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Yet another paradigm change? Narratives and competing policy paradigms in Brazilian labour market policies

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ABSTRACT

When policy paradigms compete for sovereignty, a well thought-out narrative story is essential to arguing why one paradigm is superior to another. Narrative stories can be applied to underline the imperative for paradigmatic policy change. Combining Hall’s work on policy paradigms with Stone’s conceptualisation of narrative stories, this article explores how narrative stories are applied to support or oppose competing policy paradigms and proposes that the systematic analysis of narrative stories fosters a better understanding of policy paradigms. The case of labour market policy in Brazil is used to exemplify the argument: 13 years of Workers’ Party rule induced far-reaching changes in Brazilian social and labour market policy based on demand-orientation. Following the impeachment of President Rousseff, interim-President Temer initiated major labour reforms, reviving liberal narratives. This article explores how these policy changes are representative of the competition between policy paradigms, which are reflected in party-political competition, and how recent paradigm change is supported by the construction of narrative stories.

1. Introduction

To advance policy change, policymakers often use narrative stories to frame policy problems and present their preferred policy as a solution to the defined problem (Stone, 1989, 2012). In the field of social and labour market policy, the social construction of the problem can be particularly relevant, enabling a political party to gather support for reforms that are associated with cutbacks or retrenchment (Bandelow & Hornung, 2019; Cox, 2001). Given the inherent ambiguity of policymaking, particularly during the agenda-setting phase (Capano & Galanti, 2018), narrative stories are essential for defining policy preferences (Stone, 2012). The competition for the ‘right’ policy solution to a problem, such as unemployment, is often embedded into a broader ideational framework on how the world works; Peter Hall calls these overarching ideas policy paradigms (Hall, 1993). Generally, policy paradigms include the basic ideas shared within a policy community (Daigneault, 2014) and help to define policy problems as well as to seek potential solutions for the identified problem (Howlett & Ramesh, 2003).

KEYWORDS

Labour market reform; policy paradigms; Brazilian policymaking; policy change; economic policy
Radical, far-reaching policy changes are often accompanied by a change of policy paradigms (Bandelow, Vogeler, Hornung, Kuhlmann, & Heidrich, 2019; Hall, 1993). In what ways are these paradigm changes supported by narrative stories? This paper elaborates on the relationship between policy paradigms and narrative stories and exemplifies these by studying the case of labour market policy in Brazil. After combining research on policy paradigms with narrative stories, this paper proposes that the latter are crucial to communicating policy paradigms as they make them credible both within the policy community and for voters. When policy paradigms compete for sovereignty, a well thought-out narrative story is particularly essential to arguing why one paradigm is superior to another and to underline the imperative for change.

In past decades, Brazilian economic and social policy has been shaped by competing paradigms that can broadly be characterised as a neoliberal paradigm versus a demand-oriented or state-interventionist paradigm (Kingstone, 2000; Power, 2000; Schneider, 2013; Vogeler, 2016). These paradigms are thought to be closely related to two of the three policy paradigms proposed by scholars of social policy (Hemerijck, 2018; Morel, Palier, & Palme, 2012). Whilst the social investment paradigm has been gaining prominence in Europe since the 1990s (Nolan, 2013; O’Leary et al., 2018), this article argues that labour market policy in Brazil is characterised by the competition between a Keynesian-Beveridge and a neoliberal paradigm (see Table 3). The competing paradigms have evolved into an element of party competition: whilst the Workers’ Party (PT) governments of Lula da Silva (2003–2011) and Dilma Rousseff (2011–2016) strengthened the role of the state in economic and social relations (Hall, 2009; Schneider, 2013), the government of interim President Michel Temer assigned a greater responsibility to the market (Section 3). Following the impeachment of PT President Rousseff in 2017 (Planalto, 2018), radical policy changes have been induced: the labour market reform of 2017 is outstanding, since it aims at the flexibilisation and deregulation of the labour market as well as the significant restructuring of industrial relations (Planalto, 2017). The reform presents the most radical change in labour laws since 1943. It radically alters social and industrial relations (Hall, 2009; Hunter & Power, 2007; Silva, 2017) and is especially interesting because it was severely contested: in reaction to the bill’s ratification, general strikes took place across Brazil (Brazilian Parliament, Câmara dos Deputados, 2017a). In light of its far-reaching implications on the one hand and its contested character on the other, this paper hypothesises that the reform is an expression of the competition of policy paradigms. Moreover, the analysis uncovers how narrative stories were built to underline the imperative for paradigmatic policy change.

The article is structured as follows: Section 2 elaborates on the connection between policy paradigms and narrative stories. Section 3 presents the case study. Section 4 introduces the design for the empirical analysis, which follows in section 5. Section 6 then discusses the findings and provides concluding remarks.

2. Narrative stories and policy paradigms

Studying the case of macroeconomic policymaking in Great Britain, Peter Hall illustrated how important policy fields are dominated by an overarching set of ideas that guide policymakers (Hall, 1993). This set of ideas ‘specifies the goals of policy and the instruments that can be used to attain them, but also the very nature of the problems they are meant to be addressing.’ (p. 279). Policy paradigms include general interpretations of
the world, of the problem in a particular policy field, and of the policies that should be applied to address the identified problem (Daigneault, 2014; Howlett & Ramesh, 2003). However, only a few ideas can be labelled as paradigms (Baumgartner, 2014), and the delimitation of paradigms is contested (Hogan & Howlett, 2015). Policy paradigms have become particularly relevant for the study of major policy change: Hall argues that radical policy change will only occur if there is a change in the overarching policy paradigm (Hall, 1993; Hall, 2013). Changes in actors and the rise of new coalitions may contribute to paradigm change, e.g. when new actors rise to power and promote a different policy paradigm (Hall, 1993). An alternative policy paradigm must include a clear policy objective and the policy instruments that will be used to achieve this objective (Daigneault, 2014; Hall, 1993).

It is exactly this subjective construction of reality by the proponents or opponents of a policy paradigm that makes the connection with narrative stories particularly fruitful: narrative stories present a frame of how the world works by providing an interpretation of a defined policy problem as well as a potential solution to this problem (Stone, 2012, 1989). Stone proposes that ‘narrative stories are the principal means for defining and contesting policy problems (…) stories provide explanations of how the world works’ (p. 158). Narratives are important when it comes to policy change and have recently been included in frameworks for the analysis of public policy, such as the narrative policy framework (Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, & Radaelli, 2018). Since policy paradigms are in a constant struggle for authority, this article argues that narratives must be constructed to tell the story around them and stress the imperative for paradigmatic change. To the author’s knowledge, policy paradigms and narrative stories have not yet been examined in combination with each other. Both approaches stress the role of discourses in policymaking, particularly in policy change. Yet, in contrast to policy paradigms, narrative stories can be studied at a lower analytical level than paradigms (Blum & Kuhlmann, 2019). Stone’s approach is likewise suitable for understanding the ideas and goals surrounding minor policy reforms. Narrative stories can be distinguished between stories of change and stories of power. Stories of change include a story of decline or a story of rising. Stories of decline are told to show how things will get worse if nothing is done, e.g. how unemployment rates will further rise if a certain policy is not passed. A story of decline shows how things are worsening, e.g. by using facts or figures. Moreover, a story of decline often includes a prediction of imminent crisis. In social policy, an economic crisis might be used to justify the need for policy change towards retrenchment (Blum & Kuhlmann, inpress). In the field of labour market policy, the story might begin with rising unemployment rates and transition to the prediction of a lasting economic recession if nothing is done (Bandelow & Hornung, 2019). Stories of decline include a suggestion of what could be done to address the depicted problem and might be followed by a story of rising, in which the alternative policy solution is presented. Stories of power are characterised by stories of helplessness or stories of control (Stone, 2012). After elections, for example, newly elected politicians can argue that, prior to the assumption of government, they were helpless. As soon as they are in power, their new capabilities to control the situation will be emphasised. These narrative stories can be related to the idea of blame avoidance in welfare state reform: if unpopular reforms are passed, politicians make use of blame avoidance strategies to communicate their reforms (Pierson, 1996; Wenzelburger & Hörisch, 2016). A new
government can argue that the preceding government has provoked an economic crisis, which can only be addressed by passing far-reaching reforms. These narrative stories are presumably used to support policy paradigms at times when paradigms compete. Stories of decline can be constructed around an existing policy paradigm by opponents of this paradigm. Likewise, stories of rising can be constructed around a new or alternative policy paradigm. Accordingly, narrative stories of power are expected to be related to specific policy paradigms. If the political power of proponents of a new policy paradigm is strengthened, e.g. by an electoral victory, the proponents are likely to tell stories of prior helplessness and stress their newly attained ability to take control of and address a policy problem.

