IV

TAKE REFUGE TO SURVIVE: EXPROPRIATIONS OF RIGHTS

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Introduction

As we entered the second year of Jair Bolsonaro's government, we had a row of 1.5 million families who stopped receiving the *Bolsa–Familia.*[1] This policy of combating hunger and misery, with its neoliberal essence, is now, at the same time, denied by the current minister of the economy, that comes in an escalation of setbacks with the aim of more counter-reforms. But, in this period of crisis of the new coronavirus, it brought the defense of the so-called "Renda Brasil" as a way to reorganize social programs such as the *Bolsa–família, o abono–salarial, o seguro–defesa e o salário–família.*[2] This turn was made by establishing the possibility of increasing the political base of support to the government, due to its consequent decrease in rhetoric and negative practices in the face of the pandemic.

We highlight the rise of precarious working conditions and the development,[3] in addition to the ultra-liberal and reactionary macroeconomic policy, which reinforces the condition of capitalism dependent on Brazil, such as the lack of education, encompassing science and technology, the expansion of the breakdown and maintenance of *commodities* as an economic support, deepening technical-scientific, economic, commercial and financial dependence.[4]

The economic situation of the country has worsened with the pandemic of the new coronavirus, we have more than 140 thousand people killed by Covid-19 and a high loss of formal and informal jobs,[5] with thousands of people without any income. In this sense, ultra-liberal measures, on a global scale, have led to some minimum income measures guaranteed

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[1] Fachin; Machado (2020).
[2] Resende; Caram (2020).
[3] According to PNAD COVID19/IBGE, the unemployment rate is 13.1% (4ª week of June 2020), see Barros (2020).
[4] "By way of example: trade dependence influences the balance of payments and strengthens financial dependence; the latter presses for export balances reinforcing dependence; technological dependence impacts on financial dependence and limits the possibilities of rupture of commercial dependence and so on. [...] Dependence is translated into phenomenal forms, which can be more easily observed in trends in international trade, international financial flows and capital export movements in the productive sphere. In this sense, commercial, financial and technological dependence are layers of totality, which denote some of its most immediate characteristics" (Luce, 2018, p. 48).
[5] According to the General Register of Employees and Unemployed Persons (Caged, 2020), we have 4.4 million workers with suspended contracts and a loss of 1.1 million jobs in a celebratory regime and a total of almost 7.8 million occupations, of these 5 million are lost informal occupations. Available at: https://economia.uol.com.br/empregos–e–carreiras/noticias/redacao/2020/05/27/empregos–formais–caged.htm. Access on: May 20th 2020.

by some nation states.[6] In our country, emergency aid comprised 65.2 million people, but left out 42.5 million people, who did not meet the requirements, according to Dataprev data.[7] During the first three months of the pandemic, thousands of people were crowded into huge queues to find access to the benefit.

This chapter aims to discuss refuge, as a result of imperialism, deepening the diaspora, in the last 30 years, with the configuration of contemporary capitalism: with permanent restructuring, neoliberal macroeconomic policies and the so-called financialization. As well as problematizing the responses presented to the conditions of refugees, such as social assistance policy, limited to hunger relief with the strategy of appeasement, articulated to precarious employment and income policies, which mystify precariousness as "freedom" under the illusion of "commercial entrepreneurship".[8]

We demonstrate, therefore, how capitalism is composed of collective expropriations movements,[9] in addition to the exploitation of more value, as well as the tendency and countertendency of accumulation. And, as in countries of dependent capitalism, such as Brazil, the contradictions are more explicit, considering that we never experience a democracy of expanded participation, but we experience the predominance of restricted democracy[10] with moments of democracy of co-optation.[11]

The protracted counter-revolution[12] sharpens and rekindles the most retrograde features of the racist, antisocial and anti-national Brazilian bourgeoisie with its traditional and violent appropriation of the public thing. And, in turn, I welcome the refugees who have already experienced traumatic expropriation processes.

Expropriated: take refuge to survive

Migration flows in bourgeois society have a great deal of difference in the international division of labor, which covers the origin-destination, the social class and the historical moment of capitalism. Bourgeois social practice has demonstrated how there are particularities of certain socio-historical contexts, which indicate the direction of a particular population flow, and how wars, lack of employment and the absence of possibilities of survival, that is, the consequences of the mode of production of the population, promote this process.

The migrant worker can be considered the one that is in the most precarious condition. These people only leave their countries of origin to considered "more developed"

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[6] Available at: http://www.rfi.fr/br/economia/20200325–especialista–da–onu–defende–renda–m%C3%ADnima–universal–durante–crise–do–coronav%C3%ADrus. Access on: Mar. 15th 2020.

[7] See Melo (2020).

[8] According to World Bank's agenda for social development as freedom, in the motto: freedom of choice characterizes a world without poverty. Available at: https://www.worldbank.org/pt/news/press–release/2014/11/18/world–without–poverty– Brazil–seminar. Access on: April 20th 2020.

[9] "Marx, in deciphering the processes of primitive accumulation states that 'expropriation steals from the workers their means of production and all the guarantees of their existence', i.e. expropriation does not only refer to the separation of the working class from the means of production; it covers the processes that remove the only livelihood they have from the workers, which obliges them to sell their workforce and freely participate in the process of accumulation" (Boschetti, 2020, p. 5).

[10] See Fernandes (2011).

[11] See Iasi (2012).

[12] See Fernandes (2011) and (2019).

countries,[13] because they live the absence of work, or scenario of conflict/war or political or ethnic-racial and cultural persecution.

