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### **ABSTRACT**

The COVID-19 pandemic generated a context of instability in the Brazilian economic scenario, requiring the establishment of public policies that would bring stimulus to the economic sector and

that could subsidize the population during social isolation. In this sense, this chapter aims to analyze the process of formation of the governmental agenda, using the Multiple Flows Model, proposed by Kingdon (2003), to analyze the institution of the Emergency Aid Program (PAE). The methodology used to achieve the results is based on a research perspective of a qualitative, applied, exploratory and documentary nature. Data collection and analysis were concentrated on documentary collections and information in the public domain. In conclusion, data on the profile of the beneficiaries of the program in its implementation were presented.

**Keywords:** Public policy agenda, multiple flows model, COVID-19, emergency aid.

## **1 INTRODUCTION**

Throughout history, humanity has already witnessed several crises in the economic and health sphere. The COVID-19 coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2) pandemic has presented itself as one of the greatest health challenges on a global scale this century.

In retrospect, it is noteworthy that insufficient scientific knowledge about the coronavirus, its high speed of spread, and its capacity to cause deaths, generated, notably, a scenario of uncertainty about what would be the best strategies for controlling and coping with the numerous problems arising from the pandemic.

In addition to the efforts to remedy the health problem, there was a need for action plans to minimize, even if momentarily, the damage caused to the economy, since, with the recommendations given by the health authorities to practice social distancing, this measure ended up bringing economic impacts on activities, especially those related to the third sector.

Faced with this scenario of uncertainties, several countries, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, opted for public policies that would stimulate the economic sector and that could subsidize the population during social isolation.

In Brazil, the public policy adopted to mitigate the economic damage caused by social isolation to the most vulnerable population was the implementation of Emergency Aid. When the first cases of the disease were confirmed, in mid-February 2020, measures were instituted by the Federal

Government in the economic sphere, and among them were discussions about the Emergency Aid Program (PAE).

Despite the existence of public social protection policies in the country, it was necessary to insert a new agenda to cover a larger portion of the population that was more vulnerable.

Based on the evidence of this demand, on April 2, 2020, Law No. 13,982 was published, which instituted Emergency Aid for economic confrontation in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The program, of a temporary nature, had as its characteristic the transfer of income to the population, mobilizing several government agencies to make it effective.

During this pandemic period, the importance of public policies for the containment of the virus and its variants, as well as for the maintenance of the economy in the country, became evident.

Thus, the main objective of this chapter is to contribute to a reflection on the process of formation of the governmental agenda, using the Multiple Flows Model, proposed by Kingdon (2003), to analyze the institution of the Emergency Aid Program (PAE).

We chose to address this theme because it is one of the main public policies of an economic nature implemented in Brazil during the pandemic, becoming fundamental to help the population that was in a situation of vulnerability amid the economic and health crisis.

In addition, there are few studies related to the formation of the governmental agenda of the PAE, especially for increasing an analytical perspective applied to the theoretical model of Kingdon (2003).

## **2 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS**

This work is based on a research perspective of qualitative, applied, exploratory, and documentary nature, considering that it seeks to generate knowledge about the process of construction of the agenda of the Emergency Aid Program (PAE), using the Multiple Flows model developed by Kingdon (2003).

Data collection and analysis were concentrated on documentary collections and information in the public domain, which were used to obtain the results.

The data collected comprised studies conducted systematically from March to December 2020, as the research is based on the first year of the pandemic.

The information was analyzed from the three categories of flows, through the articulation of the flows of problems, solutions, and policy, bringing theoretical reflections, systematizing, and classifying the data through analysis.

Searches were carried out in scientific databases, websites in the public domain of the Federal Government, such as the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA), reports released by the

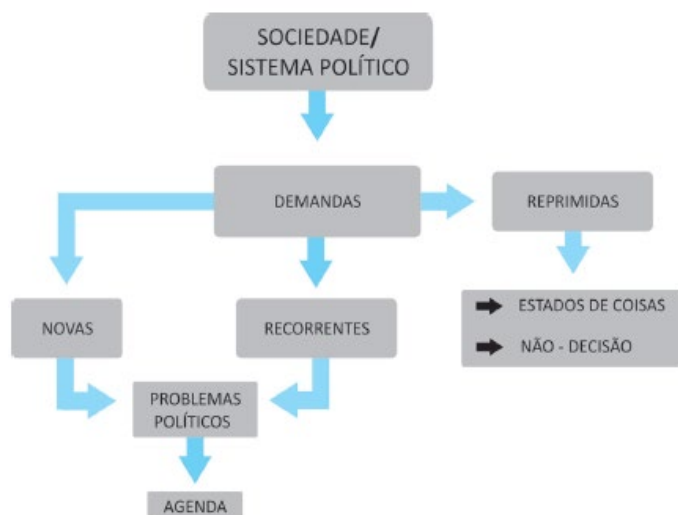
Ministry of Citizenship through the page "Keeping an eye on Citizenship", among others, to show the execution and results of the formulation.

### 3 DEMANDS IN PUBLIC POLICIES

In public policies, many demands arise from demands that social actors make to the public power to minimize or remedy social problems. The demands can reach the political arenas through civil society, and political classes that represent us and, therefore, act to meet the demands of society (ALMEIDA, 2010).