In the field of social policy, a distinction between three policy paradigms has been proposed (Hemerijck, 2018; Morel et al., 2012; Nolan, 2013). These social policy paradigms can be effectively adapted to the field of labour market policy (see Table 1, the social investment paradigm is intentionally left out, because it is not relevant for the policy reform under analysis). An important difference between these paradigms relates to the role of the state: advocates of the so-called Keynesian-Beveridge and the social investment paradigms assign a major role to the state as the fosterer of economic growth and social stability. In the social investment paradigm, the focus of state intervention is on human development as an investment in economic growth (Kuhlmann & Blum, in press; Morel et al., 2012). In the Keynesian-Beveridge paradigm, full employment is the primary goal of state intervention in a volatile market. Instruments to achieve full employment, which is seen as a prerequisite for economic growth, include counter-cyclical demand management, job protection and strong social partnerships (Hemerijck, 2018; Morel et al., 2012). Advocates of the neoliberal paradigm, on the contrary, assume that the market is able to provide the best allocation of labour in the economy. Within this neoliberal paradigm, state intervention and most social policies are interpreted as a disturbance to market functions. To ensure undistorted labour allocation, the state should engage in deregulation, liberalisation, pre-empt organised rent-seeking, and cut social benefits (Hemerijck, 2018; Morel et al., 2012).

Table 1. The Keynesian-Beveridge and the neoliberal welfare paradigms.

| Policy problem, political objective and policy theory | Keynesian-Beveridge paradigm | Neoliberal welfare paradigm |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Demand deficient mass unemployment and poverty | Demand deficient mass unemployment and poverty | Stagflation and labour market hysteresis |
| Goal: Full employment | Goal: Full employment | Goal: Full employment |
| Theory: Market failures, macro-economic steering required through counter-cyclical demand management | Theory: Market failures, macro-economic steering required through counter-cyclical demand management | Theory: Market failures, macro-economic steering required through counter-cyclical demand management |
| Policy instruments | Income-replacing social insurance, job protection, fiscal stimulus | Benefit curtailment, deregulation, liberalization, privatization, fiscal discipline to enforce structural reform |
| Governance prerequisite | Strong state, social partnership | New public management to pre-empt organised rent-seeking and bureaucratic capture by distributive coalitions |

Source: own design, based on Hemerijck (2018)
By studying the case of labour market policy in Brazil, this paper seeks to analyse how the Keynesian-Beveridge and the neoliberal policy paradigm influence labour market policy and identify how narrative stories are told to support them.

3. Brazilian labour market policy and the 2017 reforms

The 2017 labour market reforms in Brazil were passed in the context of an economic recession coupled with a political crisis: following 13 years of Workers’ Party rule, President Rousseff (PT) was impeached in 2016 and replaced by her former Vice-President, Temer, who belonged to the centre(-right) party PMDB (now MDB) (OECD, 2018; Planalto, 2018). The request for impeachment was the result of a huge corruption scandal, the so-called ‘Lava Jatos’, which involved dozens of elected politicians (Ministério Público Federal, 2018). While the political crisis unfolded, the Brazilian economy experienced recession, high unemployment, and rising levels of inflation (OECD, 2018). The reasons for the economic crisis are manifold and subject to interpretation: opposition parties from the centre-right accused the previous PT governments of economic mismanagement and of failing to implement the necessary reforms. Following the financial crisis of 2008, the Rousseff government had increased state-intervention by means of massive government investments, e.g. in infrastructure, which culminated in the abandonment of fiscal discipline (Ladi, Lazarou, & Hauck, 2018). Her successor in office committed his government to fiscal discipline and passed a constitutional amendment to enforce limits on government expenditure (Pereira & Bertholini, 2017). In this context, the Brazilian history of hyperinflation is important: the memory of hyperinflation in the 1990s has led to a relatively consensual belief among societal, economic and political actors that achieving macroeconomic stability should be a top priority (Alston, Melo, Mueller, & Pereira, 2012). In addition to the alleged failure of the PT government, the challenging international economic environment and the fall in commodity prices are often cited as reasons for the economic recession that hit Brazil from 2014 onwards. In 2015 and 2016, GDP growth was below minus three per cent, the worst value since re-democratisation (OECD, 2018). As the economic crisis deepened, Brazilian think tanks strengthened and promoted the need for austerity policies (Ladi et al., 2018). Accordingly, the coupling of the severe economic crisis with the political crisis opened a window for advancing far-reaching policy reforms, among them the reform of labour regulations. Law No. 13,467, enacted on 13 July 2017, significantly altered the Brazilian labour regulations (Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho (CLT)) originally passed in 1943 (Coslovsky, Pires, & Bignami, 2017; Planalto, 2017). The proposed adaptations represent the most far-reaching changes of labour laws for decades (Hall, 2009; Hunter & Power, 2007; Silva, 2017). Changes include increased flexibility in working times and the inclusion of teleworking. Moreover, negotiations between companies and workers were reorganised. Collective agreements on the company level are now strengthened vis-à-vis sectoral agreements. This reorganisation aims to decentralise collective bargaining and increase sectoral and regional flexibility. Another major and much contested change is the elimination of the previously mandatory character of trade union contributions. Traditionally, every employee had to pay the union fee (Coslovsky et al., 2017). Consequently, union density in Brazil is comparatively high, though drawing conclusions on the actual degree of labour organisation is challenging (Schneider, 2013). Now, each employee must consent to having the fee reduced from his salary (Silva, 2017).
The reform plans were presented in December 2016. Originally, Temer planned to pass the policies as a *Medida Provisória*, which is an instrument available to the Brazilian President for speeding up the passing of legislation in the case of urgency. However, due to foreseeable conflicts with opposition parties and unions on 22\textsuperscript{nd} December, it was announced that the reform was to be sent to and decided by congress (Globo, 2016). In Congress, a special commission was established to negotiate the reform and organise hearings with unions and other representatives. The commission was headed by deputy Rogério Marinho, an advocate of the labour reform, member of the PSDB party and an ally of Temer. Crucially, he added the clause ending the compulsory union fee arguing that this would increase both the representativeness of the unions and the efforts they made for workers, as well as decrease the fragmentation of the unions (Marinho, 2018). In the middle of the negotiations on the labour reform, the government was hit by a political crisis: at the beginning of April 2017, investigations were initiated against several ministers of the Temer government in light of the Lava Jatos corruption scandal (Paulo, 2017). Temer subsequently urged congress to accelerate the political process, hoping to prove to the public that the government was not paralysed by the political scandal (Brazilian Parliament, Câmara dos Deputados, 2017b). To this aim, the proposal to declare the labour reform as a matter of urgency was put to vote in congress. This means that congress had to decide upon the policy within a very short time period. However, the government failed to achieve a majority for the acceleration of the process on April 18\textsuperscript{th}. A day later, the vote was repeated and the government achieved the necessary majority to advance the voting (Globo, 2017). On April 26\textsuperscript{th}, the reform was passed by congress with 296 votes in favour and 177 votes against; then it was passed on to the senate (Deputados, 2017a). In July 2017, the reform was approved by the senate with 50 votes in favour and 26 votes against. On July 13\textsuperscript{th}, President Temer sanctioned Lei No 13.467, which came into force on 11 November 2017.

