

PARLIAMENTARY EXPENDITURE IN THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC: THE USE OF THE QUOTA FOR THE EXERCISE OF PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY BY THE FEDERAL DEPUTIES OF THE FEDERAL DISTRICT

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Abstract: It deals with the study of the use of the Quota for the Exercise of Parliamentary Activity (CEAP) by federal deputies of the Federal District from 2019 to 2021. With the declaration of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, the Chamber of Deputies and parliamentary activities have to undergo a rapid adaptation to the new reality arising from the need for social distance, restriction of physical presence in Parliament. Starting from a quantitative approach to data analysis from the Transparency section of the institutional website of the Chamber of Deputies, it was possible to observe that there were few changes in the usage behavior and values used of the Quota for the Exercise of Parliamentary Activity in the observed three-year period. The data show that between 2019 and 2020 there was a slight increase of 0.24% in the amounts spent and between 2020 and 2021 a decrease of 3.59% in parliamentary expenses. Additionally, it was possible to observe that the types of expenses with the highest amounts in a non-pandemic year remained the same in pandemic years.

Keywords: Quota for the Exercise of Parliamentary Activity; Chamber of Deputies; parliamentary expense; Covid-19; Legislative Branch.

1 Introduction

The Legislative Branch is one of the important gears for the functioning of democracy and from it derives the existence of an efficient political system. As advocated by Squire (1992), the institutionalization process of legislative entities comes from the particular objectives and ambitions of their members. According to Polsby (2008, p. 221), the viability of a political system, that is, one that obtains "[...] success in carrying out tasks of allocating authority resources, solving problems, resolving conflicts and so on, for the benefit of a population of any substantial size, it has to be institutionalized."

In summary, the institutionalization of the Legislative Branch concerns the "[...] phenomenon of balance, in which beliefs and actions of actors (internal and external to the organization) in the capacity and relevance of the institution lead them to invest more or less in this arena" (PALLANZA; SCARTASCINI; TOMMASI, 2012, p. 13). And in order to achieve such a balance, there are challenges to be faced by the numerous particularities inherent to the existence of legislative institutions; as pointed out by Obando Camino (2013), institutionalization resides in facing issues in the internal and external dimensions, each influencing the reality of the legislature in a different way.

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The institutionalization of the Legislative Branch in formal and operational terms, in addition to resolving the inefficiency in allocating public resources (ALMEIDA, 2021), guiding institutional activism (PEREIRA, 2020), is one of the characteristic features of legislative modernization in recent years that lead to the public transparency and accountability for the use and allocation of public funds, especially those executed through parliamentary expenditures. The institutionalization and accountability of public spending are important factors for the constitution of a transparent Legislative Branch, since, according to Figueiredo Filho e Silva Júnior (2012), the relationship between representative and represented presents a chronic asymmetry of information and the reduction of such asymmetry necessarily involves the institutional arrangement and behavior of the electorate.

The Legislative Branch exercises a primary function in the State, unlike the Executive and Judiciary Branches, which exercise secondary functions. The expressions "primary" and "secondary" are not used in the sense of attributing greater or lesser importance to one or the other, but only to show that the Legislative Branch acts before the others, as it is primarily responsible for elaborating the norms of a general and abstract nature to be applied by others, each in their own time and manner (QUEIROZ, 2014, p. 575).

In the area of parliamentary spending, as pointed out by Lemos and Joseph (2010), the Brazilian parliament provides numerous ways of using public money to maintain parliamentary activity and which, in recent years, have been better regulated to provide greater publicity and monitoring of the parliamentary activity. The idea of education for democracy derives from the Legislative Branch modernization process (COSSON, 2019), which gradually confronts the informational asymmetry of political institutions with their representatives. However, the year 2020 represents a challenging scenario for this process. According to Santos (2021), the COVID-19 pandemic generated a political crisis, regarding the creation of a "[...] new modus operandi of national politics [...]", profoundly altering the Legislative Branch parliamentary activity and institutional structure.

