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Economic Growth in Benin

Polarization on Brazilian Labor Market

Highlights

Effects of the COVID-19 Pandemic

Effective Tourism Development Policy

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Contents of the Issue

i. Copyright Notice
ii. Editorial Board Members
iii. Chief Author and Dean
iv. Contents of the Issue

1. Analysis of Agricultural Exports and Economic Growth in Benin. *1-9*
2. Occupational Polarization in Brazilian Labor Market, 1985-2015. *11-21*
3. Harnessing the Power of Cost Control in Risk Management: Advantages and Benefits for Companies. *23-24*
4. Expropriation of Rights, Dependent Capitalism and Transfer of Income: Reflections on the Effects of the Covid-19 Pandemic. *25-37*

v. Fellows
vi. Auxiliary Memberships
vii. Preferred Author Guidelines
viii. Index

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Analysis of Agricultural Exports and Economic Growth in Benin

By Blanchard Félix Dossou

University of Parakou (UP)

Summery- The agricultural sector remains a potential lever for economic growth in the South. Thus, agriculture now represents only 23% of GDP in low-income countries, 10% in intermediate countries and 2% in high-income countries. In this situation, our paper aims to empirically analyse the impact of agricultural exports on economic growth in Benin. The econometric specifications are derived from a neoclassical production function and use data covering the period 1970-2021. The empirical results show that agricultural exports have a positive effect on economic growth. The causality test proves the existence of a causal relationship from economic growth to agricultural exports. In particular, these results prove the importance of an economic policy favourable to the promotion of agricultural investment in Benin.

Keywords: *agricultural exports, economic growth, causality test, benin.*

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Analysis of Agricultural Exports and Economic Growth in Benin

Blanchard Félix Dossou

Summary- The agricultural sector remains a potential lever for economic growth in the South. Thus, agriculture now represents only 23% of GDP in low-income countries, 10% in intermediate countries and 2% in high-income countries. In this situation, our paper aims to empirically analyse the impact of agricultural exports on economic growth in Benin. The econometric specifications are derived from a neoclassical production function and use data covering the period 1970-2021. The empirical results show that agricultural exports have a positive effect on economic growth. The causality test proves the existence of a causal relationship from economic growth to agricultural exports. In particular, these results prove the importance of an economic policy favourable to the promotion of agricultural investment in Benin.

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Introduction

Agriculture is considered a major element in the modification and improvement of the structure of economies. But the pace of these structural changes, and their impact on the growth and development of economies, seem to vary greatly from country to country, and are often very uncertain, much more so than standard theory would have predicted. Moreover, the rules of international trade have changed; the era of liberalisation advocates trade based on comparative advantage Berthelier et al. (2005). However, it would seem that it is on this agricultural transition that the development of many countries in the South depends, even if the process resulting from the Industrial Revolution leading to a transfer of assets from agriculture to other sectors seems difficult. There are many explanations for the positive effect of exports on economic growth. Exports are a component of aggregate demand, and therefore provide an outlet for local goods and services. They are also a source of foreign currency inflows to meet imports. Finally, they are a potential component of state revenue through the customs duties they may generate or when they are carried out by public enterprises. In addition, some argue that for poor countries to become richer, it is important that they change the composition of their exports. Debates on the Prebisch-Singer thesis (1959) and the need for industrialisation have prioritised diversifying economies away from commodities because of deteriorating terms of trade, low value added and slow productivity growth. Similarly, the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) (2004) maintains that without export diversification in developing countries, declining and fluctuating export earnings have had a negative impact on incomes, investment and employment. Through diversification, investment risks are spread over a wider portfolio of economic sectors, resulting in higher revenues (Acemoglu and Zilibotti, 1997). According to Romer (1990), diversification can be seen as a factor that contributes to improving the efficiency of other factors of production. Furthermore, diversification helps countries to protect themselves against terms of trade deteriorations by stabilising export earnings. Economic growth and structural change depend on the types of products that are traded (Hausmann and Klinger, 2006; Hwang, 2006). Thus, through export diversification, an economy can move towards the production and export of more sophisticated products, which can contribute strongly to its economic development.

Benin, like other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, suffered the full force of the economic and social crises of the 1980s. The national economy was faced with major imbalances. This crisis was essentially characterised by a significant slowdown in economic growth, a significant drop in per capita income and the aggravation of internal and external imbalances (deterioration of the balance of payments, growing public deficits). To remedy this situation, the country embarked on a process of liberalisation of its economy under the aegis of the Bretton Woods institutions from 1989 onwards. Since then, enormous reforms covering all areas of economic life have been implemented, with those relating to trade policy taking pride of place. In this context, measures to abolish quantitative restrictions and other non-tariff measures have been initiated. Moreover, Benin's exports are essentially based on cotton, and it is likely that the cost of cotton on the international market will gradually fall, which will have a considerable impact on the country's export earnings and economic performance. The desire to increase exports and gradually reduce the economy's vulnerability to external shocks has led Benin to choose to diversify the economy by promoting other promising sectors. Since 1997, the contribution of the primary sector to GDP has fallen; it currently represents more than 33% of GDP and more than 95% of export earnings. The cotton sector remains the dominant activity, accounting for 13% of GDP and 35% of tax

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revenues (CAPOD 2000), 85% of export revenues and 77% (1999) of total exports. The desire to increase exports and gradually reduce the economy's vulnerability to external shocks has led Benin to choose to diversify the economy by promoting other promising sectors such as cassava, maize, pineapple, rice, oil palm, cashew nuts and pig farming. Although the main agricultural export products remains cotton, followed by food crops, tobacco and oils, a slight trend towards diversification of agricultural exports seems to be underway, as the share of products other than cotton has gradually increased from 11% in 1996 to 18% in 1999. According to the authorities, this trend is due more to the downward trend in world cotton costs. This will have a considerable impact on the country's economic performance. (Operational Strategic Plan, July 2001.) Indeed, Benin's economic growth is driven by exports of primary products of agricultural origin (cotton, cashew nuts, maize, etc.) and mining (cement, wood), whose revenues are highly dependent on exchange rate instability, climatic hazards, external demand and their world prices, which make growth prospects uncertain. Given the important role that exports play in Benin's economy, the question that arises is whether exports have contributed to its long-term economic growth? And whether there is a causal link between economic growth and exports. With the new statistics that focus on the promotion of economic growth, it is necessary to rethink the role and place of exports in the Beninese economy, in order to channel and accelerate the expected positive effects and the measures to be taken to cope with the shocks that the Beninese economy is experiencing. Our paper is organised as follows. Section 1 deals with the evolution of the economic growth rate and exports in Benin, sections 2 and 3 with the literature review and methodology. The conclusion is given in section 4.

I. Recent Trends in Economic Growth and Exports in Benin

Benin's growth improved in 2021 to reach 7.0% compared with 3.8% in 2020. On the supply side, growth is the result of the good performance of the primary sector (+3.9% after 2% growth in 2020), benefiting from the positive effects of reforms that have increased yields and improved governance in the agricultural sector; and, on the other hand, the tertiary sector, which grew by 7.2% in 2021, compared with an expansion of 4.9% in 2020, due to the increase in port traffic, the opening of Nigeria's borders and better governance of the port of Cotonou. On the demand side, growth comes from a 17% increase in investment, with the continuation of a counter-cyclical fiscal policy. Inflation has fallen to 1.7% in 2021 due to improved food supply (African Economic Outlook (AEO) 2022). However, the budget deficit widened in 2021 to 6.1% of GDP, financed in part by the allocation of DtS 118.6 million for Benin, with the remainder of the amount used to finance the 2022 budget deficit. Public debt stands at 47.2% of GDP in 2021 compared to 46.1% in 2020, but the risk of debt distress remains moderate. The current account deficit is estimated to have doubled in 2021, reaching 3.7% of GDP, due to a 64.5% decline in public transfers; foreign exchange reserves cover 5.9 months of imports in 2021. The soundness of the financial system has been strengthened with the rate of outstanding loans falling to 14.8% in September 2021 from 17% in September 2020. The poverty rate was estimated at 38.5% in 2019 and unemployment at 2.4%, with a high level of underemployment (72.9%) (African Economic Outlook (AEO) 2022).

Growth is expected to reach 6.1% in 2022 and 6.4% in 2023. These forecasts are based on governance reforms in the agricultural sector, as well as improvements in public financial management and the business climate. The increase in food supply is expected to allow inflation to continue to decline to about 2.8% in 2023. The budget deficit is expected to narrow to 4.3% of GDP in 2022 and 3.7% in 2023, but these figures remain above the WAEMU criterion of 3% of GDP. After rising to 48.9% of GDP in 2022, public debt is projected to decline to 46.3% in 2023, thanks to robust growth and better debt structuring over this period. The current account deficit is projected to widen to 5.4% of GDP in 2022 before narrowing to 4.6% in 2023, the latter year due to a reduction in the trade balance. Foreign exchange reserves are expected to increase to an average of 6 months of import cover in 2022-23. The main risks are the resurgence of the health crisis, fluctuations in cotton and oil prices, the impacts of the Ukrainian crisis, bad weather and deteriorating security in the northern regions (African Economic Outlook (AEO) 2022).

Benin is vulnerable to climate change, which manifests itself in drought, deforestation, land degradation and flooding. The Bank's 2021 Country Policy and Institutional Assessment places Benin's environmental policies and regulations at 4 in 2021. The socio-economic effects of climate change could, by 2030 and 2050, decrease maize yields by 21.6% and 28.8% respectively, and cotton yields by 0.9% and 6.3%. GHG (Greenhouse Gas) were estimated at 17.3Mt CO2e, or 1.5t CO2e per capita, in 2018. Benin has adopted a National Climate Change Management Policy 2020-2030 and prepared its NDC for 2030. It has implemented a National Renewable Energy Policy 2020-2030. A 25 MW solar photovoltaic plant, expandable to 50 MW, is expected to be operational by April 2022 and produce 35 GWh of electricity, reducing the country's CO2 emissions by 23,000 tonnes over 25 years. Finally, Benin has created the National Environment and Climate Fund, worth CFA F 1.2 billion (African Economic Outlook (AEO) 2022).

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II. Theoretical and Empirical Reviews

Trade is an important determinant of long-term economic growth. Economic policies favouring export growth and trade liberalisation have been central to the strategies recommended to developing countries. The theoretical underpinnings of the positive link between trade openness and growth are twofold. On the one hand, the classical approach explains the gains from trade liberalisation in terms of comparative advantage, whether in the form of natural resource endowments (Hecksher-Ohlin model) or technological differences (Ricardian model). On the other hand, the literature on endogenous growth assumes that trade openness positively affects per capita income and growth through economies of scale and technological diffusion between countries. Theoretical and empirical work has attempted to analyse the effects of openness to the outside world and integration into the world economy on countries. Smith and Ricardo were the first to define the advantages that countries can gain from liberalising their trade. In opposition to the mercantilists, Smith asserted that all countries could gain from trade because, for him, the objective of trade did not lie in the trade balance but in being able to obtain products cheaply than if one produced them oneself. This is the basis of the theory of absolute advantage which leads to international specialisation and the establishment of an international division of labour. For Adam Smith, trade is not necessary for development because production is determined by capital. However, free trade, he acknowledged, could promote a certain level of development of the country through the accumulation of capital. In the same vein, Ricardo argues that foreign trade, no matter how extensive, cannot suddenly increase national values. It is advantageous to the countries that engage in it because it increases the number and variety of objects to which one can employ one's income, i.e. the level of welfare or real income. Krugman (1995) uses the notion of a 'diversification effect' to describe this situation. This diversification effect benefits not only consumers but also producers who will have an additional choice in production goods. Some work has confirmed that it is not only the level of exports that leads to growth, but also the degree of diversification of those exports or of the export base. Advocates of this view have highlighted the strong impact of diversification on growth. For example, Romer (1990) considered diversification as a factor of production, while Acemoglu and Zilibotti (1997) argued that diversification can increase income by spreading the risks of investment over a wider portfolio. However, more recent studies have focused on the existence of a non-monotonic relationship between diversification and growth. Klinger and Lederman (2004) have shown that this is the case. Using disaggregated export data, the authors found that, overall, diversification increased in less developed countries but declined when the country exceeded a certain middle income. In addition, Klinger and Lederman analysed the relationship between new export products and the level of development. In this particular case, they found that the number of new exports followed an inverted U-shaped curve with respect to income, indicating that economies become less concentrated and more diversified as income increases. Only at relatively high levels of income does an increase in growth leads to greater specialisation and less diversification. Several empirical studies have shown that export diversification helps to boost per capita income growth. Love (1986), for example, suggested that a country should avoid heavy reliance on the export of a limited number of products as this diminished its ability to partially offset fluctuations in some export sectors with those sectors that are more stable. Love concluded that export diversification was a wise strategy to reduce instability and should not be limited to sectors other than agriculture. Furthermore, Gutiérrez de Piñeres and Ferrantino (2000), in their study of Latin American countries, found that there was a positive interaction between export diversification and economic growth. Examples of countries with significant export diversification and relatively high growth included Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay. Similar results were found by Balaguer and Cantavella-Jordá (2004) for Spain and by Hammouda et al. (2006) for African countries. The relationship between a country's productivity and the sectoral variety of its exports has also been studied by Feenstra and Kee (2004). In a sample of 34 countries for the period 1984-1997, they found that a 10% increase in export diversity across all industries resulted in a 1.3% increase in the country's productivity. Furthermore, Herzer and Nowak-Lehmann (2006) analysed the hypothesis that there is a link between export diversification and economic growth through learning-by-doing and learning-by-exporting externalities in the case of Chile, and found that both horizontal and vertical export diversification had a positive effect on economic growth. However, this positive link between export diversification and growth is not always apparent in the literature. Michaely (1977), for example, found a significant positive link between exports and economic growth only in more developed countries. This was not the case in the least developed countries. He found that a minimum level of development was necessary for exports to have an effect on the growth of the economy. Mariem's (2019) work analysed the relationship between FDI (Foreign Direct Investment), exports and economic growth in 14 countries in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. They used a lagged laddered model (ARDL) over the period 1970-2014. Their results show that the stylised facts show that the selected countries can be classified into two more or less homogeneous groups:

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oil-rich countries whose exports are almost exclusively energy products, and non-oil-rich countries whose exports are varied. The results of the econometric tests lead to converging conclusions and argue in favour of the existence of longterm cointegration relationships between economic growth, FDI, exports, the active population and capital investment.