The controversial character of the reform manifested in the course of the political process: during the vote in congress, deputies of the opposition protested and delayed the vote (Deputados, 2017b). Similar opposition manifested during the vote in the senate in July. Following the approval, massive, and partly violent, public protests against the reform took place, including a general strike organised by the unions (Brazilian Parliament, Câmara dos Deputados, 2017a). When analysing the proponents and opponents of the labour reform, the conflict line reflects overarching ideas regarding the role of the state vis-à-vis the market: the proponents of the labour reform stem from liberal and conservative parties, like the PMDB or the PSDB, whilst the opponents stem from the Workers’ Party (PT), the unions, and various social movements (see Figure 2). Although the Brazilian party system is highly fragmented, and party-switching is common among elected deputies (Power, 2000), the results of the vote in congress on the labour reform are clear: the deputies from the PT and the left-wing PCdoB unanimously voted against the reform, whilst the majority of deputies from the centre or right-wing parties PMDB, PP and PSDB voted for the reform, to name just the bigger parties (Deputados, 2017a; see Figure 2).

In light of these patterns, this article argues that the labour market reform of 2017 is an expression of a more general conflict of policy paradigms. The years following the re-democratisation of Brazil in the 1990s are often associated with Brazilian ‘neoliberalism’ (Kingstone, 2000; Vogeler, 2016). Although the PSDB-led governments pursued privatisation, deregulation and trade liberalisation at the beginning of the 1990s, these liberal
reforms were coupled with state intervention in selected policy fields (Kingstone, 2000; Power, 2000; Schneider, 2013) and are therefore sometimes cited as examples of ‘selective liberalism’ (Singer, 2012). With regard to labour relations, the liberal economic policy reforms of the 1990s weakened the traditionally powerful unions, leaving them in a defensive position (Payne, 1995). When the Workers’ Party came into government in 2003, the political power of the unions increased significantly (Singer, 2012). The electoral victory of the former union leader Lula da Silva is often associated with public discontent over the strict fiscal authority of the PSDB governments and the liberal reforms (Ladi et al., 2018). During the PT governments, the liberal reform agenda was amended by generous redistributive and demand-oriented policies. Following the social policy paradigm proposed by Morel et al. (see Table 1), the policies passed by the PT can be ascribed to the Keynesian-Beveridge paradigm. Particularly from 2011 onwards, the state played a more significant role in the structuring of economic relations and its political intervention in the economy increased (Musacchio & Lazzarini, 2014). When political power shifted again in 2016, a policy paradigm closely related to the neoliberal paradigm, which is associated with flexibilisation and deregulation, seemed to gain influence (see Table 3). The ensuing analysis explores how narrative stories were applied in order to underline the imperative for paradigmatic policy change. The analysis is guided by the following hypotheses:

**Hypothesis 1** expects the labour reform to be representative of two competing policy paradigms in Brazilian labour market policy, namely a neoliberal and a Keynesian-Beveridge paradigm.

**Hypothesis 2** assumes that these paradigms are closely related to party politics: the PT advocates the Keynesian-Beveridge paradigm, whereas the PSDB propounds the neoliberal paradigm. Regarding the relationship of narrative stories and policy paradigms, this hypothesis assumes that narrative stories played an essential role in the battle of policy paradigms for sovereignty.

**Hypothesis 3** assumes that stories of change are used to promote paradigm change. The PSDB will tell stories of decline concerning the economic situation and the unemployment sparked by the previous PT governments. The severity of the situation will be connected to the need for paradigmatic policy change, which will be communicated by stories of rising.

**Hypothesis 3a** expects the narrative stories of the PSDB to be dominated by stories of power and control. Following the PT’s loss of power, the PSDB now has the power to change the situation.

**Hypothesis 3b** expects the PT to narrate stories of helplessness, given their loss of political power.

4. Methods

To test these hypotheses, a two-tiered empirical analysis is conducted. Following the vote in congress on the labour reform that was dominated by party lines (see Figure 2),
the major political parties are expected to represent the competing policy paradigms (hypothesis 2) and narrate diverging stories about the labour reform. Given the high fragmentation of the party system in Brazil, the decision was taken to focus on the positioning of the two major parties: the PT and the PSDB. Secondly, a systematic media analysis using the online database nexis (LexisNexis, 2018) is conducted to assess whether this conflict is mirrored in public discussion. For the media analysis, two of the Brazilian newspapers with the widest circulation and with nationwide coverage were selected: O Globo (Brazil) and O Estado de São Paulo. The archives of both newspapers are accessible via the database nexis. The time frame for the analysis is from 1 December 2016 until 25 April 2017. The selection of the time frame follows the political process of the labour reform as depicted in Figure 1. Within the five months of analysis, all articles that included the keyword ‘reforma trabalhista’ were searched. By this procedure, 126 relevant articles were identified and included in the empirical analysis. The aim of the media analysis is the identification of narrative stories and their connection to the competing policy paradigms in Brazilian economic policy. Accordingly, the differentiation of narrative stories in stories of decline, stories of rising

**Figure 1.** Processing of the Brazilian labour reform of 2017.
*Source: own design*

**Figure 2.** Results of the voting on the Brazilian labour reform in the chamber of deputies on 26 April 2017.
*Source: own design; data from the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies (Deputados, 2017a)*
and stories of power – which are divided into stories of helplessness and control – is applied to the analysis. Each article was first screened for its main content and its positioning on the labour reform of 2017. Secondly, the article’s positioning towards the reform was identified either as neutral, pro or anti. Thirdly, the articles were screened for narrative stories of change (decline/rising) and for stories of power (control/helplessness).

For the analysis of party positions, the archives of the webpages of the two parties were searched for press releases and news articles that contained the word combination ‘reforma trabalhista’ and which were published in the same time period. In total, the search revealed 64 relevant articles for the PSDB and 60 for the PT. The articles were then analysed following the same procedure as used for the media articles.

5. Empirical findings

A descriptive overview of the results is given in Table 2; the detailed findings are systematically sorted in the annex. A clear picture can be seen in the party-political releases: the PT heavily opposes the reform, whereas the PSDB advocates the reform (hypothesis 2). Of interest to this study is the exploration of which narrative stories are constructed around the competing positions and in what ways these stories relate to policy paradigms.

The first noteworthy fact revealed by examination of the media articles is that the vast majority of articles take a position in favour of the labour reform and implicitly or explicitly supports it. Of the analysed articles, 72 were in favour of the reform and only 5 articles opposed it or cited more arguments against the reform than for it. In 49 articles, no positioning was identified. In the majority of articles, only advocates of the reform were cited. In particular, economists and scientists were cited, as well as politicians who spoke out for the reform explicating the positive effects that it would have on the economy and labour market.