"The great beauty of capitalist production is that it does not only constantly reproduce the wage-worker as a seasoned worker, but produces, in relation to the accumulation of capital, a relative overpopulation of wage-workers" (Marx, 1996, p. 387). Understanding what migration is and the elements that amplify or reduce its flow is fundamental to understand the *modus operandi* of the capitalist world today.

It is well known that Brazil is considered, at the same time, a country of origin, transit and destination of migrants. Considering, in particular, a place of destination, we can highlight that Brazil recorded, between 2010 and 2018, the entry of almost 775 migrants, according to the Observatory of International Migrations of the Ministry of Justice.[14] According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), Venezuela alone has granted more than 550 people — among refugees, asylum seekers and temporary residents, setting Brazil as one of the countries that most affected Venezuelans since the worsening economic and social crisis in Venezuela. Thus, the Brazilian territory is ranked fifth among Latin American countries that most host Venezuelan refugees, according to the Federal Senate (2020).[15]

This population that arrives in the country, whether seeking better conditions of life or seeking to safeguard their lives, forms the world working class and joins a workforce that is likely to be subjected to any kind of degrading work, exhaustive and out of the norms of the consolidation of Labor Laws (CLT) or even to slave labor.[16]

Before we enter the migration and work relationship, we need to point out that, in the face of a serious scenario of displaced persons forced by wars and conflicts today, as well as in the face of the intensification of poverty and poverty in the countries of the periphery of capitalism, we witness European countries and the United States "washing their hands" and not recognizing their responsibility in this current diaspora.

In this discussion it is essential to analyze that capitalism profits from areas dominated and exploited by imperialist incursions and action of the war industry, but on the other hand it creates expulsions, given the widespread violence and extreme poverty that war causes. Thus, we start from the assumption that refuge is also a manifestation of class antagonism, because there are those who benefit from this migratory flow and there are those who lose everything and all their rights (seriously violated) with this condition.

Refuge is also an expression of the "social issue", after all this migratory flow, which is a historical reality, results from the violence engendered by capitalism – based on the contradiction capital *versus* labor –, where bourgeois particularist interests materialize in disputes for wealth (natural or produced), by spatial domination or by the control of the workforce. Such aspects facilitate the valorization of monopoly capital, which transforms the whole society into a large market, that is, potentially profitable, even if this will impact the lives of countless people. In a word, we realize that the refuge provoked by wars and

[13] Like those who leave Africa or the Middle East to go to Europe or the United States. On this, see also Lênin (1984).

[14] See the full report: <https://www.justica.gov.br/news/collective–nitf–content– 1566502830.29>. Access on: May 20th 2020.

[15] In this ranking, Brazil is behind Colombia, Peru, Chile and Ecuador. See: https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/audios/2020/02/brasil–e–o–quinto–pais–que–mais–recebe–venezuelanos–aponta–debatedor. Access on: May 20th 2020.

[16] On our analysis of contemporary slavery, see Soares (2013).

conflicts is not a natural consequence, it is an expression of the development of capitalist society recognized at the threshold of the twentieth century, from the great World Wars.

Summarizing: the phenomenon of refuge, historically complex,[17] is reflected in the eager desire of the capitalist system to make the whole society potentially profitable, even if it threatens the lives of thousands of people who are forced to move in search of safeguarding their lives. In this sense, refuge is understood as an expression of social inequalities.

Capitalism, from its historical genesis, through the industrial advent, until it reaches the imperialist stage, has the violence, expropriations (of the land and the rights of the worker) and the migration of the labor force to achieve its basic objective: the exploitation of more-value and, in turn, profit.

In the early period of the bourgeois system in Western Europe, the lever of capitalist development was founded by a process of domination, which under the use of force associated with a discourse of "freedom"[18] suddenly and violently expropriated large peasant masses from their territories, forcing them to migrate to serve as a workforce in urban centers. This expropriation, accompanied by the movement of country-city migration, analyzed by Marx in chapter XXIV d'Capital – entitled "The so-called primitive accumulation" – shows that "[...] expropriation is inscribed in the annals of humanity with traces of blood and fire" (Marx, 1996, p. 341) and:

> The starting point of the development that produced both wage labor and capitalist labor was the servitude of the worker. The continuation consisted of a change in the form of this subjection, in the transformation of feudal exploitation into capitalist.

In view of this, the development of this system presupposes basic actions, the coercion to migration with large population displacements and the exploitation of man by man to obtain a greater *quantity* of more value. The stage Marx called "[...] pre-history of capital and its own mode of production [...]*"* (Marx, 1996, p. 340), intervened within the feudal regime in Europe, where England pioneered this historic and therefore classical process. And it was from the decomposition of the economic structure of feudal society that the economic structure of the capitalist society was born.[19]

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[17] The definition of the refuge was built gradually over the course of the 20th century. The Geneva Convention of 1951 stands out, and embracing the concept undertaken in this document, but above all, advancing it in recognition of this condition, the OAU Declaration and later the Cartagena Declaration are regional instruments that made possible a leap in the conceptualization of refuge, for they considered the specificities of the historical time and the region where they were elaborated, encompassing the new flows of refugees that are not necessarily motivated by persecution, but by forced exit because of: aggression perpetrated by another State and/or as a result of an invasion that translates the reality faced by individuals of the African continent, as stated in the OAU Declaration; or because the life, security or freedom of individuals has been "[...] threatened by widespread violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances that have seriously disturbed public order", as advocated in the Cartagena Declaration.

