

SOCIAL NETWORKS IN THE POWER RELATIONSHIP OF PENSION REFORM

Roque Pereira da Silva¹

Abstract: This work was prepared with the aim of demonstrating the power of power networks, expressed by parliamentarians regarding the main Social Security reforms carried out in Brazil from the 1988 Constitution to that referred to in Constitutional Amendment Project No. 06/2019. A investigation was based on the descriptive and evaluative method, also using data collection and, From these, information was generated represented through tree-type networks, in such a way as to evidence, through the votes cast by Federal Deputies in support or rejection of the texts forwarded by the respective heads of the central executive branch. With the study carried out, it was obtained results related to the concept of social security, as an instrument for promoting equity retirees and pensioners with active workers; the withdrawal of social achievements from workers established in the constitution; the network of power exercised by the heads (all) of power executive, since the Government of Fernando Henrique, together with parliamentarians to approve the dismantling of the social security and now, with the Bolsonaro government, to dismantle the Social Security legal framework Social. In conclusion, there has always been the interest of the heads of the Executive Branch of unprotect social rights, removing rights conquered and already guaranteed in the larger legal system of the nation, transferring such resources to other allocations and payment of debts built in functions of mismanagement of past and present management.

Keywords: Social security. Social Security. Networks. State. Parliamentarians

SOCIAL NETWORKS IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM'S POWER RELATIONSHIP

Abstract: This paper was designed to demonstrate the power of power networks, manifested by parliamentarians in relation to the main social 1988. security reforms, carried out in Brazil from the Constitution until the one referred to the Constitutional Amendment no. Project 06/2019. The investigation was based on the descriptive evaluative method, also using data collection and, from these, information was generated through tree-type networks, in such a way as to be evident, through the votes cast by the central Federal Deputies support or rejection of texts forwarded by the respective executive branch's heads. The study obtained results related to the social security concept, an instrument to promote equity of retirees and pensioners with workers who are working; the withdrawal of workers social achievements established in the constitution; the power network exercised by the executive branch chiefs (all), government, from the Fernando Henrique approval the social

¹ Roque Pereira da Silva is a researcher and assistant professor at DCH-I/UNEB, PhD in Sciences Business (UNSA) and PhD in Knowledge Diffusion (UFBA /UNEB/ LNCC/UEFS/ IFBA/ SENAI-CIMATEC).

security breakdown and now, with the Bolsonaro government, to the social security legal breakdown. In conclusion, has always been the interest of the executive branch head to protect rights, withdrawing rights won and already guaranteed in the nation's larger legal system, transferring these resources to other appropriations and repaying debts built on misbehavior conducting past and present management.

Social

Key words: Welfare. Social Security. Networks. State. Parliamentarians

1. Introduction

This is an academic-scientific work related to Social Security in Brazil, member of Social Security under the terms recommended by the Federal Constitution of 1988, its changes in the last three decades as well as the proposal being processed in the National Congress.

The study deals with the issue relating to the financing of social security, defined in art. 194 of the Federal Constitution (CF), whose inclusion in the constitutional text resulted from the will of the 1988 constituents who established the legal framework for Social Security, of Health and Social Assistance, through a solidarity system applied especially social security.

The work was carried out with the basic premise of changes related to negative benefits to the protection of the worker who, after years of work, contributing to the production of goods and services, using their physical and psychological strength, in everyday life your working life. It is known that the strength of the employee's work contributes, he adds value, added to everything that is produced in a society.

In view of the contextualization, the starting question is the following: The worker Brazilian has been adequately recognized by the state and the community holder of capital, in terms of protecting the dignity of her life after exhausting her physical strength and capacity to produce goods and services in favor of employers and of society as a whole?

Other questions were formulated for the preparation of the research, such as:

The State has been concerned with the right to life and dignity of the working class, through the provision and protection of the company's own resources, appropriated and collected social Security?

The choice of the topic is justified by the fact that social security is an instrument of protection to the worker at the moment he exhausts his strength, when he grows old or becomes ill and is no longer able to work.

The theme is relevant both from a scientific and social point of view, as it provides content legal and social protection of human dignity and at the same time enables the realization of this ideal, allowing workers to retirees are assured of the necessary resources to survive.