The year 2020 represented an abrupt transformation in the functioning of parliamentary bodies around the world with the declaration of the COVID-19 pandemic (WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION, 2020), which meant breaking the current paradigm of parliamentary action, with the need for social distancing, lockdown, and restriction regarding sharing physical spaces between several people. Without any possibility of postponement or opportunity to assess the situation, the legislative bodies and their agents were forced to reinvent their performance and maintain the activities inherent to the parliamentary term of office.

In this way, remote plenary sessions (AGÊNCIA CÂMARA NOTÍCIAS, 2020), deliberations, and voting via the Internet (AGÊNCIA SENADO NOTÍCIAS, 2020) emerged as fundamental instruments to keep the Legislative Branch functioning in the midst of a global health emergency. After the most urgent moment caused by the pandemic, the exercise of

reflection is necessary in several aspects, especially, how has this whole situation individually affected the exercise of the parliamentary term of office? Has there been a change in the use of public funds for during parliamentary activities?

Having such questions as a starting point, the present study has the following problem question: Did the COVID-19 pandemic change the values or the nature of the use of the Quota for the Exercise of Parliamentary Activity (CEAP)? The purpose of the study is to verify if the parliamentary spending of the representatives of the Federal District (DF) were affected by the COVID-19 pandemic and possible changes resulting from the pandemic in the legislative activity. The time frame studied is delimited by the first three years of the 56th legislature, namely: 2019 (pre-pandemic) and 2020 and 2021 (pandemic). The data used for the study come from the Transparency portal² of the Chamber of Deputies, which provides real-time information on parliamentary spending.

2 Federal Deputies

The Chamber of Deputies, a legislative body created since the first Brazilian Constitution of 1824 (BRASIL, 1824), is composed of representatives of the people, elected by the proportional system, in each state of the federation. The proportional system is understood as a way to guarantee the representation of each entity of the federation according to the size of its population, that is, larger states elect more representatives (BARBOSA, 2019). The current regulation is that of the Federal Constitution of 1988 (BRASIL, 1988), which determines the total number of deputies at 513, with a minimum number of 8 and a maximum of 70 deputies per state.

As shown in Figure 1, the distribution of deputies by current federation unit is as follows:

² Available at: https://www.camara.leg.br/transparencia/gastos-parlamentares/

Figure 1 – Distribution of the number of deputies by state

NÚMERO DE DEPUTADOS POR ESTADO

• Acre	8 •	Paraíba	12
• Alagoas	9•	Pernambuco	25
• Amazonas	8 •	Piauí	10
• Amapá	8 •	Paraná	30
• Bahia	39 •	Rio de Janeiro	46
• Ceará	22 •	Rio Grande do Norte	8
• Distrito Federal	8 •	Rondônia	8
• Espírito Santo	10 •	Roraima	8
• Goiás	17 •	Rio Grande do Sul	31
• Maranhão	18 •	Santa Catarina	16
• Minas Gerais	53 •	Sergipe	8
• Mato Grosso do S	Sul 8 •	São Paulo	70
Mato Grosso	8 •	Tocantins	8
• Pará	17		

Source: Chamber of Deputies (2022). Note: Number of deputies by state.

A deputy is elected for a four-year term of office that coincides with the beginning and end of a legislature. Among the typical activities of a member of parliament, legislative action stands out as the main asset available for the exercise of parliamentary activity.

In order for a member of parliament to perform such activities, there is a large structure available to this public agent to make parliamentary activity viable over the long term. In addition to the monthly remuneration to which they are entitled, member of parliament have at their disposal a structure that allows them to work at the Chamber of Deputies' headquarters, as well as maintain locations in their home states.

2.1 Quota for the Exercise of Parliamentary Activity (CEAP)

Formerly known as indemnity fund (PARDELLAS, 2010), the CEAP is a single monthly amount that has the purpose of defraying parliamentary expenses that are exclusively related to the exercise of parliamentary activity. This amount is regulated by the House of Representatives Act No. 43, of 2009, which, among other actions, describes which items fit in the exercise of parliamentary activity. Chart 1 presents the indemnifiable items of parliamentary activity:

Airline tickets	Telephony	Postal services	Maintenance of support offices for parliamentary activity
Accommodation	Transportation expenses	Fuels and lubricants	Security services
Participation of members of parliament in courses, lectures	Seminars, symposia, congresses, or similar events	Complementation of housing allowance	Hiring consultancy and technical work
Subscription to publications	Provision of food to members of parliament	Publication of parliamentary activity	

Chart 1 – Indemnifiable items by CEAP

Source: Chamber of Deputies (2022), with adaptations.