III. Methodological Framework of the Study

a) Analysis tool

In this article, we use a model based on an augmented neoclassical production function whose general form is :

$\boldsymbol{Y} = \boldsymbol{F}(\boldsymbol{K}; \boldsymbol{L}; \boldsymbol{X})$ (1). With the following assumptions: $\frac{\delta Y}{\delta K} > 0$: $\frac{\delta Y}{\delta L} > 0$ et $\frac{\delta Y}{\delta X} > 0$. Where Y is aggregate output, K is capital, L is labour and X is exports. Exports (X) are not in principle an argument in the neoclassical production function, but their incorporation allows for international factors that affect output, but are not captured by K and L factors.

b) Data Sources

The data used for the estimation of equation (1) are annual. They come mainly from the World Bank's databases (World Development Indicators). The period covered is from 1960 to 2022.

Global output or GDP is real gross domestic product, capital is the real capital formation, exports are represented by total real exports. All these variables are in constant CFAF. L, labour, represents the total population. All variables are in natural logarithms.

c) Methodology

In this article, we use time series econometrics, which is based on three steps and consists of determining the degree of integration of each variable. In econometrics, several statistical tests are used to determine the degree of integration of a variable. The tests that will be used in this study are the Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) and Phillips-Perron (PP) tests. Once the order of integration of the series is known, the next step is to examine the possible presence of cointegration relationships that may exist in the long term between the variables. This analysis will follow the Johansen (1988) cointegration test procedure, which is more efficient than the Engle and Granger (1987) two-step strategy when the sample size is small and the number of variables is large. The third step involves testing for causality between the variables in the model. The so-called sequential test procedure and the non-sequential procedure of Toda and Yamamoto (1995) will be applied.

d) Empirical results

The implementation of the different stationarity tests for each series led to the results summarised in Table 1 below

Table 1: Results of the stationarity tests

Variables	Differences in level		Differences in the first year		Conclusions
	ADF	PP	ADF	PP	
Ln(Y)	6.432	5.321	-8.542**	-8.672**	I(1)
Ln(K)	2.764	2.531	-9.543**	-8.022**	I(1)
Ln(L)	1.032	17.432	-1.210	-4.327**	I(1)
Ln(X)	3.658	3.210	-9.512**	-9.598**	I(1)

*Source: Author's results 2022, Note: ** denotes rejection of the null hypothesis at the 5% level.*

The results of the level stationarity tests indicate that the series Ln(Y), ln(K), Ln(L) and Ln(X) are not stationary at the 5% threshold. In fact, for these series, the ADF and PP test statistics have probabilities greater than 5% and therefore allow us not to reject the null hypothesis of unit root (non-stationarity). The tests carried out on the first difference series allow the null hypothesis of non-stationarity to be rejected for all the series at the 5% threshold. However, for the series ln(L), the ADF test accepts the hypothesis of the presence of a unit root (nonstationarity) whereas the PP test rejects the null hypothesis of non-stationarity; given the effectiveness of the PP test compared to the ADF test, it is appropriate to accept the hypothesis of stationarity for this series in first difference. The presence of at least two non-stationary series leads to the search for the presence of a long-term equilibrium relationship between the variables of the model by the Johansen procedure based on the estimation of a vector autoregressive model by the maximum likelihood method. However, some work has shown that the Johansen test statistic is biased in small samples in the

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direction of too frequent rejection of the null hypothesis of no cointegration. In other words, the Johansen test too often concludes that there is at least one cointegrating relationship between non-stationary variables. The risk of underparametrization of the VAR underlying the test procedure as well as the loss of degrees of freedom introduce level distortions that weaken the effectiveness of the test. Reinsel and Ahn (1992) and Cheung and Lai (1993) have made proposals to correct these distortions. The test statistics and critical values were thus corrected according to the monotonic correction factor proposed by Reinsel and Ahn (1992) and Cheung and Lai (1993). This correction factor allows the risk of spurious cointegration to be mitigated. All the results of the cointegration test are presented in Table 2 below:

Table 2: Results of the Johansen-Juselius cointegration tests

Number of relationships of cointegration	Eigenvalues	Statistics of the trace	[1]Adjusted trace statistics	Critical values at 5%.	[2]Critical values at 5% adjusted
$r^3 = 0$	0.78432	77.43219*	56.54387 *[4]	55.78643	63. 086531
r ≤ 1	0.562100	33.431980	26.65219	44.532190	39.87654
r ≤ 2	0.0782145	5.7642902	4.5412975	17.754312	19.543218
r ≤ 3	0.0349856	2.4328962	6.764389	8.3428756	7.543869

Sources: Author 2022 results

The results in Table 2 consider the null hypothesis that there is no cointegrating relationship between the four variables (r = 0) is rejected at the 5% threshold by the trace statistic. On the other hand, the hypothesis of at most one cointegrating vector (r ≤ 1) cannot be rejected because the test statistic reports a value below the critical value. The test statistic therefore leads to a cointegrating relationship between the four variables. In order to find out whether all variables actually belong to this cointegrating relationship, an exclusion test was performed (see Johansen and Juselius, 1990). The results of the likelihood ratio tests (Table 3) indicate that the four variables cannot be excluded from the cointegrating space.

Table 3: Exclusion test of the cointegrating space

Variables	$\chi 2(r)$[1]	Probabilities
Ln(Y)	455.987	0.000*
Ln(K)	875.432	0.000
Ln(L)	4486854.0	0.000
Ln(X)	243.8765	0.000

*Sources: Author 2022 results, * indicates significance at the 5% level.*

[1] a/ The values of the statistics are adjusted according to the correction of Reinsel and Ahn (1992)
[2] b/ The asymptotic critical values are corrected according to Cheung and Lai (1993)
[3] r indicates the number of cointegrating relationships. The SC criterion was used to determine the optimal number of lags.
[4] indicates the rejection of the null hypothesis of non-integration at 5%.
[1] The exclusion test is based on the likelihood ratio statistic and follows a $\chi 2(r)$ distribution, where the number of degrees of freedom r is the number of cointegrating vectors (here r = 1)

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To estimate the coefficients of the long-run relationship, the ARMA maximum likelihood method is used because of the presence of an autoregressive term. The results of the estimation are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Results of the estimates of the long-term coefficients.

Dependent variable: Real GDP per capita	
Explanatory Variables	**Parameters**
Capital stock per capita	0.157 (6.432) ***
Work	0.1056 (9.543) ***
Exports	**0.638 (7.654) *** **
Dum [2] 2018	- 2.235 (- 2.679) **
Dum [3] 2020	0.079 (3.249) **
Dum [4] 2021	-0.875 (4.120) ***
Constant	- 2.785 (-2.09)*

R^2=0.654
R^2 adjusted = 0.643
AR(1) = 0.798 (0.000)
Fisher statistic (F) = 823.65 (0.000)
Number of observations (N) = 62
Jarque-Bera = 2.03 (0.612)
ARCH(1) = 0.875 (0.402)
ARCH(2) = 0.736 (0.887)
Heteroscedasticity (Breusch-Pagan-Godfrey) = 15.643 (0.082)

*Sources: Author's results. Numbers in brackets are t-ratios. For diagnostic test statistics, numbers in brackets are p-values. ***, ** and * = significance at 1%, 5% and 10%.*

The results in Table 4 report the diagnostic tests which indicate that the adopted specification is globally satisfactory. The Jarque-Bera test does not reject the hypothesis of normality of errors. The tests carried out to detect the presence of ARCH (Autoregressive Conditional Heteroscedasticity) and Breusch-Pagan-Godfrey residuals in the estimated equation do not reveal any heteroscedasticity problems at the 5% threshold. The dummy variables were introduced to improve the specification of the model. The estimates indicate that the capital stock, labour and exports have a positive and significant long-term impact on economic growth.

In other words, the export promotion policy was not neutral with respect to economic growth, i.e. real GDP growth depends on the increase in exports in the long run. Such a result supports the hypothesis that economic growth is driven by exports. This result is consistent with part of the theory. An increase in the capital stock and exports of 10%, for example, can lead to an increase in the economic growth rate of 15.7%. An increase in population of 10% will result in an additional real GDP increase of 10.56%. The closure of Nigeria's border (Dum 2018) with Benin has a significantly negative impact on Benin's economic growth. The weight of this border closure in Benin's economy has induced a 2.235% decrease in GDP. Agricultural exports are heavily exported to Nigeria, and this closure has also led to low incomes for farmers in the active population, which is only 30%. On the other hand, the advent of COVID 19 (Dum 2020) has a significantly positive impact on growth in Benin. This result is the result of the efforts made by the Beninese state to accompany the subsidies granted to various enterprises in order to cushion the shocks induced by COVID19. An increase in the impacts of COVID19 led to an increase of 0.079% in

[2] Closing of the Nigerian border
[3] The advent of COVID 19
[4] War in Ukraine

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economic growth in Benin. The war in Ukraine (Dum 2021), on the other hand, has a significantly negative impact on economic growth in Benin. Thus, an increase in the impact of the war in Ukraine leads to a 0.875% reduction in economic growth in Benin. The closure of the Nigerian border and the war in Ukraine have had significantly negative impacts on agricultural growth in Benin.

The existence of cointegration implies that causality tests are carried out, according to the sequential approach, using a vector error correction model. The results of these tests, reported in Table 6, do not reveal any short- or long-term causality between exports and economic growth in the Granger sense.

Table 5: Results of Granger causality tests

Source of causality (independent variable)									
Short term					*Long-term*				
Dependent Variables	*Δln(Y)t*	*Δln(K)t*	*Δln (L)t*	*Δln(X)t*	*λt-1(t-stat)*	*Δln(Y) t / λt-1*	*ln(K)t / λt-1*	*Δln (L)t / λt-1*	*Δln(X)t / λt-1*
K = 3									
Δln(Y)t	---	3.77 (0.51)	9.421 (0.04)* *	2.683 (0.716)	-0.226 (-2.4)*	------	5.65 (0.21)	7.69 (0.23)	5.548 (0.37)
Δln(K)t	3.23 (0.32)	---	4.125 (0.531)	2.591 (0.782)	-----	6.321 (0.23)	-----	3.785 (0.53)	5.498 (0.36)
Δln (L)t	0.52 (0.86)	4.75 (0.56)	----	2.521 (0.684)	-----	3.109 (0.71)	3.502 (0.52)	-----	2.79 (0.73)
Δln (X)t	0.74 (0.97)	7.26 (0.08)*	5.658 (0.338)	---	-----	2.542 (0.82)	5.65 (0.34)	3.67 (0.56)	-----

*Notes: ** and * = significance at 5% and 10%. The reported statistics are Chi-squares. Numbers in brackets refer to p-values. The numbers in the λt-1 column refer to the coefficients of the Johansen-derived recall terms, and those in parentheses are the t-statistics associated with these coefficients. The selection of k is based on the SC criterion.*

Sources: Author 2022 Results

To complete and ensure the results of the Granger test, the causality test according to the approach suggested by Toda and Yamamoto (1995) will be performed. Indeed, several uncertainties related to the Granger sequential approach have been identified due to the nonprecision of the stationarity tests and the number of lags of the VAR model used to perform the Granger causality test. The results of all these tests are reported in Table 6.

Table 6: Results of Toda and Yamamoto causality tests

k	dmax	Variables dependent	Causal variable			
			Ln(Y)	Ln(K)	Ln(L)	Ln(X)
1	1	Ln(Y)	-----	4.15 (0.26)	0.734 (0.56)	0.23 (0.888)
		Ln(K)	0.65 (0.734)	-----	3.43 (0.542)	0.439 (0.787)

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		Ln(L)	2/87 (0.543)	0.856 (0.561)	---------	8.67 (0.006)***
		Ln(X)	0.099 (0.945)	5.978 (0.039)**	0.267 (0.734)	-------
2	1	Ln(Y)	------	3.785 (0.459)	2.345 (0.456)	0.845 (0.528)
		Ln(K)	2.754 (0.564)	-------	3.765 (0.453)	2.348 (0.654)
		Ln(L)	8.543 (0.027)**	17.012 (0.001)***	--------	0.532 (0.765)
		Ln(X)	0.067 (0.797)	7.386 (0.038)**	1.876 (0.510)	--------
3	1	Ln(Y)	------	3/799 (0.3865)	6.289 (0.239)	8.156 (0.073)*
		Ln(K)	2.453 (0.810)	------	3.654 (0.512)	0.884 (0.642)
		Ln(L)	2.651 (0.803)	5/875 (0.497)	-------	2.43 (0.634)
		Ln(X)	2.740 (0.705)	9.507 (0.024)**	6.456 (0.238)	-------

*Notes: The reported statistics are Chi-squares. Values in brackets are p-values. k is the number of lags in the level VAR and dmax is the maximum integration order of the variables. The selection of k is based on the SC criterion. ***, ** and * = significance at 1%, 5% and 10%.*

Sources: Author 2022 Results

Following Toda and Yamamoto's approach, there is a unidirectional causality from exports to economic growth in the short and long run. However, these results also indicate that in the short and long run there is a unidirectional causality from exports, capital stock and economic growth to labour, on the one hand, and from capital stock to exports on the other. In the light of these results, it is appropriate to conclude that there is a unidirectional causality from exports to economic growth in the short and long term for Benin.

IV. Conclusion and Economic Implications

The impact of agricultural exports on economic growth varies from country to country and is often very uncertain. In Benin, for example, proximity to Nigeria is an asset for the Beninese economy in the perspective of shared co-prosperity. Moreover, the rules of international trade are weakened by uncertain events that expose comparative advantages. Agricultural supply factors are very important, as they constitute a lever for boosting sectoral growth rates through general equilibrium mechanisms. Agricultural export price policies can have a long-term impact on the structure of an economy. Agricultural incentive policies can lead to an increase in the agricultural growth rate, exchange rate policies can also have an impact on economic growth in southern countries such as Benin. Our results show that capital stock, labour and agricultural exports are likely to promote economic growth in Benin. However, the importance of primary products in Benin's exports

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should be a cause for concern. Indeed, Benin continues to produce cotton in large quantities, with all the important public funding and investments, without a native industrialisation of cotton fibres. It is imperative that strategies for economic diversification towards manufactured goods are favoured. Encouraging and promoting the emergence of private entrepreneurship and the development of infrastructure are likely to boost economic growth.