The investigation was carried out with the general objective of demonstrating the power networks resulting from the manifestation of parliamentarians regarding the main pension reforms, carried out in Brazil from the 1988 Constitution until the one referred to in the Constitutional Amendment nº 06/2019.

The investigation was designed with the goal of achieving the following specific objectives: a) conceptualize social security as a form of social insurance and Social Security; B) highlight the reasons for business and government support for Pension Reform; c) Develop networks demonstrating institutional power blocks in the Chamber of Deputies Deputies for and against the reform, especially that relating to the imputed sacrifice by PEC 06/19 to the worker, regarding length of service and the minimum age for enjoy the right to retire.

The work is exploratory in nature, as a preliminary study carried out with the purpose of better adapting the construction of knowledge [...] that is, a “study exploratory that aims to understand the study variable as it presents itself, its meaning and the context in which it is inserted” (PIOVESAN; TEMPORINI, p. 321, 1995).

2. Conceptualizing social security and social security

Social security is insurance of a social nature that aims to ensure the subsistence to workers in case of physical or mental incapacity and retirement or pensions to their dependents in accordance with the law. The resources received in the circumstances referred to in this paragraph is known as benefits, such rights are, in Brazil, guaranteed to people who make contributions to the National Social Security Institute (INSS).

Pension means the condition of what is foreseen, which foresees or which seeks to avoid disorders, which protects workers, through the adoption of conjectures, aiming to protect you. It means the ability to see the future in advance.

The term Social Security came from the Latin *previdentia* which has the meaning of “forecast or prevention”, originating from *praevenire*, also a Latin term (*prae* = before + *venire* = to come). Social Security in Brazil has had its legal framework since the advent of the CF of 1988, which created Social Security and the sources of its financing.

Social security means, in principle, the existence of a society that is solidarity, egalitarian and fair. It constitutes a sum of actions and policies social groups whose objective is the existence of a society that can help citizens and their families in case of old age, unemployment, illness or other vulnerabilities.

In the Brazilian legal system, to this day, there is formally, although weakened, a social order, established by the Magna Carta, ensuring this social solidarity.

Social security has undergone several changes, mainly regarding cuts in the sources of its financing, in the exemptions and disconnections of revenues.

In this sense (LOBATO; COSTA; RIZZOTTO, 2019, p. 01) they pronounce in the sense of what:

The 1988 Federal Constitution created the unprecedented chapter of the social order that aims at well-being and social justice; and in it, social security, as an organizing concept of social protection, which comprises health, social security and social assistance. Since then, many changes, already studied in the literature, have been made to this structure, unfortunately more restrictive than inclusive. In the case of social security, reforms have been undertaken by all governments since the Constitution, but the proposal made by the Jair Bolsonaro government is the broadest, as it radically and profoundly alters what has been built since the 1930s. It is also the most unfair with Brazilians and the one that most increases risks to the most vulnerable groups of women and the elderly.

Thus, Social Security has been suffering withdrawals of part of its resources, having as responsible, the governmental and parliamentary administrations, upon approval of restrictive measures with the aim of, sometimes, making revenue waiver policies for benefit some productive sectors of society, sometimes removing part of the resources specific to security and, particularly, social security for payment of expenses others, including public debt that was not generated by workers.

In this scenario, the Brazilian State, through its rulers, has not given greater importance to the lives of men and women and comes step by step, government after government, deconstructing, with constant pension reforms, the social protection, through the subtraction of workers' own and appropriate rights, intended to preserve a better quality of life and dignity, giving way to theses of neoliberal attacks on the minimal state.

3. Reasons for business and government support for pension reform

There has always been a dispute between capital and labor. First, primitive man dominated the man himself, his fellow men. Because of their power, they subjugated the most weak, took their properties and enslaved them.

In this vein, the Philosopher Thomas Hobbes, who lived between 1588 and 1697, said, in his work "The Leviathan", that in the face of the war of men against all their similar, in the state in which man was man's own wolf, already existed in that time the need to form societies through a social contract.

Thus, peasant society, bourgeoisie and industrial society emerged. In all they are the holder of capital (land, money, machines and other production goods) always exploited the workers, sometimes forcing them to perform forced services, later, with low wages, sometimes without adequate health care in old age, etc.