Regarding the narrative stories constructed around the labour reform, there was only one consistent story line in the media that largely mirrors the policy preferences of the PSDB. This story is closely related to the neoliberal policy paradigm (hypothesis 1): at the beginning of the discussion, most articles tell a story of decline, focusing on the connection between the reform and the lasting economic recession. This finding closely relates to the theoretical expectation that the retrenching of social policies is accompanied by stories of decline (hypothesis 3). Rising unemployment rates are cited as a significant, negative consequence of the economic decline. The argument that follows is that the proposed labour reform is essential for reviving growth and will help to create jobs (stories of rising). This is also the main line of argument found in the PSDB

Table 2. Descriptive overview of narratives in media and party political releases.

|                  | Neutral | Opposing the reform | Advocating the reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Stories of Power – Helplessness | Stories of Power – Control |
|------------------|---------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Media            | 49      | 5                   | 72                    | 14                | 50               | 3                              | 38                        |
| PSDB             | 1       | 0                   | 63                    | 21                | 44               | 0                              | 45                        |
| PT               | 4       | 56                  | 0                     | 19                | 0                | 8                              | 16                        |

Source: own compilation based on the empirical analysis
news releases as deregulation and flexibilisation are presented as necessary for stimulating economic growth, which will in turn result in employment. Several media articles and PSBD releases draw a connection to the broader macroeconomic reform agenda, the fiscal discipline of the Temer government and the austerity policies. In the PSDB press releases, the PT governments are blamed for the economic crisis and the high unemployment rates. They claim that the economic mismanagement of the PT governments brought about the current recession. This story of decline is connected to stories
of power and control, related to the assumption of government by President Temer (stories of power, *hypothesis 3a*), and to a story of rising concerning the new policy paradigm (*hypothesis 3*). The PSDB admits that the reform may be damaging in the beginning but insists that the long-term positive effects will compensate for these losses. An advantage of the reform mentioned in most articles and PSDB press releases is the reduction of labour costs by means of flexibilisation and liberalisation which will allow firms to hire more workers – unlike the existing regulatory framework, which is considered rigid and hostile to the market (stories of decline and of rising). Connected to the general flexibilisation of the labour market, many articles draw a connection to the newly created legal possibility of outsourcing for firms. The legalisation of outsourcing presents a novelty in the Brazilian labour market, though it was not passed as part of the labour reform but as a separate policy. In the media, arguments in favour of the outsourcing reform dominate. Furthermore, the argument that the labour reform presents an important step towards modernising labour relations prevails in the majority of media outlets as well as in the PSDB releases (stories of rising). They justify this modernisation as necessary by emphasising that the existing labour laws date back to 1943 and have never been significantly altered. An adaptation of the laws is considered essential in order to combat current and future challenges in the labour market.

The PT releases, on the contrary, interpret this modernisation as regression and as the deterioration of the achievements of workers and unions (stories of decline). Regarding the outsourcing reform, several articles of the PSDB mention that the reform is much contested and that unions fear the precarisation of employment. The PT party press releases share this stance, arguing that the outsourcing and labour reforms will destroy workers’ rights and the achievements of unions in past decades. This line of argumentation is closely connected to harsh criticism of Temer and his ‘neoliberal’ policies. In the PT releases, Temer is heavily censured and is in most articles connected to a story surrounding the impeachment of Rousseff, in which Temer is called a ‘golpista’, or ‘usurper’ (*hypothesis 3b, stories of helplessness*). This line of argument portrays the Temer government as illegitimate and unwilling to cater to the interests of the Brazilian people, preferring instead to bolster the industrial elite as well as financial and international investors. In many of the PT articles, a general critique is made of the neoliberal economic and social policies of the Temer and even Cardoso governments and is contrasted with the demand-oriented and redistributive policies of the PT governments. An argument frequently cited is that the Temer government is aiming to withdraw the state from economic and social relations and that this will deepen the economic crisis. Interestingly, the PT articles interpret most consequences of the labour reform completely contradictorily to the PSDB articles: deregulation and flexibilisation will result in even higher unemployment, lower demand, and a deepening of the economic crisis. In many articles, a story of the decline of the rights of the Brazilian people and workers is told by arguing that the labour reform is a cutback on the social achievements of past decades. Stories of helplessness are told in conjunction with the impeachment of Rousseff and the ‘coup’ of Temer (*hypothesis 3b*). These stories are backed by narratives of Temer attempting to accelerate approval of the reform and bypass congress, which is interpreted as a lack of democratic behaviour. At the same time, especially in March and April of 2017, stories of power and control were
appearing in an increasing number of articles as the PT, together with the unions, were presented as organising nationwide demonstrations and general strikes, thereby mobilising the Brazilian people to stand up against the ‘illegitimate’ government.

In February 2017, another pivotal element of the labour reform moved into the focus of the media discussion: namely the proposal to turn the existing compulsory union fee into a voluntary fee, as raised by Rogério Marinho and the congressional commission dealing with the labour reform. The supporters of the proposal argued that the current, compulsory system was the cause of Brazil’s excess number of unions. Secondly, they argued that the compulsory character of the union fee had resulted in the existence of unions that do not adequately represent their members. If the union fee was made voluntary, this would strengthen those unions committed to supporting their members while weakening those unions uncommitted. Another argument coupled with narrative stories of decline is the fact that the existing union organisation was founded in the 1930s during the fascist regime of Getúlio Vargas, making it outdated and unable to cope with contemporary challenges in the labour market. In the PT press releases, the reform of the union system is described as an attempt to destroy social partnerships, hinder representation, and strengthen the role of employers.

Shortly before the vote in congress, media coverage on the labour reform intensified: in April alone, more than 50 articles on it were published. A new thematic focus of media coverage in this period was the planned public demonstrations and strikes against the labour reform. These demonstrations were also discussed in the statements of the PT and the PSDB. Interestingly, the PT combined the public demonstrations with stories of power: they argued that the demonstrations revealed the resistance against the ‘illegitimate’ Temer government and his reform plans. The PT called on social movements and the Brazilian people to participate in the demonstrations to convey the condemnation of the alleged destruction of the advancements made by Brazilian workers in past decades (stories of power). The PSDB similarly reported on the public demonstrations, but the focus of their coverage was the necessity of the reforms for restimulating growth. Advocates of the reform were cited in several media articles, stating that they would proceed with the reform plans, regardless of the announced resistance. In the days preceding the vote in congress, the voting behaviour of the deputies became another focus of reporting. In several articles, members of the advocates were cited, arguing that they had enough supporters to pass the reform. In Table 3, the main narratives of the PT and the PSDB are summarised and connected to policy paradigms that are proposed in the existing literature (Hemerijck, 2018). It becomes apparent that the narratives applied by the two parties are very closely aligned to overarching policy paradigms (hypothesis 1).

To draw primary conclusions for the hypotheses: When comparing party political statements, support for hypotheses 1 and 2 becomes evident: The analysis shows that a close connection between the labour reform and overarching policy paradigms is drawn (hypothesis 1, Table 3). Moreover, there is a clear division between the PT, who criticise the labour reform for strengthening a (neo)liberal policy paradigm, and the PSDB, who stress the need of these liberal policies and criticise the formerly high degree of state intervention. The narrative stories build around the advocacy for, or opposition against, the reform are backed by general assumptions on the role of the state and the market in social and labour relations. These policy paradigms are closely related to
party politics (*hypothesis 2*): in the PT press releases, criticism of the labour reform is connected with criticism of the ‘neoliberal’ agenda of Temer, while the need for demand-oriented policies and the importance of social partnerships are stressed. In the PSDB press releases, the economic crisis is accredited to the economic policymaking of Rousseff and da Silva and the massive state intervention in the economy (*stories of change, hypothesis 3*). Here, policy solutions are closely associated with neoliberal paradigms and consist of flexibilisation and deregulation, which are predicted to guarantee undistorted labour market allocation. Interestingly, the media analysis shows a clear prevalence of advocates of the labour market reform. The reform is framed within a narrative story of a necessary macroeconomic reform agenda that is aligned to a neoliberal policy paradigm and which largely mirrors the PSDB’s position. The majority of media articles supports the reform and the imperative of policy change, telling stories of the rise of a neoliberal policy paradigm (*hypothesis 3*). The number of articles telling stories of decline or which openly criticise or blame the previous governments is considerably lower. Contrary to the PSDB press releases, explicit criticism of the PT governments or blame directed towards Dilma Rousseff and/or Lula da Silva for the economic crisis appears predominantly in guest articles in the media. These are authored by (former) politicians, economists or scientists and contain explicit, somewhat harsh criticism of the previous PT governments. Criticism is voiced in particular regarding the economic policymaking of Dilma Rousseff, which is characterised as state-interventionist and hostile to the market. Although opposing arguments were raised in some of these articles, they all spoke out for the imperative of reform. In the few media articles to oppose the labour reform, the reform was criticised as a measure that would lead to imbalances between employers and employees, at the expense of employees. The cutting of social rights was raised as another possibility, for they argued that the reform would lead to a general weakening of workers’ representation and of labour laws. Moreover, doubts were raised regarding whether the reform of labour laws would prove an adequate measure for tackling the economic crisis and whether it really would lower unemployment. Sometimes these articles are embedded in a broader narrative story of the social achievements of the PT governments, in particular its greater social inclusion and its redistributive policies.