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10

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Occupational Polarization in Brazilian Labor Market, 1985-2015

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Abstract- The objective of this paper is to analyze employment and wages in occupational structure of Brazilian labor market, considering the gender gap as well. The analysis is based on information from 1985 to 2015 and estimates from income equations. Results showed that occupational polarization was more evident for women during the three analyzed decades as these women broadened their participation on labor market regarding occupations that were more abstract and manual, non-routine, as professionals and technicians, in the first group, and domestic services, in the second group. On the other hand, men suffered deep transformations in occupational structure regarding manual and routine activities, from agricultural activities to production and operational ones. It was verified a reduction in inequality in wage distribution with the increase of average wages, although occupations that broadened the demand for labor had relative increase in wages, which suggests polarization in women's payment.

Keywords: *occupational polarization, wage inequality, labor market.*

GJHSS-E Classification: *JEL: J21*



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Occupational Polarization in Brazilian Labor Market, 1985-2015

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Abstract- The objective of this paper is to analyze employment and wages in occupational structure of Brazilian labor market, considering the gender gap as well. The analysis is based on information from 1985 to 2015 and estimates from income equations. Results showed that occupational polarization was more evident for women during the three analyzed decades as these women broadened their participation on labor market regarding occupations that were more abstract and manual, non-routine, as professionals and technicians, in the first group, and domestic services, in the second group. On the other hand, men suffered deep transformations in occupational structure regarding manual and routine activities, from agricultural activities to production and operational ones. It was verified a reduction in inequality in wage distribution with the increase of average wages, although occupations that broadened the demand for labor had relative increase in wages, which suggests polarization in women's payment.

Keywords: occupational polarization, wage inequality, labor market.

I. Introduction

By the beginning of the 2010s, Brazil achieved a remarkable reduction in earnings inequalities in which Gini coefficient fell from 0.50 to 0.41 between the years of 1995 and 2012 (Ferreira et al., 2017).[1] Although income inequality has increased around the world in most of advanced countries and even in the developing ones, as China and India, it was verified a decline in inequality in countries as Brazil and Colombia (Bourguignon, 2018)[2]. In Latin America, especially in Brazil, this decrease in inequality is mainly due to changes in labor income (Azevedo et al., 2013, Paiva, 2016).[3]

Literature shows important changes in the structure of Brazilian labor market. During this period, it was observed an increase in years of school, reduction in returns in education and experience, increase of minimum wage, expansion of formality and reduction in gender and race wage gap (Neri, 2018; Paiva, 2016). There were also changes in the structure of occupations and reduction in yield spreads among occupations, with higher homogeneity in human capital of individuals, who became more qualified, and falls in cross-sectorial and gender differentials (Martins & Cunha, 2017).

However, evidences suggest that Brazilian economic growth is based on an intense labor intake instead of on a deeper structural change (Maia & Menezes, 2014), in which it is observed a slow process of incorporation of new technologies and automation and a decrease of labor in occupations with high percentage of tasks that can be automated, yet, these vulnerable tasks still represented more than 56.5% of formal employment in the country in 2017 (Kubota; Maciente, 2019).[4]

This paper contributes to this debate by investigating changes in employment shares and wage distribution on Brazilian labor market during the 1985-2015 period. Moreover, it was examined whether the occupations were gaining importance in determining the labor market dynamics or not. The studied hypothesis is about occupational polarization under technological approach, which establishes increase in demand for more or less qualified work and reduction of those occupations that require average qualification. Lastly, it was also aimed to analyze differences in Brazilian occupational structure according to gender.

Fall in fecundity rate plays an important role to implement woman participation on labor market, however, keeping the familiar model in which woman is responsible for domestic and social roles obliges her to articulate her domestic and professional roles, inhibiting greater economic insertion. In addition, they still face other discriminatory aspects in job offers, as barriers to access leadership positions and lower wages when compared to co-workers (Bruschini & Lombardi, 1996). Among strategies adopted by them to align domestic and work activities is the postponement of maternity, which enables them to dedicate more time to investments in education and career (Cunha et al., 2022).

This paper is structured in six parts, besides introduction. The second part presents a brief review of

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[1] In the study was used data from the *Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios* (PNAD) fielded by the Brazilian Census Bureau (*Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*, IBGE).

[2] Bourguignon (2018) analyzed information from 1985 to 2012, using World Bank data.

[3] The Gini Index for total household income per capita, in Brazil, was 0.59 in 1995 and 0.54 in 2010. But the Gini index for earnings was 0.58 and 0.52, respectively.

[4] Kubota & Maciente (2019) used information from the Occupational Information Network (O*NET), developed under the sponsorship of the United States Department of Labor, and the Annual Information Report (Rais), from the Ministry of Economy (ME), with data only on formal employment.

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theoretical and empiric literature about the theme and the following part describes the data and also explains the methodology. The fourth part is about polarization of employment on Brazilian labor market and the fifth discusses the behavior of wage distribution, especially regarding the dynamic of wage differentials among occupations. Lastly, the main evidences are shown on final considerations.

II. Literature Review

In economics literature, differences in occupational structure have been discussed since Adam Smith on his book *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (in Portuguese *A riqueza das nações*), published in 1776. According to the author, differences in payment on labor market based on the occupation were due to working conditions, learning costs, stability, reliability degree and success probability; he also addressed the importance of public politics back then and the balance between offer and demand on labor market (SMITH, 1995). Distribution in income would not be arbitrary and defined by an accidental historical process but dependent from distribution of workers in different occupations available in the community while considering specific distributions of skill and prices (ROY, 1951).

On the other hand, increase in inequality of income distribution during past decades, especially in advanced economies, has motivated investigations about changes in the structure of labor market. An explanation for it would be the hypothesis of technological changes and qualified work approach, since technology replaces non-qualified workers but it is complementary to the skilled ones, relatively increasing the demand and returns from these workers (Bound & Johnson, 1992). Also, there would be a polarization on labor market, changing working skills demands and increasing the number of jobs in occupations that require more or less qualification and reducing the ones related to routine tasks (Autor, Levy & Murnane, 2003). Therefore, the job polarization occurs with a decline in the share of routine tasks and growth in abstract and manual tasks (Acemoglu & Autor, 2011; Goos, Manning & Salomons, 2014).

The increase of demand for more qualified workers and higher wages for them (skills return) were observed in the United States and other industrialized countries, despite increase of qualified job offers (Autor, 2014). According to the author, computers are present in many activities and, when a task is not replaced, it can still be completed by them. Thus, Böhm (2020) verified that returns from occupations related to activities considered routine on North American labor market during the years 1990 and 2000 declined when compared to abstract and manual tasks. On the other hand, Cerina, Moro and Rendall (2017) carried out a study about labor market in the United States between 1980 and 2008, observing the gender role in employment changes and highlighting higher polarization in activities occupied by women, who broadened their participation in positions which demanded high and low levels of ability.

In case of Europe, the authors Goos, Manning and Salomons (2014) conducted a research considering labor market in sixteen countries from 1993 to 2010. Results showed persistency in polarization on the analyzed area, suggesting increasing parcels of employment of professionals with higher income and managers as well as those with lower returns who do personal jobs. On the other hand, they also verified decreasing parcels of employment of professionals who work in manufacturing and perform routine tasks at offices. According to Coelli and Borland (2015), the growth in the number of occupations with higher qualification from 1966 to 2011 has contributed to increase inequality of income in Australia, changing both the composition and the average income of occupations.

In Argentina, according to Goméz (2020), it was observed reduction in premium wages depending on educational levels and occupational groups, however, with higher wages from 2004 to 2014. Regarding gender, premiums are still higher for men. Among factors that explain these changes are higher formalization of labor market, minimum wage, collective negotiations and more offers of qualified workers.

In Brazil, during the last decades there were evidences which pointed a decrease in job numbers for occupations that require lower qualification (FLORI, 2007; COMIN, 2015). From the beginning of the 1080s to the beginning of the 2000s, it was observed an elevation in demand for occupations considered non-routine and that require more technological resources, it was also noticed reduction in inequality among occupations but increase of inequality inside jobs identified as belonging to high technology layer (BRESSAN; HERMETO, 2009).

Associated to the increase in more qualified job offers, there were evidences of increase of relative demand for more qualified work during past decades, from 1081 to 2015 (HERDEIRO et al., 2019). However, the biggest parcel of workers is less qualified, underpaid, inserted in service sector and other routine manual occupations with high level of competition and precarious work (MAIA et al., 2019). In this context, incorporation of new technologies can negatively impact employment generation on Brazilian labor market when reaching occupations that are still important for employment composition (KUBOTA; MACIENTE, 2019).

Besides, despite advances, women during the beginning of the 2000s still stood out in manual and little

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appreciated activities on labor market, as domestic work (MACHADO; OLIVEIRA; WAJNMAN, 2005). Gender inequality and occupational segregation were observed in occupations typically identified as "feminine", as domestic work, office activities, esthetic services, hotel and food services, commerce, health care, education, apparel and decoration sectors, among others (SOARES; OLIVEIRA, 2004). More recently, from 2002 to 2012, it was possible to identify a reduction of the differences between women and men, for example, regarding the tax of vacancy and also the proportion of unpaid jobs being higher among women (KUBRUSLY, 2015).

III. Data and Methods

Aiming to analyze changes in the structure of occupations on Brazilian labor market, we used the *Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios* – PNAD (Brazilian National Household Sample Survey) for the period between 1985 and 2015. The PNAD is nationally representative and annual household survey, covering both rural and urban areas, fielded by the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* – IBGE (Brazilian Census Bureau). Seeking to homogenize the databases and allow a comparison over the time studied, we also used hourly earnings in Real (R$) for workers aged 15 to 64 who participated on the labor force full-time, working at least 36 hours a week. The variables were kept in Real values and were calculated through a deflator based on the *Índice Nacional de Preços no Consumidor* – INPC (National Consumer Price Index) fielded by the IBGE, having 2015 as year base.

As in Acemoglu and Autor (2011), we discarded the military sector, but the agricultural workers were kept as they are significantly representative. While in the military case significant changes are not expected over the period studied, the second group was represented a significant portion of jobs at the beginning of the period. To analyze employee qualifications, six educational levels were considered: illiterate or people with less than one year of formal education (ILL), people with incomplete elementary school (LSS), people with complete elementary school but incomplete high school (SSG), people with complete high school (HSG), people with incomplete higher education (LTC) and people with higher education or graduation (CSG).

Regarding the structure of the occupations, eight occupational groups were considered: leaders (MSG), professionals and technicians (PAT), administrative employees (CRC), sales employees (SLS), production employees (PAO), agricultural workers (AGR), domestic workers (HHS) and other service providers (OTS).

Besides the descriptive analyses to identify changes in the employment structure of labor market, in order to discuss income distribution, it was used some inequality measurements as Gini and Theil indexes and income proportion in tenths and cents of income distribution. In addition to, income equations were estimated to explain hourly earning determinants (Y_i), that can be described as:

$$Y_i = \alpha + \sum_{m=1}^{M} \delta_m t_{mi} + \sum_{k=1}^{K} \beta_k x_{ki} + u_i$$

Among many variables that can explain it are initially the seven occupational groups, then $M = 7$, in which the reference category is domestic employees (HHS). Moreover, empiric literature suggests that there are many relevant elements to explain income inequality besides occupational groups. To Mincer (1974) in his seminal study, income is a function from human resources, especially education and the individual's experience. Subsequently, studies have been incorporating other determinants that also explain income differentials on labor market. Besides education and experience that represent human resources it is possible to find gender as personal characteristic. Among work characteristics that can also result in different income it can be found the sector and the formalization. Lastly, there are the special characteristics, as place of residence in larger areas, urban areas or countryside and metropolitan or non-metropolitan areas.

IV. Job Polarization on Brazilian Labor Market

Brazilian labor market's composition can be observed on Table 1, in which it can be verified an increase in woman participation at occupation from 30.4% in 1985 to 41.8% in 2015. The increase in women's participation in the labor market can be explained by factors such as reduced fertility, greater availability of technology in domestic equipment and rising wages (Borjas, 2010). The increase in educational level is seen when reducing participation from less qualified individuals with incomplete elementary school and also an increase of other levels, especially for more qualified individuals with at least higher education, which increases from 4.6% to 16.0%. The improvements in access to education and changing skill requirements in the labor market were important factors for these results.

Considering employment according to occupational groups, it can be noticed increase on the five starting groups and reduction on the last three. While the starting ones include occupations with more abstract tasks, the latter ones are manual.

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Table 1: Labor Market's Composition, 1985-2015

Variable	1985	1995	2005	2015	1985-2015
Sex					
Males	69.6	64.6	61.2	58.2	-16.4
Females	30.4	35.4	38.8	41.8	37.5
Education					
Illiterate or less than 1 year (ILL)	15.4	8.4	4.1	3.5	-77.4
Incomplete elementary School (LTE)	32.9	51.6	34.8	20.1	-38.9
Complete Elementary School (ESG)	11.2	17.1	18.3	16.7	49.2
Complete High School (HSG)	32.7	13.7	27.9	37.5	14.8
Incomplete Higher Education (LTC)	3.3	2.9	6.2	6.3	89.6
Higher Education (CSG)	4.6	6.4	8.6	16.0	250.7
Occupation					
Leaders (MNG)	4.7	5.4	4.1	4.2	-8.8
Professionals /Technicians (PAT)	6.6	7.7	14.0	17.7	170.5
Administrative (CRC)	12.0	11.1	13.1	14.6	21.4
Sales (SLS)	6.8	8.5	7.9	9.1	32.9
Production and Operations (PAO)	5.7	7.9	27.6	26.2	360.2
Agricultural (AGR)	39.0	36.7	9.2	5.6	-85.6
Domestic Services (HHS)	8.7	10.6	9.4	6.5	-25.0
Others services (OTS)	16.6	11.9	14.6	16.1	-3.3

Source: PNAD data.

Agricultural workers were the ones that showed deeper fall, from about 40% to 5% during the period, reflecting intense technological change in agricultural sector. On the other hand, production and operational employees showed greater positive variation. Then, it was observed intense replacement in both sectors considered as routine and manual.

Figure 1 considers the composition of qualification groups according to gender and it is noted the same tendency in both sectors – increase of qualification and higher educational levels for women. As example, among women the percentage of individuals with higher education or graduation surpassed 20% in 2005 as among men this same percentage was slightly over 10%. In 2005, the highest percentage of individuals had complete high school both for men and women.