According to the classification of Rua (2012), we can identify three types of demand: New, Recurrent, and Repressed, as shown in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Formation of the governmental agenda through demands



Source: Street (2012).

According to the author, new demands result from the emergence of new political actors or new problems (RUA, 2012).

Thus, they are understood as those that arise before new events and that enter into a political discussion and can be of any nature (educational, sanitary, cultural, among others).

New demands manage to have visibility as a problem, although this does not mean that they will enter the formal agenda of the government.

The recurring demands, on the other hand, "express unresolved or poorly resolved problems, which are always reappearing in the political debate and the governmental agenda" (RUA, 2012, p. 70).

This type of demand is always under discussion in the political arena, even if they are not included in the agenda.

The repressed demands "are those constituted by 'states of affairs' or by non-decisions" (RUA, 2012, p. 70).

According to the author, "non-decision" means that certain issues, which contradict the codes of values of a society or threaten strong interests, face diverse obstacles of varying intensity to their transformation from a state of affairs into a political problem – and, therefore, to their inclusion in the governmental agenda.

In this process of forming the governmental agenda it is important to understand at what moment the public problem will become important and visible to occupy space within a governmental discussion.

For this, guiding questions can be raised and thus begin the deliberation and execution of this agenda. After all, at what point do demands become part of the public policy agenda?

This theme becomes complex because a limited understanding of what a public policy would be starting from the conception of what are the problems (demands) and their solutions.

For Agum *et. al* (2015, p. 15) there is an interpretation for the definition of public policies that is created by Thomas Dye (1984), in which a public policy is "what the government chooses to do or not to do". According to Secchi (2013, p.10), "public policies deal with the concrete content and symbolic content of political decisions, and the process of construction and performance of these decisions".

This means that the principle of decisions is not born simply from a set of problems or themes understood as relevant, but from a set of problems or themes that the political community perceives as deserving of public intervention.

### 3.1 THE PANDEMIC CRISIS ON THE PUBLIC POLICY AGENDA

Seeking an understanding of the function of the State and how its intervention in society can be attributed, it is observed that, in the face of crisis contexts, the models suggest coping plans, such as those that have combated and mitigated the problems caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

States that have a more structured population protection network, that have a social security, health, and education system that meets the demand, have the best conditions to face crises such as the one experienced by the pandemic since 2020.

Occurring the opposite, the instability of these conditions added to scenarios of political instability reveal a crisis that can manifest itself in various spheres within the State.

The crisis caused by COVID-19 brings inevitable discussions and comparisons with other health crises, such as meningitis in the 70s here in Brazil, as well as the Spanish flu in 1918.

For Boin (2009) *apud* Valentin (2020), the traditional view of crises has as main conceptual elements: threat, urgency, and uncertainty.

However, there is a differentiation between these modern crises, because they cross borders beyond the geographical, bringing economic and political instability, both in the public and private spheres, being difficult to measure their beginning and end.

In Brazil, the COVID-19 pandemic has further accentuated political and economic instability, revealing a crisis in the coordination of coping with current demands, absence of solid governmental articulation, difficulties in delegating functions that are fundamental to the progress of the agenda, neglect, and omission of important agendas and public interest and the absence or contradictory information regarding the COVID-19 pandemic and virus.

This climate of uncertainty brought even more instability to the population, evidencing discrepancies in cooperation between the administrative instances of the Government and the health authorities, causing disbelief and false information that was propagated.

The arrival of the virus in Brazil highlighted economic and health problems in the country, in addition to making urgent decision-making related to public policies, since the COVID-19 pandemic is classified as a new demand, because at that moment when the emergency is consolidated, more and more new actors and new problems have emerged.

Coping with a pandemic becomes a challenge for any nation, as it interferes with the health system, both public and private, overloading them with the high demand of users. In addition, it impacts the economy at this time of the outbreak, making it necessary, in 2020, the closure small and large businesses as measures to contain the virus.

However, the absence of coordination by federal entities within the measures taken to prevent the spread of COVID-19 is evidenced when there is no parity in decision-making. It is at this moment that there is the perception of a "public evil" that for Rua (2012, p. 73) "a situation that is bad for many and from which no one has any way to escape".

#### **4 FORMATIONS OF THE AGENDA THROUGH THE MULTIPLE FLOWS MODEL: THE CONTEXT OF THE EMERGENCY AID PROGRAM (EAP)**

The formation of the Government Agenda is one of the most important stages in the construction of public policies. Therefore, we must ask ourselves about some points of the existing problem: why do not all issues reach the governmental agenda? What are the reasons that lead the rulers to give greater attention to these issues?

For the agenda to be formed, the theme must arouse the attention of a considerable number of actors involved. The problem that will be addressed in the agenda should meet characteristics that can affect and arouse the attention of a wider audience.

According to Calmon and Costa (2007), the characteristics necessary to awaken a wider audience, are as shown in Chart 1.

Table 1 - Characteristics to awaken a wider audience.