This struggle between capital and labor is ancient throughout the world and has been the great reason for class struggles, that is, the holders of capital goods when producing goods and services, because they had power, they did not value, as they still do not value properly, the worker, alienate society, inducing it to not see the importance and the participation of the labor factor in the added value of goods and services that drive the economy.

It was at this stage that, in Brazil, the Federal Constitution of 1988, named by Ulisses Guimarães, when promulgating it, with a citizen constitution, created social security, by through Art. 194, consisting of Social Security, Health and Social Assistance, the result of a great national discussion and in parliament (Chamber of Deputies and Senate), representing, respectively, the will of the people and the States of the Federation to

establish a Social Security that represented social justice and respect for dignity human.

To finance social security, the constitution created a source of financing, quadripartite nature, involving the worker, the company, the state and society. O worker, with his contribution, around 8%, 9% of his salary, retained in the payroll; the Employer with 20% of the employee's remuneration; The Company with taxation relating to the Contribution to the Financing of Security Social (COFINS) and the Social Integration Program (PIS), with rates generally of 7.65% and 1.65%, respectively, including imports and the State with the taxation related to Social Contribution on Net Profit (CSLL), a tax that applies on the companies' net profit, that is, after it deducts all its costs, expenses, including Board fees (*Pro-labore*); with PIS/PASEP resources and with winnings from game and lottery predictions.

It is worth mentioning that, today, the CF guarantees all these resources for Social Security, which is enough to finance it, so much so that the Government since Itamar Franco has been withdrawing 20% this resource for other expenses from the Emergency Social Fund (FSE), which underwent some changes under the name Fiscal Stabilization Fund (FEF) and, Currently, it is known as Untying of Union Revenues (DRU), extended in 2007 (EC 56/2007), among others, until the last amendment (PEC 31/2016) which, once approved, allowed the continued decoupling of revenues, increasing the percentage to 30% and determined its application to States and Municipalities. Bolsonaro's government wants to deconstitutionalize Social Security. In the case of Social Security takes away a right of workers, achieved through many fights. With the Constitutional Amendment Project, nº 06, (PEC 06/2019), already approved by the Chamber of Deputies and pending in the Senate, requires the government to withdraw rights workers' pension plans and, in 10 years, have a cash balance of approximately one trillion reais, and 4.5 trillion in 20 years, through withdrawal of part of pensions and pensions, increase in the minimum age for retirement and other restrictions on workers' rights. In other words, it wants to cut part of pensions and pensions for widows, widowers and dependents and benefit entrepreneurs in a way general and, mainly, international financial capital.

With the approval of PEC/06/2019, the government intends to establish a system of capitalization to replace the social security system with solidarity (worker, company, society and government). With the capitalization system, desired by the current government, headed by Minister Paulo Guedes, the pension will be made up only by the contribution of workers, that is, a savings to be managed by public and private banks.

If the reform is approved, companies are released from contributing 20% on the sheet. This is the reason why businesspeople are in favor of the reform. Imagine the gain that large commercial and television companies, industries and, especially banks?

Another consequence of the Reform is that the government would no longer finance social security and taxes that are currently collected for this purpose, by constitutional provision would no longer be compose the Social Security financing basket. In this way, the government would use of these taxes to other expenses.

If the reform is approved, social security will then have only the financing related to the worker's contribution, a type of savings compulsory, which would be handed over to the banks that would manage such resources your pleasure. No one guarantees, including the state, the return of this collection under form of retirements, since who would manage the amounts retained from employed would be the banks that would invest such resources in the financial market. In other words, employees will be left to their own devices, without the support of employer, the state and society, companies would become richer, the State would not more would contribute to social security and the amounts that society pays today to finance the Security would pass on to the Government to spend on whatever it wanted. This is a sad finding.

It appears that, in addition to individual entrepreneurs, banks and the mainstream press are all committed to dismantling the constitutional framework and the legal basis that supports the current Social Security system adopted in Brazil, as they will have at their disposal favor the relief from their respective payrolls and began to no longer pay the employer contribution, and, consequently, will further promote the lack of protection of the future (retirements) of its workers who contribute with work, sweat and all sorts of sacrifices, all in exchange for more profits.