Although it is paid to all deputies, the amounts are not identical. They vary according to the state that the member of parliament represents, since the variation of the air tickets on the Brasilia-State of origin of the deputies is used in the calculation of the total amount available. Figure 2 presents the monthly amounts to which each deputy is entitled, according to the state they represent:

UF	VALOR (R\$)	UF	VALOR (R\$)	UF	VALOR (R\$)
AC	44.632,46	MA	42.151,69	RJ	35.759,97
AL	40.944,10	MG	36.092,71	RN	42.731,99
AM	43.570,12	MS	40.542,84	RO	43.672,49
AP	43.374,78	MT	39.428,03	RR	45.612,53
BA	39.010,85	PA	42.227,45	RS	40.875,90
CE	42.451,77	РВ	42.032,56	SC	39.877,78
DF	30.788,66	PE	41.676,80	SE	40.139,26
ES	37.423,91	PI	40.971,77	SP	37.043,53
GO	35.507,06	PR	38.871,86	то	39.503,61

Figure 2 – Amounts available to deputies, according to their state of origin

Source: Chamber of Deputies (2022).

Note: UF; amount (BRL).

2.2 Office Budget

Office budget is a financial amount dedicated to the payment of salaries of member of parliament secretaries who are part of the parliamentary work team, either in their office in Brasília or in their structure in their home state. Each deputy has the right to have a maximum number of 25 people on their team paid for by public fund. According to Brasil (2022), the amount allocated to each deputy is identical, and in 2021 the amount was BRL 111,675.59 (one hundred eleven thousand, six hundred seventy-five reais and fifty-nine cents) per month. The hiring is done directly by the deputy, and the salary range must be between BRL 1,025.12 (one thousand twenty-five reais and twelve cents) and BRL 15,698.32 (fifteen thousand, six hundred, ninety-eight reais and thirty-two cents). Other labor charges (13th salary, vacation, and food allowance) are not covered by the office budget, such amounts are paid with the Chamber of Deputies' own resources.

2.3 Housing Allowance

As the Chamber of Deputies is headquartered in the Federal District, federal deputies are entitled to receive a housing allowance when they do not occupy any of the 432 functional apartments that the body makes available to members of parliament in Brasília. According to Brasil (2022), in 2021, the amount of the housing allowance was BRL 4,253.00 (four thousand, two hundred, fifty-three reais). The payment of housing allowance can be made in two ways: Directly in cash or by reimbursement upon presentation of the rental or hotel receipt used.

2.4 Official Travel

In addition to the legislative function, the deputies have the function of representing the institution, the exercise of this function is called official mission. In addition to the right to a diplomatic passport, the deputy is entitled to receive daily allowances while on official mission. According to Brasil (2022), for national trips, the figure is BRL 524.00 (five hundred, twenty-four reais). For international travel, the daily rate is USD 391.00 (three hundred, ninety-one dollars) for countries in South America, and USD 428.00 (four hundred, twenty-eight dollars) for other countries.

3 Methodological Procedures

As the study is based on a quantitative approach, the first step was to download the raw data directly from the application available on the institutional portal of the Chamber of Deputies in the "Transparency" section.³. This application allows direct consultation of the CEAP database and consultations by members of parliament or group of members of

³ Available at: https://www.camara.leg.br/transparencia/gastos-

parlamentares?legislatura=56&ano=2021&mes=DEZ&por=uf&de putado=&uf=DF&partido=

parliament, according to some available parameters (Year/Month/Name of the Deputy/UF of the Deputy/Party of the Deputy).

Therefore, the CEAP expenses of deputies with UF equals to "DF" were downloaded for the years 2019, 2020, and 2021. The latest version of the download data was taken on December 31, 2021. Thus, any discrepancy in values when performing a new query to the application comes from data inserted after the date of the last download performed.