It can also be observed employment composition according to gender and occupational groups in Figure 2. Initially, reduction in employment stood out both form men and women in agricultural occupations. In this segmentation, according to gender, replacement from agricultural activities (AGR) to production and operational ones (PAO) stood out for men and, for women, replacement from professional and technical activities (PAT) and other service activities (OTS), thus abstract and manual activities, respectively.

Therefore, there was an expressive increase in operational occupations among men, similar to reduction of occupations in agricultural activities. Among women, there was relative stability in this operational group. I can also be observed among men and women relative stability in manager, administrative and sales groups, although there was a slight increase for women. On the other hand, there was an increase of professionals and technicians for both genders.

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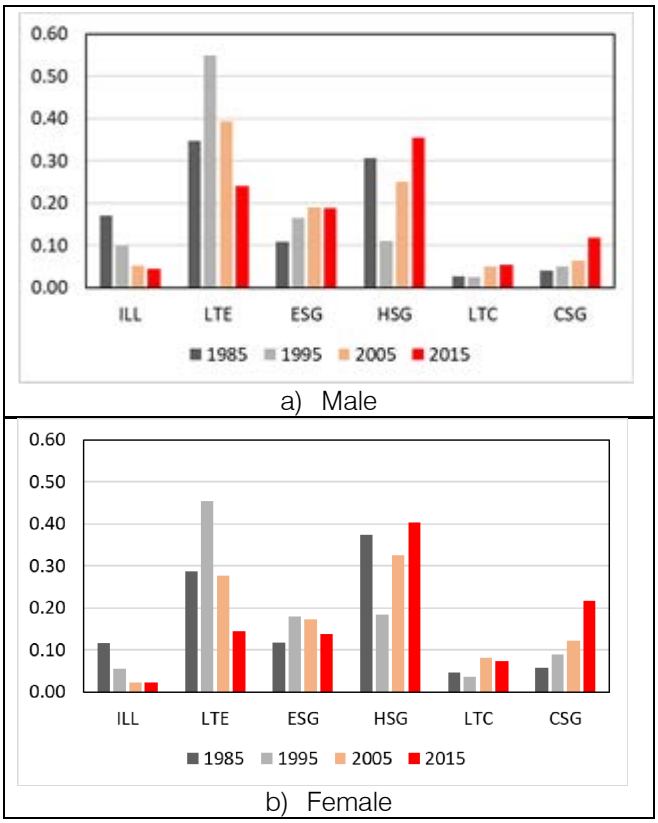
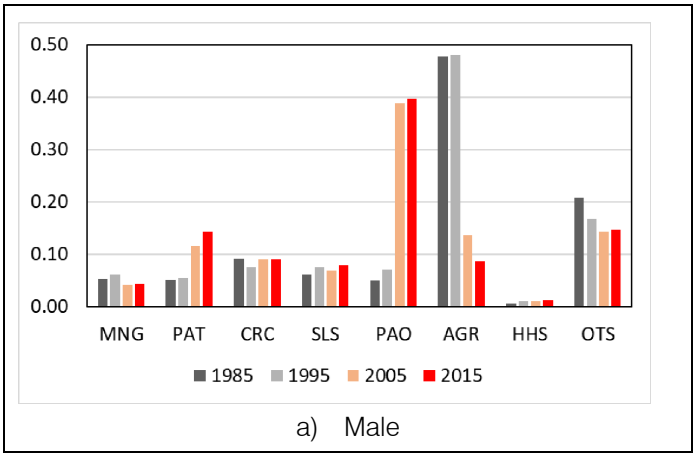


Source: PNAD data.

Figure 1: Employment composition by educational levels and gender, Brazil, 1985-2015

Domestic work is one of the most substantial among women as seen in Figure 2b, however, there was a reduction during the period that can be explained by the insertion of women in other areas. The occupation for other services reduced for men and increased for women. In 2005, while men had more occupations for operational activities and service sector, women were working at professional, technical, administrative and service activities.



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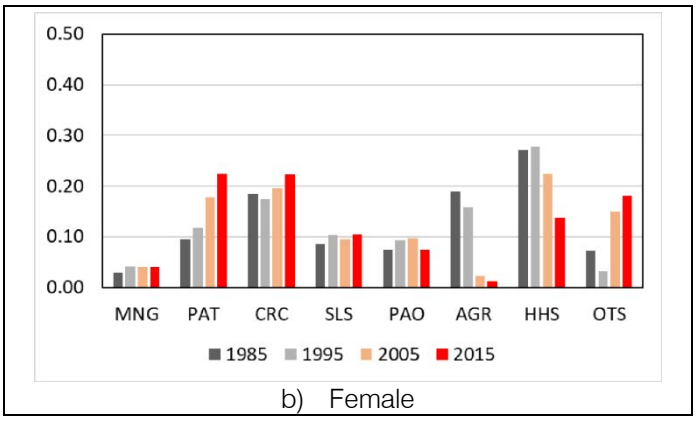

b) Female

Source: PNAD data.

Figure 2: Employment composition by occupation, Brazil, 1985-2015

Thus, it is possible to say that there was replacement for men in manual and routine activities, especially from agriculture to production and operations. Women, in their turn, suffered reduction from routine and manual activities as agriculture to more abstract activities, as professional and technical ones, and non-routine, as basic services. There results emphasize higher occupational polarization among women then for men, as observed on North American labor market by Cerina, Moro and Rendall (2017).

Hence, parallel to urbanization process and technological changes during past decades in the country, employment replacement from agricultural occupations to urban activities was evident as women were employed at jobs considered more feminine and men were employed at jobs considered more masculine[5]. Wage changes that happened simultaneously to this employment replacement on Brazilian labor market, with more qualified individuals and more participation from women are analyzes on the following section.

V. Changes in the Wages Distribution

During the three decades studied, besides employment changes on Brazilian labor market, there were also changes at wage distribution, as seen on Table 2. There was an increase in average wage and reduction of inequality when considered Gini, from 0.567 to 0.416, and Theil, from 0.650 to 0.376, indexes. The biggest positive variation on average wage between 2005 and 2015 can be explained by the adoption of a minimum wage policy valorization in the country, based on inflation from the previous year plus the variation of economy growth from previous years, in addition to increase of formalization, as discussed by Neri (2018) and Paiva (2016). On the other hand, inequality reduction was intense during the final period as well as on the previous one, from 1995 to 2005, due to economic stability from "Plano Real" from 1994. This plan has managed to stabilize prices, which affects more those with lower wages, who have less access to the financial market to protect themselves against inflation, contributing to reduce inequality.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of hourly wage, 1985-2015

Variable	1985	1995	2005	2015	1985-2015
Mean	7.243	7.619	6.988	9.734	34.39
Gini	0.567	0.540	0.477	0.416	-26.63
Theil	0.650	0.587	0.476	0.376	-42.15
p10	1.294	1.680	2.069	3.997	208.89
p25	2.301	2.185	2.955	4.667	102.82
p50	3.596	4.214	4.231	6.417	78.45
p75	7.192	7.867	6.896	9.917	37.89
p90	15.534	15.891	13.446	17.500	12.66
p95	25.873	25.128	20.687	26.250	1.46
p99	60.410	59.872	51.717	58.753	-2.74

Source: PNAD data.

[5] According to information from Demographic census from 1970, 1980, 1991, 2000 and 2010, urbanization rate in the country was, respectively, 55.9%, 67.6%, 75.6%, 81.2% and 84.4%.

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In the lower tail of the wage distribution, the minimum wage represents the price of less skilled work and an index for other workers. On the other hand, a positive variation in the minimum wage has an effect not only on the lower tail of the wage distribution, but also on the upper tail, since employers can replace less qualified workers with more qualified ones, in addition employers can choose to maintain the wage differential between the more and less qualified, preserving the incentive for the latter (FOGUEL; 1998, NEUMARK; WASCHER, 2008; CUNHA; VASCONCELOS, 2012).

Inequality reduction is the greatest rate at Theil, which is more susceptible to changes on the upper tail of the distribution. This is in line with the negative variation on the last percentile analyzed and, on the other hand, major positive variations were on those elements with lower wages. Therefore, the highest wages reduced or increased less and the lowest wages approached the highest, reducing inequality. These changes were also identified through appropriate proportion on percentiles of wage distribution, where lower wages showed positive variation and the last, a negative variation. Nevertheless, differences were still substantial. This reduction in inequality on wage distribution can be also observed through lower wage differentials estimated through Mincerian equation, as on Table 3, in which controls related to individuals', workplace and spatial characteristics were considered as well as variables associated to occupational groups.

Table 3: Wage differentials according to hourly wage, Brazil, 1985-2015

Variable	1985	1995	2005	2015
Managers	1.4605***	0.8136***	0.8001***	0.6651***
Professionals/Technicians	1.1803***	0.5527***	0.5612***	0.4573***
Administrative	1.0361***	0.3875***	0.3002***	0.1588***
Sales	0.7228***	0.2677***	0.2017***	0.0779***
Production and Operations	0.5582***	0.1838***	0.2500***	0.1701***
Agricultural	0.6362***	0.2025***	0.1309***	-0.0056
Others services	0.6918***	0.1919***	0.1314***	0.0528***
Sex	0.3354***	0.3491***	0.2603***	0.2335***
Age	0.0931***	0.0653***	0.0522***	0.0318***
Age^2	-0.0010***	-0.0007***	-0.0005***	-0.0003***
Educational level				
LSS	0.1827***	0.1633***	0.1496***	0.0881***
SSG	0.4423***	0.3713***	0.3085***	0.1945***
SMC	0.4523***	0.6516***	0.4621***	0.2901***
CLG	0.9916***	0.9612***	0.7692***	0.4651***
GTC	1.4462***	1.4670***	1.2409***	0.9067***
Formal	0.3380***	0.2415***	0.3186***	0.2335***
Sectors				
Industrial	0.3084***	0.3987***	0.1371***	0.0511**
Sales and services	0.1535***	0.2425***	0.0845***	0.0088*
Urban	0.1133***	0.1235***	0.0499***	0.0760***
Metropolitan	0.1893***	0.1725***	0.1282***	0.0907***
Region				
Northeast	-0.3351***	-0.2251***	-0.2457***	-0.1569***
Southeast	-0.0957***	0.1968***	0.0820***	0.1095***
South	-0.0980***	0.1602***	0.0979***	0.1659***
Central West	-0.0501***	0.0841***	0.1038***	0.1693***
Constant	-2.0574***	-1.2632***	-0.8021***	0.1905***
Observations	111.687	65.219	91.750	83.832
R^2	0.5945	0.5559	0.4994	0.4586

Source: PNAD data. $***p<0.01$, $**p<0.05$, $*p<0.1$.

Every occupational group had their estimated differential reduced when compared to the ones from individuals placed on domestic activities, which is the reference category. Greater differentials for those in managerial, professional, and technical activities were maintained, but on other occupational groups there was a lower differential when compared to the category of reference. From 1985 to 1095, there was a reduction in every wage differential, although it was more intense on occupations with lower wages.

During the second period, from 1995 to 2005, there was a relative maintenance of higher differentials and even an increase on differentials from professional and technician occupations, that are non-routine and abstract. There was also an increase on differentials from production and operational occupations, that are considered routine and manuals. Lastly, from 2005 to 2015, there was a reduction on every occupational differential and agricultural workers had negative differential when compared to workers on domestic service.

Thus, from 1985 to 2015, there was a smaller reduction on wage differential from occupations with bigger premiums, for example, managers had a reduction of -54.5% while other services had -94.4%.

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Regarding other estimated differentials and controls included on regression, there was also a reduction. Gender differentials increased from 1985 to 1995, but reduced during other periods; experience or age differentials fell during the whole period. Higher educational levels had better wages, but these differentials were smaller when compared to the reference category during the years, especially from 2005 to 2015. This reduction is smaller during the first period, from 1985 to 2015, in which it is possible to notice wage valorization for individuals with high school or higher education, under graduation or graduation.

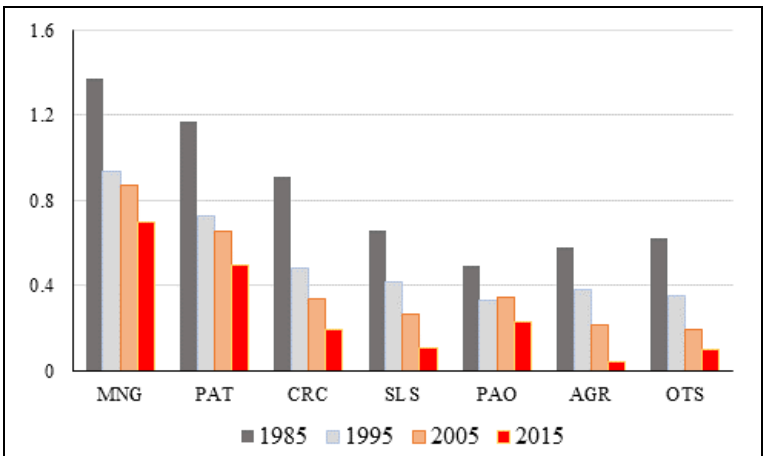
When talking about characteristics of the workplace, individuals with formal job attachment had better wages when those differentials were reduced both for the first and second period. The sector with better wages is industry, but by the end of the period the intersectoral differentials were low. For spatial characteristics, those living in urban and metropolitan areas had better wages and the ones living in the Northeast had it lower.

To analyze the behavior of wage differentials between occupations for men and women, wage equations were estimated for each element, as in Figure 3. Initially, there was deeper fall on differentials from 1985 to 1995 then on other periods. Differentials for the first two groups, Managers and Professionals and Technicians, were more similar for men then for women in 1995, but they got closer to women by the end of the period. On the other hand, for the groups Administrative and Sales employees, premiums were closer to men in 1985 than to women, but they were also reduced for both genders during the studied period. However, there was an amplification of differentials for these two categories with higher wages, it is, the two first groups.

Lastly, for the three remaining occupations, it is possible to observe a relative change on wage differentials both for men and women. In 1985, the differentials for Production and Operation (PAO), Agriculture (AGR) and Other Services (OTS) grew. However, in 2015, Production and Operation (PAO) had greater differentials, especially for men.

In case of men, the behavior of differentials for the ones employed on Production and Operation (PAO) stood out, with a smaller fall then for the other occupations from 1985 to 2015; the ones working at agriculture had sharper reduction during the same period. Hence, employment replacement from agricultural activities to production and operation, as observed on the previous section, was followed by a relative wage increase for these urban occupations.