<b>1. Degree of specificity</b>	The more abstract the definition of a problem, the more likely it is to arouse the attention of a wider audience.
<b>2. Scope of importance</b>	The more important the topic is to society, the more likely it is to reach the public.
<b>3. Temporal relevance</b>	The more lasting the possible impact of the problem, the larger the audience.
<b>4. Degree of complexity</b>	Simpler, easier-to-understand problems reach a wider audience.
<b>5. Categorical precedence</b>	Problems with similar precedents will reach a wider audience more quickly.

Source: Calmon and Costa (2007).

For Capella (2018, p. 28) the governmental agenda is composed of the issues considered relevant by decision-makers, whether at the local, state, or federal level. In this sense, according to Kingdon (2003, p. 03), and *apud* Capella (2018, p. 29), the governmental agenda is defined as the set of issues on which the government, and people linked to it, focus their attention at a given moment.

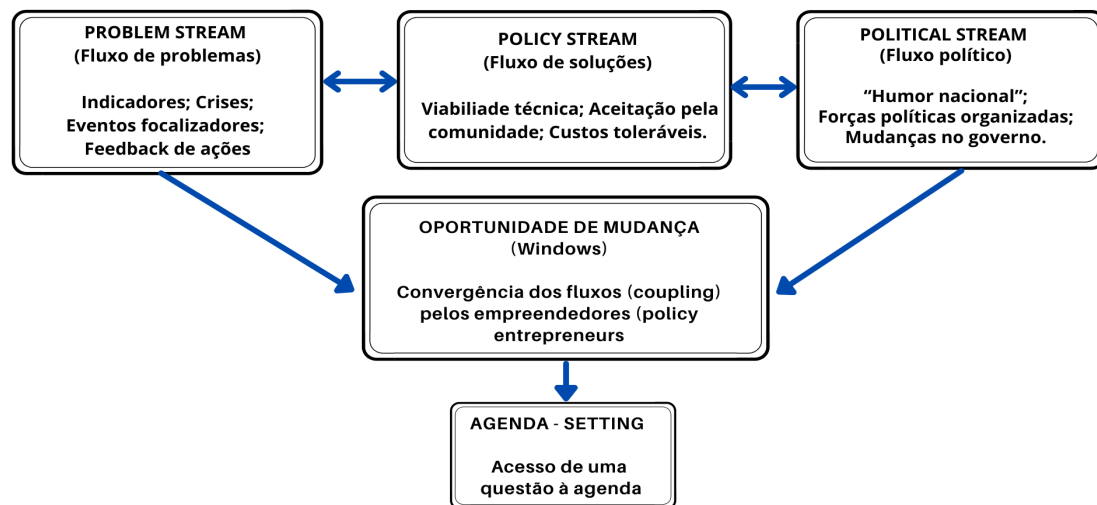
As important as understanding where the issues arise for the formation of the agenda, it is necessary to understand the momentary political scenario, because it is this that will allow the transformation of a demand into an agenda.

For Agum *et al*, (2015, p. 34), Kingdon's analysis indicates the importance of the performance of groups of actors for the definition of an agenda. In addition, using models that help the formulation of the interventions that will be carried out brings beyond a strategic definition, a standard model of action for that public problem.

The model of Kingdon (2003) advocates that the understanding of the issues by those who will formulate the policies goes through the orientation that will converge in the construction of the agenda, coming from a "mixture" of *problems (problems)*, solutions or alternatives (*policies*) and policies (*politics*). The model can be visualized, as shown in Figure 2:

Figure 2 - The model of multiple flows in the formation of the public policy agenda

### EIXOS TEMÁTICOS DA PESQUISA SOBRE AGENDA



Source: Capella (2006).

The first stage of this flow is the flow of problems. It will be from it that the delimitation of the problem evidenced will occur, which should be seen with greater attention since there will be numerous issues that should enter into discussion, but only those that will draw more attention to public agents will be considered to be solved. In the case of the pandemic, we can consider two problems of greater evidence at the moment: health and the economy.

Still, within the discussion of formulation, Kingdon (2011) shows the importance of bringing mechanisms that can contribute to the analysis of the problem which are: the indicators, focal events, and *feedback*. The indicators will bring parameters of a situation. The indicators give information on certain facts/social situations. They can draw attention to important realities not properly attended to by the State (PALUDO, 2016).

Already the focal events can bring greater attention to a problem, but they will not be decisive to the point of becoming an agenda (KINGDON, 2011). However, significant events or moments of crisis arouse the attention of the population and can arouse the interest of the actors involved in public policies (PALUDO, 2016).

For the disclosure of the problem of the "crisis" type, it is first necessary to recognize and identify the crisis. One of the points that can be analyzed for this parameter is the approach of the theme by the media, because, from this, society will become aware of the public problem.

In the case of the pandemic, this evidence of the theme took place at the end of 2019, even before the virus arrived in the country, through the dissemination of information from China about the discovery of the first cases of the disease and that has already brought influence in the world economy.

From this scenario, the indicators that were collected from the first surveys conducted with the emergence of COVID-19 ended up gaining government attention.

The third item, feedback, will be the response given to the actions taken by governments, which can be collected through reports, evaluations made of public policy, or diagnoses (KINGDON, 2011). It should be noted that the results of previous policies may require a change of direction in future actions (PALUDO, 2016).

