairs. Thus formal rules can be said to be important, but they are not unique when it comes to the choices of chairmen of committees, because informal arrangements can have a significant influence on the process of choice.

Thus, when considering the political field and the choice of the chair and vice-chairs of the standing committees, it should be remembered that they are permeated both by formal norms and by the existence of informal ones, although these are carried out less explicitly than and may help to bring or remove the deputies from these positions, as will be verified in the analysis of the following data.

⁴ The party leaders indicate the deputies of their party who will compose the Commissions (Article 28 of the Internal Regulation of the Chamber of Deputies). Thus, if the parliamentarian has a good relationship with the leader, he or she may be more likely to be nominated for a committee that is in their best interests. Abreu Júnior (2009) presents party leaders as central personalities to negotiate draft laws, appoint deputies to the positions and even for the functioning of coalition presidentialism.

Many parliamentarians have held the presidency or the vice-presidencies several times in each legislature. The total number of deputies, excluding the reelection cases, 55 federal deputies (see Table 2) held the positions of president and vice-chair of permanent committees. In fact, among this elite group of 55 parliamentarians, 9 of them were featured on the list of "Heads of the National Congress", which is elaborated by DIAP (see Table 3).

Frame 2 – MEPs who are part of the research.

DEPUTIES	PARTIES
Alice Portugal	PCdoB/BA
Almerinda de Carvalho	PMDB/RJ
Ana Arraes	PSB/PE
Andreia Zito	PSDB/RJ
Angela Amin	PP/SC
Angela Guadagnin	PT/SP
Antônia Lúcia	PSC/AC
Celcita Pinheiro	PFL/MT; depois DEM/MT
Cida Borgheti	PROS/PR
Cida Diogo	PT/RJ
Dalva Figueiredo	PT/AP
Dra. Clair	PT/PR
Elcione Barbalho	PMDB/PA
Eryka Kokay	PT/DF
Fátima Bezerra	PT/RN
Fátima Pelaes	PMDB/AP
Flávia Moraes	PDT/GO
Francisca Trindade	PT/PI
Gorete Pereira	PL/CE; depois PR/CE
Iriny Lopes	PT/ES
Íris de Araújo	PMDB/GO
Jandira Feghali	PCdoB/RJ
Janete Capiberibe	PSB/AP
Janete Pietá	PT/SP
Jô Moraes	PCdoB/MG
Juíza Denise Frossard	PPS/RJ
Kelly Moraes	PTB/RS
Laura Carneiro	PFL/RJ
Lídice da Mata	PSB/BA
Liliam Sá	PROS/RJ
Luci Choinacki	PT/SC
Luciana Santos	PCdoB/PE
Luiza Erundina	PSB/SP
Maninha	PSOL/DF
Manuela D' Ávila	PCdoB/RS
Maria do Carmo Lara	PT/MG
Maria do Rosário	PT/RS
Maria Helena	PSB/RR
Maria Lúcia	PMDB/RJ
Maria Lúcia Cardoso	PMDB/MG
Mariângela Duarte	PT/SP
Marina Magessi	PPS/RJ
Neyde Aparecida	PT/GO
Perpétua Almeida	PCdoB/AC
Profª. Raquel Teixeira	PSDB/GO
Profª Marcivânia	PT/AP
Rebecca Garcia	PP/AM
Rose de Freitas	PMDB/ES

Women in charge of the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the permanent committees of the Chamber of Deputies:
who are they and how to get there?

Selma Schons	PT/PR
Solange Amaral	DEM/RJ
Sueli Vidigal	PDT/ES
Terezinha Fernandes	PT/MA
Vanessa Grazziotin	PCdoB/AM
Zelinda Novaes	PFL/BA
Zulaiê Cobra	PSDB/SP

Fonte: as autoras (2017).

Frame 3 – The Heads of the National Congress (2003 to 2014), according to Diap.

DEPUTY	YEARS OF THE PRIZE.
Jandira Feghali	2003; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2013; 2014
Juíza Denise Frossard	2003
Luíza Erundina	2003; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013
Maninha	2005
Alice Portugal	2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014
Vanessa Grazziotin	2010
Rose de Freitas	2011; 2013
Ana Arraes	2011
Manuela D'Ávila	2011; 2012; 2013; 2014

Source: the authors (2017) based on Diap (2015).

It was verified that they were in the presidency and vice-presidencies of the standing committees of the Chamber of Deputies, in the 52nd, 53rd and 54th legislatures respectively, 33, 39 and 30 times the federal deputies, which amounts to 102 times occupying these positions during these three legislatures. The data showed that from the 52nd to the 53rd legislature there was an increase in the number of MEPs nominated for the chair and vice-chair of the standing committees, but in the 54th legislature there was a reduction. Why did this happen? Was the Secretariat of Women working to appoint more members to the standing committees during this term? Or was this reduction an isolated fact that occurred only in the 54th legislature? These issues may be useful for future investigations.

