

## PARLIAMENTARIANS OF THE STATE OF PARANÁ AND THE ALLOCATION OF BUDGETARY AMENDMENTS IN SPORT

### PARLIAMENTARIANS OF THE STATE OF PARANÁ AND THE ALLOCATION OF BUDGETARY AMENDMENTS IN SPORT

Suélen Barboza Eiras de Castro<sup>1</sup>, Fernanda Gimenez Milani<sup>2</sup>, Thiago Oliveira dos Santos<sup>1</sup>, Fernando Augusto Starepravo<sup>2</sup> and Fernando Marinho Mezzadri<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Federal University of Paraná, Curitiba, Paraná, Brazil.

<sup>2</sup>Maringá State University, Maringá, Paraná, Brazil.

#### ABSTRACT

Studies have pointed to the strong influence of parliamentary amendments on the constitution of Brazil's public budget for sport. This paper aims to investigate the allocation of individual amendments of Paraná representatives to sport in the General Budget of the Union from 2004 to 2015. As specific objectives, it aims to: (1) map out the volume and percentage of the parliamentary quota earmarked for sport; and (2) identify the nature of sports actions favored by the parliamentarians of the state of Paraná. This quantitative and exploratory study had as its data source the SIGA Brasil portal. In this system, we collected data regarding the amendments in the drafting process of the Budget Laws from 2004 to 2015 that had as budgetary unit the Ministry of Sport and that were allocated to the "Sport and Leisure" function. We found that parliamentarians from Paraná allocated R\$378.5 million through 456 amendments, which represented 7.6% of the quota available during that period. Of the 61 parliamentarians, 14 directed investments to sport throughout their term, and 2 chose not to allocate resources to the sector. Resources were primarily allocated to infrastructure actions (R\$ 370.8 million - 98%), followed by sports activities (R\$ 6.6 million - 1.7%), and promotion of sports events (R\$ 1 thousand - 0.3%).

**Keywords:** Budgeting. Government Funding. Public Policy. Sports.

#### RESUMO

Estudos apontam a existência de uma forte influência das emendas parlamentares na constituição do orçamento público para o esporte. Objetiva investigar a alocação de emendas individuais dos representantes paranaenses no Orçamento Geral da União de 2004 a 2015. Como objetivos específicos, visa: (1) mapear o volume e o percentual da cota parlamentar destinada ao esporte; e (2) identificar a natureza das ações esportivas privilegiadas pelos parlamentares paranaenses. Este estudo, quantitativo e exploratório, teve como fonte de dados o portal SIGA Brasil. Neste sistema, coletamos os dados referentes às emendas no processo de elaboração das Leis Orçamentárias de 2004 a 2015 que tinham como unidade orçamentária o Ministério do Esporte e que estavam alocadas na função "Desporto e Lazer". Concluímos que parlamentares paranaenses alocaram R\$ 378,5 milhões por meio de 456 emendas individuais, o que representou 7,6% da cota disponível no período. Do total de 61 parlamentares, 14 direcionaram investimentos ao esporte durante todo o seu mandato e 2 optaram por não alocar recursos no setor. Os recursos foram designados prioritariamente nas ações de infraestrutura (R\$ 370,8 milhões – 98%), seguido de atividades esportivas (R\$ 6,6 milhões – 1,7%) e promoção de eventos esportivos (R\$ 1 mil – 0,3%).

**Palavras-chave:** Orçamentos. Financiamento Governamental. Política Pública. Esportes.

#### Introduction

Planning and transparency of the public budget are considered effective mechanisms for social and political control of the State's representative bodies<sup>1</sup>. Over the years and with the evolution of public functions and expenditures, planning and transparency instruments have been modified to accompany this evolution. In Brazil, an important milestone of this fact can be identified in the elaboration of the Federal Constitution of 1988, which brought significant requirements regarding budgetary proposals. Among the various changes made by the new Constitution, we would like to highlight the assistance provided by the Legislative Power in the process of preparing the public budget, by attributing to parliamentarians the capacity to amend the budget laws drawn up by the Executive Power.

The introduction of parliamentary amendments to the public budget is a legitimate prerogative foreseen in the Federal Constitution, State Constitutions, and Internal Regulations of Legislative Assemblies, which enables the insertion of parliaments in discussions concerning the planning of public policies. The participation of the Legislative Power could help to overcome financial difficulties, as well as to provide more effective control in the political sphere of the public budget<sup>1</sup>. That is, with the amendments, the Legislative Power can exercise its function as a legislative, supervisory and representative body, and may, in theory, improve the proposal submitted by the Executive Power<sup>2</sup>.

The process of amendment of budget laws by the Legislative Power is mediated by the Joint Committee on Plans, Public Budgets and Control (CMPOF). Among other functions, this Committee is responsible for approving the parameters for the introduction of parliamentary amendments established by the General Rapporteur. Amendments may deal with changes proposed to the text of the bill, as well as changes related to increasing allocations, and cancellation or relocation of expenses. These expenses do not include those for personnel and charges, public debt services, constitutional transfers between states, municipalities and the Federal District, or other expenses of mandatory nature<sup>3</sup>. Amendments related to budget appropriations can be of four types: individual, bench, committee, and rapporteur. Individual amendments refer to proposals by each senator or congressman elected by the 26 states and the Federal District. Bench amendments, as the name suggests, are collective amendments made by state or regional benches. The proposals presented by the board of directors of the House of Representatives and the Federal Senate are called committee amendments. Finally, the amendments presented in the general and sectoral opinion refer to the rapporteur's amendments<sup>4</sup>.