The problem that began with the pandemic received attention from public managers in the economic and health spheres, but as a focus here is to bring the impacts on the economy, we will deepen this problem.

According to data published by the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA), in February 2021, referring to the first year of the pandemic in Brazil, the coronavirus has had the greatest impact on public accounts.

The GDP in 2020 had a nominal deficit of 13.7%, this percentage being attributed to results of the federal government since in the states and municipalities this deficit was zero.

For the population, this impact was evident in the reduction of jobs and the increase in food insecurity. According to data published by the Brazilian Institute of Economics (IBRE), the reduction of formal jobs in 2020 was (-4.2%), but informal jobs had three times more job losses, reaching (-12.6%).

Another published data reports that the occupations that had the lowest schooling were the most affected during the pandemic, suffering a reduction of 20.6% in the jobs of people with up to 3 years of education and 15.8% in people who had 4 to 7 years. Despite these low scenarios, there was a 4.8% increase in job vacancies for people with 15 years or more of study.

Another social and economic effect aggravated by the pandemic crisis was the increased fragility of the population's food system. The sudden reduction in household income, coupled with the reduction in demand for food that was provided by small farmers, led to losses in production and food waste. In a crisis scenario, this fact occurs at a time when many do not have the conditions to supply the basics for food.

According to the previous discussions, the flow of problems proclaims that for a topic to become a problem it must be important and deserve the attention of the formulators. Therefore, if there is interest from policymakers, it finds space in the governmental agenda.

The flow of solutions corresponds to the space in which solutions or alternatives (*policies*) to public problems are developed. These alternatives arise inside and outside public institutions, comprising the collection of ideas and the solutions that can be made available to the problems faced.



It is common at this stage *to brainstorm*, because it will be a time of debate, where ideas can be adapted to the context, or even discarded.

In addition, it is important to understand the actors involved in the problem in question, understanding the demands attributed to them. For Secchi (2013), these actors can be individuals or institutions that will be influenced in the process of formation and execution of governmental and non-governmental public policies.

It is important to understand that these actors may vary according to the phases of public policy development, with the possibility of expansion or bottlenecking.

Considering that there are debates in which consensus is sought regarding a given solution proposal, those who presented the suggestion seek support from public policy actors, community members, and society in general, that is, seek to convince them of the validity of the proposal presented (PALUDO, 2016).

Also, according to the author, as a rule, the most accepted proposals: congregate values shared by several actors, are technically feasible, and present reasonable costs.

Bringing this stage of the agenda to the context studied, here we can say that it was the beginning of the formulation of a program that would help the population financially during the economic crisis that the pandemic brought that year.

The flow of alternatives to the economy included several actions, many arising from social isolation and the closure of companies, such as the possibility of reducing working hours and wages, help from BNDES and public banks, granting "temporary relief" of people's debt, flexibilization of labor laws to maintain jobs, an extension of the payment of taxes and contributions, among others.

Evidencing such alternatives, the decision-making process followed the analysis of political, economic, and social factors that conditioned the formulation of public policies, always considering that something should be done to minimize these negative effects of the pandemic on the economy, in this case, in the scope of income transfer.

What were the characteristics of structuring the decision-making process in the formulation of the Emergency Aid Program (PAE)? The discussions on the conceptions of public policy, which took place between the Planalto and the Congress, comprised March and early April, focusing on the alternative of an emergency income for vulnerable Brazilians, whose beneficiaries would be the users of the Bolsa Família or users of the Single Registry, also contemplating the concession for those without employment or with proof of their situation of vulnerability.

This stage of the formation of the agenda is important because the political and economic balance guarantees the balance in the process of construction of public policy.

The third stage of the flow, which is the political flow, which has peculiar logic: the logic of political activity itself. Negotiations, bargains, coalitions, and exchange of favors – are used for persuasion and consensus. Three items influence the political flow (PALUDO, 2016):

- a) The national climate/mood corresponds to the moment when large numbers of people, at the same time, agree with a situation.
- b) Organized political forces – refer to pressure groups on a given topic.
- c) Changes within the government – legislature, managers, and people on the government team.

Here, the thermometers are the political relations, how the government is being seen by society, public opinion, the relationship between governments, political parties as well as ideological issues (KINGDON, 2011).

In the scenario that Brazil was going through, this stage of the flow was quite evident worldwide, because the political instability, when the pandemic took on great proportions, brought to light the fragility of the National Executive and the absence of coordination between the ministries, where they would have to form the most solid basis to combat the crisis that was taking place.

According to Capella (2005, p.16) "the promises made to the coalition of support, in the same way as the government programs, can influence the governmental agenda, but do not ensure that changes are promoted".

For Kingdon (2003), still, within the perspective of actors, there are interest groups that are also important pieces within the formation of the governmental agenda, such as public interest groups and professional categories.

The Ministry of Health, one of the most important within the policy to combat the pandemic, was the one that suffered the most from the political instability.

During the pandemic, there was an exchange of four ministers for incompatibility of ideals and different points of view on how to proceed in the actions to combat the pandemic.