Comparing the occupation of the permanent committees between the deputies and the deputies, proportionally, in order not to create distortions, since the number of female representatives is smaller than the male, during the period, there are different percentages. Considering the grand total, they held 26% of the chairmanship of the committees while they occupied 22%. That is, on the whole, they focused more on the chairmanship of committees than they did. Analyzing how the male occupation of the positions occurred, in the grand total, they were more concentrated in the presidency and in the 1st vice-presidency of the commissions, with percentages of 26%. The opposite situation occurred with them, which were more concentrated in the 3rd and 1st vice-presidency, with percentages, respectively, of 28% and 27%. This shows that in smaller positions, such as the 3rd vice-presidency, they have been present a greater number of times.

As for the occupation of the presidency, the MEPs were able to be in this position in the commissions of CSPCCO, CDC, CDHM, CE, CINDRA, CLP, CREDN, CSSF, CTUR, CCULT and CDU. Out of a total of 22 standing committees, they have chaired these 11 committees and have held this position 22 times. On the other hand, they have been absent from the presidency over the last twelve years of the committees: CAPADR, CCJC, CDEIC, CFT, CFFC, CME, CVT, CCTCI, CTASP, CESPO and CMADS (Table 2).

If a comparison of the presidency with the nearest office in the line of succession, which is that of the 1st vice-presidency, this has been 28 times, that is, there was an increase compared to the presidency. They have held this position in 11 commissions: CME, CSPCCO, CCTCI, CREDN, CTAPS, CDHM, CE, CINDRA, CSSF, CCULT and CDU. It can be seen that they have been on a number of different committees, such as CCTCI, CME, and CTASP. In CSPCCO, CDHM, CE, CINDRA, CREDN, CSSF, CCULT and CDU they were in the chair and in the 1st vice-chair (Table 2).

When one observes the data according to the hard, middle and soft politics typology (Table 4), it can be seen that the MPs were the chair of only one of the hard politics committees, CSPCCO, but they took up seats in the vice-presidencies, except for CFT (in this they were absent). This situation also occurs in the middle politics commissions where they have been chairing one of the committees: CREDN. On the other hand, they have been in the three vice-presidencies of all middle politics commissions. In the committees considered soft politics, they have been in the chair of almost all the committees of this group, except in CESPO and CMADS, that is to say, they were in the chair of nine commissions: CDC, CDHM, CE, CINDRA, CSSF, CTUR, CCULT, CDU and CLP.

Frame 4 – Presidency and vice-presidency of the federal deputies by permanent committee and typology.

Typology	Commission	Nº Members of Parliament	Nº 1ªVice-presidency	Nº 2ªVice-presidency	Nº 3ªVice-presidency
<i>Hard politics</i>	CAPADR	0	0	1	0
	CCJC	0	0	0	1
	CDEIC	0	0	1	0
	CFT	0	0	0	0
	CFFC	0	0	3	1
	CME	0	2	3	0
	CSPCCO	1	1	0	0
	CVT	0	0	0	1
Subtotal 1		1	3	8	3
<i>Midle Politics</i>	CCTCI	0	1	2	1
	CREDN	2	3	2	3
	CTASP	0	5	2	2
Subtotal 2		2	9	6	6
<i>Soft Politics</i>	CDC	1	0	0	0
	CDHM	3	3	4	3
	CE	3	4	2	3
	CESPO	0	0	0	0
	CINDRA	3	2	1	3
	CMADS	0	0	0	2
	CSSF	2	2	0	3
	CTUR	2	0	1	3
	CCULT	2	1	0	0
	CDU	2	4	0	1
	CLP	1	0	1	2

Women in charge of the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the permanent committees of the Chamber of Deputies:
who are they and how to get there?

Subtotal 3	19	16	9	20
. Grand total	22	28	23	29

Source: the authors (2017) based on data from the Chamber of Deputies.

It is pertinent to remember that the presence in a standing committee or even the occupation of the presidency depends on the party's nomination and the informal agreements signed. It can be said that the informal political agreements made by party leaders - who are mostly men - have already incorporated male domination, since they have barely indicated women to hold the chair of hard politics commissions, which are committees considered to be of greater political weight. This may be one of the explanations for their greater concentration on the presidency of soft politics committees and the very low presence of women in the chair of hard politics commissions.

Another explanation for their greater concentration on the presidency of soft politics commissions is the fact that they address naturalized issues such as "feminine" responsibility, such as issues related to education, health care, social issues, family issues, associated with the logic of care, understanding, affection; questions that, in a way, reproduce the private sphere as extensions of the house.