[18] Freedom of production and social reproduction, therefore, freedom subsumed to the social need for a mode of production that develops and spreads as a world market in unequal development. Thus, "[...] the human right to freedom is not based on the attachment of man to other men, but on the contrary, on the separation between one man and another. It is the right to this separation, the right of the limited individual, limited to himself. The practical application of the human right to freedom is equivalent to the human right to *private property*" (Marx, 2013B, p. 49, editor's emphasis).

[19] It should be noted that Netto and Braz (2011) consider that this period, in which the circulation and control of goods by traders prevailed, comprises the first phase of capitalism: the commercial (or mercantile), being a stage in which capitalism was not yet fully developed.

According to Fontes (2005, p. 65), the expropriation movement and, therefore, the concentration of wealth in the hands of the bourgeoisie, was correlated with "[...] the violence of peasant expropriation in European countries or the" African slavery, forging a truculent movement of violence and expropriation, which counted on the "experience of multiple dilemmas and conflicts even within the dominant groups".

For the author, the successive expropriations are condition and result of this mode of production, and it is up to us to consider that capitalism, in an attempt to reverse the decline in the rate of declining profit, has the expropriations to expand its domain and acquire new spaces for the valorization of capital, under the hegemony of large financial capital, "[...] resulting in an unimaginable commodification of all forms of social and human life" (Fontes, 2010, p. 59).

An example of this is the operation of countries to buy foreign land, such as China, which has already taken over 5.3 million hectares of land abroad through its investors, having as main land targets of Central Africa and Southeast Asia.[20] Another example of this form of commodification of social life is the promotion of a conflict in a region rich in raw materials, as a strategy for the extraction of these wealth. As emblematic cases, to illustrate this statement, we can mention Syria's question and the problem of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The two have been able - in installed conflicts, but suffer from the pillage and the destructive interventions of foreign countries that attempt their minerals, such as Syrian oil[21] and the "coltan" of the Democratic Republic of Congo.[22] These cases explain the remarkable consequence of the capitalist system, which is exploitation and expropriation as a way to overaccumulation.

Mészáros (2003), as well as Fontes, is dedicated to analyzing the ongoing phase of imperialism which presents crucial changes after 100 years of Lenin's analysis. He identifies – in his book "The 21st century – socialism or barbarism?" –, the current phase of imperialism as a third moment of imperialism called "hegemonic global imperialism",[23] for it is the apex of the most harmful form of this expansion, with the US as the dominant force that governs the world after the outbreak of the structural crisis of capitalism (Mészáros, 2003, p. 72).

It should be noted that American influence is expressed in its economic and military position and having this country the largest GDP in the world, it also has the largest military budget among all nations. Under the administration of Donald Trump, the United States pulled global growth with military spending.[24] However, this finding reinforces the Luxembourg thesis, in which the author attests that the "[...] militarism has a determined function in history. It pays off all the historical phases of the capital [...]". According to the

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[20] See: https://exame.abril.com.br/mundo/10–paises–que–estao–comprando–terras–estrangeiras–aos–montes/. Access on: Oct. 18th 2019.

[21] Available at: https://www.cartamaior.com.br/?/Editoria/Internacional/Petroleo– interesses–americanos–e–o–golpe–na–Turquia/6/36490. Access on: 10 jul. 2020.

[22] Available at: https://www.revistaforum.com.br/digital/150/os–minerais–de–conflito– congo/. Access on: 20 jul. 2020.

[23] Completing the three very distinct phases that the author analyzes, the first phase of imperialism is the "modern colonial imperialism builder of empires", which arose with the "expansion of some European countries into some easily penetrable parts of the world." The second phase is called by him as " 'Redistributive' imperialism ' antagonistically" contested by the main powers in favor of their quasi-monopoly enterprises, called by Lenin the "supreme stage of capitalism", which involved a small number of contenders, and some small survivors of the past, clinging to the remains of the ancient wealth that came to an end.

[24] Available at: https://br.sputniknews.com/defesa/2018030110635332–orcamento–militar– eua–russia–conflito. Access on: 10 jul. 2020.

author, from the purely economic point of view, militarism is a privileged means of which capital is used to realize the increase in value (Luxembourg, 1970, p. 399). It has, therefore, as a perverse effect the production of conflicts and wars during the history of humanity, forging a symbiotic relationship with the question of refuge.

It is essential to seize the large mass of refugees as a working class that also migrates as an active labor force, according to David Harvey, "[...] mass migration movements are gathering forces of work in competitive configurations" (Harvey, 2018, p. 190). According to the author, the result is the "temporal space compression of both capital and labor". Producing, according to him, "[...]A range of tensions and political responses ranging from anti-immigration movements and the resurgence of nationalist passions to the spontaneous acceptance of multiculturalism as a harbinger of a different future for humanity" (Harvey, 2018, p. 190).

The spectrum of the extreme right that surrounds some countries, as well as in Brazil, has constantly built xenophobic, racist and violent discourses to migrants and refugees,[25] transforming it into a barrier to be transposed. In addition, these workers, when operating in the labor market today, are immersed in the current predominance of precariousness.