Unfortunately, we see the clash of powerful men against those who have nothing, except be their workforce, that the brutal inequality between men continues to be present the same as it was in the past and that Hobees' thought was not lost in the time, that is, man continues to be "man's own wolf".

4. Networks of correlation of powers related to social security

The term "nets" comes from the Latin "*retis*" which means, in the terms taught by Benelli (2016), the intertwining of the threads that formed the fabrics. According to the cited author (p. 270) more recently:

the expression had its concept expanded and began to be adopted in several segments, including the economy, technology and administration, in the same innovative perspective that also uses the concepts of "synergy", "resilience" and "flexibility", just to name some of the most successful. In this way, organizational systems capable of bringing together individuals and institutions around related causes, in a democratic and participatory way, came to be understood as networks. Composing a network, therefore, implies a commitment to jointly carry out concrete actions, crossing geographic, hierarchical, social or political boundaries.

Along this path, and specifically with regard to Social Security reform, links are formed between parliamentarians, some aligned with the government proposal, others not, forming true networks, whose actions specifically support or not the guiding theses of the reform.

It is the opinion that the actions, the ties around the theses are constituted, if solidify due to the alignment of parliamentarians with the ideologies of some who defend more rights for workers and their dependents, defined in the form of law, to ensure them more peace of mind in old age and illness, and others who defend more the states, following the example of the liberal theses of constituting a minimum state, as if the state did not have greater responsibility to provide greater assistance to workers and better distribute the *res publica*, more equitably.

Thus, networks are formed, as shown in figure 1, of the tree type, in which the trends, in the case of this work, related to social security, represented by parliamentarians in favor of maintaining workers' achievements, as per the established in the constitutional text and those who were against the maintenance of some rights, that is, in favor of the withdrawal of labor rights, some thinking

are helping the country to get out of a crisis sung and decanted by the government, or by ideological issues of defense of capital, mainly international financial capital.

Figure 1: Tree-like figure

Source:FIGUEIREDO, Carlos Eduardo de Senna. *In Business Administration Magazine.*

When we talk about pension reform in countries with democratic regimes, what is the In the case of Brazil, difficulties are usually expected in the approval process due to the unpopularity that the measures provoke. Parliamentarians are always afraid to support them due to losing votes in their electoral bases. They are formed in these cases, tree² type networks , made up of a vertex that corresponds to the head of the executive power that, when forwarding the reform proposal, form in parliament edges directed towards parliamentarians who defend the proposal and those who reject.

It is important to highlight that, as this is an important matter of broad social interest To reform the pension system, an Amendment Project is needed Constitutional, whose approval only occurs with 60% of votes, that is, a majority of 3/5, in two rounds in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

When the process takes hold there is a real battle of ideas and ideologies, of parliamentarians and the government, most of the time wanting to increase revenue and deconstitute rights acquired by the mass of private workers and civil servants public. The Head of the Executive Branch, requesting support from his base (Parliamentarians of the same political party or party bloc) and parliamentarians from other parties.

This is how social security, and especially Social Security, has been over time, since after its definition in the constitutional text, subject to questioning of the managers who assumed central power in the country, and since the Government of Itamar Franco the resources allocated to Social Security and, therefore,

²Tree networks mean the existence of a topology that describes the modus faciendi of the interconnections of a node (hub) to other nodes, in order to make connections and enable transmissions.

As a consequence, social security has been suffering diversions for the payment of other items, mainly to pay debts generated by management.

In this sense, the holders of management power, the Presidents of the Republic in all management forwarded a constitutional amendment proposal, either in the sense of using Security resources to cover other expenses outside of security, such as as the Social Emergency Fund (FSE), under the government of Itamar Franco, later the Fiscal Stabilization Fund (FEF) and Untying of Union Revenues (DRU), extended in 2007 (EC 56/2007), and 2016 (PEC 31/2016), exceeding 20% to 30%.

In addition to the decoupling of union revenues, notably those relating to the diversion of resources, proposals for Constitutional Amendment were presented in order to make Pension reforms in the governments of Fernando Henrique, Lula, Temer and Bolsonaro. This work discusses some aspects of the reforms sent to Congress in the mandates of Presidents Fernando Henrique, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and Jair Bolsonaro.