*Hypothesis 3* expected stories of change to be narrated in order to promote paradigm change. The analysis shows how the supporters of the labour reform are telling stories of decline, tracing-back the economic challenges and the high unemployment to the ‘interventionist’ and ‘paternalist’ policies of the PT government that have debilitated the competitiveness of the Brazilian economy. This story of decline is connected to a story of rising which presents an alternative policy paradigm as a solution to the problems. This story of rising relies on the imperative of the withdrawal of the state from labour relations and the advantages of flexibilisation and reregulation. The opponents of the reform also rely on stories of decline, however, with a different interpretation: they argue that the reform agenda of Temer and the labour reform in particular are a setback of labour rights and as such a general attack to the achievements of the labour movement. The Temer government is blamed for withdrawing rights from the Brazilian people and for the precarisation of employment. With regards to the role of stories of power in the face of competing policy paradigms, the analysis offers support for the frequent use of these narratives. We expected the PSDB to tell stories of power and
control, given the change of government (hypothesis 3a), while the PT narrated stories of helplessness (hypothesis 3b). In 45 out of 64 PSDB releases, stories of power and control were identified. These stories of control also dominated the media articles that overwhelmingly advocated the labour reform: out of the 126 media articles, 72 were clearly in favour of the reform; and 38 of these narrated stories of power and control. Hypothesis 3a can thus be confirmed, which suggests that paradigmatic policy change is supported by narrative stories of control. Interestingly, stories of helplessness (8) and stories of control (16) were also identified in the PT releases. Stories of control were connected to planned demonstrations and public resistance against the reform agenda and the Temer government. Given this mixed picture, hypothesis 3b can neither be confirmed nor disproven.

6. Discussion and conclusion

This article aimed to identify opposing narratives in Brazilian labour market policy and explore in what ways narrative stories are employed to promote policy paradigms. The findings firstly suggest that the labour market reform of 2017 was an expression of competing policy paradigms in Brazilian politics, which are themselves reflected in party political competition. The analysis moreover showed how the advocates and opponents of the competing policy paradigms – neoliberal versus Keynesian-Beveridge – rely on narrative stories to ‘sell’ their ideas and stress the imperative for paradigm change. The supporters of the reform strategically applied stories of control and stories of rising that were connected to censure of the previous governments in order to support their preferred policy solutions. Whereas support for the reform program was to be expected in the PSDB releases, it is striking that supporters of the labour reform, who represent the neoliberal policy paradigm, also dominated the media discourse, whilst comparatively low attention was given to opponents of the reform, who support the Keynesian-Beveridge policy paradigm. As revealed by the PSDB press releases, the supporting media articles connect their narrative story for the imperative of change to a broader social and economic reform agenda, which is related to a neoliberal policy paradigm. In contrast, no such comprehensive story for the opponents of the reform and their paradigm is to be found in media reporting. Apparently, the shift in government responsibility was accompanied or even entailed by a strengthening of this paradigm, of which the labour reform is evidence. Then-President Temer, who, besides the labour reform, pushed through several other structural reforms, such as the pension and outsourcing reforms, took office following the outbreak of a political crisis coupled with an economic recession. These crises opened a window of opportunity for inducing radical policy changes. For the connection of narratives with policy paradigms, the empirical analysis revealed how the labour reform is embedded within the competition posed by the two overarching policy paradigms. These paradigms shape the conception of policy problems and solutions. This competition of paradigms is supported by narrative stories of change: whilst one side describes the withdrawal of the state as imperative for economic growth, the other presents these policies as conducive to the deepening of the economic crisis. Regarding the labour market, one side perceives state regulation as the reason for unemployment, whereas the other considers deregulation a danger to Brazilian society as a whole. The
supporters of the neoliberal policy paradigm rely heavily on stories of power, basing them off the change of government and stressing that they are now in control. They connect this story of control to stories of decline, interpreting the existing problems as consequences of the PT governments’ policymaking. They present a story of rising about their preferred policy solution, namely to solve the existing economic crisis by relying on instruments inspired by the neoliberal policy paradigm. The study shows how narrative stories are applied to support policy paradigms and how narrative stories of decline and of rising are told to stress the imperative for paradigm change. Especially at times when policy paradigms compete for sovereignty, a well thought-out narrative story helps to communicate why one paradigm is superior to another and why radical change is needed.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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Low demand, political crisis hurting economy, companies not investing, reforma trabalhista is necessary.

Aecio Neves cited that reforma trabalhista is a priority. Pressure on Temer by PSDB senators to recuperate economic growth.

Government announces measures to stimulate the economy, details on the reforma trabalhista, more flexibilisation. The announced package was welcomed by investors and had positive impact on the stock.

Government wants to speed up the reforma trabalhista, to show that the government is not paralized. Government knows that there will be severe resistance.

Announcement that the reforma trabalhista will be send as a bill to congress and not as a Médida Provisoria. This is welcomed by a speaker of the unions.

Commentary by a Professor and President of the Council of Work: Unemployment is a challenge. Good choice of Temer to invest in infrastructure to tackle unemployment. Appreciation of the turn away from the “state mentality and interventionism” of Presidents Dilma and Lula. Economy could be further stimulated if the announced reforma trabalhista was passed.

The government announced measures that have the potential to stimulate the economy. An economist is cited who argues that the reforma trabalhista is an important structural reform for the long-term.

Announcement of the reforma trabalhista is a positive signal to the market. The government “inherited” an economic recession Temer is cited.