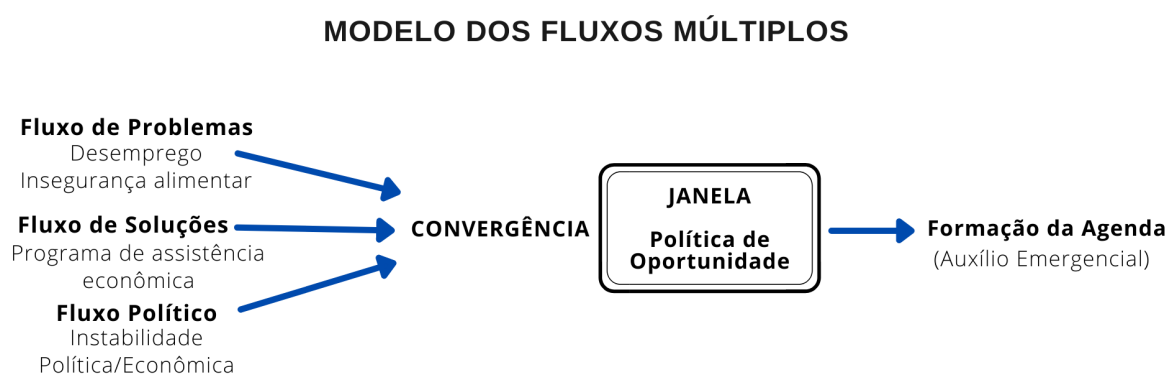
Among this mismatch of ideals were the wearing or not of masks and the execution of lockdown.

Another point related to the economy that brought a climate of instability between the Legislative and the Executive was the discussion about how much would be the amount paid to the vulnerable population to pay them in the closure of trade and growth of unemployment.

This climate of instability influenced the image of the government inside and outside the country, in addition to directly interfering in the formation of the political agenda.

Using the multiple flows model, we can visualize the process of construction of the government agenda, as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3 - The Multiple Flows Model in the Agenda



Source: Own elaboration, based on the research data and the model of Kingdon (2003).

The decision-making in public policies, arising from this model, must be carried out through the meeting of the flows, whose sequence, applied to the case, is characterized in Figure 3 as a window of opportunity, since it includes: the recognition of a problem; the existence of an appropriate solution; and favorable political conditions.

Thus, when there is a convergence of the three flows, the issue enters the governmental agenda and the decision-making agenda.

Thus, with the meeting between the flows of problems, solutions, and policies, the junction of ideas may arise that will become an opportunity for change in the agenda. When there is recognition of the flow of problems, solutions can be made available and the political conditions at the time of these formulations can bring to the fore the realization of the agenda.

This convergence of flows indicates a collective search for effective responses to the pandemic. Although opinions differed as to the effectiveness of specific alternatives, the issue of public health and the measures needed to face the economic and health crisis became a priority on the country's political agenda. In this sense, the formation of the agenda took place in response to the gravity of the situation and the need to face the challenges imposed by the pandemic.

## **5 FROM THE AGENDA TO IMPLEMENTATION: DATA ON THE EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM (EAP) IN 2020**

The Emergency Aid was established by Law No. 13,982, on April 2, 2020, being a combination of the Citizenship Basic Income programs, created by Law No. 10,835, of 2004, and the Unemployment Insurance Program, established by Law No. 7,988, of 1990.

The Emergency Aid Program (PAE) was created to fill the social protection gap left by the pandemic, benefiting informal workers, low-income heads of families, and people in vulnerable situations.

From the measures taken by the government to initiate the PAE, the powers of the bodies that would participate in the Program were delegated, both in its formulation and in its execution. The Ministry of Economy (ME) and the Ministry of Citizenship (MC) were the protagonists in this endeavor of the program in 2020.

Officially, this autonomy was published in Decree No. 10,316, dated April 7, 2020, in its article 4, where:

It is incumbent upon the Ministry of Citizenship to manage the emergency aid for all beneficiaries and to order the expenses for the implementation of the emergency aid and the Ministry of Economy to act, jointly with the Ministry of Citizenship, in defining the criteria for the identification of the beneficiaries of the emergency aid and authorizing a federal public data processing company to use the databases provided for in this Decree (...) (BRAZIL, 2020).

At first, the program made available to the beneficiaries 3 installments of R\$600.00 and R\$1,200.00 for the women heads of household.

Other classes fell within the universe of the program: beneficiaries of the Bolsa Família, people registered in the Single Registry and who were not served by the Bolsa Família program, and citizens who applied for the benefit through the application and website created by DATAPREV who did not have an employment relationship or who fit the situation of vulnerability.

Further on, the PAE was extended to another R\$1,200.00 in two installments of R\$600.00, between July and August 2020, through Decree 10,412, in June 2020 (Imprensa Nacional, 2020), as shown in Figure 4.

Still in 2020, through a provisional measure, the PAE was extended again until December, but with the value lower than the previous months.

The extension was R\$300.00, and they were paid in four installments. The PAE, during its validity, replaced the Bolsa Família benefit program, when it was more advantageous for the beneficiaries of the program. With the end of the PAE, the families received the Bolsa Família again, becoming complementary values.