As for women, despite the tendency of fall for wage differentials, some facts stood out. Managerial occupation (MHG) and Professionals and Technicians (PAT) had better wages that were becoming more distant from the income of other occupations in 2015. Thus, amplification of jobs for women in these occupations as observed on the previous section, was followed by a relative amplification of wage differentials when compared to other occupations. In sequence, there were the wages of women who worked at administrative jogs and other occupations with smaller differential when related to occupations with average wages. Thus, in case of women, the entrance to the labor market with more abstract or manual occupations was followed by better relative wages on the upper and lower tail when compared to occupations with average wage.



a) Male

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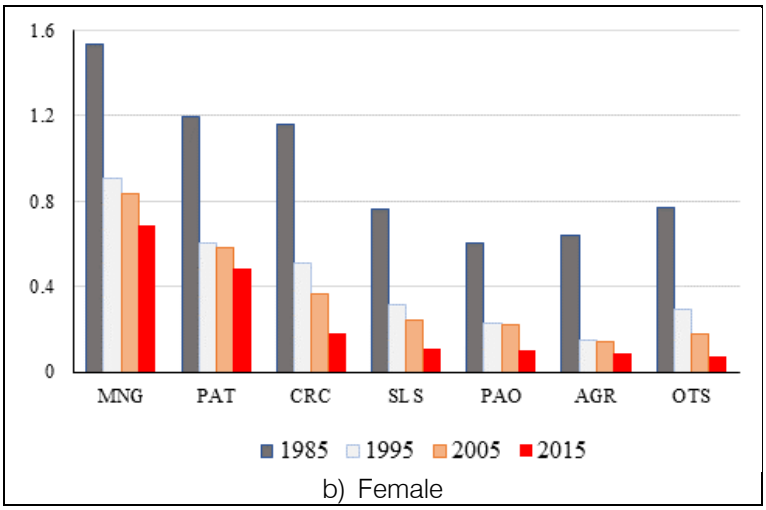

Source: PNAD data.

Figure 3: Wage differentials by occupations groups, Brazil, 1985-2015

From 1985 to 2015, the incorporation of new technologies and the increase of qualification levels to Brazilian labor market contributed to reduce income inequality, different from what has been happening in more developed countries as shown by Goldin and Katz (2009), Autor (2014) and Coelli and Borland (2015).

During the studied period it was observed an increase in average wages associated to reduction of inequality, especially among the occupations. Evidences suggest that employment polarization in more abstract and manual activities is more evident among women and it was followed by changes on more favorable wages on these categories. For men, employment replacement was more substantial from agricultural activities to production and operation, in other words, in occupational groups with routine and manual activities. For that matter, the demand for workers on occupations with less or more qualification was more evident for women than for men.

VI. Conclusions

This paper aimed to analyze modifications on occupational structure of Brazilian labor market, trying to verify the hypothesis of occupational polarization and its effects educational level for workers, what is aligned to the amplification of demand for more qualified work. The evidence points to substantial changes in employment between occupational groups, and a reduction in inequality in wage distribution.

Among men, the change of jobs from agricultural activities to production and operation, which are routine and manual activities, is more substantial. On the other hand, women increased their participation in the labor market, especially in professional, technical, sales and basic services occupations. The results suggest that while men were allocated to more typically male occupations, such as production and operations, women were allocated to more typically female occupations, such as services, professionals, and technicians. Thus, it is possible to say that occupational polarization on Brazilian labor market is more evident among women then among men.

During the analyzed decades, wage inequality on Brazilian labor market and among occupations was reduced, especially among women. The results indicate a reduction in gender wage differentials, which contributes to the reduction of inequality in wage distribution and better social well-being. However, despite the reduction, there was still a substantial wage differential among genders.

Thus, it was verified that the incorporation of new technologies and the increase of qualification on Brazilian labor market contributed to reduce wage inequality during the studied period. The evidences shown that there is a complementary between technology and skilled work. Also, during the past decades, the structure of Brazilian labor market has been relevantly modified as consequence of the technological advancement.

In this context, it is understood that there is polarization on labor market when there are occupations with rising demand, especially occupations that perform tasks considered manual and abstract, in other words, tasks that cannot be perfectly replaced by technology. On the other hand, there are occupations with reduced demand, mainly tasks considered routine, as agriculture. These changes affected men more intensely, who had greater relative participation on labor market; on their turn, women engaged on occupations with more abstract and manual tasks, both non routine.

This way, for planning and public policies management, it is relevant to know the demand profile for particular positions. Through this information it is possible to create policies in order to stimulate and

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encourage formation of human capital able to attend the demands, such as public early childhood care, such as daycare and preschool, and improved urban mobility.

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Harnessing the Power of Cost Control in Risk Management: Advantages and Benefits for Companies

By Sandro Tamborindegui

Introduction- In today's highly competitive and globalized business environment, it is essential for companies to maintain a strategic edge over their competitors. One of the most critical aspects of a successful business is effective cost management, particularly in the context of risk management. This essay will discuss the advantages and benefits of a company having deep control over product costs, focusing on its role in risk management. The objective is to provide insights into how cost control can be employed to manage risks and create a sustainable competitive advantage.

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Harnessing the Power of Cost Control in Risk Management: Advantages and Benefits for Companies

Sandro Tamborindegui

I. Introduction

In today's highly competitive and globalized business environment, it is essential for companies to maintain a strategic edge over their competitors. One of the most critical aspects of a successful business is effective cost management, particularly in the context of risk management. This essay will discuss the advantages and benefits of a company having deep control over product costs, focusing on its role in risk management. The objective is to provide insights into how cost control can be employed to manage risks and create a sustainable competitive advantage.

II. Cost Control and Risk Management: An Overview

Cost control is the practice of identifying, measuring, and managing the costs associated with the production of a specific product or service. It ensures that a company operates efficiently by minimizing expenses and maximizing profitability. Risk management, on the other hand, is the process of identifying, assessing, and controlling potential threats to an organization's capital and earnings. By integrating cost control into risk management, companies can better anticipate and mitigate potential risks while ensuring financial stability.

III. Advantages of Deep Control of Product Costs in Risk Management

a) Enhanced Financial Stability

Having deep control of product costs allows companies to maintain a healthy financial position, which is critical for managing risks. By understanding the cost structure of their products, organizations can make informed decisions about pricing, production volumes, and resource allocation. Furthermore, effective cost control enables businesses to identify and eliminate inefficiencies, reduce waste, and optimize processes, all of which contribute to improved financial stability and a reduced likelihood of financial risks.

b) Improved Competitiveness

In a highly competitive market, cost control is a crucial factor in determining a company's success. By minimizing production costs, businesses can offer their products at competitive prices, attract more customers, and increase market share. Additionally, effective cost management contributes to the development of cost leadership strategies, enabling companies to maintain a competitive edge in the face of market fluctuations and uncertainty.

c) Greater Flexibility in Decision Making

Deep control of product costs empowers companies to make informed decisions regarding production, marketing, and investment. With accurate cost information, organizations can assess the profitability of different products, services, and market segments, allowing them to shift resources and focus on areas with the highest potential for growth and profitability. This flexibility in decision making is essential for managing risks and adapting to market changes.

d) Identification and Mitigation of Operational Risks

By closely monitoring product costs, companies can identify potential operational risksand take proactive measures to mitigate them. For example, tracking production costs can reveal inefficiencies in the supply chain, quality control issues, or equipment malfunctions. Addressing these problems in a timely manner helps prevent operational disruptions, reduces the likelihood of product recalls, and minimizes the risk of reputational damage.

e) Enhanced Stakeholder Confidence

Demonstrating a commitment to effective cost control and risk management can bolster stakeholder confidence in a company's ability to manage its resources efficiently and achieve long-term financial stability. Investors, creditors, and customers are more likely to trust and support businesses that prioritize cost control and risk management, leading to increased capital investment, improved credit ratings, and stronger customer relationships.

IV. Benefits of Deep Control of Product Costs in Risk Management

a) Increased Profitability

One of the most significant benefits of cost control in risk management is the potential for increased profitability. By minimizing expenses and optimizing resource allocation, businesses can maximize their profit margins and create a buffer against potential risks and uncertainties. This financial cushion can be used to fund new growth initiatives, invest in research and development, or mitigate unforeseen challenges.

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b) Enhanced Organizational Resilience

Companies with deep control of product costs are better equipped to withstand market disruptions, economic downturns, and other risks. A strong focus on cost managementenables businesses to maintain a lean and efficient operation, making them more adaptable to change and helping them recover more quickly from adverse events.

c) Improved Strategic Planning

Effective cost control contributes to better strategic planning by providing companies with accurate and reliable information about their cost structures. This data can be used to develop long-term plans, identify growth opportunities, and allocate resources more effectively. In the context of risk management, a well-informed strategic plan can help organizations anticipate and mitigate potential risks, ensuring their long-term success.

d) Stronger Supply Chain Management

Deep control of product costs extends to supply chain management, where businesses can identify potential risks and vulnerabilities. By understanding costs associated with each stage of the supply chain, companies can make informed decisions about sourcing, logistics, and inventory management, reducing the likelihood of disruptions and ensuring the timely delivery of products to customers.

e) Robust Regulatory Compliance

In many industries, companies must adhere to strict regulatory requirements regarding product quality, safety, and environmental impact. By having deep control of product costs, businesses can ensure that they allocate sufficient resources to meeting these requirements, reducing the risk of non-compliance, fines, and reputation.

V. Increased Agility and Flexibility

Effective risk management requires agility and flexibility. By planning and managing product costs effectively, a company can be more agile and flexible in responding to changes in the market or in its operations. For example, if a competitor lowers its prices,a company with planned product cost control can quickly adjust its pricing strategy to remain competitive. Additionally, by managing costs effectively, a company can invest innew technologies, products, or markets, allowing it to adapt to changes in the business environment and take advantage of new opportunities.

VI. Improved Risk Mitigation

Finally, planned product cost control can help a company to mitigate risk. By planning and managing costs effectively, a company can identify potential areas of risk and develop strategies to mitigate them. For example, if the cost of a key material increases, a company can develop alternative sourcing strategies or invest in new technologies to reduce its reliance on that material. By identifying and mitigating risks, a company can reduce the likelihood and impact of disruptions to its operations and improve its overallresilience.

In conclusion, planned product cost control is essential for effective risk management. Byplanning and managing costs effectively, a company can improve its financial performance, market position, supply chain management, decision making, agility, flexibility, and risk mitigation. As such, it is essential for companies to invest in the tools, processes, and strategies necessary to achieve planned product cost control, in order to succeed in today's highly competitive business environment.

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Expropriation of Rights, Dependent Capitalism and Transfer of Income: Reflections on the Effects of the Covid-19 Pandemic

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Abstract- The text focuses on taking stock of income transfer programs in Brazil in order to bring subsidies to analyze these initiatives during the COVID-19 pandemic. The result of a bibliographical review and documentary research, the article points out that monetary aid was the main form of protection against pauperization in the capitalist periphery during the health crisis, but ensuring the maintenance of the neoliberal fiscal and economic austerity agenda. The conclusions show that income transfer programs in dependent countries, where the relationship between expropriation and overexploitation prevails, were enlarged with the COVID-19 pandemic, thus helping to ensure the expanded reproduction of dependency conditions by maintaining the stagnant relative overpopulation in informality and precarious work that increased during the health crisis.

Keywords: transfer of income, expropriation, dependent capitalism, covid-19 pandemic, neoliberalism.

GJHSS-E Classification: LCC: HC79.I5



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Expropriation of Rights, Dependent Capitalism and Transfer of Income: Reflections on the Effects of the Covid-19 Pandemic*

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Abstract- The text focuses on taking stock of income transfer programs in Brazil in order to bring subsidies to analyze these initiatives during the COVID-19 pandemic. The result of a bibliographical review and documentary research, the article points out that monetary aid was the main form of protection against pauperization in the capitalist periphery during the health crisis, but ensuring the maintenance of the neoliberal fiscal and economic austerity agenda. The conclusions show that income transfer programs in dependent countries, where the relationship between expropriation and overexploitation prevails, were enlarged with the COVID-19 pandemic, thus helping to ensure the expanded reproduction of dependency conditions by maintaining the stagnant relative overpopulation in informality and precarious work that increased during the health crisis.

Keywords: transfer of income, expropriation, dependent capitalism, covid-19 pandemic, neoliberalism.

I. Introduction

With the arrival of the pandemic, the debates on minimum income, basic income, income transfer, among other variations gained breadth, especially regarding the relationship between social protection and coping with poverty.

The way in which social assistance has been carried out in the pandemic is connected to the neoliberal project that has been underway for decades, radicalized from the crisis of 2008, but now adapted to the management of the health and economic crisis. That is, the way of being social assistance under neoliberalism, in which the transfer of income as poverty alleviation has gained centrality, seems to maintain its essential content: if on the one hand they momentarily reduce the needs of the most impoverished segments of the working population, on the other hand it is linked to the processes of precarious work and expropriation of rights, guaranteeing the maintenance of fiscal adjustments and the remuneration of financial capital.

Based on the conditions that are placed in this nefarious framework that is presented with the pandemic, we will present some reflections on the so-called income transfer programs in countries of dependent economy, where the relationship between expropriation and overexploitation prevails, situated under the expanded reproduction of dependence under neoliberalism, exponential with the COVID-19 pandemic.

II. Expropriations of Rights, Crisis and the Guarantee of "Basic Capital Income"[1]

The imperialist capitalist order and the pattern of contemporary accumulation, since the crisis of the 1970, brought as a solution measures materialized by neoliberal policies and adjustments, which promoted three major processes of liberalization, deregulation and privatization, whose combined effects had the objective of creating and deepening spaces of valorization for a mass of super accumulated capital that had been produced in excess, corroborating what Chesnais (2005) classified as the globalization of capital.

According to Gouvea (2011), neoliberal measures to respond to the crisis imposed on the economic, political, ideological and military levels a new pattern of accumulation, where financialization acquires a new relevance, having in increasing the proportion of fictitious and speculative capital on an unprecedented scale, the particular feature of this period.

