

As economic and  
social circumstances  
in the past



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As the fifth largest country on the planet and one of the most renowned continental powers that contributes to the functioning of the global economy, Brazil has withstood copious amounts of structural changes collectively with its economic and social circumstances in the past thirty-seven years. The years following the 1980s are heavily characterized by economic volatility and social progress for Brazil, and its recent history proposes that the country assembles important institutional innovations at critical junctures in history. Despite being Latin America's largest economy and one of the United States' most important trading partners, Brazil maintains an inherent dependence on commodity exports from other countries<sup>ES1</sup>, and extreme economic inequality and social division still pose a serious threat to further socioeconomic progress for the country. While we focus on the forthcoming institutional mechanisms Brazil has yet to implement, diverting our attention to the past advancement the country has made and critically assessing<sup>ES2</sup> the effectiveness of its previous economic and social development strategies are central to ensuring the country's capacity for advanced progress in the decades to come. In an attempt to critically assess the country's past socioeconomic progress and the functionality of its chosen trade and investment strategies with its record of gender and income inequalities, identifying the distinct changes Brazil has withstood prior to the 1980s is essential to guarantee that we connect its present successes to the ones of its history.

The Brazilian Economy experienced a remarkable growth record from 1920 to 1980 when it achieved one of the highest rates of growth in the world. During this period, gross domestic product grew at an annual average rate of 6.2%,

while real GDP per capita increased at an annual rate of 3.6%; in the 70s, the Brazilian economy enjoyed its best performance in this century (Barbosa).

ES3 Throughout this 60-year period, the growth strategy adopted was based on the import substitution industrialization (ISI) policy. ISI encompassed incorporated very high tariffs and fiscal incentives for direct foreign investments alongside direct state intervention through state-owned enterprises in a variety of sectors in an attempt to stimulate less dependency on commodity exports (Economics.com).

Despite the Brazilian military regime failing to create an institutional structure between 1964 and 1985 in the nation that could endorse an ongoing transformation of the entire society, Brazil enjoyed very high rates of economic growth and made large scale investments in infrastructure and industry during the 1970s, enabling the formation of new industries and diversification of the economy. The economic development Brazil experienced during the 60-year period preceding the 1980s was labelled the "Brazilian miracle", however, sizeable quantities of the population were simultaneously being sidelined, further strengthening the history of concentrated land ownership and inequality the nation underwent prior to its growth. Economic progress in Brazil often consisted of awarding privileges and protection to sections of the political and business elite, provided that the development model they employed foundered in its unrefined social disparities and the lack of sustainable macroeconomic institutions, with repeated fiscal and foreign exchange crises punctuating episodes of high growth in Brazil (WB). The rapid industrialization and urbanization was built upon regional and socioeconomic inequalities, which glaringly exposed the

extent to which the country's promise of relieving inequality remained unsatisfied, and thus necessitated the prioritization of inequality relief in future policies (ES4).

stimulated the necessity of future policies that would relieve these new inequalities. Following economic success and its corresponding upsurge of socioeconomic disparities, Brazil experienced sluggish growth and economic crises throughout the 1980s and 1990s described as the "lost decades" for development. Brazil's macroeconomic landscape was dominated by unsustainable fiscal deficit, instability, hyperinflation, an exceptionally high cost of capital, all accompanied by low savings and investment rates (ES). Beginning in the 1980s, Brazil's economy had entered a period of stagflation perpetuated by two factors: the ISI growth strategy had been exhausted, and there was a deficit in institutional and political programs to solve the onset of the Latin American debt crisis that had been overlooked. In spite of Brazilian GDP being 21.0 percent higher in 1993 than in 1980, GDP per capita was lower, and in accordance with the economic and debt emergencies, most Latin American countries embarked on monetary, fiscal, and financial reforms in the 1990s. In Brazil, these reforms have stabilized macroeconomic indicators, decreased rates of inflation, and allowed the country to return to international capital markets (UNDP). The reforms authorized throughout this time period enabled encouraged efforts toward further social and economic progress to take place in the years that followed.