However, it should be pointed out that it is a challenge for MPs to "reach the central positions of the field" (MIGUEL; BIROLI, 2011, p.109). A task that is not always easy, since they "act less in areas and themes considered as more relevant, while men are more present precisely in the areas and themes that most contribute to the promotion of their political career" (MIGUEL, BIROLI, 2011, p.14).

This is noticeable because of their scarce presence in the Chamber of Deputies, in the College of Leaders or even in the chairmanship of some standing committees. In part, such a phenomenon can be explained by the constituted habitus and the symbolic violence resulting from male domination (BOURDIEU, 2012), which can make them remain in secondary fields in most of the permanent committees. It was found that this group of deputies occupied more the fields of the vice-presidencies than the presidencies. And among the vice-presidencies, they were more concentrated in the 3rd vice-presidency, which is a more secondary space in the field of commissions.

The data presented appear to highlight the existence of a glass ceiling, where MPs find invisible barriers to access the presidencies and vice-presidencies of hard politics committees, acting more in soft politics commissions. In the three legislatures under review only one of them managed to surpass this glass ceiling and to be president of CSPCCO, which is hard politics.

Still, the data indicate that they are more focused on chairing soft politics commissions. These committees seem to focus on issues with less bargaining power compared to hard politics, which are those pointed out in the literature as those that deal with more important aspects of the political process related to state power and economic issues. It seems that they are inserted in a

gendrado cycle, in which they transfer naturalized occupations as feminine in the private space for their action in the public space. In other words, they go from the private to the public sphere, but continue to play roles similar to those exercised in the private sphere related to care, family, health.

After analyzing the distribution of the federal deputies in positions in the presidency and vice-presidency of permanent committees, the collective profile of the Brazilian parliamentarians who occupy these positions of prominence in the internal structure of the Chamber of Deputies will be presented in the 52nd, 53rd and 54th legislatures.

5 Prosopographic Profile Analysis

5.1 Social and Biographical Profile.

Among the items that make up the social profile, in this article, only a few will be described, such as the number of children, marital status and the profession of Brazilian federal deputies, presidents and vice-chairs of standing committees of the 52nd, 53rd and 54th , in order to build the collective profile of this elite group.

With regard to the number of children, out of the total of 55 parliamentarians under study (Table 5), 41 were found. Of these, 18% have an only child; 31% are mothers of 2 children; 16% of 3 children, 7% of 4 children and 2% of them have 5 children. None of them have more than 5 children, and 2% of them do not have children or stepchildren. The 13 parliamentarians who did not obtain information constitute 24% of the total group. It can be seen that a significant number of them (49%) have between 1 and 2 children, that is, they are within the average Brazilian fertility rate, which is 1.72 children, according to IBGE data⁵.

Frame 5 – N° of sons / daughters of presiding and standing committees of the 52nd to 54th legislatures

Number of children or stepchildren.	N° Absolute	Percentage
No children or stepchildren (the)	1	2%
1 child or stepchild)	10	18%
2 children or stepchildren (the)	17	31%
3 children or stepchildren (the)	9	16%
4 children or stepchildren (the)	4	7%
5 children or stepchildren (the)	1	2%
Above 5 children or stepchildren (the)	0	0%
No information.	13	24%
Total	55	100%

source: the authors (2017) based on FGV (2015), Biographical Repertory of the Chamber of Deputies (BRASIL, 2002; 2007; 2011), in addition to a portal of the State Legislative Assembly.

⁵ See IBGE Total Fertility Rate - Brazil - 2000 to 2015. Available at: <<http://brasilemsintese.ibge.gov.br/populacao/taxas-de-fecundidade-total>>. Accessed on Oct. 11. 2015.

As regards the marital status of MEPs (Table 6), the majority are married, corresponding to 49%. Then there are the single women, with 27%; 18% divorced, 4% widowed and 2% divorced judicially. Reconciling family life with politics can be a hindrance, especially for women, who may suffer from absenteeism, since political life is exhausting, permeated by intense agendas, even on weekends. The data show that married life does not seem to have prevented married women from becoming chairman of committees, since they represent 49% of the group under analysis.

Frame 6 – Marital status of federal MPs (52nd, 53rd, 54th legislatures) Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of standing committees.

Marital status.	Absolute number.	Percentage
Single	15	27%
Married	27	49%
Separated judicially.	1	2%
Divorced	10	18%
Widow	2	4%
Total	55	100%

Source: the authors (2017) based on data from the TSE (2015) and the Chamber of Deputies (2002, 2007, 2011).

According to data reported on the website of the TSE (2015), regarding the profession, 34.5% of them declared to be members; 14.5% teachers (federal, state or municipal) or pedagogues; 9.1% senators, MPs or councilors, 7.3% public servants of different levels. In 3.6% there are professions as lawyers, businesswomen, administrators and doctors. Finally, those who claim to have practiced banking, social workers, pharmacists and retirees accounted for 1.8%.