Vieira (2020), in Marx's trail, elucidates that fictitious capital, as an expression of the appropriation relations, and that presupposes for its existence the capitalist relations of production from where the most value is extracted, being a complexation and a dialectical unfolding of capital that holds interest, "by forging new capital to be put on the market (albeit under apparently fragile bases) it intensifies the rotation of capital" (p.. 147), accelerating the appropriation relations distancing itself from production. Such conditions intensify the tendency to crisis, as fictitious capital tends to dissociate itself more and more quickly from the amount of available capital and encounter difficulties of accomplishment.

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[1] Expression inspired by Leda Paulani (2008), who used "minimum capital income".

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Among the conditions of remuneration of fictitious capital is the creation of new spaces of commodification through expropriations, because as the fictitious capital is formed by masses of capital increasingly concentrated in search of spaces of valorization, they move quickly "opening new frontiers for accumulation (sky, earth, natural resources, isolated regions); destroying masses of accumulated capital considered obsolete; capturing social relationships" (VIEIRA, 2020, page 149).

The crisis that manifested in 2007/2008 has its foreword with the bursting of the speculative bubble of the stocks of high-tech companies, the so-called *dot com,* at the turn of the 21st century. This fact forced a large accumulated mass of fictitious capital, which survived at that time that localized crisis, to seek new niches of valuation, which were redirected to the real estate financing market, especially the North American (CARCANHOLO, 2018).

The fall in property prices from 2006 has dragged several banks into an insolvency situation (where more than one can afford), having a strong impact on stock exchanges around the world, unfolding in a crisis of international financial markets and, soon after the whole world economy, due to the expansion of financial derivatives created on the basis of these markets, as soon as the crisis erupted, it spread to all levels of the financial market (CARCANHOLO, 2018).

The effect of the 2007/2008 crisis on dependent and peripheral economies, including Brazil, was the deepening of dependence. Osorio (2015), explaining the role of Latin America in the current world circuit of capital appreciation, considers that a new phase of "original accumulation" has been taking place, in which millions of workers of the workforce have been expropriated from their means of life, either by the loss of state-owned means of production.

In the current phase of reproduction of globalized capital, new forms of dependence are created, with privileged space nuclei of accumulation in front of several territories where the accumulation predominates, in a kind of "deterritorialization" of the capital cycle and "relocation" of capital flows, but duly conducted by the national states.

> The existence of large regions – the peripheral ones – where capital can remunerate workers below the value of the labor force, is one of the factors that favors the current segmentation of productive processes and imperialist investments, which seek to take advantage of low wages and low values of raw materials (OSORIO, 2014, page 171)

These factors add to the neoliberal adjustments made in dependent economies, characterized by national structural reforms ideologically linked to the Washington Consensus, which basically advocated commercial opening, deregulation of markets, privatization of state and public services, elimination of most subsidies, as a way of liberalizing prices, and the internal and external financial liberalization, which would form a type of economic policy capable of ensuring the insertion of peripheral countries in the new process of globalization (AMARAL, 2005). It can be seen that the implementation of neoliberal policies deepened dependence, which can be understood as the result of a conformation between the interests of the ruling class of the countries of the region and the political-ideological imperatives of the center of the world economy.

Particularly in dependent economies, this movement of recent integration into the world economy is part of a project to restore power to the ruling classes in the neoliberal context, as Harvey (2008) warns, considering that there has been a reconfiguration of the ruling classes, an intra-bourgeois recomposition – a financialized rentier fraction of world reach with new structures in transnational trade relations – which will tension the state toward an increase in its coercive (violent) dimension, as a corresponding increase in the demand for the formation of consensus to carry out the counter reforms necessary to socialize the costs of the crisis.

These neoliberal policies implied expropriations of public and common goods, with the sale of profitable companies at low prices with conditions beneficial to private capital and, in many cases, foreign, in addition to the dismantling of social benefits of various kinds, which for Osorio (2015, p.38) means a "brutal expropriation of real wages for millions of workers."

An unfolding of these processes, there is an extraordinary increase in the available workforce, accelerating the increase in relative overpopulation, favoring the fall of wages, the reduction of social policies, public services and social benefits, associated with structural precariousness of work. In dependent economies, these processes are associated with the conditions of overexploitation, that is, the prolongation of the working day, the intensification of work and the payment of the workforce below its value or expropriation of part of the worker's labor required to restore his/her workforce (Marini [1973] 2011). For Marini ([1973] 2011), the overexploitation of the labor force corresponds to a situation in which the worker is remunerated below his or her value systematically, even outside of crisis situations[2], that is, due to the need for systematic value transfers to the imperialist countries in dependent economies, despite the fact that the working class is subjected daily to the day prolongation and the

[2] It is worth noting that the use of overexploitation appears in regions of the central countries in times of crisis and in the most precarious sectors of these economies, usually filled with segments of the working class composed of black men and women, and immigrant population groups, confirming that the value of the workforce of this population is paid below even outside their respective countries. See studies of VALENCIA, Adrian Sotelo. The structuring of the world of work. Overexploitation and new paradigms of work organization. Uberlândia: EDUFU, 2009.

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increase in the intensity of its work, the same does not receive a salary adjustment that compensates for this wear.

In this sense, we corroborate with Gouvea (2020) for whom neoliberalism is not a circumstantial phenomenon, but is constituted as a way of being of the imperialist capitalist accumulation that began as a response to the crisis of the 1970, and extends to the present day, based on three axes of measures in the sense of flexibilization of relations and organization of production, the use of fictitious capital as a central element of accumulation and deepening of expropriations and commodification in all dimensions of life reproduction (GOUVEA, 2020, page 24).

All these conditions imposed new roles for the national states, which become mediators of valorization of large masses of capital (BEHRING, 2012; IASI, 2018). This does not mean that the State ceases to perform old economic functions already classically organized since the beginning of the prevalence of monopoly capital. But it assumes that the redirection of the State role before the needs of financial capital and the parasitic character of imperialist capital implies a singular appropriation of socially produced wealth "where all the productive effort of the labor force is dilapidated to guarantee the conditions of predatory profitability of monopolized capital, the health of financial capital and the well-being of the flow of capital to private concentration" (IASI, 2018, p.148).

But since the part of the social wealth that is in the form of a public fund[3] is operated by the bourgeois state, in addition to a need for a profound change in the way of being of social policies and services so that, amid this dynamic, they function as central mediations of social wealth transfers to capital (GRANEMANN, 2012), highlights the place that the public fund occupies in the current dynamics of accumulation.

As capitalism presupposes crises as part of its tendency to increase productivity and change in the capital organic composition[4], the public fund is also biased toward giving more and more material support to the capital expanded reproduction, reducing its participation in the workforce reproduction (BEHRING, 2012)[5]. Hence, at the heart of the imperialist system lies the dispute mechanisms for draining the wealth of dependent economies in financial form. The main mechanism has been public debt (BEHRING, 2012).

This implies understanding that the expanded reproduction of capital in the contemporary phase, besides accumulating more in means of production than in labor force, configuring what Marx already signaled as a tendency to increase organic composition, it leads the hyper-concentrated and monopolized capital to seek in the credit system (in the capital bearing interest and fictitious capital) one of the forms of countertendency to the fall of the profit rate. However, by compensating with interest rates what the capitalists cannot accomplish in production, such a way of facing the crisis prepares (or postures) increasingly serious crises, because due to the increase in fictitious capital, interest rates are distancing from what is produced in the productive sphere[6].

However, this generates at the same time a need to reorganize the productive sphere in order to pay these capital. That is, "the intensification of financial flows and the recurrent profitability of it does not have a mere quantitative dimension. It is also a qualitative change in view that it causes pressure by the expansion of the extraction bases of surplus-value" (BRETTAS, 2017, page 63). This dynamic ends up being strengthened by fiscal adjustment and by increasingly acute counter-reforms.

Starting from the understanding that expropriations are a permanent and growing demand for the self-expansion of capital and not just a moment of original accumulation, we assume that the engine of accumulation is the dialectical relationship between expropriation and exploitation. However, expropriations are deepened at certain moments of reorganization of economic and social reproduction, in the face of crises and the need for recomposition of profit rates, when "new modalities are necessary for the withdrawal of the means of guarantee of the workforce other than the

[3] The public fund is formed from taxes, social contributions and rates appropriate by the State via the tax system, which are required to act in the workforce reproduction, via services and social policies. The constitution of the public fund is not separated from the regressive character of tax collection in capitalist society, and one of the hallmarks of the contemporary tax system is the increase in a collection based increasingly on indirect taxes, which fall back on the consumer goods necessary for the reproduction of the labor force. (BEHRING, 2012)

[4] It is understood that the crisis is inherent in the movement of capital itself and derives from its contradictory structure, which includes its laws of tendency and the essential counteracting factors, but not decisive in the sense of elaborating a prognosis or empirical falsifications (GRESPAN, 2012). For a debate about the causes, content and form of the contemporary crisis see CARCANHOLO, Marcelo Dias. Content and current form of the crisis of capitalism: logic, contradictions and possibilities. *Crítica e Sociedade*: journal of political culture. v.1, n.3, Special Edition - Dossier: The current crisis of capitalism, dec. 2011.

[5] According to Behring (2012), the assumption of this movement is based on the intention to accelerate the rotation time of capital by mobilizing huge amounts of resources.

[6] Marx points out in chapter 27 of Book III, where it deals with the role of credit in capitalist production, that capitalism has the "need for credit to make the compensation of the rate of profit or the movement of this equalization, on which all capitalist production rests" (page 493), and it also shows that credit, in addition to accelerating the process of capital reproduction, also allows "a longer separation of acts of purchase and sale, serves as the basis for speculation" (p. 494). However, by accelerating the development of productive forces worldwide, credit accelerates the antagonistic character of capitalist production, and "at the same time accelerates the violent eruptions of this contradiction, the crises" (page 499).

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social relationship of purchase and sale" (RABELO, 2018, page 101).

In view of this, one of the contemporary forms of expropriation that has been gaining prominence is precisely the contractual expropriation (FONTES, 2010), the one that occurs by the removal or dismantling of social and labor rights, a modality that modifies the legal bond between large masses of workers and capital, particularly through regressive and repressive public policies, creating new conditions for extraction of overwork from the withdrawal of protective bulkheads that, for the most part, were conquests uprooted by the struggles of the workers throughout capitalism itself.

Boschetti (2018) in her studies has pointed out that expropriation is a social process that has been restricting the participation of the social state in the socialization of the labor force reproduction costs and that, therefore, contributes to the expansion of capital. To defend this thesis she starts from some assertions. The first is the understanding of the notion of Social State, which is perceived under class struggles, if on the one hand it is not perceived as an exclusive instrument of the bourgeoisie, denying the role of workers' struggles for social rights, on the other hand, it does not deny its class character by understanding it as an important anti-crisis strategy, with a decisive role in the expanded reproduction of capital from the 1940 onwards.

In view of this, Boschetti (2018) points to changes in the role of the Social State from the capital crisis of the 1970's, when class disputes around surplus value become explosive and the destruction of rights becomes necessary to restore conditions for maintaining profit rates. Since then the expropriation of portions of the public fund is reduced and the participation of the Social State in the reproduction of the workforce and their families has been decreasing in various policies and services, previously accessed by the workers, which impels them to submit to the most barbaric forms of exploitation.

For Boschetti and Teixeira (2019) these mechanisms of expropriation of the public fund are only possible through a "interdependent dialectic between the expropriations of rights and public debt" (page 81), through various devices such as the commitment of governments to the payment of interest and debt amortizations, untying of social budget revenues to financial surpluses, regressive tax system, counter reforms in social policies, among others, setting up a permanent fiscal adjustment.

> The expropriation of social rights here is understood as a process of subtracting historical conditions of reproduction of the labor force, mediated by the Social State, through the reappropriation by capital of part of the public fund previously intended to the rights conquered by the working class. through successive and overwhelming counter-reforms in social policies, which obliges the working class to offer its labor force on the market at any cost and to offer its labor force on the market at any cost and to submit to the most perverse and precarious labor relations, that exacerbate the extraction of absolute and relative surplus value (BOSCHETTI; TEIXEIRA, 2019, page 81).

The result of this process is the inflection of the logic of rights in actions directed to the market, with compensatory policies, fragmented, focused and increasingly privatized services aimed at meeting the most urgent effects of the crisis, managing absolute misery with scarce resources. But using means to, at all times, make these actions forms of valuation or reproduction of fictitious capital (IASI, 2018).

To the extent that services are privatized, the nominal wages of workers are reduced, because to the extent that policies, services and rights are being transformed into goods, such withdrawals will have an impact on the reduction of their incomes. In this sense that Mota and Tavares (2016) understand that the precariousness of work through the expropriations of rights can be considered as a process of devaluation of the labor force, since, for the authors, the restriction of public goods (health, pensions, services) that previously composed their basket of provisions for the reproduction of the worker's life and his or her family life, provokes a reduction of the socially necessary work, because it restricts the patterns of their reproduction to the minimum, and reduces the quality of life by contributing to the non-replacement of psychophysical wear. That is, we can infer that a dialectic is configured between expropriation and overexploitation.

Taking the considerations of Luce (2013) and Osorio (2013), who follow Marini, state that overexploitation can be understood as a violation of the value of the labor force because it is consumed by capital beyond normal conditions, usurping the consumer fund and the worker's living fund in the day to day (considering the daily value of the workforce) and with the appropriation of future years of life and work of the worker (considering the living fund or the total value of the workforce)[7].

The worker will thus become the only responsible for his or her reproduction, being the overexploitation mediated by the purchase of social services as commodities, when it is possible to access via the market, when not, the State needs to compensate for the expropriation of social protection using more precarious forms of composition of the workforce reproduction, more focused and with emergency character, as it has been shown the transfer of income in the current context (MOTA, 2018).

[7] In Marx's analysis of the value of the labor force there are two dimensions: the daily value, which considers average wear according to the historically determined average living conditions; and the total value, which means the worker's total lifetime or the total of days when the owner of the labor force sells his or her goods in good condition, also considering the years of life in which he or she will not participate in production (retirement). (OSORIO, 2013)

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III. Transfer of Income and Neoliberalism: Reflections under the Covid-19 Pandemic

The transfer of income has been a central element of social policy under neoliberalism, especially in countries with dependent economy, where it gained centrality status as a strategy to combat poverty. Income transfer programs have been created since the 1980's in Latin America and intensified from the early 2000's, in line with the guidelines of multilateral agencies, to address the most urgent impacts of the economic and social crisis and the effects of the first waves of neoliberal counter reforms experienced in the region.