According to data published in the April issue of the Federal Government's editorial "Keeping an eye on Citizenship", where the profile of the beneficiaries of the emergency aid program in 2020 is highlighted, about 67.9 million people benefited directly from the Emergency Aid, which represents about a third of the Brazilian population, considering the total population estimated at 211,755,692 inhabitants (IBGE, 2020).

Figure 4 - Schedule of execution of the Emergency Aid Program.

ABRIL DE 2020	JUNHO DE 2020	JULHO DE 2020	SETEMBRO DE 2020	DEZEMBRO DE 2020
<p><b>CRIAÇÃO:</b> LEI NO 13.982, DE 2 DE ABRIL DE 2020.</p> <p><b>REGULAMENTAÇÃO:</b> DECRETO N° 10.316 E PORTARIA NO 351, AMBOS DO MINISTÉRIO DA CIDADANIA, DO DIA 07 DE ABRIL DE 2020.</p> <p><b>INÍCIO DO PERÍODO DE REQUERIMENTO E DE PAGAMENTO</b></p>	<p><b>PRORROGAÇÃO DE DUAS PARCELAS:</b> DECRETO NO 10.412, DE 30 DE JUNHO DE 2020.</p>	<p><b>TÉRMINO DO PERÍODO DE REQUERIMENTO DO AUXÍLIO:</b> 02/07/2020</p>	<p><b>CRIAÇÃO DO AUXÍLIO EMERGENCIAL RESIDUAL VIGENTE ATÉ DEZEMBRO DE 2020:</b> MEDIDA PROVISÓRIA NO 1000, DE 2 DE DEZEMBRO DE 2020.</p> <p><b>REGULAMENTAÇÃO DO AUXÍLIO EMERGENCIAL RESIDUAL:</b> DECRETO NO 10.488, DE 16 DE SETEMBRO</p>	<p><b>TÉRMINO DO PERÍODO DE PAGAMENTO DO AUXÍLIO EMERGENCIAL RESIDUAL:</b> 31/12/20</p>

Source: Ministry of Citizenship (2020).

Within the program, people enrolled in the Individual Micro Entrepreneur (MEI), individual taxpayers of the INSS, unemployed, and informal workers who do not receive social security or welfare benefits from the Government, except the Bolsa Família, were contemplated.

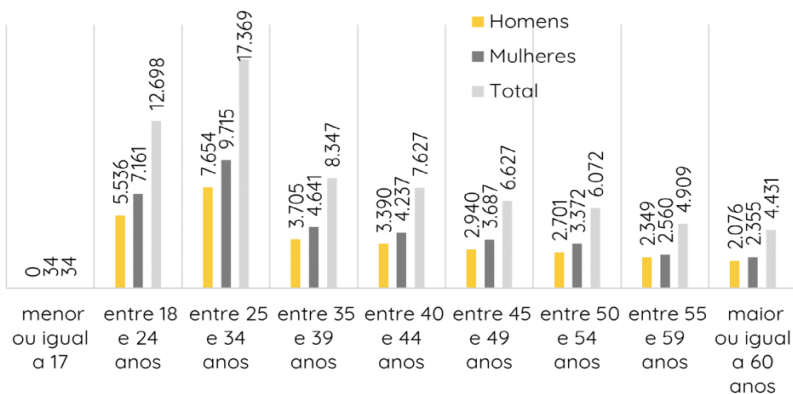
Other requirements should be met, such as being over 18 years old, except for teenage mothers, not having a formal job, having a family income between half a salary and up to three minimum wages, and having taxable income of up to R \$ 28,559.70 in the year 2019.

Given the information collected in the report published by "De olho na cidadania", the predominance of young women who received emergency aid was quite expressive.

Women aged 18 to 34 years were prevalent in all age groups.

An important fact that can be observed in this profile is that women are the ones who present a higher degree of social vulnerability than men. The information regarding these data is shown in Graph 1.

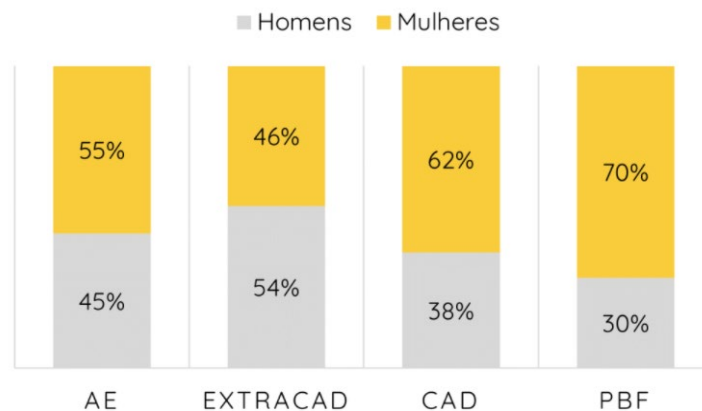
Graph 1 - Profile of Emergency Aid Beneficiaries by Gender and Age - Brazil



Source: Ministry of Citizenship (2020).