It may be questioned: why did a part of them declare their profession as deputy, senator or councilwoman? Confronting only those who declared themselves as deputies to the TSE with the declaration of profession they made to the Chamber of Deputies, it was verified that most of these reported being a teacher or pedagogue, but there were also in this role professions as lawyers, businesswomen, journalists, sociologist, physiotherapist, public employee, radio broadcasters, electrical engineers. Did they have the perception that their professions are minor? Or is it because they believe that the profession of MP is more valued? Or do they believe that the TSE only matters the political positions they held? Possible answers may be obtained in future surveys with interviews with parliamentarians.

When analyzing the profession of parliamentarians based on the data on the website of the Chamber of Deputies, it is verified that the information is different from those on the TSE website (2015). It is noteworthy that 36% of them indicated having two or more professions. Of these, the majority accumulates one function in the magisterium and another (architect, businesswoman, lawyer, economist, etc.). Professions appeared that did not appear on the TSE's website, such as "do home", farmer, physiotherapist and sociologist.

With regard to the professions, the accumulation of functions such as the teaching profession seems to place the school as an extension of the private sphere and of female responsibility, because the educational task was naturalized as a function of women. That is, the ethics of care, typical of the family sphere is also applied in the professional field, which indicates the mark of a macho and patriarchal culture.

5.2 Electoral Behavior

In this item will be made the analysis of the electoral behavior of the federal deputies who were presidents and vice of the standing committees in the 52th to 54th legislature. Among the information collected, in this article will be presented two: the declared personal equity and the amount donated by the candidate herself to her campaign.

Regarding the personal patrimony of the federal deputies, the TSE did not make available in the institutional site information regarding the 2002 election, which corresponds to the 52nd legislature. However, it was possible to analyze Members' patrimonial data for the 2006 and 2010 elections, equivalent to the 53rd and 54th legislatures. It is noticed that among this group of elite preponderate those members with low patrimonial range (less than 200 thousand), that correspond to 41%, followed by those that are in the low-middle range (personal patrimony of 200 thousand less than 500 thousand) with 32% (Table 7).

The fact that MEPs are more concentrated in low- and middle-low-equity patrimony ranges may have some explanations. One possible explanation is the general comparison with the total data, at the Brazilian level, in 2013, of the Individual Income Tax (IRPF) statements of the Federal Revenue of the Brazilian population. The body's data show that, in relation to gender, in the total of the declarants of the IRPF, the women possess less goods and rights than the men. The average value of male goods and rights corresponds to R \$ 271,553.70 while the female value is R \$ 147,452.91, that is, the average value of goods and rights of women corresponds to 54% of that of male property; their average value is almost double that of theirs (FEDERAL REVENUE, 2013).

Another possible explanation for low equity is that your assets may not all be in your name, as with some politicians. Gois (2013) mentions that there are examples of politicians who transfer all or part of their assets to family people or 'oranges', in order to hide their enrichment; others fail to declare amounts in bank accounts (GOIS, 2013). This caveat is also made by Rodrigues (2006), even he found that the deputies possessed minor patrimony in relation to the deputies in the years of 1998 and 2002 (ROGRIGUES, 2006). Transferring assets to others may be a tactic used by politicians of both sexes.

Frame 7 – Personal patrimony of the decommissioned Presidents and vices of Committees

Permanents of the 53rd and the 54 legislature.

Heritage Track (in real)	Percentual
Low equity – less than 200 thousand	41%
Middle-low equity - 200 thousand to less than 500 thousand.	32%
Medium-high equity - from 500 thousand to 2 million	20%
High equity - more than 2 million.	7%

Source: the authors (2017) based on TSE (2015) and Rodrigues (2009, p.60)).

With regard to the donations that MEPs made to their own campaigns in 2002, 2006 and 2010, in short, it preponderated the band 1, of no contribution of own resources in the campaigns. However, those that allocated their own resources in the 2002 elections focused mainly on two bands, 2 and 5; in the 2006 elections, the bands were 2 and 9, bands with very different values, 2 with low values and 9 with high values; in the 2010 elections, the highest concentration was in bands 9 and 10, which correspond to higher values. The use of personal resources in higher brackets may be a sign that they were investing more heavily in the career of professional policies.

The literature (VOGEL, 2012; MIGUEL, BIROLI, 2011, 2014; SACCHET, 2011; SACCHET; SPECK, 2012) presents the financial question as one of the barriers to women's access to political positions. It can be seen that the use of their own financial resources, with the appropriate exceptions, can contribute to electoral success, because they would have, in addition to party resources, part of their personal assets to invest in the campaign. In this way, financial redistribution is an element that can contribute to strengthen the representation of women in political spaces.