Antunes (2018) recalls that the crisis of the Taylorist/Fordist accumulation pattern, in the years 1960 and 1970, submitted the capitalist system to a wide process of productive restructuring, in contrast to the demands of the social forces of labor. According to the author, the bourgeois sociability found in the formula of flexibilization of labor laws and in the precariousness of jobs a way to continue the superexploitation of the labor force[26] of the workers. For Antunes, the constant search for the "instrumental rationality of capital", that is, the constant pursuit for the minimization of losses and the maximization of profit, "[...] has been driving companies to make work relationships more flexible, on-the-job, reintroducing new relationships and forms of work that often take on informal features." Furthermore, according to him,

> We are therefore facing a new phase of deconstruction of unprecedented work throughout the modern era, increasing the various ways of being of informality and precariousness. If in the 20th century we have seen the era *of degradation of work (author's emphasis)*, in the transition to the 21st century we are faced with new modalities and *ways of being* precariousness, of which *outsourcing* has been one of its most decisive elements (Antunes, 2018, p. 154–156).

Therefore, as the expanded reproduction of capital is the result of the maximization of the exploitation of the labor force, the more precarious this payment and the lower the cost for the maintenance of the labor contract, that is, with legal charges governed by the labor agreements, the greater the profit of the capitalist will be, that said, an article of Migra Mundo, recalls that:

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[25] We recommend the reading of Clóvis Moura (1994) and Abdias Nascimento (2016) about the supposed racial democracy and the mythical cordial man, in addition to the eugenic policies of the Brazilian State, which aimed both the extermination of black men and women in Brazil, as well as the bleaching by encouraging white migrants from Western Europe. "Cordiality" and "racial democracy" actually serve to camouflage violence and racism throughout the history of our country.

[26] About the category superexploitation of the workforce we recommend Chapter 3 of Luce (2018).

> It is good to stress that the exploitation of migrant workers is not only aimed at immediate and contextual interests but conceals a much more perverse intention: the precariousness of all jobs. In fact, from the perspective of hegemonic economic rationality, the perfect worker is *the gastarbeite***,** the temporary guest worker, without the obstacles of the family and the unions, with reduced capacity for demand and urgent need for money. The violation of foreign labor rights is therefore the starting point for the vulnerability of the entire working class (Marinucci, 2017).

The work as a "historical antagonist of capital*"* (Mészáros, 2002) is, at present times, totally detached from its historical importance, and is placed in the current phase of financial capital (fictitious and interest-bearing) as if it were something secondary to the relationship among the individuals, and not as a social driving force. The worker is seen today as an object that must be totally deconstructed from its historical importance and as a social force that leads society.

Taking advantage of the increasingly scarce offer of jobs, which according to Mészáros, is transfigured as "structural unemployment", the capitalist constrains the worker to accept any form of labor relationship, allowing individuals to submit "[...] to the orders emanated from the expansionist imperatives of the system; and, for the ever increasing number of not so 'happy' others, it means exposure to humiliations and extreme suffering caused by 'structural unemployment'" (Mészáros, 2007, p. 91).

Within this portion of non- "happy" subjects, as Mészáros (*Idem*) explains, is a social layer composed of migrants and refugees, which far from their homelands – some even undocumented and, most of the time, is found. being only with the clothes of the body – they may become a work force of maximum degradation.

It is important to note that, in 2019, the Federal Police (PF) found Venezuelans in a situation of contemporary slavery in the civil construction sector in the city of Votorantim, interior of São Paulo. This rescue occurred during the investigation of a businessman suspected of trafficking persons in Roraima. Such a PF operation arrested the entrepreneur after denouncing workers who managed to escape and report the case to the authorities in Pacaraima.[27]

This situation cannot be interpreted as an isolated case, but it is common to other refugees and migrants in Brazil, with insertion in precarious, irregular or in conditions of contemporary slavery. They are more susceptible targets to irregularity, informality and degradation, because it is recurrent not to communicate in the Portuguese language and also do not know the labor laws, or, when they know, the very need for over-experience causes them to submit to demeaning work.

In this direction, we can reflect that part of the irregular migrants and part of the refugees make up the category that Fernandes classified as "convicts of the system". This term was coined by the author to identify "[...] marginal human sector of its economic order" (Fernandes, 1975, p. 71), who participates in the process of capitalist accumulation, but who

[27] See the following article in full:
https://g1.globo.com/sp/sorocaba–jundiai/noticia/2019/09/24/venezuelanos–sao–encontrados–em–situacao–analoga–a–escravidao–em–votorantim.ghtml. Access on: May 18th 2020.

lack "[...] of the means to sell his or her work as a commodity, or it can only do it in a very precarious way" (Fernandes, 1983, p. 27).

It is in this sense that we can consider the aforementioned segments as "[...] convicts of the system (or its necessary victims)" (Fernandes, 1975, p. 71), because although they are inserted into the logic of capitalist accumulation, they are the targets of works with non-"typically" capitalistic bases, such as fragile or zero labor contracts. They sell their labor force for low wages and no benefit or no remuneration, because they are deprived of the rights historically won by the working classes, throughout the history of Brazilian social formation. It is also a clear expression of the heterogeneity and precariousness of the typical working conditions of dependent societies.

Without decent working conditions[28] guaranteed and with losses of labor rights, via labor counter-reforms, we also saw that the structure of Brazilian social protection, besides not absorbing the Brazilians who need it, leave out hundreds of migrants in irregular situations and refugees. "The expropriation, therefore, constitutes a process of subtracting historical constraints of reproduction of the labor force, through the reappropriation by capital of part of the public fund intended for the rights conquered by the working class" (Boschetti, 2017, p. 61).