The parliamentarians possess great discretion to present amendments, which makes the analysis of such behavior an interesting research topic. The relevance of the theme is reinforced when, since 2004, a quota has been informally established for each parliamentarian to allocate resources according to their preferences. That means that part of the public budget is no longer defined by the Executive Power and is now determined by the Legislative Power through the parliamentary amendments<sup>5,6</sup>.

In the scope of sports, some studies<sup>4,7-9</sup> point to the existence of a strong influence of parliamentary amendments on the constitution of the public budget for the sector. According to Castro<sup>4</sup>, from 2004 to 2011, 62.2% (BRL 5.7 billion) of the planned budget for the "Sports and Leisure" function at the federal level came from parliamentary amendments. Teixeira (2016) states that in the period from 2008 to 2015, 54% of the funds paid from the Ministry of Sport (ME) were from parliamentary amendments. Despite the expressiveness of the amendments in the composition of the sports budget and the growth of studies on sports financing, the analysis of this mechanism and the relationship between the Executive and Legislative Powers in budgeting has been little explored in the scientific area. We found no studies discussing the relationship between the allocation of parliamentary amendments and representation in federative units.

In view of the relevance of such studies and the existing gap, this paper aims to analyze the allocation of parliamentary amendments by federal congressmen and senators of a federative unit of Brazil, the state of Paraná. Currently, Paraná is represented in the National Congress by 3 senators and 30 federal congressmen, which characterizes 6% of the total number of congressmen, being the 6th most representative state in the Legislative Chamber. This study, thus, aims to investigate the allocation of individual parliamentary amendments of Paraná representatives to sport in the General Budget of the Union from 2004 to 2015. As specific objectives, this research intends to: (1) map out the volume and percentage of the parliamentary quota earmarked for sport; and (2) identify the nature of sports actions favored by the parliamentarians of the state of Paraná. In this sense, this proposal aims to indicate the

general patterns that constitute the political behavior of parliamentarians from Paraná in the allocation of resources in sport from 2004 to 2015.

## Methods

This quantitative and exploratory research had as its data source the SIGA Brasil portal. Developed by the Federal Senate, SIGA Brasil is an information system that allows free access to data from the federal public budget. From this system, we collected data from the General Budget of the Union regarding the parliamentary amendments during the process of drafting the Budget Laws from 2004 to 2015, which had as budgetary unit the Ministry of Sport and that were allocated to the “Sport and Leisure” function. We accessed the standardized reports of SIGA Brasil and, through the interactivity of the portal, we added other information to the reports.

We collected and tabulated the following data: (1) year; (2) author of the amendment; (3) author's federative unit; (4) author's party; (5) amendment number; (6) amendment's federative unit; (7) location of the amendment; (8) sub-function, shows the area of government action; (9) government program; (10) budget action; (11) functional, relative to the standardized budget code; (12) action and subtitle, relative to the budget action and its location; (13) public budget sphere, whether fiscal, social security or state; (14) group of nature of expenditure (GND), code that indicates the characteristics regarding the object of expense (e.g. personnel and social charges, other current expenses, investments, etc.); (15) modality of application, regarding the ways of implementing the actions; (16) BRL Sector Attended, indicates the values complied with in the opinions up to the sectoral cycle; (17) BRL Attended General, portrays the values complied with in the opinions up to the general cycle; and (18) R\$ Attended Autograph, indicates the values met in the opinions up to the autograph. Then, for analysis purposes, we created categories in order to group the information by: (1) type of amendment, whether individual, bench, commission or rapporteur; (2) level of the location of the amendment, whether municipal, state, regional or national; (3) Sports manifestation, whether performance, recreational, educational and leisure, mega events, and others; and (4) Nature of the action: whether related to the administration, development of sports activities, science and technology, infrastructure, production of sports material, training and support of athletes, advertising, football, sports events, Rio 2007, World Cup 2014 and Rio 2016.

After tabulating the data, we updated the budget values according to the 2015 National Broad Consumer Price Index (IPCA) and excluded amendments with zero allocations in the "Autograph" stage, since we considered only the amendments that were approved in the process of preparing the budget of the Ministry of Sport. We also corrected name duplications, with the help of *Microsoft Excel* tools. These duplications were due to divergences in the abbreviation of names, e.g. Assis do Couto; Assis Miguel Couto; Assis Miguel do Couto. For the purposes of this paper, we considered only the individual amendments and those which the author's federative unit was the state of Paraná.