5.3 Political Trajectory

This topic will provide insights into the political trajectory of these MPs who have been chairmen and vice-chairmen of standing committees. In order to do so, the parties were analyzed through the "right, center and left" political-partisan spectrum, political kinship, experience in the public area, and the predominant type of political capital in their careers.

With regard to the party-political spectrum, the 55 parliamentarians were divided on the basis of the parties for which they were elected in the "right, center and left". while there was a certain balance between members of "right" and "center" parties, with 18% and 20%.

The "left" parties have indicated a greater number of deputies to the posts of chair and vice-chair of standing committees in the period under review than the "center" or "right" parties. This may have happened because they elected a greater number of parliamentarians and had greater political strength to compose the commissions, or because they prioritized the female appointment to these positions of power. Another factor that may have influenced is that left-wing parties have very strong internal women's organizations.

Regarding kinship, some of them (36%) are related to politicians, either because they are daughters of politicians or married to politicians who were municipal mayors, councilors,

municipal or state secretaries, state or federal deputies, governors or senators. It is estimated that the percentage (64%) of those who are not related in politics is significant (Table 8). An answer to this fact can be found in the analysis of the type of political capital.

Frame 8 – Kinship in politics - federal deputies presidents and vice committees of the 52nd to 54th legislatures.

Kinship in politic.	Nº Absolute	Percentage
Yes	20	36%
No	35	64%
Total	55	100%

Source: the authors (2017) based on the Biographical Repertoire (BRASIL, 2002, 2007; 2011), DHBB (FGV, 2015) and DIAP (2015).

It can be said that some aspects favor the inclusion of women in the political field. Among them, at least four are associated with the type of political capital: (a) family capital, (b) capital from participation in social movements⁶, (c) capital delegated from the occupation of public office and politicians and (d) converted capital from other fields (PINHEIRO, 2007). With some of these types of political capital it is possible for women to reach a seat in Parliament.

For the analysis the type of capital was used, that is, that capital that had greater weight in the political trajectory of this group of deputies. The analysis of the preponderant type of political capital shows that most of them have capital from the participation of social movements (42%). This type of capital seems to be a kind of lever that managed to highlight a higher percentage of deputies than those with family capital (35%). That is, it is significant the number of members who can reach the policy based on social movements.

The majority of the group under analysis has experience in the public area (Table 9). There are 47% of them with mixed experience, both in the Executive and in the Legislative, that is, in their political trajectory they acted in positions within the two powers, which perhaps contributed to add political capital and strengthen their performance to reach the Chamber of Deputies. Obviously, 35% of them have family-originated capital, and this type of capital may also have contributed to their holding positions in these powers.

It is verified that 38% of them had trajectory dedicated solely to the Legislative. When analyzing the performance in the Executive branch, only 5% of them were exclusively involved in this power, while 2% of them worked only in the Judiciary. In other words, the group prevailed in the group that had experience of acting in two fields: in the Legislative and in the Executive.

⁶ The capital from participation in social movements guarantees the election of women who represent some specific sectors (PINHEIRO, 2007, p 112). The links with social movements and their networks of political articulation allow the election of deputies considered from the left, who defend more explicitly the equality of gender, the rights of women and other causes considered feminist. This is what Avelar points out in referring to these women elected through trade unions and women's movements "[...] when they rise to power, their roots lead to give priority to policies aimed at social issues, according to their bases of power "(AVELAR, 2001, p.146).

Frame 9 – Experience in the public area: deputies presidents and vice committees of the 52nd to 54th legislature.

Experience in the public area.	N° absolute	%
Experience in the Executive Branch	3	5%
Experience in the Legislative Branch	21	38%
Experience in the Judiciary Branch	1	2%
Experience (Executive and Legislative Branches)	26	47%
Has no experience in public office.	4	7%
Total	55	100%

Source: the authors (2017) based on the Biographical Repertoire (BRASIL, 2002, 2007; 2011), DHBB (FGV, 2015) and DIAP (2015)).

6 Conclusion

It was verified, in the framework that was outlined in this article, that the occupation of positions like the presidencies of permanent commissions occurs in a differentiated way between men and women. It was found, for example, that in the three legislatures, the federal deputies occupied the chair of permanent committees 26%, while the federal deputies held that office 22%. They were more concentrated in the 1st vice-presidency (27%) than they (26%). Regarding the 2nd vice-presidency, they occupied 23% while they were 24%. In the 3rd vice-presidency they were left with 28% and they with 25%, which demonstrated a certain asymmetry in the occupation of these positions.