It is worth highlighting here that from what we have heard, through reports of domain public, that for such measures to have resonance in congress there was always the called the exchange of “favors”, that is, the Executive making concessions, through positions, release of parliamentary amendments and other concessions.

In Fernando Henrique's government, the Reform proposed by PEC 33/95 and approved was based on increasing the minimum age for retirement, which was 50 years old and increased to 53 years.

In this sense Candido (s/d) says:

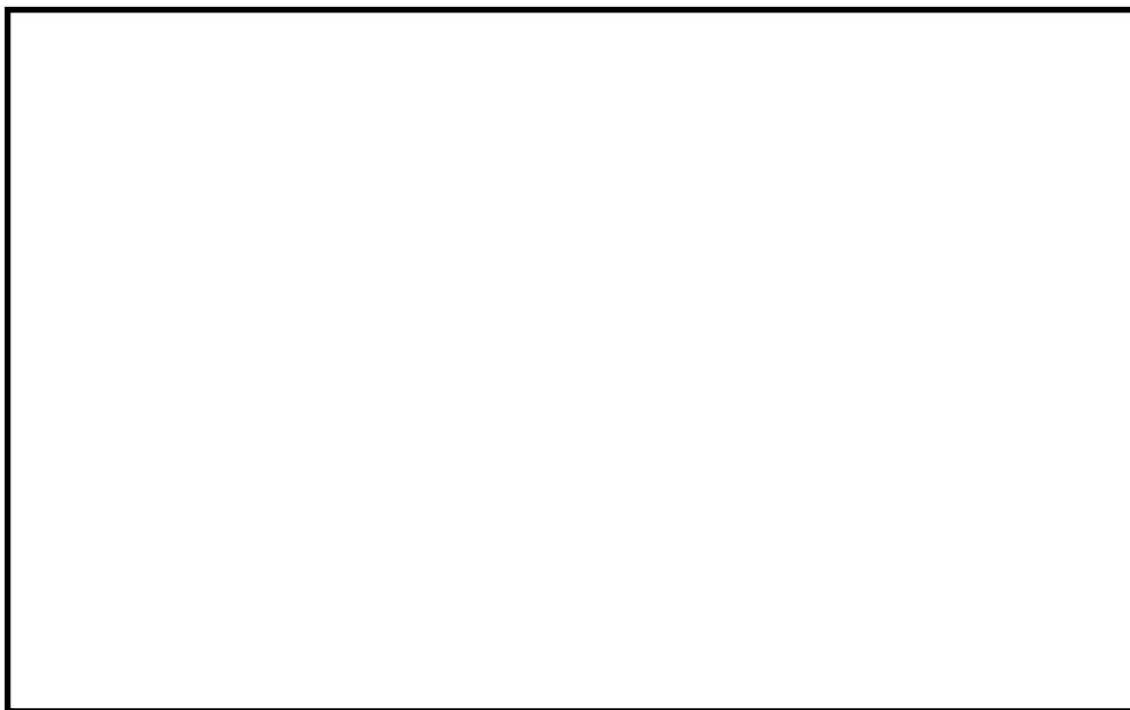
The main attacks were the replacement of retirement based on length of service with retirement based on contribution time (30 years for women and 35 for men) and the establishment of an age limit for full retirement for public servants – 53 years for men and 48 for women. In addition, the minimum retirement age for private sector workers increased – 60 for men and 55 for women.

The proposal was forwarded to the Chamber of Deputies at the end of 1993 and to be approved went through two phases, the first relating to changes in the text of the Constitution, with the change in the pension schemes for workers under the initiative private and public sector.

The measures contained in the previous paragraph only took effect at the end of 1998, due to through EC nº 20/98 and in the next stage it was carried out through measures provisional provisions and broad complementary legislation.

It was discussed at the time that the Social Security Reform was necessary in order to contribute to reducing the public deficit, which was essential for stabilization and which would generate confidence from international organizations (ITO *ET ALL*, 2016).

Figure 2: Deputies who voted for and against the Pension Reform, in the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso.



Source: Gazeta online

Fernando Henrique's government to approve his reform, of 500 deputies who voted in plenary, had blocks of Deputies from the situation, 345 and had as opponents a total of 152 deputies and 3 abstentions.

With the data referenced in figure 2, the representativeness is summarized as follows network.