Another point to be raised about the gender of the beneficiaries of the emergency aid, presented in Graph 2, is that women represent 55% of these recipients of the Emergency Aid (EA), but they are not the majority in all groups. In the target audience of the Bolsa Família Program (PBF) and Cadastro Único (CAD) they occupy 70% and 62%, but in ExtraCad (Other workers – Extracad) they occupy 54% of the public reached. Men are the majority in ExtraCad and the explanation for this data is given by the socioeconomic situation of families in a situation of vulnerability, since women make up the priority group of government assistance policies.

Graph 2 - Profile of beneficiaries of Emergency Aid by sex for each public – Brazil



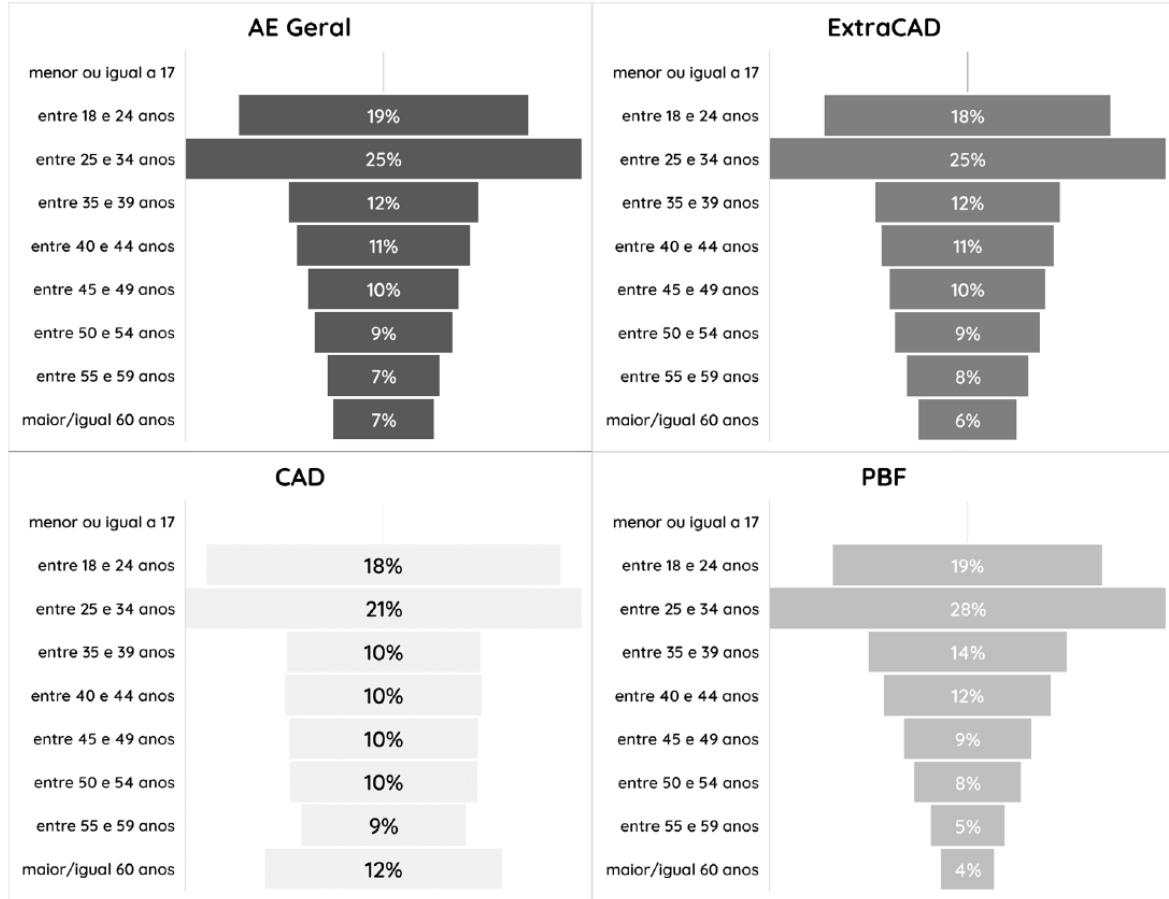
Source: Ministry of Citizenship (2020).

The data reveal that the men who were not included in the Cadúnico, but who were contemplated to receive the aid, were already inserted in the poverty line due to their economic situation.

Regarding the age profile shown by the participants of the Emergency Aid, in Graph 3, it is that people aged between 25 and 34 years of age are the vast majority since 44% are between 18 and 34 years old and 7% are elderly people aged 60 or more.

Another point to be observed is the participation of older people enrolled in the Single Registry since this percentage is not included within the Bolsa Família. This can be explained by the fact that the elderly in the Cadúnico group is already part of the vulnerable groups and therefore are not allowed to participate in other income transfer programs.

Graph 3 - Age profile of those covered by Emergency Aid - Brazil

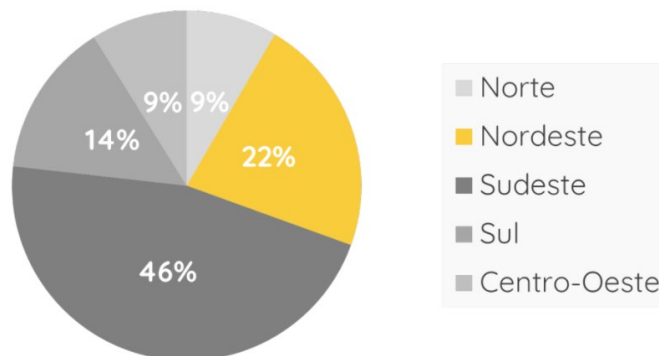


Source: Ministry of Citizenship (2020).