In the prosopographic profile, those who have 2 children (31%) and 1 child (18%) prevail. The predominant marital status in the group is married women parliamentarians (49%), followed by single women (27%). That is, almost 50% of them were married, which shows that they somehow managed to reconcile political life with married life. Most of them practice two or more professions and the group of those who work in the teaching profession, an area naturalized as a feminine activity, stands out, reproducing a patriarchal culture.

Regarding the electoral behavior, it was noticed, in comparison to the deputies, that they are more concentrated in patrimonial bands considered low (less than 200 thousand reais), which is in agreement with the need for a better economic redistribution between men and women. In the analysis of the political trajectory, there was a predominance of deputies from "left" political parties, which may be indicative that in these parties they may have more space to occupy important positions, such as the presidencies and vice-presidencies of permanent commissions.

With regard to the type of capital, it was found that those that have a political trajectory coming from the participation of social movements (42%), and then those with family capital by kinship with politicians (35%) predominate. The majority of the deputies who was president and vice-chairman of permanent committees have experience in the public area.

With regard to gender, it can be concluded that the political world presents invisible barriers (glass ceiling) that hinder women's access. Once this barrier is overcome, those who reach the Chamber of Deputies may encounter other glass ceilings to be able to occupy high positions in internal structures, such as the chairmanship of permanent committees. It can be said that the presence of women is allowed, but, in a sense, it is barred from chairing hard politics commissions. The data showed almost total absence of them in the presidency of these commissions during the three studied legislatures, since the elections for the presidencies of commissions occur annually. The choice of chairmen of hard politics committees may reflect a glass ceiling strand called discrimination by preference, when deputies are nominated instead of deputies for these committees. This hypothesis needs to be deepened in future research.

With regard to political representation, it can be concluded that the members were more circumscribed to soft politics committees, whose themes are traditionally linked to women's responsibility, involving themes in the areas of health, childcare, etc. These themes seem to have less bargaining power when compared to those covered in the hard politics commissions.

Among those who have become chair and vice chair of the committees, most are married, which may make it difficult to reconcile family and political life, but this has not prevented them from being in the political arena. With regard to the resources for the campaign, they can be a factor that contributes to the success of an application, so it seems important that women have their own resources and partisans to apply in their campaigns if they decide to enter or remain in the political field.

In the analysis of "power", it was noticed that in the legislatures under study, few women were elected to the Chamber of Deputies, and few are chosen or appointed to serve as chair of committees. It seems that women's issues are considered peripheral and do not interfere much with the already consolidated strategies that prioritized men in these political spaces. The bargaining power of MEPs in the political game seems to be small compared to that of MEPs.

At the end of this research, it can be seen that some of the women who went beyond the glass ceiling to the positions of president and vice-president of the commissions managed to maintain the family structure (marriage and children), conciliating with the political world, reaching high positions in commissions (most soft politics), but also the strength of the patriarchal ideas that still permeate society and influence the public space, since it concentrates, mainly, the men deputies in positions of commissions hard politics.

It is suggested that new studies be done on the subject of gender in the Chamber of Deputies, including incorporating interviews with these parliamentarians to capture their perceptions regarding political representation. Studies using gender as a category of analysis may contribute to a more complete picture of the limiting factors and bottlenecks found by women to access and occupy spaces in the contested political world.