It was in this reform that the social security factor was created, enabling workers to retire under the age of 30, as long as you had a contribution in the same period. The value of retirement became proportional, that is, whoever had

After working for a short time, he began to receive less benefit than he used to receive before the reform (MUNDO ECONÔMICO, 2019).

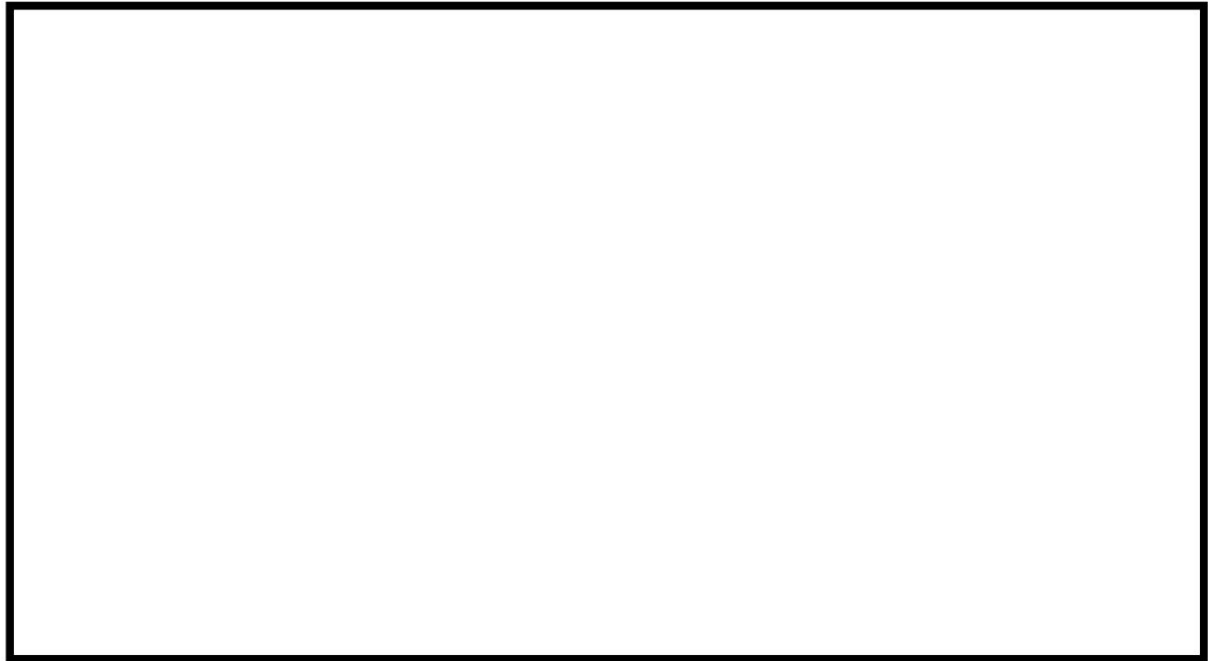
Figure 3: List of Deputies who voted in plenary for and against the Reform of Social Security (Management of President FHC).

Source: Prepared by the Author

During the administration of Luiz Inácio da Silva, the PEC was sent to the National Congress nº40/2003, which was processed and approved by Congress in a very short space of time becoming EC N 41/2003. It is worth noting that, in this reform, the parliamentarians from President Lula's Party who had fiercely opposed the President Fernando Henrique, in a true gesture of regression, took positions distanced from the flags of resistance to the dismantling of social security, giving way to neoliberal policies, the deregulation of labor relations and greater return on capital. This reform approved the minimum retirement age of 60 years of age for men, 55 for women, with 35 and 30 years of service, respectively, 20 years of public service, 10 years of career and 5 years in the last position. With the advent of EC No. 41/2003, public service retirees began to contribute to social security. This was a severe blow from the Lula government, on the social security protection.

According to Gomes (2003), “of the 486 parliamentarians who participated in the vote on EC 41/2003, 358 voted in favor, while 126 were against. There were 9 abstentions. Afterwards, the text went to the Senate for consideration, in two rounds.”