With the data obtained, the next step was the organization and cleaning of the data, which resulted in a spreadsheet available online⁴. For better understanding and analysis, the data was grouped with the following category structure:

Member of parliament's name;

Member of parliament's Party;

Type of expense;

Individual expense amount;

Year of expense.

Although the raw database available on the Chamber of Deputies portal allows the presentation of the type of expense and specific amount per month of individualized expenditure by member of parliament, this data set was taken from the analysis worksheet. With the categorized data, quantitative analysis of the amounts spent annually and by type of expenditure was carried out without individualizing the amounts per member of parliament. As it is not the purpose of the present study to create a rank among those who spent more or less, or individually analyze parliamentary spending, all calculations and metrics presented represent the global spending of DF members of parliament. However, the structured spreadsheet allows to perform such individualized calculations, which can be used for future comparative studies.

Additionally, the reason why the study focuses only on the parliamentary expenses of representatives of the Federal District, to the detriment of others or comparing them with members of parliament from other units of the federation, comes from the following particular aspects regarding the composition of the CEAP:

- As shown in Figure 1, the total value of the Quota available to each member of parliament is a variable value, according to the represented Federation unit. Therefore, carrying out a coherent comparative study would need to consider and relativize such monetary differences available to each deputy, so that it does not lead to incorrect or untrue inferences.
- 2. Some items that make up the CEAP, for example, accommodation, fuel, vehicle rental, and taxi services, are directly affected by the physical presence of the deputy in Brasília, as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic and the need to

⁴ Available at:

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1Vuv90fNezibcpcuiTot0k82Z7awflH35YEE07x1zKRA/edit?usp=sharing

restrict movement, such headings have undergone significant changes that could distort the analysis.

3. The third condition is that the total amount available is based on the value of air tickets on the Brasília-State of origin of the deputy and, according to a study by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE) between 2020 and 2021, the price of air tickets increased 56.81% (PUPO, 2021). In this way, the difference in values available to members of parliament who are not representatives of the Federal District suffered a significant increase in relation to representatives of the DF, even with the reality of the remote deliberation sessions of the Plenary of the Chamber of Deputies (AGÊNCIA CÂMARA NOTÍCIAS, 2020), which would be a factor that would hinder a broader comparison.

Thus, as the purpose of the study is to quantify the financial impact of COVID-19 on parliamentary spending, the representatives who, in theory, could demonstrate such a situation with less interference from the effects of the pandemic would be those who did not have a high increase in the amounts available for use of CEAP, would be more leniently affected by the increase in airfares, and would have a physical presence less restricted to the Chamber of Deputies. With this, the representatives of the DF are the target sample of this study.

4 Data Analysis

Between the years 2019 to 2021, the members of parliament of the DF together used, from CEAP, the total amount of BRL 4,687,029.26 (four million six hundred eighty-seven thousand twenty-nine reais and twenty-six cents). In the same period, all the other 505 members of parliament used CEAP in the amount of BRL 524,624,453.14 (five hundred twenty-four million six hundred twenty-four thousand four hundred fifty-three reais and fourteen cents).

When comparing the expenses of the DF members of parliament in relation to the expenses of the others, the value represents 0.8% of the total. When making a parallel with the representativeness of the number of DF members of parliament (8 deputies) in relation to the total number of deputies (513 deputies), it is verified that the deputies of the DF represent 1.55% of the composition of the Chamber of Deputies. In this first analysis, it appears that the use of CEAP has some balance in relation to the representativeness of DF deputies in the composition of the Chamber of Deputies.

Table 1 presents, in a more analytical way, parliamentary spending over the years 2019 to 2021.

Parliamentary expenditure in the COVID-19 pandemic: the use of quota for the exercise of parliamentary activity by federal deputies of the Federal District

TOTALIZATION	AMOUNT	
EXPENSES 2019	BRL 1,594,305.41	
EXPENSES 2020	BRL 1,601,888.54	
EXPENSES 2021	BRL 1,490,835.31	
TOTAL	BRL 4,687,029.26	
AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE	BRL 1,562,343.09	
Difference between 2019-2020	BRL 7,583.13	Increase in spending
Percentage difference 2019-2020	0.24	increase in spending
Difference between 2020-2021	-BRL 111,053.23	Foonomy
Percentage difference 2020-2021		Economy

Table 1 – Comparative analysis of parliamentary spending from 2019-2021

Source: Prepared by the author.