After selecting the parliamentary amendments from the federative unit of Paraná, we turned to the website of the Chamber of Deputies and the Federal Senate in order to survey the parliamentarians and the years of their respective terms of office. Mapping the years of the term of office allowed us to identify whether or not the parliamentarian could introduce amendments in the budget laws. We also resorted to opinions drawn up by rapporteurs of the budget process that intended to raise the budget quotas and the amount of amendments that each parliamentarian was entitled to, as well as the guidelines on the allocation of individual amendments. It is worth noting that the drafting process of the Annual Budget Law (LOA) occurs in the year prior to the exercise of the budget proposal. Thus, for example, if a

parliamentarian's term of office is from February 2003 to January 2007, he would be able to propose amendments to the 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2007 budget laws.

The temporal cut (2004-2015) took into account the establishment of ME in 2003 and the budget planning for three government plans: "Brasil de Todos plan: Participation and Integration (2004-2007)", "Development with Social Inclusion and Quality Education plan (2008-2011)", and "Mais Brasil plan (2012-2015)". Budget data from the subsequent "Development, Productivity and Social Inclusion plan (2016-2019)" were not fully available, so they did not integrate the scope of this paper.

We used descriptive quantitative analysis in order to ascertain the volume and representativeness of the amendments in ME's budget, and to characterize them as to the type of government action and sport dimension contemplated. In this sense, we produced descriptive statistics and scatter plots using the statistical software SPSS (v.24) in order to characterize the data obtained in this study.

## Results and Discussion

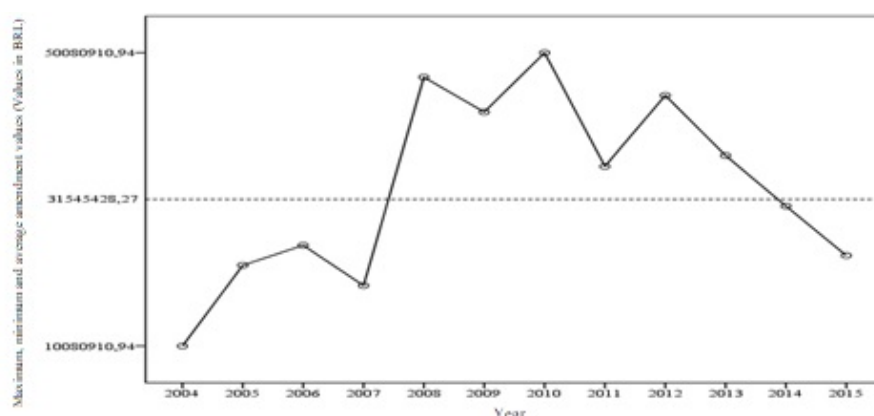
The parliamentary engagement in budget allocations related to sport covered almost all representatives of Paraná. Of the 61 parliamentarians from Paraná able to propose amendments directed to sport during the assessed period, only 2 did not: José Borba (PMDB) and Gleisi Hoffman (PT). In total, Paraná representatives allocated BRL 378.5 million to the sports sector through 456 proposed amendments in the period (Table 1).

Year	BRL	Quant.
2004	10,080,910.94	24
2005	21,089,532.70	46
2006	23,814,362.85	61
2007	18,328,672.61	39
2008	46,734,014.17	53
2009	41,984,175.82	40
2010	50,059,120.01	43
2011	34,567,928.00	36
2012	44,252,074.81	32
2013	36,053,465.63	28
2014	29,161,469.36	24
2015	22,419,412.35	30
<b>Total</b>	<b>378,545,139.26</b>	<b>456</b>

**Table 1.** Amount allocated by individual amendments of Paraná parliamentarians in the ME from 2004 to 2015

**Source:** Federal Senate - SIGA Brasil. Elaborated by the authors

As shown in Table 1, the volume allocated by parliamentarians from Paraná fluctuated during the period analyzed, with no standard regarding budget values and number of proposals presented. During the study period, the average amount of resources allocated to sports through amendments was BRL 830 thousand, with 2004 being the year with the lowest amount allocated (BRL 10 million) and 2010 with the highest amount allocated (BRL 50 million, Graphic 1).



**Graphic 1.** Distribution of the values of individual amendments by parliamentarians of Paraná in the ME from 2004 to 2015

Source: Federal Senate - SIGA Brasil. Elaborated by the authors

The variations in the resources allocated by Paraná's parliamentarians are related to changes in the parameters for the introduction of amendments, regarding the number of proposals, the volume of resources and, especially, the obligation to allocate part of the parliamentary quota. In relation to the maximum amount of individual amendments, the Annual Budget Bill (PLA) of 2008 expanded it to 25 as a result of the promulgation, in 2006, of Resolution N° 1 of 2006-CN. This standard replaced Resolution N° 1 of 2001-CN which limited it to 20 individual amendments. This change of regime, however, did not guarantee a bigger number of proposed amendments in the area (Table 1).

The amounts allocated to the parliamentary quota have also been increased. With the exception of 2013 and 2014, the volume of the parliamentary quota has increased every year. Despite the growth trend, as a result of mandatory investments in health in some years, the values available for discretionary allocation by parliamentarians fluctuated (Figure 1). This, in turn, did not guarantee an increase in the budget allocation for sport by Paraná's parliamentarians (Table 1).