According to the UNHCR Report "The Socioeconomic Profile of Refugees in Brazil" (2019), which interviewed 487 people in a situation of refugee,[29] a little more than half are working (280 or 57.5%). In the other extreme, 95 refugees (19.5%) are looking for work – a much higher rate of unemployment than the national average – while 28 interviews (5.7%) are unemployed, that is, they are not employed or looking for employment. In total, therefore, 123 respondents (25.2%) of sample is outside the "labor market", a very high number. In addition, the surveys shows that 26 people (5.3%) declared themselves occupied with "domestic chores" and 3 refugees (0.6%) are retired or pensioners.

During the pandemic, as well as 41% of the economically Brazilian population that was in informality, the refugee migrants, for the most part, were left without any source of income and, consequently, were evicted from their homes.[30] Because many failed to have access to emergency aid,[31] like the Waraos (Venezuelan indigenous people in Recife)[32] and Senegalese, as well as other refugees from other nationalities, in the city of São Paulo.[33] Thus, in the same situation as several Brazilian women, they had to disobey social isolation policies and risk contamination with the new coronavirus in order to be able to support themselves.

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[28] Here thinking dignity in constitutional terms, as in Articles 1, 3 and 170 of the Federal Constitution of 1988 in the guarantee of the "dignity" of work.

[29] "This sample was applied in 14 cities, distributed in eight States – São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul, Distrito Federal, Santa Catarina, Minas Gerais and Amazonas – which concentrate 94% of the refugees under the protection of the Brazilian government" (UNHCR, 2019, p. 5).

[30] See Sudré (2020).

[31] On the difficulty of access to emergency aid, see Salati (2020). For access to emergency aid, migrants are not required to be regularly migrated and Brazilian identity document with a photo issued in Brazil (such as National Migration Registry Card – CRNM or National Immigration Registry Provisory Document – DPRNM). The migrants who do not have documents, or, even if they have them, are out of the validity period due to the suspension of the services of the Federal Police Department are also entitled to benefit. See at: https://sjmrbrasil.org/apoio–auxilio–emergencial/. Access on: May 10th 2020.

[32] See Santos (2020).

[33] See Dias (2020).

In the case of many African migrants, despite a large part of them being highly qualified, above the average of Brazilians, they do not hold positions in the area of training.[34] Although we recognize that many Brazilians also suffer from this problem, we know that, in relation to African refugees, one of the main causes is racism, which structures capitalist sociability and is strongly expressed in Brazilian daily life.[35] In addition to the difficulty validating their diplomas, these people have great problems getting documentation to enter the labor market. As well as "[...] they suffer from precariousness in labor relationships due to labor reform and the trend of 'uberization", due to the withdrawal of the State from the current policy for *employability*" (ESMPU; ACNUR, 2020, p. 57, our emphasis).

Expropriation of rights: compensatory policies and the precariousness of work

Faced with the Brazilian reality that received, before the pandemic of the new coronavirus, thousands of migrants from different parts of the world, we discussed the state responses to the exponential enlargement of the ranks of the relative overpopulation and the increase in the precariousness of working conditions. Historically in Brazil, the "solution" to this structural problem of capitalism was characterized by criminalization or charity.

In the course of Brazilian history, social assistance was built from the conception of charity, aimed at those "deserving" not inserted in the "labor market". The policy of social assistance, in aligning with the other policies, in the composition of Social Security,[36] focused on the universe of work, formed for the direction of focus, of immediatism and became a compensatory policy.

The supposed conquest of universal social protection, with the Federal Constitution of 1988, already demonstrated problems in its hybrid format. Because instead of conforming as an articulated and comprehensive system of social protection,[37] has set itself "[...] a contradictory unit: while the mercantilization of health and social security makes precarious access to benefits and services, social assistance expands into a new fetish of coping with social inequality" (Mota, 2007, p. 129).

In a society, where the "favor" constitutes the public sphere[38] and the restricted democracy is articulated to a democracy of co-optation, the process of deconstruction of social rights, under the aegis of neoliberal macroeconomic policies, was also facilitated by a Manichean view of a supposed inherently corrupt and ineffective state. Moreover, after the outbreak of the economic crisis of capital, the need of monopolist groups to resume profits and growth, under the discourse of state inefficiency, directed the constitution of Social Security "[...] around two poles: privatization and welfare of social protection, instituting, at

[34] Dias (2020).
[35] On the debate on structural racism we recommend Almeida (2019).
[36] Social Security is an interlace of structures that need to function, like a gear, together and with quality. However, since its construction in Brazil, the model has been conducted as a remediating effect of a "flawed and complex" system, which cannot respond to all the demands that the working classes need.
[37] Even if they are structured in Social Security, social policies in the field of social security, health or social assistance have not been implemented and articulated with each other. Thus, it is observed the fragility within the public space and its monetarization, being articulated mainly by bank-financial operators (Granemann, 2007).
[38] About this see Roberto Schwarz (2005).

the same time, the figures of the citizen-consumer and the citizen-poor, the latter object of social assistance" (Mota, 2007, p. 130).

There has been an expansion of focal and compensatory policies, policies to combat hunger and the enhancement of the human rights agenda, to the detriment of social rights.[39] Therefore, the Social Assistance Policy is a centrality, especially in the governments of the Workers Party, being a great ally for the appeasement of the working classes, through immediate policies to cushion hunger and misery.

The encouragement of a[40] human rights agenda and income transfer policies is heading toward the deconstruction of universal social protection and social rights of work, to strengthen the neoliberal macroeconomic policy, with the aim of deepening counter-reforms (privatization and precariousness). But, with political-ideological strategies of passivation,[41] articulated with the ideas of "entrepreneurship", self-employment, voluptuous, individual solidarity, self-help, corporate responsibility, "human capitalism", "sustainable and green". We realize that the assumptions of freedom are constantly renewed to ensure new expropriations.