References

- ABREU JÚNIOR, Diogo Alves de. **As lideranças partidárias na Câmara dos Deputados**. 2009. Monografia (Especialização em Processo Legislativo) – Centro de Formação, Treinamento e Aperfeiçoamento (Cefor), Câmara dos Deputados, Brasília, 2009.
- AGUIAR, Osmar de Oliveira. **As regras informais e o processo decisório na Câmara dos Deputados**. 2015. Dissertação (Mestrado em Poder Legislativo) – Centro de Formação, Treinamento e Aperfeiçoamento (Cefor), Câmara dos Deputados, Brasília, 2015.
- AVELAR, Lucia. **Mulheres na elite política brasileira**. São Paulo: Fundação Konrad Adenauer; UNESP, 2001.
- BARROS, Antonio Teixeira de. Internet e política para mulheres: análise dos websites das parlamentares da Bancada Feminina do Congresso Nacional. **Democracia Digital e Governo Eletrônico**, Florianópolis, n. 12, p 183-211, 2015.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre. **A dominação masculina**. 11. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2012.
- _____. **O poder simbólico**. Tradução de Fernando Tomaz. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1989.
- BRAGA, Sérgio Soares; NICOLAS, Maria Alejandra. Prosopografia a partir da web: avaliando e mensurando as fontes para o estudo das elites parlamentares brasileiras na internet. **Revista de Sociologia e Política**, Curitiba, v. 16, n. 30, p. 107-130, jun 2008.
- BRASIL. Congresso Nacional. Câmara dos Deputados. **Deputados brasileiros: repertório biográfico: 52ª legislatura 2003/2007**. Brasília: Câmara dos Deputados; Coordenação de Publicações, 2002. (Série fontes de referência. Deputados. Repertório biográfico, 7).
- _____. Congresso Nacional. Câmara dos Deputados. **Deputados brasileiros: repertório biográfico: 53ª legislatura 2007/2011**. Brasília: Câmara dos Deputados; Coordenação de Publicações, 2007. (Série fontes de referência. Deputados. Repertório biográfico, 8).
- _____. Congresso Nacional. Câmara dos Deputados. **Deputados brasileiros: repertório biográfico: 54ª legislatura 2011-2015**. Brasília: Câmara dos Deputados; Coordenação de Publicações, 2011. (Série fontes de referência. Deputados. Repertório biográfico, 9).
- _____. Congresso Nacional. Câmara dos Deputados. **Regimento interno da Câmara dos Deputados [recurso eletrônico]**. 15. ed. Brasília: Câmara dos Deputados, 2015. (Série textos básicos, 103). Disponível em: <<http://bd.camara.gov.br/bd/handle/bdcamara/18847>>. Acesso em: 23 ago. 2015.
- _____. **Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil**. 1988. Disponível em: <http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Constituicao/ConstituicaoCompilado.htm>. Acesso em: 23 ago. 2015.
- _____. Receita Federal. **Grandes números IRPF: Ano-Calendário 2013**. Disponível em: <<http://idg.receita.fazenda.gov.br/dados/receitadata/estudos-e-tributarios-e-aduaneiros/estudose-estatisticas/11-08-2014-grandes-numeros-dirpf/grandes-numeros-dirpf-cap>>. Acesso em: 12 out. 2015.
- _____. **Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE)**. Disponível em: <<http://www.tse.jus.br/>>. Acesso em: 1 maio 2015.
- CHARLE, Christopher. A prosopografia ou biografia coletiva: balanços e perspectivas. In: HEINZ, F. M. **Por outra história das elites**. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2006.

DEPARTAMENTO INTERSINDICAL DE ASSESSORIA PARLAMENTAR (DIAP). Disponível em: <<http://www.diap.org.br/>> Acesso em: 30 out. 2015.

ERUNDINA, Luiza. **PEC 590/2006**: Proposta de Emenda à Constituição. 21 dez. 2006. Disponível em: <<http://www.camara.gov.br/proposicoesWeb/fichadetramitacao?idProposicao=339287>>. Acesso em: 3 fev. 2016.

FGV. Fundação Getúlio Vargas. **Dicionário Histórico-Biográfico Brasileiro (DHBB)**. Disponível em: <<http://cpdoc.fgv.br/acervo/dhbb>>. Acesso em: 19 jun. 2015.

FOX, Richard L.; LAWLESS, Jennifer L. Entrando na arena? Gênero e a decisão de concorrer a um cargo eletivo. **Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política**, Brasília, n. 8, p. 129-163, maio/ago. 2012.

FRASER, Nancy. Reconhecimento sem ética? **Lua Nova**, São Paulo, n. 70, p. 101-138, 2007.

GOIS, Chico de. **Os ben\$ que os políticos fazem**: histórias de quem enriqueceu durante o exercício dos mandatos. São Paulo: Leya Brasil, 2013.

HEINZ, Flávio. **Por outra história das elites**. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2006.

IBGE. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatísticas. **Censo demográfico: 2010**: características gerais da população, religião e pessoas com deficiência. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 2010. Disponível em: <<http://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/index.php/bibliotecacatalogo?view=detalhes&id=794>>. Acesso em: 28 fev. 2016.

_____. **Síntese de indicadores sociais**: uma análise das condições de vida da população brasileira 2010. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 2010. Disponível em: <<http://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/livros/liv45700.pdf>>. Acesso em: 19 ago. 2015.

KRAUSE, Silvana; GODOI, Pedro Paulo Alves. Coligações eleitorais para os executivos estaduais (1986-2006): padrões e tendências. In: KRAUSE, Silvana; DANTAS, Humberto; MIGUEL, Luis Felipe. **Coligações partidárias na nova democracia brasileira**: perfis e tendências. Rio de Janeiro: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung; São Paulo: UNESP, 2010. p.41-97.

LIJPHART, Arend. **Modelos de democracia**: desempenho e padrões de governo em 36 países. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003.

MESSEMBERG, Débora. A elite parlamentar brasileira (1989-2004). **Sociedade e Estado**, Brasília, v. 22, n. 2, p. 309-370, maio/ago. 2007.

MIGUEL, Luis Felipe; BIROLI, Flávia. **Caleidoscópio convexo**: mulheres, política e mídia. São Paulo: Unesp, 2011.