Year	BRL Quota (a)	Q. (b)	BRL Mandatory (c)	BRL Discretionary (a)-(c)	BRL Discretionary Corrected IPCA
2004	BRL 2,500,000.00	20	Min. 30% health	BRL 1,750,000.00	BRL 3,611,380.58
2005	BRL 3,500,000.00	20		BRL 3,500,000.00	BRL 6,774,976.09
2006	BRL 5,000,000.00	20	Min. 30% health	BRL 3,500,000.00	BRL 6,490,675.57
2007	BRL 6,000,000.00	20	Min. 30% health	BRL 4,200,000.00	BRL 7,502,965.40
2008	BRL 8,000,000.00	25		BRL 8,000,000.00	BRL 13,585,469.23
2009	BRL 10,000,000.00	25		BRL 10,000,000.00	BRL 16,160,190.85
2010	BRL 12,500,000.00	25		BRL 12,500,000.00	BRL 19,215,077.54
2011	BRL 13,000,000.00	25		BRL 13,000,000.00	BRL 18,814,446.89
2012	BRL 15,000,000.00	25	Min. BRL 2 million health	BRL 13,000,000.00	BRL 17,722,642.41
2013	BRL 15,000,000.00	25	Min. BRL 2 million health	BRL 13,000,000.00	BRL 16,739,109.04
2014	BRL 14,686,000.00	25	Min. BRL 7,343,000.00 health	BRL 7,343,000.00	BRL 8,905,867.14
2015	BRL 16,324,600.00	25	Min. 50% health	BRL 8,162,300.00	BRL 9,115,061.24

**Figure 1.** Quotas and limits set for the submission of individual amendments from 2004 to 2015

Source: Federal Senate - SIGA Brasil. Elaborated by the authors

The purpose of obligatory investments in health was to comply with the Constitutional

Amendment no.29 of September 13, 2000, which provides for the guarantee of minimum resources for the financing of public health actions and services<sup>10</sup>. The regulation is cited in all reports. However, the indication that part of the resources of the individual amendments should meet this prerogative occurred only in the years 2004, 2006, 2007, 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015. In the remaining years, although investments in the health sector were recognized, they were not directly linked to individual amendments (Figure 1).

The mandatory investment of part of the resources of individual amendments in the health sector directly impacted the volume of resources available to parliamentarians for allocation among other government programs and actions, such as those focused on sports. As shown in Table 1, when considering the annual volume that parliamentarians of Paraná directed to sports, a proportionality is verified between the years with higher volume of discretionary resources and the years with higher volume allocated to sports: 2008 to 2013.

It is possible to infer that the minimum and maximum values of the individual proposals, as well as the total volume, were also impacted by the amendment rules. It was found that, from the PLOA 2008 to 2013, when discretionary values were higher, both the minimum and maximum values of the proposals increased considerably. In the 2014 and 2015 PLOA, as the discretionary quota values decreased, the maximum values also decreased. The minimum values, however, increased considerably (Table 2).

Year	BRL Average	BRL Max	BRL Min
2004	BRL 420,037.96	BRL 1,444,552.23	BRL 61,909.38
2005	BRL 458,468.10	BRL 1,935,707.45	BRL 38,714.15
2006	BRL 390,399.39	BRL 1,112,687.24	BRL 55,634.36
2007	BRL 469,965.96	BRL 1,607,778.30	BRL 89,321.02
2008	BRL 881,773.85	BRL 3,854,876.90	BRL 169,818.37
2009	BRL 1,049,604.40	BRL 2,908,34.35	BRL 161,601.91
2010	BRL 1,164,165.58	BRL 10,529,862.49	BRL 153,720.62
2011	BRL 960,220.22	BRL 3,618,162.86	BRL 144,726.51
2012	BRL 1,382,877.34	BRL 4,089,840.56	BRL 136,328.02
2013	BRL 1,287,623.77	BRL 3,476,584.19	BRL 128,762.38
2014	BRL 1,215,061.22	BRL 2,971,452.33	BRL 315,337.80
2015	BRL 747,313.74	BRL 2,575,172.59	BRL 279,181.76

**Table 2.** Maximum, minimum and average amendment values of Parana Parliamentarians from 2004 to 2015

**Source:** Federal Senate - SIGA Brasil. Elaborated by the authors

Overall, parliamentarians from Paraná submitted 456 amendments to actions linked to the ME and the number of proposals ranged from 24 (2004 and 2014) to 61 (2006) amendments (Table 1). Among the representatives, the number of amendments submitted ranged from 01 to 06. The largest number of proposals were submitted by parliamentarians Luiz Carlos Hauly (PSDB), Dilceu Sperafico (PP), Cezar Silvestri (PPS), and Nelson Meurer (PP) with 27, 23, 20 and 20 amendments respectively. It is worth noting that these parliamentarians, even with some periods of absence, had terms of office in all the years analysed.