During the 1980s, the Federal Constitution of 1988 unveiled a critical breakthrough in the country's social protection system relative to the prevailing legislation: it guaranteed a broad range of social rights concerning

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pensions, social assistance and universal coverage of care. In addition to establishing a web of accountable institutions with the formal intention of improving governance and reducing corruption, the economic modifications enacted before the 1980s with the measures taken to reverse their effects during that time period made social inclusion more viable for the people of Brazil. The 1990s are considered to be the “ reform decade”; although initial actions such as foreign trade liberalization and the first privatization operations were taken in the late 1980s, the most significant stages only began to materialize following the beginning of a new decade. The restoration of democracy in 1985 came with the recognition that a development model based on exclusion and inequality was not sustainable (E. S). From 1986 through 1994, a few heterodox plans were deployed for Brazil. In 1987, the Bresser Plan (unnamed after the Minister of Finances) sought to freeze prices and salaries aside from eliminating budgetary investments; the outcome was accumulated inflation of 366% ES5 .

In 1989, the Summer Plan once again froze prices and proposed the privatization of state companies and the dismissal of civil servants; in December alone, the inflation rate was over 50%. In 1990, the Collor Plan had been produced introduced by President Fernando Collor in hopes of eliminating inflation; alternatively, the prices and salaries were frozen, budget expenses were cut, and taxes were increased, bringing recession to Brazil instead of eliminating inflation. In 1991, the Collor Plan’s sequel Plan Color II sought to attack indexation, where all short term financial transactions were prohibited. This plan ultimately failed mostly as a result of the weak political support Collor had prior to his impeachment in 1992.

The introduction of the Plano Real in 1994 was designed to reduce inflation, manage to bring inflation under control and restore macroeconomic balance. Designed by Henrique Cardoso, the Plano Real sought to improve fiscal strategies while stimulating monetary reform and opening the economy.

Following four decades of an economy that had been accompanied by the presence of the state as a producer of goods and services that was previously closed off and also inhibited by a long period of high inflation with indexing, the end of the 1990s in Brazil became an economy with a degree of openness to merchandise trade and capital alongside a reduced power of the state as a direct producer that facilitated further socioeconomic progress for the turn of the century. In the early 1990s, most manufacturing enterprises went through a process of rationing their production as one of the ways of opening up to the competition from imported products, enabling to increase factor productivity in industry when returns on investment became relatively high and installation of new equipment occurred. While reform programs such as the Plano Real reversed the effects of inflation, these reforms did not address the underlying structural problems of chronically low savings, high capital costs and an increasingly overextended and rigid public sector. To counteract this, in the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century, Brazil carried out significant reforms to social security and government transfers to make them more focused on the poor.

These reforms included non-contributory unconditional and conditional cash transfer programs targeted to low income families and older or disabled people (ES). These transfer programs are the Benefício de Prestação

Continuada (BPC), the CCT program, Programa Bolsa Família (PBF) and the semi-contributory Rural Pension Program. Alongside higher economic growth, this ambitious redistribution policy helped shape the progress in poverty reduction and the promotion of shared prosperity in Brazil (ES).

In relation to the early economic policies implemented in Brazil, those that followed in the late 1990s are the most accountable for the success they enjoy today. In looking back before the turn of the century, the diverse institutional policies enacted and implemented by Brazil in the 1990s and early 2000s have demonstrated that a more equitable income distribution is associated with about a third of the fall in moderate poverty in the past decade, while two thirds of the fall are associated with gains from economic growth (ES). The introduction of the Fiscal Responsibility Law in 2000 helped Brazil in controlling public spending. In the years that followed, control over public spending has increased significantly and allowed the government to achieve its target of running sizeable primary surpluses. Brazil demonstrated its resilience when the 2008 global financial crisis struck and the quick fall of commodity prices and the strain on financial markets struck the country. It was during this time that Brazil was able to enact countercyclical policies during a global crisis, as it possessed enough buffers to counter the crisis by increasing public spending and lowering interest rates instead of having to tighten fiscal and monetary policies. In 2009 when the government took to significant fiscal stimulus, the government had a 2% of GDP primary surplus.