_____; FEITOSA, Fernanda. O gênero do discurso parlamentar: mulheres e homens na tribuna da câmara dos deputados. **Dados**, Rio de Janeiro, v. 52, n. 1, mar. 2009.

_____; QUEIROZ, Cristina Monteiro de. Diferenças regionais e o êxito relativo de mulheres em eleições municipais no Brasil. **Estudos Feministas**, Florianópolis, v. 14, n. 2, p. 363-385, maio/ago. 2006.

Women in charge of the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the permanent committees of the Chamber of Deputies: who are they and how to get there?

MOISÉS, José Álvaro; SANCHEZ, Beatriz Rodrigues. Representação política das mulheres e qualidade da democracia: o caso do Brasil. In: MOISÉS, José Álvaro (Org.). **O Congresso Nacional, os partidos políticos e o sistema de integridade**: representação, participação e controle interinstitucional no Brasil contemporâneo. Rio de Janeiro: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2014.

PHILLIPS, Anne. De uma política de ideias a uma política de presença? **Estudos Feministas**, Florianópolis, v. 9, n. 1, p. 268-290, 2001.

PINHEIRO, Luana Simões. **Vozes femininas na política**: uma análise sobre mulheres parlamentares no pós-Constituinte. Brasília: Secretaria Especial de Políticas para as Mulheres, 2007. (Série Documentos).

QUEIROZ, Marcos Augusto de. **Dez anos de CLP**: legislação participativa ou participação legislativa? 2011. Monografia (Especialização em Curso de Processo Legislativo,) – Câmara dos Deputados, Centro de Formação, Treinamento e Aperfeiçoamento (Cefor), Brasília, 2011. Disponível em: <<http://bd.camara.leg.br/bd/handle/bdcamara/9028#>>. Acesso em: 20 dez. 2015.

RODRIGUES, Fernando. **Políticos do Brasil**: uma investigação sobre o patrimônio declarado e a ascensão daqueles que exercem o poder. São Paulo: Publifolha, 2006.

RODRIGUES, Leôncio Martins. **Partidos, ideologia e composição social**: um estudo das bancadas Partidárias na Câmara dos Deputados. Rio de Janeiro: Centro Edelstein de Pesquisas Sociais, 2009.

SACCHET, Teresa. Partidos políticos e (sub) representação feminina: um estudo sobre recrutamento legislativo e financiamento de campanhas. In: PAIVA, Denise; BEZERRA, Heloísa Dias. **Mulheres, poder e política**. Goiânia: Cãnone Editorial. 2011.

_____. Representação política, representação de grupos e política de cotas: perspectivas e contendas feministas. **Estudos Feministas**, Florianópolis, v. 20, n. 2, p. 399-431, ago. 2012.

_____; SPECK, Bruno Wilhelm. Financiamento eleitoral, representação política e gênero: uma análise das eleições de 2006. **Opinião Pública**, Campinas, v. 18, n. 1, p. 177-197, jun. 2012.

SAFFIOTI, Heleieth Iara Bongiovani. **Gênero, patriarcado, violência**. São Paulo: Fundação Perseu Abramo, 2011.

SANTOS, Carolina Maria Mota; TANURE, Betania; CARVALHO NETO, Antonio Moreira de. Mulheres executivas brasileiras: O teto de vidro em questão. **Revista Administração em Diálogo, São Paulo**, v. 16, n. 3, p. 56-75, set./dez. 2014.

SCOTT, Joan Wallach. **Gênero e história**. México: FCE, 2008.

_____. **Gênero**: uma categoria útil para análise histórica. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989.

STONE, Lawrence. Prosopografia. **Revista de Sociologia e Política**, Curitiba, v. 19, n. 39, p. 115-137, jun. 2011.

VAZ, Daniela Verzola. O teto de vidro nas organizações públicas: evidências para o Brasil. **Economia e Sociedade**, Campinas, v. 22, n. 3, p. 765-790, dez. 2013.

VOGEL, Luiz Henrique. **A difícil inserção**: voto feminino e as condições sociais de acesso ao campo político no Brasil (1932-2012). Brasília: Câmara dos Deputados, 2012. Disponível em:

<<http://bd.camara.gov.br/bd/handle/bdcamara/11494#>>. Acesso em: 21 jun. 2015.

WEBER, Max. **Ciência e política**: duas vocações. 18. ed. São Paulo: Cultrix, 2011.

WIRTH, Linda. **Breaking through the glass ceiling**: women in management. Geneva: International Labour Office, 2001.

YOUNG, Iris Marion. **Representação política, identidade e minorias**. Lua Nova, São Paulo, n. 67, p. 139-190, 2006.

Article received on: 13/09/2016

Article accepted on: 22/10/2016