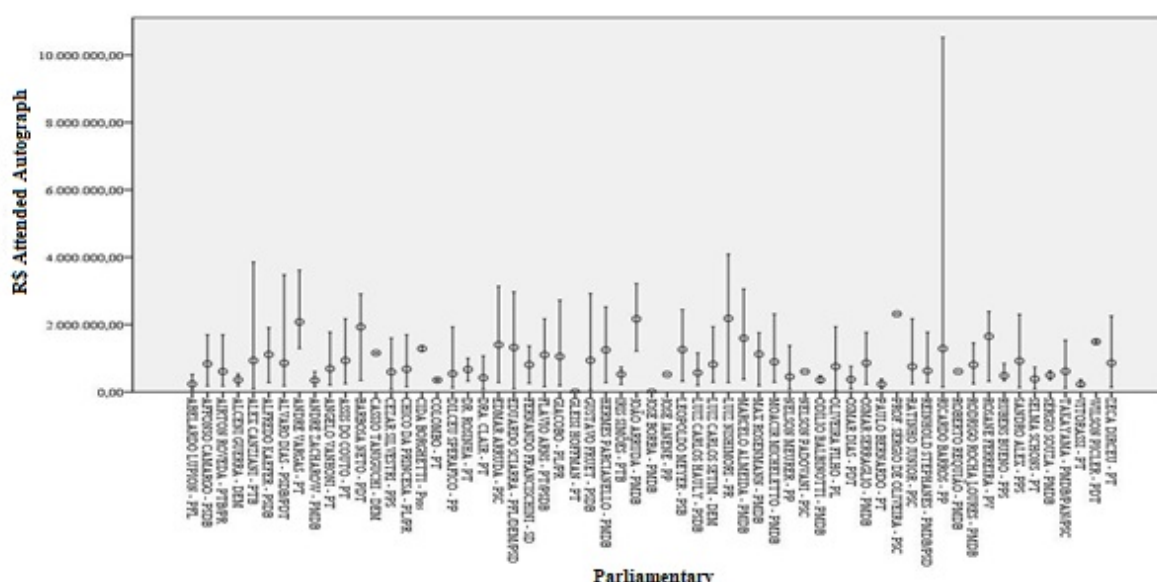
The number of years in office, however, cannot be understood as the sole determining factor in the number of amendments submitted. For example, with 4 years in office, the parliamentarian Dr. Clair (PT) introduced 11 amendments to the sports sector. Parliamentarian Ratinho Júnior (PSC), with 6 years in office, introduced 12 amendments. On the other hand, the parliamentarian Abelardo Lupion (PFL), with 12 years in office, presented 04 amendments. Parliamentarians Cassio Taniguchi (DEM), José Janene (PP), and Nelson Padovani (PSC) with 4 years in office each, introduced a single amendment in the area. In this

sense, neither the increase in the number of amendments, nor the years of terms of office were perceived as determining in the amount of proposals of the parliamentarians of Paraná for discretionary investments in the sport.

Moreover, the volume of budget mobilized by each parliamentarian from Paraná was not determined by the number of amendments presented. Among the representatives, the largest volume directed to the ME came from the following congressmen: Eduardo Sciarra (PFL/DEM/PSD) (BRL 21.1 million - 16 amendments), Ricardo Barros (PP) (BRL 15.4 million - 12 amendments), Luiz Carlos Hauly (PSDB) (BRL 15.3 million - 27 amendments), Hermes Parcianello (PMDB) (BRL 14.9 million - 12 amendments). On the other hand, the smallest volume came from José Janene (PP) (BRL 522 thousand - 1 amendment), Nelson Padovani (PSC) (BRL 606 thousand - 1 amendment) and Paulo Bernardo (PT) (BRL 696 thousand - 3 amendments).

It is worth noting, however, as mentioned above, that 2 members of parliament did not present any amendments in sports and that, among those who presented them, only 14 members of parliament did so in all the years of their office: Alfredo Kaefer (PSDB), Álvaro Dias (PSDB/PDT), Ângelo Vanhoni (PT), Barbosa Neto (PDT), Dilceu Sperafico (PP), Dr. Clair (PT), Edmar Arruda (PSC), João Arruda (PMDB), Paulo Bernardo (PT), Rubens Bueno (PPS), Sandro Alex (PPS), Selma Schons (PT), Vitorassi (PT), Wilson Picler (PDT). In other words, 47 parliamentarians chose not to allocate resources from their quotas to sport in any of their years in office. Therefore, for the great majority of parliamentarians from Paraná, sport was not considered a priority demand throughout its period of representation.

We also verified great variation between the minimum and maximum values of the proposed amendments between the parliamentarians: BRL 38.7 thousand in the PLOA of 2005 (Dep. Oliveira Filho-PL) and BRL 10.5 million in the 2010 PLOA (Dep. Ricardo Barros-PP) (Chart 2). The value proposed by the last parliamentarian quoted may be considered an exception. The second smaller volume this year, for instance, was BRL 2.9 million.



**Figure 2.** Maximum, minimum and average values of amendments of Paraná's parliamentarians from 2004 to 2015

Source: Federal Senate - SIGA Brasil. Elaborated by the authors

The significant variation between the values of the parliamentary proposals, the volume allocated, and the quantity of amendments proposed are related to the discretion that

the representative has when presenting amendments. This discretion deals with both possibilities of presenting or not presenting proposals in sport, as well as the characteristics of the proposed amendment. As explained by Carlmogano<sup>6</sup>, representatives can, for example, broadly and generically allocate resources to a given program or thematic area, as well as direct resources to specific locations and entities. As also exposed by Fernandes<sup>11</sup>, there is little strictness regarding the quality and technical criteria of the proposals. According to the author, amendments are made without the consideration of technical or executive planning, resulting in amendments for the construction of identical sports courts, but with different values. In this sense, the amendment rules added to the discretionary proposition of amendments reflect the uncertain and floating volume designated by them to the sport.