Employment and income generation policies, as well as social assistance, under great influence from international organizations, such as the Economic Commission for Latin America – ECLAC and the World Bank – place monetarization as a way to address poverty, seeing as a solution the transfers of income. Deliberately ignoring the structural pair that generates it (Silva, 2014).

The very configuration of contemporary capitalism[42] requires macroeconomic policies, which deepen the structural elements of the dependent economic insertion in the world market, via public indebtedness[43] and the drafting of the public fund – financed mainly by the workers –, with conditionalities, in which international institutions pay money to peripheral countries, in exchange for economic, cultural and political interference. Each loan allows the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to be opened and interchanged in macroeconomic policies and sectoral policies.

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[39] Conditionalities in the field of social security and health were expanded, while social assistance grew, justified by the increase in pauperism, in addition to the financial imbalance. This scenario encourages the need for complementarity in services, either through health plans or private pension. This is one of the expressions of the counter-reformist period, through the scrapping of public services (Moreira, 2019).

[40] The social policy of the period of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso turned to the creation of the Plan to Combat Hunger and Poverty, based on Betinho's projects, with the principles of solidarity, partnership and decentralization. With the promulgation of the Constitution of 1988, social assistance policy takes on a new aspect, being designed, but at the same time directed to the rules of capital. On the other hand, we had the organization first of the Organic Law of Social Assistance – LOAS, created in 1993, which deals with the organization of Social Assistance and subsequently the National Policy of Social Assistance – PNAS (2004) and the Single System of Social Assistance – SUAS (2005) (Moreira, 2019).

[41] The emphasis is added to the Millennium Goals during the Copenhagen Conference in 1995. It was agreed among state representatives, from a total of 189 countries, to meet the targets by 2015. The main goal is to reduce poverty by improving health and promoting peace (STEIN, 2009). According to the concept brought by this goal of the millennium was to strengthen the responsibility of civil society, through solidarity, in which it affirms that the "[...] volunteer is the protagonist, the agent of social transformation who provides unpaid service donating his or her time, his or her skills and his or her energy." Moved by solidarity and citizenship and driven by personal, social, political, cultural or religious motivations, it is spontaneously dedicated to causes, projects for the benefit of the community. Source: https://nacoesunidas.org/tema/odm/. Access on: July 10th 2020.

[42] See Carcanholo (2010).

[43] "[...] *debt service* more directly expresses financial dependence: dependent economies, by not having strong currencies, nor determining international financial flows, contract subordinate relationships not only to the capital-money function in a more general sense [...]" (Luce, 2018, p. 51, author's emphasis).

> If in general terms the role of the State in contemporary capitalism is to provide capital with optimal conditions of valorization, to cushion the effects of the crisis – it does so via public fund resources – nowadays this state has in expropriations the lever for the profitability of capital in the face of overaccumulation and its obstacles (Oliveira; Souza; Soares, 2019, p. 17–18).

With a subaltern insertion in the international division of labor, the social production of wealth in Brazil is divided among the imperialist countries. This dynamic demands a greater exploitation of the Brazilian workforce. That is why exponential inequality, with a strong concentration of political, income, land power and the great influence of imperialism are expressions of permanent nature in the Brazilian reality. In this sense, the integration into the international division of labor in a late and dependent manner reflects structural aspects of our social formation and our social classes, seen in the precariousness of working conditions and the policy of social assistance.[44]

Research on people in a situation of refuge in our country imposes an analysis on how the unequal development of capitalism is structured, migratory flows, the conditions of wage labor and the way in which the more-value socially produced is shared via social policies.

According to the Acnur survey (2019), in relation to public social services, public health is the service most used by people in situation of refuge, there are 444 refugees, equivalent to 91% of the total number of people surveyed (487 people). Public education is accessed by 201 refugees (41% of the total sample). With reference to the services of social assistance there are only 93 refugees (19% of the total sample). The survey shows that 71 refugees (14.6% of the total sample) have access to some type of social security service (health insurance, maternity insurance, etc.), even lower than those who contribute to social security (34% of the total sample).

A reduced number of 86 refugees (17.8% of the people interviewed) access the Continuing Benefit (BPC) and/or income transfer programs. In relation to the assistance programs, the Bolsa Familia Program (PBF) stands out, which serves 83.72% of this small group (17.8%). That is, among the services accessed by social assistance, Bolsa Família program is the majority. Acnur survey concludes that the working conditions of refugees are very precarious, because most are unemployed or work hard and have insufficient income to ensure their survival. They also have low integration due to the little language mastery and racism existing in Brazil. In addition, most of them do not have access to social protection, since they do not contribute to social security. They highlight that "[...] there are refugees in a situation as precarious as the Brazilians who are the beneficiaries of the Bolsa Família Program. They fundamentally reveal the great difference between the public services accessed and available" (Acnur, 2019, p. 44).

[44] It is seen as *a blessing* to whom is serviced by it. Not to mention that there is a transfer of responsibility to its civil society, which through NGOs´s and other groups, formalized with the State through partnerships and with a social responsibility nature.

The scope of Bolsa Família[45] is unquestionable, but the limitations that are presented are noticeable and, in more than 15 years, it was not able to reduce the disloyalty. The calculation of the poverty limit is not readjusted annually by the inflow, there is no adequacy of the value to be transferred, nor does it spend 0.5% of GDP for these types of programs. Add to this scenario the link to the social protection network, with the education and health deterioration.