Graph 4 shows the distribution of beneficiaries by region in the country, where the Southeast region has 46% of these enrolled in the Single Registry and the Northeast region with 22%. The public that is part of the single Registry is inserted in its great majority in the Southeast and Northeast region.

During the pandemic, the aggravation of this vulnerability was evident, not only in these aforementioned regions but also in the South and Southeast.

Graph 4 - Percentage of beneficiaries by region in the Single Registry Group

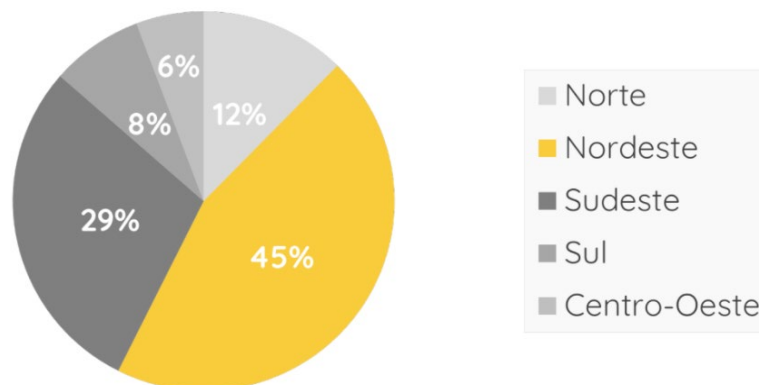


Source: Ministry of Citizenship (2020).

Graph 5 shows information regarding the group belonging to the Bolsa Família, where the Northeast has 45% of people registered, while the Southeast this percentage represents 29%.

These data highlight the need for a reflection on how the Northeast region presents itself within this scenario of social inequality since public policies to adopt measures to combat poverty and inequality have already been carried out by the Federal Government.

Graph 5 - Percentage of beneficiaries by region in the Bolsa Família group



Source: Ministry of Citizenship (2020).

The discussions on the subject of income transfer programs in Brazil bring to light whether there is effectiveness for the individuals who are contemplated. Regarding the data related to the implementation and monitoring of the Emergency Aid Program, these do not present more in-depth studies in 2020, especially about the effects and impact of public policy in the country.

However, still, in May 2020, the National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) published a conjuncture letter with a survey conducted on the average amount received per household of Emergency Aid.

According to the report, this amount was R\$ 846.50 and corresponded to 44.6% of the average income of the employed, 77.5% of the average income of the self-employed, and 21.2% higher than the average income of the domestic worker.

This amount received compensated for a considerable part of the loss of income caused by the pandemic.

Another fact related to the growth of Emergency Aid is that still in May 2020, 42% of households and 49% of the population had access to the program. Compared to Bolsa Família, until then the program with the highest coverage in the country, the index reached 19% of households and 25% of the population.

Another published data showed that in the North and Northeast, the effect of the PAE was quite significant because the value of the benefit in these regions was higher since the Bolsa Família program



influenced the amounts paid to the beneficiaries and it is in these regions where the largest portion of individuals of the program is found.

In the North region, the average value of the AE was R\$ 936.16, 17% higher than the average received by the self-employed workers, which was R\$ 801.46. For domestic work, the amount was R\$ 616.73, and the aid was 52% higher. In the Northeast region, the data show that the average AE received of R\$ 907.37 was 46% higher than the income of self-employed workers (R\$ 616.60) and 87% higher than the income of domestic employees (R\$ 485.76).

Also in 2020, economic experts projected that the end of Emergency Aid would bring to the fore the poverty that, momentarily, was alleviated with the program. Families living on R \$ 155 *per capita per* month, should leap, getting between 10% and 15% of the population. In 2019, it was at 7% and fell to 2.3% in 2020 (Imprensa Nacional, 2021).

## 6 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The complex scenario that the health crisis brought aggravated the socioeconomic problems which Brazil was already going through, bringing even more inequality, and unemployment, among other problems faced by the population.

To analyze this construction in a theoretical way, it was observed that the process of agenda formation permeates an articulation of problems, solutions, and political coalitions. It sought to show how political factors and national climate influence the formation of a new agenda.

In addition, it showed the existence of governmental fragility during the process of agenda formation. This type of study is of great value, as it can identify a context conducive to the emergence of new government agendas.

Some results of the year 2020 were presented here, as well as socioeconomic data of the beneficiaries of emergency aid, evidencing the possibility of a set of studies that investigate indicators after the implementation of the program.

It is possible to say that the execution of Emergency Aid brought to light a scenario of socioeconomic fragilities of the population, since the beneficiaries, when contemplated, should be inserted within a social parameter of vulnerability.

Despite the existence of public policies for social protection in the country, it is necessary to strengthen these programs. The actions must be constant and not punctual, as was the PAE, which despite its limitation, was important to guarantee conditions for the survival of a portion of the population that was in a vulnerable situation.

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