Considering the amount available for free allocation by parliamentarians (BRL 5 billion), the representatives of Paraná allocated 7.6% of the available resources from the quota. Among the parliamentarians, the percentage assigned to the sport, with few exceptions, fluctuated significantly. For example, while in PLOA 2004 the Dep. Ricardo Barros (PP) did not allocate resources for the sport, in PLOA 2010, he directed 55% of his quota to the area. The Dep. Max Rosenmann (PMDB) allocated 40% of his PLOA 2004 share to sport while in the PLOA 2009, 2010, 2011 he did not designate resources to the sport.

Adding up this whole period, the following stood out: Barbosa Neto (PDT) (19% - 3 amendments), Dr. Clair (PT) (19% - 11 amendments), João Arruda (PMDB) (17% - 4 amendments) and Ricardo Barros (PP) (17% - 12 amendments). Among these, it is worth highlighting Barbosa Neto (PDT) and João Arruda (PMDB), who allocated in all years of their mandate resources over 12% of their parliamentary quota. Both parliamentarians are known for their proximity to entities and managers responsible for the state administration of sport in Paraná.

The resource mobilization based on party affiliation have also shown significant variation. Among the 18 parties, only 4 (PT, PMDB, PSDB, PSC) had resources allocated to sport by some parliamentarian in all the years in which the party had representatives in the National Congress. Moreover, the percentage of investments in sports mobilized by each parliamentarian within the parties, in most cases, did not present an unique pattern. For example, while in the PT, Dep. Dr. Clair mobilized 19% of her quota in favor of the sport, Sen. Gleisi Hoffman has not allocated any resources. In DEM, while Dep. Eduardo Sciarra mobilized 13.3%, Dep. Alceni Guerra allocated 1.1% of his quota to sport. Therefore, the option of discretionary investments in sport is, in principle, less linked to party affiliation and more to the individual preference of each parliamentarian.

Although the low percentage (7.6%) may indicate that the area was not considered a priority demand by parliamentarians, it can be considered significant when compared to the percentage of resources from the "Sport and Leisure" function in the General Budget of the Union. According to Castro<sup>4</sup>, in the period from 2004 to 2011, the volume of resources planned for the area represented 0.07% of the federal budget. The percentage planned for the area would represent 0.22% of the remaining budget of the 27 functions, even if we excluded the values referring to the "Special Charges", "Contingency Reserve" and "Atypical" functions considered by the author.

The allocation of parliamentarians can also be considered significant when looking at the total volume assigned to sport. According to Castro<sup>4</sup>, the budget for the "Sports and Leisure" function totaled an increase of 164.8% after the changes proposed by the Legislative Power from 2004 to 2011, going from BRL 3.4 billion in the PLOA proposed by the Executive Power to BRL 9.2 billion in the LOA.

Aside from the limits established by the General Report and the need for compatibility and adequacy with government plans and the Budgetary Guidelines Law (LDO) provided for in the Constitution, parliamentarians have great discretion in the allocation of resources. This



is not the case with the General Budget of the Union: As highlighted by Rezende and Cunha<sup>12</sup>, most of the revenues in the budget are already "stamped", leaving limited margin for choices that could imply a redefinition of priorities. This, on one hand, hinders the expansion of resources for sport from the federal budget<sup>13</sup>, and, on the other hand, ensures that the parliamentary amendments play a vital role in the constitution of the sports budget at the federal level.

The resources allocated by Parana's parliamentarians to sport were directed to three government programs: "Sport and Leisure in the City (Esporte e Lazer da Cidade)" and "Second Half (Segundo Tempo)" (2004-2011) and "Sport and Major Sport Events" (2012-2015). It is worth noting that the "Sports and Major Sports Events" program added the actions of the "Sports and Leisure in the City" and "Second Time" programs from the implementation of the Multi-year Plan "More Brazil (Mais Brasil)" (2012-2015). The resources allocated by parliamentarians were all focused on the recreational and leisure sport dimension in these programs. In this dimension, investments were focused on three actions: implementation of infrastructure, development of sports activities, and promotion of sports events (Table 3).

	Infrastructure			Sports activities			Sports Events		
	Quant.	BRL	%	Quant.	BRL	%	Quant.	BRL	%
2004	24	10,080.91	100%						
2005	44	20,799.18	98.6%	2	290.36	1.4%			
2006	58	22,887.12	96.1%	2	741.79	3.1%	1	185.45	0.8%
2007	38	17,792.75	97.1%	1	535.93	2.9%			
2008	53	46,734.01	100%						
2009	39	41,822.57	99.6%	1	161.6	0.4%			
2010	40	48,929.27	97.7%	3	1,129.85	2.3%			
2011	32	31,890.49	92.3%	3	2,460.35	7.1%	1	217.09	0.6%
2012	28	42,888.79	96.9%	4	1,363.28	3.1%			
2013	27	35,409.65	98.2%				1	643.81	1.8%
2014	24	29,161.47	100%						
2015	30	22,419.41	100%						
<b>Total</b>	<b>437</b>	<b>370,815.64</b>	<b>98%</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>6,683.15</b>	<b>1.7%</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1,046.35</b>	<b>0.3%</b>