The management of the Program is done in a decentralized manner, having the participation of all levels of power and the Federal Economic Cash is the agent that executes the payments. The PBF inserted millions of beneficiaries into the banking system, thereby remunerating financial institutions to validate the services provided. The Social Assistance policy gains this prominence as a social policy, differentiating from previous actions more focused on corporativism and philanthropy, but it is simultaneously focused on the care of interest-bearing capital, by interweaving in its relation to families and their funds. As low as the value of the benefit passed on to those who receive it, this value represents an amount seen in a unique way, as it is passed on. What happens is that this money remains in the bank while families do not withdraw, allowing services and operations on the part of financial capital (Brettas, 2017).

The issue of Social Assistance policy, centered on the transfer of income, at the same time guarantees access to consumption (ensures the realization of value) and provides the financialization of the policy. This is because it inserts the working class – the beneficiaries – into the circuit of finance, to the extent that it operates the benefit, using the way of the banks, through the use of a card and thereby inserts the resource that would be public within a banking and financial logic. It also assumes the characteristic of the monetarization of social policies, that is, it abandons the policies of state equipment for transfer of money, transforming the right into money.

There is an incentive to credit, increasing the incentive for beneficiary families to consume. The delicate thing about this is that it encourages for those of low income to adhere to individual credit works as a foundation for having access to what should be a right. Example would be what is guaranteed in CF 88 as housing, food, education, health, welfare, among so many others, the "integration" of that individual to social programs occurred incorrectly (Brettas, 2017). The income transfer programs and the allocation of other policies with the private sector caused a considerable adjustment of the working classes with financial institutions.

Precisely this is the new face of social policy, reconfigured to meet the changes in the pattern of reproduction of capital, aimed at the so-called financial capital. The most profitable form of interest is precisely in the wages and incomes of the working classes. The financial expropriation happens precisely from this relationship, because the workers extend their relationships with the banks and it is possible to withdraw profits from the individual income retained in these institutions (Brettas, 2017). These thoughtful programs act in the

[45] The Fome Zero was also the embryo of the Bolsa Família, regulated by Law No. 10.836 of January 09th, 2004, making the most comprehensive income transfer program in the world. The whole proposal presented in the PFZ was limited to actions of little expression, leaving only the greatest emphasis on the PBF. The Bolsa Familia Program became the model of social policy of the Lula government, followed by the following mandates. It was the unification of the programs created in the FHC government, such as the School Stock Exchange, Food and Gas Stipend. According to information from the government, the proposal consists of being a direct transfer of income program, seeking to guarantee families the right to food, access to education and health (Moreira, 2019).

face of the manifestations of the "social issue", which the PT governments assumed a type of reformism, but without reform.

> The expropriation of rights, conquered by the working class and widely financed by it, becomes the fundamental instrument of ensuring the valorization of capital: on the one hand, sending resources for interest-bearing capital – via public debt – and on the other hand, opening up space for the mercantilization of social reproduction in its totality (Oliveira; Souza; Soares, 2019, p. 21).

The governments of PT[46] sought to reconcile what would never be harmonic, which consists of neoliberal measures under the mantle of a supposed neo-developmentalism. This is materialized by the intense counter-reformist process of social security, education and health, while leveraging social assistance as its main policy of government. In line with an expansion of individual credit to the consumer, it has created loans to popular payments. What happened was the mediation of interests: if, on the one hand, it met some of the working classes; on the other hand, it sought to secure the premises of the ruling classes (Mota; Amaral; Peruzzo, 2012).

By meeting in part the demands of the working classes, the Lula government did not do so in a way that included them in the socialization of produced wealth, moving away from the class conception of struggle. Due to this, the results were the neglect of class antagonism and they were given through the consent around immediate guidelines. At the time when poverty was decontextualized, although not qualifying it as design or chance, but as a result of historical inequalities, it was treated by means of compensatory policies. Thus, it ensured both the response to the immediate needs of the most impoverished, as well as to the requests of the ruling classes (Mota; Amaral; Peruzzo, 2012).

Therefore, the intense process of massification of income transfer programs served to block manifestations of the most impoverished fringes of the working classes. For Simionatto and Costa (2014), the PT party governments served to create a social conformism, rather than educationally providing a "collective man." It was a perfect environment for capital, because it articulated antagonistic interests to continue the process of capitalist development and this through a passive consensus, with great collaboration.

Therefore, social policies have been increasingly privatized, scrapped, rephilanthropized and financialized. A structure to ensure low levels of social protection, as a compensatory, relief and containment policy to human rights violations. Thus, in this long period of preventive counterrevolution, in a hegemonic and destructive crisis of capital, it is of interest to the capital

> [...] to solve the obstacles of the super accumulation generated and, amid the crisis, the public fund will be its lifesaver. Reducing its action as

[46] The Fome Zero program presented limitations, while highlighting important points of CF 88, because the structural character allowed to demonstrate that hunger was not due to lack of food, but because of the poor and unequal distribution of Brazilian income. Increasingly subordinate to economic policy, because it was necessary in times of crisis to contain the class struggle. A pre-electoral program that advocates a counter position to the Solidarity Community is formed. However, there is an opposition to what was planned and put into practice during the Lula administration, being marked by the continuity of the FHC government and, mainly, guided by the neoliberal foundations (Siqueira, 2013).