Figure 4: List of Deputies who voted in plenary for and against the Reform of Social Security (President Lula's Administration)



Source: Prepared by the Author

In Bolsonaro's current government, the power relationship is analyzed, that is, the currents of Chamber of Deputies (CCJ), who voted for and against the admissibility of the PEC 06/2019. The network is made up of the following nodes: 1 – Presidency of the Republic; two - Chamber of Deputies; 3 – Constitution and Justice Commission (CCJ); 4 – Deputies who voted against Admissibility; 5 – abstention; 6 – Deputies who voted in favor and 7 – Voted YES, with modification.

This network, therefore, refers to the power relationship existing in the Chamber of Deputies, relating to the Deputies who make up the CCJ and who voted on the admissibility or not of the PEC 06/2019, few against the reform and others in support of Minister Paulo's theses Guedes, responsible for drafting the Reform, as the President says publicly, including to the press, which understands nothing about Economics. This network is composed of the following nodes: 1 – Presidency of the Republic; 2 – Chamber of Deputies; 3

– Constitution and Justice Commission (CCJ); 4 – Deputies who voted against the Admissibility; 5 – abstention; 6 – Deputies who voted in favor and 7 – Voted YES, with modification.

Taking the data contained in table 1, the following parameters are used: possibilities of votes on the Pension Reform, relating to EC 006/2019, in the CCJ: Yes, No, Abstention and Yes with Modification.

Table 1: Deputies who voted on the admissibility of PEC 06/2016

DEPUTIES IN FAVOR OF REFORM	DEPUTIES AGAINST REFORM	INDEXES
	18	29.5%
43		70.5%
TOTAL	61	100%

Source: Prepared by the author adapted from the GAZETA ONLINE publication.

It turns out that this pension reform proposal is the most perverse of all times and is configured in a network, in the form of a tree, in the configuration of figure 4 drawn below.

Figure 4: Network of Federal Deputies who voted for the Pension Reform (PEC 006/2019), in Constitution and Justice Commission (CCJ)



	President		In favor of commodification
	President of the Chamber		Abstention
	C and Justice Committee		NO – Vote Against the Reform
	YES - Votes in favor		

Source: Prepared by the author

5. Methodological procedures

The investigation was based on the descriptive and evaluative method. As for the objectives, exploratory nature, with a theoretical vision, of a documentary nature, having been raised data regarding the legislative process, notably with regard to demonstrations by Federal Deputies in votes in the National Congress. It wasn't done allusions to the Senate votes due to the fact that this analysis would be jeopardized, since that during the preparation period of this investigation, the proposed amendment was still being was being processed in the Chamber of Deputies.

Thus, the data collection instrument was used in the research and from these, information represented through tree-type networks in such a way as to demonstrate, through the votes cast by Federal Deputies in support or rejection of texts sent by the respective heads of the central executive branch.

Data relating to voting in the Chamber of Deputies by the fact that this segment represents the people and did not yet have parameters to evaluate representation of the Senate against or in favor of the reform, since it had not yet voting took place.

6. Final considerations

In preparing this work, a brief review of the definition of Social Security was made Social and social security, its composition and sources of financing.

The text highlighted the interest of the heads of the Executive Branch in conducting the lack of protection of the weakest part of the employer *versus* employee or government relationship and public agent. The issue of likely beneficiaries was also addressed

related to the results to be approved by the reforms, notably the entrepreneurs and the financial system.

It was found that each ruler who takes command of the Palácio do Planalto has effectively moved measures to make workers' rights precarious, in especially with regard to social and social security aspects, increasing contributions and imposing charges and delaying deadlines for workers to achieve the sacred right to retirement.

They were constructed, with data relating to the votes of Federal Deputies, elected for the exercises of the Fernando Henrique, Luiz Inácio da Silva and Jair governments Bolsonaro, redemonstrating the strength that each of these rulers imposed on the pension reform and, in summary, the models that each one promoted in the process of dismantling the social security system, recommended by the Constitution Citizen of 1988.

Given the above scenario, it appears that the Brazilian parliament's support and support networks rejection of pension reforms, led by the Executive Branch, in all implementation occasions, were constructed as a result of the pressure exerted by respective Presidents who managed to approve the texts, through concessions of release of budget funds, parliamentary interests and other concessions, thus configuring the exchange of favors, not taking into account the system of preventing support for the life, health and old age of workers.

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