Looking at Table 1, we can see that in the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic (2020), parliamentary spending remained close to parliamentary spending in a normal year (2019), a difference of BRL 7,583.13 (seven thousand five hundred eighty-three reais and thirteen cents), and it was only in the second year of the pandemic (2021) that the amount was significantly lower BRL 111,053.23 (one hundred eleven thousand fifty-three reais and twenty-three cents).

Even with the first year of the pandemic representing an abrupt and profound change in parliamentary action with the creation of remote sessions, restriction of travel, limitation of the institution's functioning, reduction of people in parliamentary offices and physical dependencies of the Chamber of Deputies, cancellation of parliamentary activities of the Thematic Commissions at the usual pace, the amount used with CEAP was not affected in the same proportion as the reality of the Chamber of Deputies operation. In fact, what the numbers show is that the first year of the pandemic (2020) led to an increase, albeit small, of 0.24% in parliamentary spending compared to a non-pandemic year (2019). When analyzing the second year of the pandemic (2021), the numbers show a decrease in the use of CEAP, in the proportion of 3.59% compared to the year 2020.

Moving on to the analysis of the specific headings that make up the CEAP, it appears that there is a standard behavior in the allocation of most of the use of public funds. In the three years observed, the total expenditure of DF members of parliament with the Quota was BRL 4,687,029.26 (four million six hundred eighty-seven thousand twenty-nine reais and twenty-six cents), with more than 95%, that is, BRL 4,497,465.69 (four million four hundred ninety-seven thousand four hundred and sixty-five reais and sixty-nine cents) are spent on five specific items. They are presented in order of highest expenditure:

- 1. Disclosure of parliamentary activity;
- 2. Consulting and research;
- 3. Vehicle rental;
- 4. Office maintenance;
- 5. Fuels.

Tables 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 present the items with the highest concentration of Quota use with their respective expenditures:

EXPENDITURE	YEAR	TOTAL	
	2019	BRL 518,560.27	
PUBLICATION OF PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITY	2020	BRL 620,968.54	
	2021	BRL 418,364.17	

Source: Prepared by the author,

EXPENDITURE	YEAR	TOTAL
	2019	BRL 481,180.00
CONSULTING AND RESEARCH	2020	BRL 555,326.67
	2021	BRL 518,670.08

Table 4 -- Expenditure with the Consulting and Research rubric

Source: Prepared by the author.

Table 5 – Expenditure with the Vehicle Rental rubric

EXPENDITURE	YEAR	TOTAL
	2019	BRL 258,154.67
VEHICLE RENTAL	2020	BRL 244,688.30
	2021	BRL 288,925.00

Source: Prepared by the author.

Table 6 – Expenditure with the Office Maintenance rubric

EXPENDITURE	YEAR	TOTAL
	2019	BRL 97,634.58
OFFICE MAINTENANCE	2020	BRL 100,724.72
	2021	BRL 99,765.57

Source: Prepared by the author.

EXPENDITURE	YEAR	TOTAL
	2019	BRL 133,877.03
FUELS	2020	BRL 53,863.90
	2021	BRL 106,762.19

Source: Prepared by the author.

As observed in the previous tables, there is a high concentration of the use of CEAP in five specific rubrics. In numerical terms, 35% of the possible rubrics (5 out of 14) concentrate 95% of the total amount annually available to DF deputies.

Regarding the air ticket rubric, before proceeding with its analysis, it is necessary to point out that it has three distinct subtypes. The first is when the deputy makes a Request for Air Ticket (RPA), which, in this case, the rubric has the name AIRLINE TICKET in the Quota database. The second subtype is when the parliamentary cabinet itself generates the ticket via the Air Ticket Management System (Sigepa) through the *Gabinete Digital*⁵, in this case, the rubric has the name AIR TICKET - SIGEPA. The third subtype is when the deputies purchase the air ticket with their own resources and later request reimbursement from the Chamber of Deputies; in this case, the rubric has the name AIRLINE TICKET - REFUND.