> Indirect balance and expanding its role as a financier and subsidiary of its accumulation and valorization process, especially as a feeder of interest-bearing capital. The counter-reforms initiated in Brazil, are the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, passing through the PT governments and sharpened to the maximum power in the current government (Fascist and liberal) are reasonable evidence that the public fund, in the dispute between capital and labor, has been the main instrument of salvation in the face of the crisis of capital and of reaffirming our dependent condition. In this path of clear counter-revolution to implement the counter reforms, the Brazilian capitalism in crisis shows that its anti-national and antisocial bourgeoisie is brutally directing all the burdens to the working class (Oliveira; Souza; Soares, 2019, p. 19–20).

And it would not be different for refugees who are expropriated from their homes and arrive in countries, which historically carry in their structure the precariousness of work and social policies. In this period of pandemic, as mentioned earlier, the situation of extreme poverty of several Brazilians, migrants, refugees, indigenous peoples and quilombola communities worsened. And thousands of people did not have access to emergency aid due to the impossibility of having a cell phone with data to fulfill registration steps.[47] In view of this situation, endlessly queues were formed in the agencies of the Federal Economic Bureau that put at risk the lives of many people who do not have adequate food, adequate housing and access to quality health, making them much more susceptible to the most harmful effects of the disease.

In addition to the impacts of the pandemic on the lives of these people, "[...] there is no link among public employment policies, protection of migrants and refugees and combating work under conditions similar to that of slave" (Esmpu; Acnur, 2020, p. 58).

The existing actions to address the lack of effective public policies to combat the susceptibility of refugees are actions made possible in partnership with non-governmental organizations and with the support of the Brazil Network of the United Nations Global Compact (UN) and the High Commission of United Nations for Refugees (Acnur).[48] Many of these initiatives have of a great importance and impact on the lives of these people. However, because they are not public policies, they do not have the guarantee of regularity and access to all, as well as some of these actions are aimed at the perspective of "entrepreneurship" and self-responsibility of the individual for self-employment.

As mentioned in the first item, the permanent restructuring of capital brought even more precariousness to the Brazilian labor market. Labor counter-reforms placated the

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[47] Soares; Fachin (2020).

[48] "Integrated Action Project, maintained by MPT-RJ in partnership with Cáritas, with the objective of integrating workers in vulnerable situations to the labor market, offering training and other tools for the workers themselves to develop their skills. The UN Global Compact Brazil Network and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) launched, in April 2019, the Refugee Companies platform to promote the integration of refugees and asylum seekers in the Brazilian labor market. The initiative has support from UN Women and the Empowering Refugees project. On the platform, a private enterprise company can open the doors to refugee people and foster growth, innovation and diversity in the workplace. Companies with executive teams with higher ethnic diversity are 33% more likely. According to the Report Delivering Through Diversity, of 2017, of Consulting McKinsey. The categories of engagement of companies are: promotion of employability; support for entrepreneurship; encouragement of knowledge and education; and realization of awareness and engagement initiatives" (Esmpu; Acnur, 2020, p. 57).

legalization of irregular labor practices, promoted greater deprotection and consolidated the negotiated on the legislated. The arguments that moved this process of expropriation of rights were supposed modernization and economic freedom.

In the current fascist and ultra-liberal government, the agenda of compensatory and human rights policies is disregarded and rejected. Thus, a reality of extermination of compensatory policies, which no longer resolved numerous violations of fundamental rights, is consolidated.

Final Considerations

Expropriated from their countries, by hunger, by wars, many of which under false flags of "peace" and "humanitarian interventions", these refugees are expropriated from their lives by the consequences of bourgeois sociability. When they arrive in the countries of destination – in this case Brazil, a country of dependent capitalism, racist and that historically imposed a policy of extermination to the original peoples and black people – they experience racism and/or xenophobia and undergo a second expropriation.

The expropriations under the banner of freedom or peace make up capitalism: with different arguments, the imperialist countries, in order to resolve the overaccumulation, bet on the war industry, on the expulsion of native peoples, riparian inhabitants and quilombola for the extraction of wealth, on the commodification of public social services and on the withdrawal of labor rights. It is added that the peripheral countries in receiving these workers who have denied access in the central and imperialist nations, the overcoming other companies in profitability is expressed the failure to exercise the right to freedom to go and come, by denial in an attempt to seek a border are clearly expressed.

In addition to the current configuration of contemporary capitalism in its purpose of giving materiality to fictitious capital, it usurps even more rights of the Brazilian working classes and, in turn, refugees suffer from the absence of social protection and can still be victims of human trafficking, smuggling of migrants and contemporary slave labor.[49]

The insufficient and precarious Brazilian social protection system and the opportunities for employment insertion – which are committed to "entrepreneurship" and informality – express the marks of our social formation and our peripheral and dependent insertion in the international division of labor. With the cultural broth of a restricted democracy, of nullification of speech and dissent and of appropriation of the public thing by the ruling classes, social policies are marked by insufficiency, precariousness and disarticulation.

Despite a possible proposal from the "Income Brazil" Program, the Social Assistance Policy also goes through a field of uncertainty, since there is a lack of planning for a broader program that can meet a large number of affected people by the Covid-19 crisis. A considerable number entered the basic protection for the first time during this period and is already in the waiting queue, either to receive the emergency benefit, or to be later inserted into the Bolsa Familia Program. This lack of preoccupation with those inserted and served by this policy makes up a rights attack project, reinforcing the social minimum and repudiation of Brazilian bourgeoisies to any kind of possibility of a basic income.

[49] ESMPU; ACNUR (2020).

In the current articulation of the present period of capitalism, we are only certain of the dynamics of so-called financialization, which optimizes violence in all senses, to realize an added value that was often not produced and, at the same time, to resolve overaccumulation.

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