**Table 3.** Distribution of resources allocated by amendments by members of parliament from Paraná by ME actions from 2004 to 2015 (Values in BRL thousand)

**Source:** Federal Senate - SIGA Brasil. Elaborated by the authors

The implementation of sports infrastructure represented 98% of the resources allocated by parliamentarians. The investment in this action was constant in all years and involved all the parliamentarians who presented amendments in sports, which leads to a preference for investments that did not depend on party affiliation or years in office. Forty-five of these parliamentarians presented amendments to sports infrastructure alone. Investments in sports activities and events, on the other hand, were sporadic and mobilized 14 parliamentarians from Paraná. Only Dep. Zeca Dirceu (PT) invested in the three categories of shares.

The budgetary priority in infrastructure actions by parliamentarians has already been attested by other research in the sports field<sup>4, 7-9</sup> and other areas of the general budget<sup>11,14,15</sup>. The homogeneity of amendments in these actions may be related to the parliamentarian's commitment to facilities for execution - transit in the Ministry, lower requirements for execution of appropriations - as well as to the popular appeal of these actions and the possibility of approaching the politician with the elector<sup>11,15</sup>. In this sense, the execution of small projects such as sports courts and squares are perceived as propositions of strong popular appeal which allow the parliamentary a more certain political-electoral return<sup>15</sup>.

The implementation of sports infrastructure also refers to a permanent asset. Although public works require continuous management in order to be preserved, they do not

require a constant commitment on the part of parliamentarians once they are implemented, unlike what happens with the development of sports activities. The proposition of actions of a continuous nature, such as the offer of sports activities, is sometimes perceived and demanded by society as a responsibility of the Government and not the parliamentarian<sup>11</sup>.

The priority of allocated resources to the implementation of sports infrastructure by parliamentarians validates some of the questions raised by the literature. The first of these refers to the misalignment with investments in the proposal of sports activities, which results on the disengagement of the policy of building spaces and proposing activities of government programs<sup>4,8,16</sup>. The majority of sports infrastructure is not executed by program managers, and therefore does not collaborate with the demands of the programs. The equipment turns out to be a material improvement justified by the interest of the parliamentarian in pleasing voters<sup>8</sup>.

The second question refers to the competence of federal entities and powers in proposing policies for the sports sector. Although the role of parliamentarians has been to carry resources for the implementation of sports infrastructure in their state of representation, we ask ourselves about the management, forms of appropriation and proposal of activities in these spaces. The lack of a national sports system that establishes the competencies of the different federative units can contribute to an overlap of actions and, consequently, investments, as well as to gaps in the proposition and maintenance of actions by the State. The decision on the allocation of resources in sport is made by the need to combine political, technical and social interests.

Finally, there is limited to no discussion on the uniformity of investments in infrastructure on the content of the budget submitted by the Government in the sports field. As exposed by Cambraia<sup>4</sup>, with the resources secured for the amendments, attention is directed to allocate them according to the interests of parliamentarians, without an analysis of government policy expressed in the budget proposal, not even an evaluation of its efficiency and effectiveness in addressing social problems. A partial view prevails that favors the electoral bases of the respective parliamentarians<sup>5</sup> and, in sport, the perspective of a sports policy that has privileged the implementation of spaces and equipment for sports and leisure. This behavior has reinforced the thesis of adopting practices of clientelist and less universalistic representation in the process of planning federal public policies for sport in Brazil.

The concentration of resources in the implementation of sports infrastructure added to the expressive volume that the amendments occupy in the formulation of the ME budget, reinforce the perception of the State Legislature as an entity that has occupied a prominent position in the composition of the sports budget, especially in relation to recreational and leisure sports programs. In the sports field, the Legislature has not only fulfilled the function of "improving" the proposal submitted by the Government, but has also reconfigured the allocation of resources in the area for the implementation of sports spaces and equipment<sup>4</sup>.

## Conclusion

Parliamentarians of the state of Paraná allocated BRL 378.5 million through 456 individual amendments to the sports budget from 2004 to 2015. This amount represented 7.6% of the stipulated quota for the discretionary allocation for part of the representatives in the period. The volume allocated by parliamentarians was directly impacted by the parameters and limits of the established during the process of examination of the proposal by the Legislative Branch, especially with regard to the obligation to invest in health.

The data from the survey show that sport was not considered a priority demand for the vast majority of parliamentarians from Paraná throughout their terms of office. Of the 61 parliamentarians from Paraná who were able to present amendments during the period

analyzed by this research, 2 did not do so and 47 did not present proposals in all their years of office. The consistent investment in sports throughout the parliamentary term comprised only 14 representatives.

Among the parliamentarians, the largest number of proposals was not directly related to the number of years in office. The number of amendments presented was also not decisive for a larger budget allocated by parliamentarians. The average investment per proposal for the period was BRL 830 thousand, with wide variation between the years analyzed: BRL 38.7 thousand in the PLOA of 2005 and BRL 10.5 million in the PLOA of 2010, this last investment being considered an exception.