This new set of programs is resuited to the new requirements of the reorganization processes in the field of production and financial globalization, being focused and aimed at extreme poverty, differing from the logic of complementarity that composed the experiences of minimum income in social protection schemes instituted by the Social State.

Pastorini and Martinez (2014) identify a centrality of minimum networks in social protection reforms in Latin America, where the experiences of income transfer are fundamental pieces, failing to have an emergency and temporary character and gaining ground as the main access to resources for the impoverished segments. For the authors, the minimum social care networks, focused on poverty, are being constituted on a process of reducing other structuring social policies, such as social security, health, education.

Starting from research on the experience of income transfer in both central and peripheral capitalism, Stein (2008) points out that it was from the 2000's that the creation of income transfer programs and the reform of the existing ones in Latin America intensified, however, the unlike the central countries where such programs are complementary to insurances, here the transfer of income takes on a substitutive character.

Data from Lavinas (2014, p.18) show that between the end of the 1990'as and the end of the 2000's, social spending as a proportion of GDP in Latin America increased by 6.6%, however, income transfer programs (contributory and non-contributory) absorbed 60% of this increase. Whereas public services such as health and housing grew less than 1% in the same period. Based on these and other budget data in the region, the author corroborates with the trend of centrality of income transfers in the processes of reconfiguration of social protection of Latin American countries, asserting that such programs do not ensure the coverage of all potential target audiences, given the limits of their focus, having an immediate impact only on the intensity of poverty, but without being an effective way out, nor being able to prevent it.

In Brazil, experience with income transfer programs at the national level began in the early 1990's[8]. It should be pointed out that on that occasion the country was experiencing a great recession and was in the Collor's government, having already faced the failure of its first stabilization plan in 1990. This was the first attempt to introduce the neoliberal package of measures, by wage austerity, reduction of the public deficit through the state privatization, and its result caused a retraction of economic activity and stagnation, increasing unemployment and the impoverishment of the population, situation eventually led to the impeachment of Fernando Collor at the end of 1992 (MATTOSO, 2010).

Considering that the internal accumulation of capital in Brazilian dependent capitalism is founded under the overexploitation of the labor force, which has a regulatory role that lowers the general average of wages and reduces the structural capacity of consumption of the masses (MARINI, [1979], 2012), structural limits are interposed to social conquests regarding social protection and public services, as social rights form part of the basket of provisions that conform the value of the workforce, conquered by historical struggles of workers.

Such historical specificities of our social policy brought about, unlike other central social formations, to not have a structured social protection network to be dismantled when neoliberalism consolidated in Brazil to respond to the crisis, which initiates structural adjustments in the economy and counter reforms in social policies in the midst of a very initial and limited process of implementation of the legal achievements entered in the Charter of 1988 (BRETTAS, 2017).

The context in which the debate on minimum income begins to gain prominence in Brazil is precisely from the implementation of the Real Plan, which continued the neoliberal structural adjustments, but with important changes in the stabilization package, making the plan success in fighting inflation could leverage FHC's candidacy and victory for the presidency in 1994.

In dialogue with the minimum income program of the then Senator Suplicy, the economist José Marcio Camargo collaborated to introduce the articulation of monetary transfer with education, starting to highlight the family and children. These changes influenced several municipal experiences that began to be implemented since 1995, when there was a major expansion of municipal programs and the creation of income transfer initiatives by Brazilian states. The first federal programs started in 1996, with the creation of the

[8] With the approval of Bill number 80, of April 16th, 1991, authored by Senator Eduardo Suplicy, proposing the creation of the Minimum Income Guarantee Program (PGRM).

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Benefício de Prestação Continuada [Continuing Benefit Installment] (BPC)[9] and the *Programa de Erradicação do Trabalho Infantil* [Child Labour Eradication Program] (PETI)[10], both under the management of the Ministry of Social Assistance (SILVA e SILVA; LIMA, 2016).

These initiatives were accompanied by the flagship in the social policy of Fernando Henrique's government, the Solidarity Community program[11], conducted by First Lady Ruth Cardoso, whose actions to value volunteering and promote the so-called "third sector" turned to a conservative focus on combating poverty by bringing a basket of pre-existing welfare programs to municipalities selected for their poverty index.

The cycle of expansion of the real resulted in high inventories of internal and external debts and its rollover resulted in a process of accelerated deterioration of public policies and services, subject to successive fiscal adjustments, with significant deterioration of national companies. During this period, the Brazilian productive park was deeply altered and retracted by the privatization policy of the state productive sector (mainly in steel, telecommunications and electricity), which changed the relationship between national capital, foreign capital and national productive sector (ANTUNES, 2005), causing changes in the reproduction of the cycle of Brazilian dependent capital and a deepening of dependence.

The trade opening and overvalued exchange regime also had adverse effects on the labor market structurally already based on the workforce overexploitation. The trade opening associated with the pressures of the exchange rate valorization led to greater competition in the world market and to sectors with higher productivity, implying the accentuation of value transfers, which led to a defensive productive restructuring, which in addition to the expansion of unemployment, led to the fall of formal jobs and deterioration of working conditions (MATTOSO, 2010).

For all this, in 2001 and 2002, under pressure from social movements and the deterioration of social conditions, the federal government tries to create new initiatives beyond the Solidarity Community and starts the *Bolsa Escola* [School Program] and the Bolsa Alimentação [Meal Allowance] Program, in addition to the expansion of BPC and PETI programs[12]. However, with the successive fiscal adjustments, such policies did not succeed on the situation of the population impoverishment, leading to an even higher level of inequality than in the early 1990's (MATTOSO, 2010).

According to Antunes (2005), although the first impulses of productive restructuring in Brazil have been present since the mid-1980's, it was from the 1990's, under the leadership of the neoliberal project, developed intensively through new organizational and technological standards and new forms of socio-technical organization of work, through processes of decentralization and productive relocation, establishment of new forms of subcontract and outsourcing of the workforce.

Brazil was integrated into financial globalization, expanding its indebtedness, adapting to external conditions and increasing its degree of dependence on external capital. The reconfiguration between the fractions of capital in the country, in which it transferred to financial capital the leadership of macroeconomic dynamics, accelerated the processes of concentration and centralization, the parasitic nature of which was accentuated with the maintenance of high interest rates and the formation of high primary surpluses, pressing the public budget, particularly social spending. (PAULANI, 2008)

It was before such a scenario that, in January 2003, Lula took office as president, maintaining and deepening the permanent fiscal adjustment, which in addition to the legacy of economic policy, maintained the same logic as regards social policy. The first expression of this legacy for social policy was the *Fome Zero* [Zero Hunger] Program, whose technical focus was to present itself as a food security policy, which involved more than 30 sub-programs, including the existing federal income transfers actions, especially the Bolsa-Escola [School Grant] and the Cartão Alimentação [Food Voucher] Program.

Faced with several weaknesses in the execution of Zero Hunger and the presence of several income transfer programs in the three levels of government, the Family Grant Program was created in 2003, unifying the targeted programs of pre-existing income transfer (*Bolsa Escola*[School Grant], *Bolsa Alimentação*[Food Grant], *Auxílio Gás* [Gas Voucher] and the Zero Hunger

[9] Provided for in the Organic Law of Social Assistance (LOAS n 8742, of December 7th, 1993, regulated by Decree n. 1744, of December 8th, 1995 and by Law n. 9720, of November 20th, 1998), this is a benefit of 1 minimum wage paid to people aged 65 years or older (according to the Elderly Statute) and persons with disabilities who have income per head up to ¼ minimum wage.

[10] The Child Labour Eradication Program **(PETI)** integrates the National Social Assistance Policy and involves a set of measures to combat the labor exploitation of children and adolescents between 7 and 15 years old, among them the payment of a monetary support to families with income of up to ½ minimum wage per head.

[11] Established by Decree number 1.366, of January 12th, 1995, it operated until December 2002, when it was replaced by the Zero Hunger Program.

[12] On the occasion, a myriad of monetary transfers for various purposes were included, with emphasis on: Youth Agent Program of Social Human Development, which was next to the PESI and BPC under the management of the Ministry of Social Assistance; National Program of Minimum Income linked to Education – *Bolsa Escola*, under the management of the Ministry of Education (Law no. 10.219, of April 11th, 2001); The Ministry of Health Food Program (provisional measure no. 2.206-1, of September 6th, 2001); Gas Voucher, of the Ministry of Mines and Energy (Decree no. 4.102, of January 24th, 2002). (SILVA and SILVA; LIMA, 2016)

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Feeding Card)[13], which enabled a reach of a potential target audience considered broad – in 2006, two years after its implementation, it already covered 11.2 million families.(SILVA and SILVA; LIMA 2016)

The context of the creation of the *Bolsa Família* Program incorporates adjustments in the neoliberal project, which, in order to contain the most perverse impacts of its counter-reforms, while responding to the pressures of the management of the capital crisis, it carries out a shift in its guidelines to incorporate more focused measures to combat poverty as anticyclical policies (*Minha Casa Minha Vida* [My House, My Life], PAC, PROUNI, FIES), which occurred in Brazil simultaneously with the readjustment of the minimum wage and measures to promote employment, maintaining the hard core of macroeconomic policy and fiscal adjustment (RODRIGUES, 2016).

From the *Bolsa Familia* [Family Grant], the growth of income transfer in social assistance policy occurs simultaneously with the expansion of social assistance itself and the advancement of the commodification and privatization of health and pension policies, restricting access to their respective services and benefits (MOTA, 2009).

Even though the gains from their consubstantiation in SUAS, the trends presented in social assistance show a contradictory process that, at the same time, points to the guarantee of rights to the whole population by the notion of social security, it presents neo-conservative tendencies that limit its own structure as a protection policy – centrality of income transfer, focus of extreme poverty alleviation, parallelisms, while experiencing the old assistentialist and clientelist dilemmas that are still present.

That is, we have a hegemonic tendency to a social policy that is assisted and focused on the transfer of income that articulates to the processes of flexibilization and precarious work to mitigate the crisis effects. Since its expansion lives with the withdrawal of social and labor rights, health and social security, besides unprotected workers, by informality, a significant proportion of unemployed people, as a result of the intensification of the crisis, is forming as a potential target audience of social assistance.

For those who fit in the focused profile and can have access to aid, whatever the position of the beneficiary worker, he or she remains precarious. The average value of the benefit received per family in 2014 was R$167.00. Even considering that the weight of income transfers has increased in the composition of income per head over the 2000 (POCHMANN, 2013, page 151) or that beneficiary families may have had access to the consumption of durable goods (cell phone, stove, TV) (SITCOVSKY, 2009), it is estimated that 87% of the resources of income transfers were used by families to buy food (KERSTENETZKY, 2009, page 7). And there is also the downward trend of its financing, because as the main resource source of social assistance is the contribution to Social Security Financing (COFINS), which focuses on the gross income of companies, these pass this tax cost to the consumers themselves (and here in the case the beneficiaries of the programs) that end up paying for the tribute (COURI; SALVADOR, 2017).

From the crisis of 2007/2008, that favorable international environment with low interest rates, which was evidenced between 2001 and 2007, which allowed increased state reserves and collection ended, taking with it the few leeway margins that allowed the implementation of social policies, although punctual and focused that minimized the most acute effects of labor overexploitation and absolute misery and promoted improvements in income redistribution by the base.

These trends that have been placed on the periphery gain greater depth and density in the Brazilian reality with the signs of exhaustion of the class conciliation strategy, administered by the PT governments, whose actions managed to circumvent the immediate impacts of the 2008 crisis, with an aggressive strategy of credit expansion and consumption facilitation[14], which ensured the completion of Lula's government guaranteeing Dilma's victory as her successor, until 2013 when the June demonstrations broke out.

With the outcome given from the 2016 coup, a new phase of neoliberalism in Brazil begins, whose more acute counter-revolutionary measures deepen the definancing, while increasing ultrafocalism, welfare and conservatism in social assistance. And, since Michel Temer took over the presidency, a series of rights have been under threat, while advancing ultra-liberal projects. In addition to the powerful attack carried out with Constitutional Amendment 95 (of December 15th, 2016) – the SGP of the spending ceiling, which created a new tax regime (which froze primary expenses for 20 years), Michel Temer carried out the labor counter-reform and approved the Law of Outsourcing[15].

[13] Established by Provisional Measure number 132, of October 20th, 2003,later converted into Federal Law number 10.836, of January 9th, 2004, unified and expanded the previously existing income transfer programs: National Program of Minimum Income Linked to Education – *Bolsa Escola*; Federal Government's Single Registration (Decree no. 3.877, of July 24th, 2001); National Program of Minimum Income Linked to Health - *Bolsa Alimentação*; *Auxílio Gás* Program; National Food Access Program – Zero Hunger (Law no. 10.689, of June 13th, 2003).

[14] "The government tried to contain the inflows of the crisis, with tax exemption from some sectors, expansion of the credit to finance the consumption of families and thereby secure a market for the production it sought to be maintained. It was a timid anti-cyclical economic policy, not orthodox, but still within the same neoliberal development strategy" (CARCANHOLO, 2018, page 37)

[15] Labor Reform (Law n. 13.467/2017) and Outsourcing Law (Law n. 13.429/2017).

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For social assistance, the tendency to definance was deepened, both in terms of cutting social benefits and in reducing social assistance services. Salvador (2018) shows that between 2016 and 2018 there was a cancellation of social benefits that amount to 10 billion reais (among them are the Bolsa Familia [Family Grant], *auxílio doença* [sickness support] and *auxílio por invalidez* [disability support]). With this, 5.7 million people lost benefits (out of these 5.2 million people lost the *Bolsa Família*). Data from Boschetti and Teixeira (2019) indicate that, within the scope of the Ministry of Social and Agrarian Development (MDSA), since 2015, there has been a reduction of resources aimed at the "*Bolsa Familia* Program". Between 2014 and 2017, this reduction reached 14.4%. As for social assistance services, the values transferred to the services decreased by 38.6%, with a drop from R$ 2.6 billion in 2012 to R$ 1.6 billion in 2018. (BOSCHETTI; TEIXEIRA, 2019).