Much of their success could be attributed to their development in trading strategies, one of the primary ones being less dependency on foreign trade.

The macroeconomic stability achieved since the late 1990s has facilitated

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economic growth in the decade leading up to 2013. In the past two decades, Brazil has made significant progress in reducing gender inequality. According to the results of a 2010 study by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), illiteracy rates for women aged 15 years and older fell from 20.3 in 1991 to 13.

5 percent in 2000, to 9.8 percent in 2008 (WB). The World Bank also states that as a result, the share of the female labor force with tertiary education increased from 7.4 in 1992 to 8.5 percent in 1999 and 11.

9 percent in 2007 compared to 5.3, 6.2 and 7.3 for males, respectively.

In correspondence with the dramatic change in social inequality, 62 percent of the decline in extreme poverty in Brazil between 2004 and 2013 was due to changes in non-labor income, mainly transfers from the aforementioned PBF/CCT program aforementioned. According to World Bank data, relative poverty (based on purchasing power parity PPP US\$2 per day metric) has fallen markedly, from 21 percent of the population in 2003 to 11 percent in 2009. Extreme poverty, on the other hand, based on a PPP US \$1.

25 per day metric also dropped significantly, from 9.8 percent in 2004 to 6.1 percent in 2009. Simultaneously with the fall in poverty was the decline in income inequality; the income growth rate of the poorest sector of the population between 2001 and 2009 was 7 percent per year, while that of the richest sector was 1.7 percent. As a result, income inequality (as measured by the Gini index) fell significantly, from 0.



594 in 2001 to 0.521 in 2011 – a 50-year low. The primary drivers behind these achievements have been low inflation, sustained economic growth, well-focused social programs and real increases in the statutory minimum wage (WB). The federal government in Brazil relied heavily on the Human Development Index as a targeting tool for social programs, specifically during the Cardoso administration from 1995 to 2003; Electricity for All provides electricity to poor communities selected on the basis of HDI and the Young Agents for Social Human Development Programme provides an allowance for adolescents between 15 and 17 years old to remain in school with the intent on preventing violence, drug use and adolescent pregnancy that approximately \$17 million. Because Human Development Programs began in Brazil when re-democratization was being consolidated, they were not constrained by political issues. Furthermore, re-democratization was perceived as not only to re-construct political institutions, but also to address social demands; the inclusion of those of large segments of the population who were excluded from the economic gains of the previous regime was greatly emphasized. To a large extent, the rapid decline in inequality over the past decade experienced by Brazil was due to a policy of social inclusion in the context of a booming economy, fueled by favorable external conditions. Nevertheless, despite a reduction in poverty and inequality, Brazil remains one of the most unequal countries in the world, with a Gini coefficient higher than in most countries.

A case study published in Economic Development by Michael P. Todaro and Stephen C. Smith ES7 titled Progress in the Struggle for More Meaningful Development: Brazil identifies the two faces of development for

the country: world-competitive industry that coexists with stagnant, protected sectors. While the country has experienced advancement in economic growth and significant improvements in health, education and inequality, the study maintains that achieving genuine development for the country is still a long way ahead. With the end of the commodity boom, Brazil finds its social achievements challenged from two angles.

On one hand, to sustain the rise in incomes and job creation, Brazil needs to find new sources of growth; on the other hand, without the revenues associated with consumption growth and high product prices, fiscal space has eroded rapidly, consequently placing Brazil's economic feats at risk and raising concerns that the progressive social policies it enacted in past decades may no longer be affordable.