In view of the Lava Jato the government is trying to improve it’s image. Among others with the reforma trabalhista.
| Number | Date       | Newspaper                        | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Neutral | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power − Helplessness | Power − Control |
|--------|------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 10     | 31–12-2016 | O Globo                          | Government launched a TV spot defending the reforms taken. The reforma trabalhista is confronted with resistance among senators and deputies.                                                                     |         |               | 1          |                   |                   |                   |                   |
| 11     | 02–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo             | Interview with President of the Camara Rodrigo Maia. He sais that the reforma trabalhista is contested but important. There is an excess of worker’s regulations. The reforms will help to recover growth and generate employment. |         | 1             | 1          | 1                 |                   |                   | 1                 |
| 12     | 02–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo             | Commentary of an economist. Measures to create conditions to generate economic growth have to be passed. The Temer government has made important advancements in the short time and in face of the political crisis. The reforma trabalhista is luckily taken to congress and is pointing the right direction. The consolidation of labour laws is necessary and will increase productivity and recover economic growth. |         | 1             | 1          | 1                 |                   |                   | 1                 |
| 13     | 03–01-2017 | O Globo                          | The President of the Camara Rodrigo Maia emphasizes the need to vote for the reforma trabalhista for the "revival of investments and employment in the country".                                                   |         | 1             | 1          | 1                 |                   |                   | 1                 |
| 14     | 03–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo             | The President of the Camara Rodrigo Maia defends the approval of the reforma trabalhista.                                                                                                                                                                |         | 1             | 1          | 1                 |                   |                   | 1                 |
| 15     | 10–01-2017 | O Globo                          | Rogério Rosso (PSD) candidate for the Presidency of the Camara defends the reforma trabalhista.                                                                                                                                                           |         | 1             | 1          | 1                 |                   |                   | 1                 |
| 16     | 10–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo             | Protests against Temer during his visit to Rio Grande do Sul from unionists and social movements against the reforma trabalhista.                                                                                                               |         |               | 1          |                   |                   |                   |                   |
| 17     | 10–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo             | Commentary by a lawyer and former minister of work: Support for the reforma trabalhista.                                                                                                                                                                   |         | 1             | 1          |                   | 1                 |                   |                   |
| 18     | 12–01-2017 | O Globo                          | Report on inflation. An economist is cited, arguing that problems with the approbation of the reforma trabalhista may worsen the forecasts.                                                                                                           |         | 1             | 1          | 1                 |                   |                   | 1                 |
| 19     | 15–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo             | The government is negotiating to obtain support for the reforma trabalhista.                                                                                                                                                                                |         |               | 1          |                   |                   |                   |                   |
| Number | Date       | Newspaper               | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Neutral | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
|--------|------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 20     | 19–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo    | Commentary of the leader of PCdoB: the party supports candidate Maia despite different positions regarding the reforma trabalhista PCdoB will fight for worker’s rights.                                       | 1       |                |            |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| 21     | 19–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo    | President of the Camara Roberto Maia advocated the rapid processing of the reforma trabalhista to increase flexibilization, to reduce unemployment and to stimulate investments.                         | 1       | 1             |            |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| 22     | 19–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo    | Commentary by an economist: Rousseff’s speciality was economic chaos, she is to be blamed for the situation, Temer has initiated that chaos. Temer has initiated some important steps for the economy. Reforma trabalhista is one of those. | 1       | 1             | 1          |                   | 1                 |                    |                   |
| 23     | 22–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo    | The opposition candidate André Figueiredo (PDT-CE) for the President of the Camara states that the current legislation is not the reason for the unemployment. If that was so there during the Lula and the Dilma government there would not have been thousands of jobs created. To tackle unemployment economic growth is needed. | 1       |                |            |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| 24     | 23–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo    | Commentary by the President of the Academia Paulista de letras Jurídicas: reforma trabalhista necessary to guarantee current jobs and create future jobs.                                                                 | 1       | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 25     | 23–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo    | The focus of the Temer government is completely on the economy. The reforma trabalhista and other measures to reactivate growth. The high unemployment rates of 2016 contribute to the unpopularity of Temer. | 1       |                |            |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| 26     | 25–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo    | Commentary by a general labour attorney: The Ministry of Work confirmed that part of the legislation of the reforma trabalhista currently negotiated in congress are unconstitutional. Several unions and other organizations proposed a document to “protect social rights”. The reform will lead to an enormous imbalance between employers and employees. The group aims at defending workers and social rights. | 1       |                |            |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| 27     | 26–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo    | The executive plans to bring the reforma trabalhista through the legislative process as a matter of urgency, meaning that congress has only 45 days and the senate 45 day to process the reform.                                           | 1       |                |            |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| Number | Date       | Newspaper              | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
|--------|------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 28     | 27–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo   | Commentary by an attorney of law and former minister of work: the path to revitalize the job market is the reforma trabalhista. Necessary to confront new challenges in the labour market such as globalization and digitalization. | 1             | 1          |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| 29     | 29–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo   | The reforma trabalhista is a significant change for the unionist system in Brazil and presents the biggest transformations since the Getúlio Vargas times. If the union fees become voluntary, this may lead to the positive effect that unions care more about there members than about power and politics. | 1             |            |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| 30     | 29–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo   | Political priority of the government is to reactivate growth. Important policies to be processed in the first semester of the year, among them the reforma trabalhista. | 1             | 1          |                 |                 |                 | 1               |
| 31     | 30–01-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo   | The reforma trabalhista is contested and it is unclear if it will reduce unemployment on the short run, but it fulfills an important claim of the employers to reduce labour costs in Brazil. A reform is unavoidable and will rebalance relations between employers and employees. Though the reform might not ease unemployment now, it will be significant on the long term. | 1             | 1          |                 |                 |                 | 1               |
| 32     | 01–02-2017 | O Globo                | Reforms will be undertaken that the government considers fundamental to generate employment and to reach an equilibrium in public spending, such as the reforma trabalhista. | 1             | 1          |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| 33     | 01–02-2017 | O Globo                | President of the Central Bank reports on inflation and sais that reforms such as the planned reforma trabalhista will be important for the economy to grow again. | 1             | 1          |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| 34     | 02–02-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo   | The newly elected President of the Senate Eunicio de Oliveira sais the project of outsourcing has priority as one of the three pillars of the reforma trabalhista. | 1             |            |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| 35     | 02–02-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo   | Commentary by a consultant: the proposals for the reforma trabalhista are “healthy” and realistic, though it is unclear how they are going to be treated in congress. | 1             | 1          |                 |                 |                 | 1               |
| Number | Date      | Newspaper          | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
|--------|-----------|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 36     | 03-02-2017| O Globo            | The reelection of Maia as President of the Camara is the starting point for a “reformist” congress, whose interest it is to advance the voting for the government reforms, especially the reforma trabalhista. Maia announced to install a commission to analyse the bill for the reforma trabalhista and said that he will give the “liberal” Rogério Marinho (PSDB-RN) the post of the reporter within the commission. | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                     | 1                |
| 37     | 04-02-2017| O Estado de S. Paulo | To pass the reforma trabalhista, Temer needs to tackle the “rebellion” within the PMDB fraction in Senate.                                                                                                           |               | 1          |                   |                   |                     |                  |
| 38     | 05-02-2017| O Globo            | The reforma trabalhista is not only decided upon in congress but influenced by the Federal Court of Justice where several proceedings are ongoing concerning the relations between employers and employees. |               | 1          |                   |                   |                     |                  |
| 39     | 09-02-2017| O Estado de S. Paulo | The deputy Rogério Marinho (PSDB-RN) argues that updating labour laws is essential because the current labour laws are fascist since they are based on the “Carta de Lavoro” of Mussolini from 1927. | 1             | 1          | 1                 |                   |                     | 1                |
| 40     | 10-02-2017| O Globo            | The commission to discuss the reforma trabalhista was installed in the Camara with the deputies Daniel Vilela (PMDB-GO) as President and Rogério Marinho (PSDB-RN) as reporter. The activities will begin on February 14th and include hearing of unions and worker’s associations. |               | 1          |                   |                   |                     | 1                |
| 41     | 10-02-2017| O Estado de S. Paulo | Rogério Marinho (PSDB-RN) defends the decision to exclude sensitive topics from the reforma trabalhista, especially the questions of outsourcing, to not delay the reform further. Regarding the reform he argues that worker’s rights will not be cut but only modernized. | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                     | 1                |
| 42     | 11-02-2017| O Estado de S. Paulo | The President of the Federal Court of Justice Ives Gandra argues that the discussed reforma trabalhista must reduce “bias, paternalism and interventionism” of labour laws. He argues that the reform will end with existing legal uncertainties. He argues that with the current insecurity, Brazil will transform into another Venezuela and that “we want to escape a civil war and a destruction of the economy”. He sais that the economic crisis is not to be blamed for the reform but that the crisis is the motor to pass the reform. In addition an economist is cited who argues that the reform will not reduce worker’s rights but that the new forms of negotiation will improve the relations between employers and employees. Movements away from the current regulations will help to improve productivity and the climate within the companies. | 1             | 1          | 1                 | 1                 | 1                   | 1                |
| Number | Date       | Newspaper             | Main content                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
|--------|------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 43     | 12–02-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo   | President Temer scores bad in surveys of popularity. Pressured by the urgency imposed by the crisis he passed a total of 62 measures. He plans to pass the reforma trabalhista with the aim to modernize labour relations. | 1             | 1          | 1                 | 1                 | 1                   |                 |
| 44     | 12–02-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo   | Rogério Marinho argues that an important element of the reforma trabalhista is the review of the model of syndicalism. He argues that there are too many unions, more than 16 thousand. He cites England as an example with only 200. He likewise states that achieving consensus will be difficult, therefore a majority must be built. |               |            |                   |                   |                     | 1               |
| 45     | 14–02-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo   | Commentary by a professor of economy: Temer assumed office with an unpopular but indispensable reform agenda, among them the reforma trabalhista. Passing these reforms is indispensable for economic recovery. |               |            |                   |                   |                     | 1               |
| 46     | 17–02-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo   | The government did not include the proposal for intermittent work in the reforma trabalhista, but is open to a legislative initiative. He argues that the measure could create more than 5 million temporal work places. The President of the Federal Court of Justice is cited who argues that if nothing is done, Brazil is going a similar path as Venezuela. |               |            | 1                 | 1                 | 1                   |                 |
| 47     | 18–02-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo   | The reforma trabalhista is a structural reform of national interest. The confidence of the market in economic stability is increasing despite current bad economic prognostics. |               |            | 1                 |                   |                     |                 |
| 48     | 21–02-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo   | Commentary by a professor for labour relations: the reforma trabalhista is an important step to modernize labour relations. The reform of the unions seems to be more difficult than the reform of labour laws. The current system of monopolies in the representation of workers impedes pluralism in union organization. The current system serves the “union machinery”. |               |            |                   |                   |                     | 1               |
| 49     | 22–02-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo   | The commission working on the reforma trabalhista received almost a hundred requests for audiences and will realize 16 events in 16 different cities to discuss movements in labour laws. Marinho explains that nevertheless he will stick to the foreseen timetable to avoid delay. |               |            |                   |                   |                     | 1               |
| (Continued) |
| Number | Date       | Newspaper                  | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Neutral | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
|--------|------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------------|------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 50     | 02–03-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo       | Following carnival the government is taking up its economic reform agenda. The reforma trabalhista is still being negotiated in the special commissions within the Camara. Another proposal to incentivize the economy is the outsourcing reform which has been planned first in 1988. The government considers the reform as an instrument of modernization whilst the unions see a shift of power to the employers. | 1       |               |            |                   |                 |                     |                  |
| 51     | 04–03-2017 | O Globo                   | Rodrigo Maia (DEM-RJ) defends the reforma trabalhista and says it will modernize legislation and promised to put the reform of outsourcing of labour to vote in the next month. He says that the modernization of labour laws will advance a lot, contracting in Brazil now is heroic mission. The voting for the reform should take place until May. | 1       |               |            |                   |                 |                     |                  |
| 52     | 06–03-2017 | O Globo                   | Reforms must be passed soon, before politicians prepare for the elections and makes it difficult to pass unpopular reforms. The reforma trabalhista is not considered to difficult to pass. | 1       |               |            |                   |                 |                     |                  |
| 53     | 07–03-2017 | O Globo                   | The government hopes to pass the reforma trabalhista within the first semester of the year. Temer does not comment on the low GDP rates, but says that the government is finally “getting out of inertia”. | 1       |               |            |                   |                 |                     |                  |
| 54     | 08–03-2017 | O Globo                   | Meirelles defends the reforma trabalhista citing an example of a European multinational that has enormous difficulties with existing labour regulations. | 1       |               |            |                   |                 |                     |                  |
| 55     | 09–03-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo       | Rodrigo Maia defends the labour reform plans and argues that there is an excess of regulation and that the existing labour justice is irresponsible. He says that advances are necessary especially with regard to intermittent work and that the excess of regulations has produced 14 million unemployed. If the reforma trabalhista is not passed it will not only be an economic problem, but as well a problem for the upcoming elections. | 1       |               |            |                   |                 |                     |                  |
| Number | Date       | Newspaper                | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Neutral | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
|--------|------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| 56     | 10–03-2017 | O Globo                  | In an interview with the Economist Temer sais that he will pass the reforma trabalhista and he prefers to be unpopular than populist. He argues that despite the difficulties he wants to leave a better country in 2019, to which the spending limit and the reforms will contribute.                                                                                       |         |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 57     | 15–03-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo     | The reporter of the commission working on the reforma trabalhista Rogério Marinho (PSDB-RN), affirms that it will be proposed to turn the yearly union fee voluntary. He argues that this will weaken those unions that do not represent their members. He argues that there are far to many unions in Brazil and that often the worker does not know that the union fee is reduced from his salary and for what it is used. |         |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 58     | 16-03-2017 | O Globo                  | Comments on the plans of Marinho to turn union fees voluntary. The measure is seen favorable by trade unionist and labour market analysts. The proponents of the reform argue that trade unions who do not engage for their members will then disappear. Even the CUT union is in favour of ending the obligatory character, though it opposes other elements of the reforma trabalhista. As it is now their is no motivation for the unions to be of importance for the employees. An analyst is cited that before taking such a measure the consequences have to be evaluated. The idea of the compulsory fee is justified by the fact that wage agreements are for all workers, not only for union members. |         |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 59     | 16–03-2017 | O Globo                  | Temer needs to maintain a majority in Congress to pass important reforms. The reforma trabalhista is fundamental to overcome unemployment and to revitalize economic growth. Temer is passing unpopular but necessary reforms, because he is not running for the next election and is therefore not acting in a populist manner.                                                                                     |         |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |

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| Number | Date       | Newspaper          | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
|--------|------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 60     | 16–03-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo | Thousands are protesting against the pension reform. Some unionists have joined the manifestations to protest against the reforma trabalhistas to pressure the deputies not to vote for the reform in the coming week. Vagner Freitag, the President of the CUT announces to organize the biggest general strike in history if the reform is not taken off the agenda. | 1                 |                  |                      |                  |
| 61     | 21–03-2017 | O Globo            | Rodrigo Maia announces that the reforma trabalhista is to be voted upon before the pension reform.                                                                                                          | 1                 | 1                |                      | 1                |
| 62     | 22–03-2017 | O Globo            | Ministro Moreira Franco sais that the biggest macroeconomic challenge for Brazil is to balance public accounts and give continuity to fiscal authority, to which the reforma trabalhista is an important step. The reform will significantly contribute to the flexibilization of the labour market and to reduce the litigiousness by putting agreements before legislation. | 1                 | 1                |                      | 1                |
| 63     | 22–03-2017 | O Globo            | The coordinator of human development in Brazil Andrea Bolzon affirms that the pension reform and the reforma trabalhista may pose risks to human development in Brazil. She argues that the reforms are necessary but that the most vulnerable groups must be protected. | 1                 |                  |                      |                  |
| 64     | 22–03-2017 | O Globo            | Commentary by a political scientist: Brazilians are about to lose the big opportunity to pass important reforms such as the reforma trabalhista. The resistance to the reforms is a consequence of clientelism, patronimialism and personalism of governors. Lula, the populist leader debilitated democratic institutions and established the biggest network of corruption worldwide, leaving Brazil with the worst economic recession in the history of the country. Now there is a historic moment, if the reforms are not passed, this will pave the way for another populist government in the 2018 elections. If the reforms are passed, the confidence in the country will return, growth will pick up and employment will be generated. | 1                 | 1                |                      | 1                |