Regarding the work precariousness, Silveira Junior (2019) helps us illustrate the situation by showing that recently there was an important recomposition of the relative overpopulation, in order to leverage the rates of surplus value, both from an exponential rise in unemployment and informality. According to the author, the average annual unemployment rate doubled in Brazil in 2017 (12.7%), compared to 2014 (6.8%) - according to continuous PNAD - which indicates that there are 13.2 million people without employment, a 96.2% jump since 2014. In addition, a loss of jobs with a signed portfolio (and guarantees) is added and the increase in new occupations was absorbed mainly by sectors traditionally characterized by informality, where low wages and precarious and unstable conditions prevail (self-employment, auxiliary family work, and in the private sector without a *carteira de trabalho* [employment record card]).

This was the preparatory ground for Bolsonaro's government. Fueled by the 2016 coup, the advance of the far right wing, commanded by the bourgeoisie and parts of the middle class led to the election in 2018 of an ultraneolliberal government in the economy, conservative and reactionary in the social, in values and customs and increasingly authoritarian in politics and in the pursuit of social struggles, with an even more accelerated advance of the offensive against social rights.

Even the income transfer, focused and minimalist, underwent cuts: in the *Bolsa Familia* Program, about 1.1 million families were disconnected from the program between May 2019 and January 2020, outside the expected waiting queue that already had approximately 1.7 million families (SILVA, 2020). An even harder blow against work came with the new pension reform (Constitutional Amendment 06/2019), which provided for the working class to work longer, further usurping the workers' living fund.

The World Health Organization declared on March 11th, 2020 that the proliferation of the new coronavirus was a pandemic. At that time, 118 thousand cases were already registered in 114 countries, with 4291 deaths due to the disease (MOREIRA et al, 2020, page 7).

The outbreak of the pandemic and the unprecedented global health crisis came in addition to the economic crisis that brought consequences of the crisis started in 2007/2008, associated with neoliberal deepening, since the economy has since been showing insufficient profitability rates, low productivity growth and little dynamism in investments, reverberating in finance, which expressed lower profitability compared to the immediately preceding period. (LAPAVITSAS, 2020)

With the beginning of the pandemic and the violent fall in stock exchanges worldwide, in March 2020, the scenario became worse due to the interruption of circulation and productive processes, in view of social distancing measures enacted in several countries, as a measure of containment to the pandemic, associated with the increase of geopolitical tensions, mainly between the US and China, which continue to dispute hegemony in the technological, commercial and financial field. As a direct consequence of the reduction of production and drop in demand, along with the uncertainty in this pandemic situation, unemployment has increased and the most devastating repercussions occur for the segments most precarious by neoliberal policies in recent decades: informal, autonomous, intermittent, underutilized, outsourced workers, that is, precisely those who do not have social protection guaranteed by the State and only receive some remuneration when they work (ANTUNES, 2020).

This has stripped the capitalist destructiveness, because it shows the limits of the irrational management of capitalism on economy, society and nature, whose consequences have left hundreds of thousands dead. From the beginning of the pandemic until December 2022, it registered 693,853 deaths, out of a total of 36,331,281 accumulated cases (DATASUS).

Although we consider the severity and depth of the crisis in the face of the pandemic, it is worth "emphasizing that COVID-19 itself is not an 'external agent' and that it would not exist and/or would not have the same consequences outside the capitalist system" (GOUVEA, 2020, page 21). Scientists studying the new epidemics (SARS – Acute Respiratory Syndrome, Ebola, the various types of influenzae, among other pathogens) point to their relationship with capitalist economic development and show that they started in regions of accelerated urbanization and industrialization.

In this sense, coping with the disease was also organically linked to capitalist reproduction, which is experiencing a moment of reconfiguration and radicalization of neoliberalism. Therefore, among the most serious results of the pandemic are the negative

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governments that, due to their ultraneoliberal fanaticism combined with a Malthusian vision or "social Darwinism" (as in the Brazilian case) (LEHER, 2020), they pressure workers and the overwhelmed to resume their activities with threats of deprivation that worsen with the health crisis.

In addition to the measures with which the various governments have acted around the world by creating measures to try to contain the pandemic, the new coronavirus has fundamentally affected dependent countries. In this sense, the potential for risk to contagion was not linked only to the epidemiological component (elderly, immunodepressed, cardiac, among others), as it was propagated at the beginning of the pandemic, but it proved that the risk factors for contagion had strong social components: pauperized, black men and women segments, mainly women, LGBT's, immigrants, that make up the informal and precarious sectors of the labor market that did not interrupt the activities or were at the forefront of essential services.

In this sense, the COVID-19 pandemic has helped create conditions that have caused a profound damage to the conditions of existence of millions of families who already had very precarious livelihoods due to the neoliberal crises and counter reforms carried out in Latin America in recent decades. This is expressed in the high poverty rates in the region, where about 186 million Latin-Americans and the Caribbean live below the poverty line and 67.5 million are in poverty condition, in addition to the precarious access to basic resources for prevention of the pandemic: in 2018, only 65% of the Latin American and Caribbean population had access to drinking water and 22% to sanitation, and about 45% of the homes have precarious conditions, compromising social distancing as a preventive measure (FURLONG, 2020).

The first COVID-19 case in Latin America and the Caribbean was registered in Brazil on February 26th, 2020, and from March 13th, the governments of the region began to announce measures of social protection and combating the health crisis in the face of the sudden fall in incomes.

According to a survey carried out by ECLAC (2020), among the main measures taken for social protection in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic, the actions linked to the income transfer programs (creation of new programs, in addition to the extension of existing ones, with actions to anticipate installments, expansion of values and coverage, including people in poverty and informal workers) adding 49% of government actions in the region; followed by transfers in kind (food, medicine, masks, hygiene products) (33%) and measures to suspend basic services accounts (water, light, gas, telephone, internet, TV) (19%). (CEPAL, 2020, p. 8)

ECLAC data (2020) warn that the creation of new income transfer programs was the most used protection measure by governments in the region to address the impacts of the pandemic, covering 23 countries, among which is Brazil with the creation of Emergency Aid, followed by the increase in the value of existing transfers as the second most widely used measure, adopted by 11 countries in the region.

The Emergency Aid was regulated by Law n. 13982/2020, which provided for payment of aid worth R$600.00 for three months to workers over 18 years of age, without formal employment and without any other type of social protection (including individual micro-entrepreneurs), with income per head of up to ½ minimum wage (R$522.50) and not having received taxable income above R$28,559.70 in 2018 (ALVES; SIQUEIRA, 2020). Despite all the difficulties for access, and after the expansion of the R$200.00 reais tax received by the President were increased to the amount paid of R$600.00, 67.2 million people had the right of receipt approved, with an average benefit of R$901.00, which means to serve 43.9% of Brazilian households (PNAD-COVID-19), an exponential increase in demand expressing the reality of deep material precariousness in which the Brazilian working class was (and still is). The government announced the extension of Emergency Aid, but now reduced to R$300.00, which will be paid in up to four installments that were paid by December 2020[16].

Another highlight is that in early April 2020, 14 countries had implemented income transfers aimed at informal, self-employed or other self-employed workers (ECLAC, 2020, page10), showing an innovation in this form of protection focused on the region, failing to fix its target audience only in the poorest and disabled segments to increase its attention to other segments of precarious workers.

According to data from the World Bank (2020)[17], more than 1 billion people have been assisted by assistance actions since the beginning of the pandemic in 200 countries/territories. Latin America has 71% of its social protection measures in the pandemic composed of social assistance actions (including income transfers), behind Africa and South Asia. Social assistance involves the majority of social protection actions in the face of the pandemic, and among the assistance actions prevail the transfer of income, which proved to be short-lived and with the values of benefits relatively higher than those paid regularly before the pandemic. Informal workers form one of the largest target audiences affected by the transfer of income during the pandemic.

[16] The four installments will be received by those who received in April the 1st installment of the original benefit.

[17] GENTILINI, Ugo; ALMENFI, Mohamed; ORTON, Ian; DALE, Pamela. Social Protection and Jobs Responses to COVID-19: A Real-Time Review of Country Measures. World Bank, Washington, DC. World Bank, 2020. Available at: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/33635.

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This trend can also be observed in the Brazilian case. Silva (2020), in recent studies, notes that emergency aid, presents variations in relation to the income transfer programs operationalized in Brazil so far, which in the opinion of the researcher relate to income per head, the value of the benefit, and the target audience. Based on the comparison of the respective benefits values between the *Bolsa Familia* Program and Emergency Aid, the access criteria and the profile of the target audience served by the two programs, the author asserts that there is a tendency to incorporate a large segment of workers resulting from recent expropriations, especially post-coup 2016, in addition to the segments of workers previously served.

The figures indicate that income transfers will expand and remain after the pandemic, due to the catastrophic economic and social framework that is being forecast for Latin America in the medium term. ECLAC (2020) estimates that by the end of 2020 income transfers in the region will reach 90.5 million families, which means 385 million people, corresponding to 58% of the Latin American population. Among the countries with the highest coverage is Brazil, however we must take into account that it is the Latin American country with the highest number of confirmed coronavirus cases, with the highest number of deaths and the highest in sub-notifications[18].

By observing the situation of the working class in Brazil at the end of 2020, we see that the unemployment rate reached 14.6%, which was more than 14 million people, the highest rate since 2012. If we add to the underutilization rate of the labor force - which considers the percentage of persons who are unemployed, underemployed by insufficient hours worked and who are in the potential workforce in relation to the increased workforce - the percentage of which is 30.3%, and the people considered discouraged – who are outside the labor market for not getting any occupation either because of lack of experience, age (very young or well above average), lack of vacancies in the locality where they live, but who make up the potential workforce – with a total of 5.7% or 5.9 million workers/as, we will see a situation of growing social misery that did not start with the pandemic. This without considering the percentage of people working on their own account in the country, which in the 3rd quarter of 2020 was 26.4% [19].

However, the numbers of job precariousness above show only one side of that social tragedy that has deepened with the pandemic, because unemployment as well as the pandemic does not affect every working class as well: the rates of unemployment and underutilization in the northeast region are higher than in the south of the country; there is a difference in the rate of unemployment between men (12.8%) and women (16.8%); as for racial inequality, the percentage of the black population in the country (35.6%)[20] was above the national average (14.6%), while the percentage of those who declared themselves white (11.8%) was below; among the youngest rates of unemployment are higher than the average. In short, women, young people and black people have the highest rates[21]of unemployment.

Observing all these data, it is possible to note that, in the midst of the pandemic, even considering the variations, neoliberal policies remained, increasingly extreme due to the economic crisis aggravated by the health crisis on a global scale. And that was no different in terms of social policy and how to seek social protection in this situation, because the health crisis has increased decades of damage to neoliberalism.

In Brazil, it is no different, at the same time as poverty reproduction and its criminalization processes are worsening. The forms of coping with the COVID-19 showed a strengthening of assistentialist and ultra-focused measures, associated with the easing of employment contracts, facilities for layoffs and revision of the hourly load, as well as measures to reduce wages, reinforcing the neoliberal project.

IV. Conclusion

In addition to the difficulties associated with predicting the economic and social impacts of the pandemic in the country, a second difficulty realizing it was the political irresponsibility of the Bolsonaro's government that came in addition to the reactionary agenda that was already under way, this reflected the expansion of the disease in the country.

In other words, the arrival of the pandemic in our Brazilian lands is under a catastrophic scenario for workers, due to successive counter-reforms carried out since the early 1990s, causing genuine desertification in social rights, even more fierce in the post-coup 2016, it adds to the denialist attitudes of the Bolsonaro's Government to deal with the pandemic, which further deepens neoliberal measures, showing that "we are living in a crossfire of multiple reactionary agendas" (LOLE et al., 2020).

[18] By October 10th, 2020, 5,082,637 confirmed cases of COVID-19 were confirmed in Brazil, accounting for 15018 deaths. Data available at https://covid.saude.gov.br/ Access 10/10/2020.

[19] All of this information is available at https://agenciadenoticias.ibge.gov.br/agencia-sala-de-imprensa/2013-agencia-de-noticias/releases/29519-pnad-continua-trimestral-desocupacao-cresce-em-10-das-27-ufs-no-3-trimestre-de-2020#:~:text=No%203%C2%B0%20trimestre%20de%202020%2C%20a%20taxa%20composta%20de,foi%20de%2030%2C3%25, accessed on 12/21/2020.

[20] Those who declared themselves black (19.1%) and brown (16.5%)

[21] All of this information is available https://agenciadenoticias.ibge.gov.br/agencia-sala-de-imprensa/2013-agencia-de-noticias/releases/29519-pnad-continua-trimestral-desocupacao-cresce-em-10-das-27-ufs-no-3-trimestre-de-2020#:~:text=No%203%C2%B0%20trimestre%20de%202020%2C%20a%20taxa%20composta%20de,foi%20de%2030%2C3%25, accessed on 12/21/2020.

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It is worth pointing out that the force of false opposition between the economy and life that has separated strategies of confrontation between different governors and the federal government is directly related to precarious work and to the inequalities that already exist in the neoliberal context in which the pandemic manifests itself. Both workers who have suffered successive loss of rights, and the new "employees", "partners", "employers" who are already entering the labor market as uberized, suffer from the helplessness and precariousness of neoliberalism, because as services are privatized, the nominal wages of workers are reduced, in view of the fact that policies, services and duties are being transformed into goods, such withdrawals will have an effect on the reduction of their income.

However, it seems that a new and tense relationship between social assistance and unprotected work is a focus of attention, since the State in order to maintain the conditions of overexploitation of the labor force needs to compensate for the expropriation of social protection by using more precarious forms, focused and emergency composition of the reproduction of workers, while facing increasing numbers of workers who demand more actions and public protection services that cannot be accessed by other policies in the face of loss of rights.

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10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



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Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



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Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

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Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

INDEX

A

Agility · 5, 7
Amplification · 3, 2
Apparel · 3
Apparent · 3
Arbitrary · 2

B

Broadened · 1, 2

C

Causality · 1, 4, 2
Cointegration · 4, 2, 1
Convergence · 2, 1, 2

D

Deteriorating · 1, 2
Diminished · 3
Disaggregated · 3
Discriminatory · 2

E

Elasticities · 1, 2, 3, 1
Endogenous · 3, 2, 1
Explanatory · 5
Extensively · 1

F

Fluctuating · 1

I

Imposed · 2
Integrated · 1, 2, 1
Intermediate · 1

M

Massive · 1
Metropolitan · 4, 3

P

Percentile · 2
Persistency · 2
Precarious · 3
Prioritised · 1
Prosperity · 2, 1

R

Relevantly · 2
Resurgence · 2

S

Segregation · 3
Susceptible · 2



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