The resources allocated by the parliamentarians of Paraná to sport were directed to three actions: implementation of infrastructure (BRL 370.8 million - 98%), development of sports activities (BRL 6.6 million - 1.7%) and promotion of sports events (BRL 1 thousand - 0.3%). Investment in the implementation of sports infrastructure has been constant throughout the years and involved all the members of parliament who presented amendments to the sector. On the other hand, investments in sports activities and events were sporadic and mobilized only by 14 parliamentarians from Paraná. The disproportionate allocation of investments in infrastructure and government program activities leads to an unbalanced policy between the implementation of spaces and equipment and the proposal of continuous sports activities. This scenario, added to the absence of specific competences of the different federated entities, may collaborate to the overlap of actions and/or gaps in the development of public policies for sport.

As a significant part of the composition of the sports budget, the parliamentary amendments are configured as a research theme essential to sport policies in Brazil. We highlight the need for further studies to analyze the approximation of resources allocated by parliamentary representatives to the national policy objectives proposed and implemented by the ME. We also emphasize the need for more research aimed at understanding the appropriation of these resources by states and municipalities addressed by parliamentarians and their relationship with the political proposals of these locations for the sports area, as well as deepening the understanding of the relationship between sports amendments, political parties, and budget execution.

## References

1. Giacomoni J. Orçamento público. São Paulo: Atlas; 2016.
2. Miranda ESF, Amaral CA. Orçamento público e comportamento legislativo: Análise da destinação das emendas parlamentares no Estado de Goiás. EnANPAD 2017;01-17.
3. Brasil. Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil. Diário Oficial da República Federativa do Brasil. Brasília; 1988.
4. Castro SBE. Políticas públicas para o esporte e lazer e o ciclo orçamentário brasileiro (2004-2011): prioridades e distribuição de recursos durante os processos de elaboração e execução orçamentária. [Tese de Doutorado em Educação Física]. Curitiba: Universidade Federal do Paraná; 2016.
5. Cambraia T. Emendas ao projeto de lei orçamentária anual: algumas distorções. Brasília: Câmara dos Deputados; 2011.
6. Carlomagno MC. Como os deputados federais alocam os recursos públicos? Análise das emendas parlamentares propostas ao orçamento 2016. The observatory of social and political elites of Brazil 2016;3(1):1-22.
7. Boudens EPJ. O financiamento do esporte no primeiro mandato de Lula (2003-2006). Rio de Janeiro: Usina de Letras; 2007.
8. Castelan LP. As Conferências Nacionais do Esporte na configuração da política esportiva e de lazer no governo Lula (2003-2010). [Dissertação de Mestrado em Educação Física]. Campinas: Universidade Estadual de Campinas; 2011.
9. Teixeira MR. Esporte, fundo público e pequena política: os reveses de um orçamento (r)emendado. [Dissertação de Mestrado em Educação Física]. Brasília: Universidade de Brasília; 2016.

10. Brasil. Emenda Constitucional nº 29, de 13 de setembro de 2000. Diário Oficial da República Federativa do Brasil. Brasília; 2000.
11. Fernandes CC. Emendas parlamentares: orçamento do Distrito Federal. [Monografia de Especialização em Política e Representação Parlamentar]. Brasília: Câmara dos Deputados/CEFOP; 2012.
12. Rezende F, Cunha A. Contribuintes e cidadãos: Compreendendo o orçamento federal. Rio de Janeiro: FGV; 2002.
13. Veronez LFC. Quando o Estado joga a favor do privado: as políticas de esporte após a Constituição de 1988. 2005. [Tese de Doutorado em Educação Física]. Campinas: Universidade Estadual de Campinas; 2005.
14. Bezerra M. Em nome das bases: Política, favor e dependência pessoal. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumara; 1999.
15. Fonseca GPS, Cota Junior GA, Rodrigues RVA, Sousa FMP. Emendas parlamentares: a relação entre o Executivo e o Legislativo em Minas Gerais. In: VIII Congresso Consad de Gestão Pública; 2015, p. 1-28.
16. Pintos AE, Pereira CC, Salvador ES, Athayde PA. O direito ao esporte e ao lazer no contexto da política nacional do esporte. Rev Brasileira de Estudos do Lazer 2016;3(1):38-52.

**Acknowledgments:** We thank the CAPES National Postdoctoral Program for the financial support provided to authors Suélen Castro and Thiago Oliveira through a PNPD / CAPES scholarship

**Authors' ORCID:**

Suélen Barboza Eiras de Castro: 0000-0001-9728-8407

Fernanda Gimenez Milani: 0000-0003-2982-9966

Thiago Oliveira dos Santos: 0000-0002-4191-7064

Fernando Augusto Starepravo: 0000-0002-1655-998X

Fernando Marinho Mezzadri: 0000-0001-8601-5227

Received on Jun, 03, 2018.

Reviewed on Apr, 05, 2019.

Accepted on Jul, 01, 2019.

---

**Author Address:** Suélen Barboza Eiras de Castro. Rua Éça de Queiroz, 1205, apto 23C, Bairro Ahú, Curitiba, PR, CEP 80540-140. Email: [sueleneiras@hotmail.com](mailto:sueleneiras@hotmail.com)