When analyzing the three subtypes that make up the airline ticket, a different behavior is observed in each of them. Tables 8, 9, and 10 present the types with their respective expenditures:

	51	
EXPENDITURE	YEAR	TOTAL
	2019	BRL 74,989.30
AIR TICKET	2020	BRL 7,112.69
	2021	BRL 3,943.04

Table 8 - Expenditure	with the Air Ticket type
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Source: Prepared by the author.

Table 9 – 1	Expenditure	with the Air	Ticket - SIC	GEPA type
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EXPENDITURE	YEAR	TOTAL
AIR TICKET - SIGEPA	2019	BRL 1,662.95
	2020	-
	2021	BRL 28,796.34

Source: Prepared by the author.

Table 10 – Expenditure with the Air Ticket - REFUND type

EXPENDITURE	YEAR	TOTAL
AIR TICKET - REFUND	2019	-
	2020	BRL 2,486.94
	2021	BRL 10,679.23

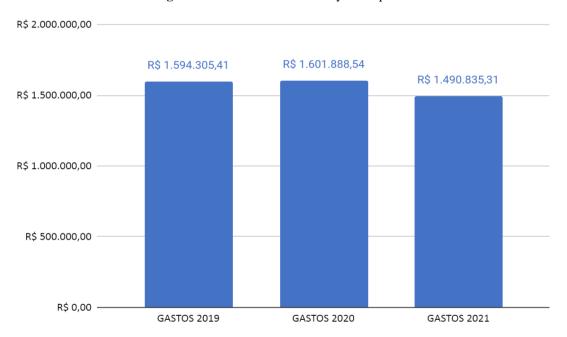
Source: Prepared by the author.

⁵ Available at: https://gabinetedigital.camara.leg.br/home

As observed in Tables 8, 9, and 10, only the category of requesting an air ticket directly to the Chamber of Deputies suffered a reduction in the observed triennium, while the other two categories suffered an increase in the amounts spent on the Quota.

From the examination of the numbers presented, there is a slight variation in the amounts spent on CEAP in the years observed. This fact contradicts the hypothesis that one of the consequences of the pandemic – with the reduction of the physical presence during the parliamentary activity – would necessarily be a sharp drop in expenditure on CEAP.

As for the total amounts spent and concentration in certain categories, they remained relatively stable. Figure 3 shows the total CEAP amounts used in the years 2019-2020.





Source: Prepared by the author. Note: expenditure 2019; expenditure 2020; expenditure 2021.

5 Final Considerations

In order to facilitate the process of democratic representation, the Legislative Branch created a robust and complex structure of material and economic resources available to members of parliament. In the reality of the Chamber of Deputies, a body of essentially diversified nature and extensive activity, Federal Deputies have at their disposal a wide range of instruments, especially represented by CEAP, so that they can exercise lawmaking power.

The use of public funds, in a democracy, will continue to be something debated and a focus of inspection by the legally constituted control bodies and monitored by part of society. Therefore, the emergence of Law no. 12,527/2011, known as the Access to Information Law, paved the way for the promotion of public transparency and accountability to society by the

State.

The establishment of the COVID-19 pandemic imposed a totally different reality on the functioning of the Chamber of Deputies. Thus, understanding how parliamentary activity has been affected, especially in the use and destination of public funds, emerges as a key point to understand how the activity of deputies has been affected regarding the allocation of public resources from CEAP.

As observed, in terms of cost, the use of public funds with CEAP has little changed. In fact, we found that, between 2019-2020, there was a slight increase of 0.24% of the amount used, and only between 2020-2021 there was a saving of around 3%. Despite the announcement that 2021 was the most economical year of the current legislature (DALL'AGNOL, 2022), the amounts suffered a small variation.

In addition, we verified that, regarding the behavior while using CEAP, it remained unchanged in the analyzed triennium. The categories that represented the highest expenditure in a non-pandemic year were the same in the two pandemic years. Although any assessment of the real and accumulated impact of a pandemic on the activity of the Chamber of Deputies is still premature, the findings presented here are interesting indications of how the use and destination of public funds is carried out.

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