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| Number | Date       | Newspaper                  | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Neutral | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
|--------|------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------------|------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 65     | 23–03-2017 | O Globo                    | The project of outsourcing was approved in Congress after nine hours of voting with 231 votes in favour and 188 against it. The proposal Passed flexibilizes outsourcing and the temporary hiring-out of workers. The project extends temporal work contracts from 3 to 6 months with the possibility of extension of another 90 days. There was a lot of criticism against the measure from part of the opposition parties. |         |               |            |                   |                  |                   |                  |
| 66     | 23–03-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo       | Commentary by a leader of the employers union: The approval of the outsourcing project will create legal security for a practice that is already common. It permits a more favourable business environment, that encourages investments and generates growth. Commentary by a leader of the CUT: the outsourcing will lead to companies with now own employees and will destroy the union structures established since 60 years. The reform will not create employment, nor will the reforma trabalhista. What creates employment is growth, and that is generated by consumption, only a protected worker will consume and thereby help to create growth. Precarious employment will lead to another depression. What has been done did not have any consensus, but is a violation and will be followed by protests. | 1       |               | 1          |                   |                  |                   |                  |
| 67     | 24–03-2017 | O Globo                    | Comments and discussion on the reform of outsourcing: it will generate employments and create more certainty for a practice already common. On the long run the increased flexibilization will stimulate the hiring of workers. The minister of the economy Henrique Meirelles is cited, arguing that the international experience shows that flexible laws help to increase employment. Another economist is cited arguing that the reform will lead to a precarization of labour relations. The unions criticize the project arguing that it will not generate jobs but will substitute good jobs with worse jobs. | 1       |               | 1          |                   |                  |                   |                  |
| 68     | 24–03-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo       | Delmi Netto defends the reform for outsourcing arguing that it attacks the unions and marks the beginning of the union tax which is a scandal.                                                                                                                                 |         |               |            |                   |                  |                   | 1                |
| Number | Date       | Newspaper             | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Neutral | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
|--------|------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| 69     | 27–03–2017 | O Globo              | Temer must approve the project on outsourcing passed by congress. The unionist are having a lot of presence in social media and are fighting against the project, which poses a risk for the approval in senate. | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                    |
| 70     | 27–03–2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo | It is very likely that the outsourcing project will be approved by Temer next week in the most radical version. Discussion on the effects of the reform, creation of employment or total precariousness? On the short term probably none of the extremes. The project will not solve the current crisis but is a painful but necessary adaptation of the labour market to future requirements. | 1       | 1             |            |                   |                   |                    |                    |
| 71     | 28–03–2017 | O Globo              | Report on the political processing of the outsourcing reform and the connection to the reforma trabalhista.                                                                                              | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                    |
| 72     | 28–03–2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo | Temer will approve the bill on outsourcing, information on the political processing and the connection with the reforma trabalhista.                                                                     | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                    |
| 73     | 29.02.17   | O Globo              | Report on the political processing of the outsourcing reform and the connection to the reforma trabalhista.                                                                                              | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                    |
| 74     | 31–03–2017 | O Globo              | Minister Gilmar Mendes of the Federal Court of Justice is cited, arguing that current labour laws are obsolete in view of the modernization of the market. Due to globalization and technical advancements existing models do not meet modern reality anymore. He argues that new institutionalization of labour law can contribute to overcome the recession and unemployment. | 1       | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                    |                    |
| 75     | 31–03–2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo | Report on the details and the political processing of the outsourcing reform.                                                                                                                               | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                    |
| 76     | 01–04–2017 | O Globo              | Temer approved the outsourcing reform pressured by the productive sector within his coalition in the Camara. The principle argument of the government of the President of the Camara Rodrigo Maia is that the new law will help to fight unemployment. | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                    |
| 77     | 03–04–2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo | Rogério Marinho (PSDB-RN) is cited arguing that the outsourcing project is important for business environment in Brazil and that it will give legal security to thousands of workers. | 1       | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                    |                    |
| Number | Date     | Newspaper                | Main content                                                                                           | Neutral | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
|--------|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 78     | 04–04-2017 | O Globo                | Temer defends the labour reforms in a ceremony with the Swedish King. Temer argues that the reforms are a signal to international investors that there is an auspicious business environment in Brazil. He argues that the outsourcing reform will better protect workers by creating legal security and the labour laws are being modernized. |         |               | 1           | 1                 | 1                 |                     |                 |
| 79     | 04–04-2017 | O Globo                | Report and discussion of the government proposal to facilitate hiring people older than 60 years. The example of the United States is cited where that works fine, it is argued that it is a measure to combat unemployment. |         |               |             |                   |                   |                     | 1               |
| 80     | 08–04-2017 | O Globo                | Interview with the Minister of employment Ronaldo Nogueira. He argues that the outsourcing law will help to create jobs and legal security. He defends the reforma trabalhista that will help to generate employment and create more security for employers to hire. He positions himself against the end of the obligatory union fee and wants to regulate it in another bill project. |         |               | 1           | 1                 | 1                 |                     |                 |
| 81     | 09–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo | The PT is trying to organize parliamentary and public resistance against the reforma trabalhista. |         |               |             |                   |                   |                     | 1               |
| 82     | 10–04-2017 | O Globo                | Report on the achievements of the Temer government. A political scientist is cited arguing that the government passed urgent reforms. Short reference to the progress of the reforma trabalhista. |         |               |             |                   |                   |                     | 1               |
| 83     | 11–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo | Commentary by a professor of economy: The Brazilian labour market is characterized by excessive turnovers, hardly representative unions and activism of the labour justice. This reduces productivity and turns negotiations a farce and created insecurity. Unions do not have incentives to engage in collective bargaining but reduce their activities to lobbying in congress. The approval of the planned reforms will turn the labour market more dynamic, incentivize investments and increase productivity. |         |               | 1           | 1                 |                   |                     |                 |
| 84     | 12–04-2017 | O Globo                | Report on the process of the reforma trabalhista in congress. |         |               |             |                   |                   |                     | 1               |

(Continued)
| Number | Date       | Newspaper               | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Neutral | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
|--------|------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|---------------|------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 85     | 12–04-2017 | O Globo                | The movements in labour laws proposed within the reforma trabalhista presented in Congress today are welcomed and seen positively by labour market specialists.                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |         |               |            |                   |                  |                      |                   |
| 86     | 12–04-2017 | O Globo                | Rogério Marinho presents today the plans from the special commission working on the reforma trabalhista. The plans include 18 items of consolidation of the labour law (CLT) and 90 articles will be modified. He argues that the government is facing a problem that has been existing for many years and will resolves anachronistic norms. Report on the details of the plan. |         |               |            |                   |                  |                      |                   |
| 87     | 12–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo  | Information that Rogério Marinho presents plans to reduce the travel time from the paid working hours.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |         |               |            |                   |                  |                      |                   |
| 88     | 13–04-2017 | O Globo                | Information on the details presented by Rogério Marinho of the reforma trabalhista.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |         |               |            |                   |                  |                      |                   |
| 89     | 13–04-2017 | O Globo                | Information on the details presented by Rogério Marinho of the reforma trabalhista.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |         |               |            |                   |                  |                      |                   |
| 90     | 13–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo  | Reacting to the proceedings opened against eight ministers of his government, Temer sais that nothing should stop the initiated reform agenda. He argues that the reforma trabalhista and the pension reform are the priority of the agenda of the congress and that both are important for the country. |         |               |            |                   |                  |                      |                   |
| 91     | 13–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo  | Information on the details presented by Rogério Marinho of the reforma trabalhista.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |         |               |            |                   |                  |                      |                   |
| 92     | 14–04-2017 | O Globo                | Information on the details presented by Rogério Marinho of the reforma trabalhista.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |         |               |            |                   |                  |                      |                   |
| 93     | 14–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo  | The government announces to speed up the reforma trabalhista in Congress to show that the government is not paralized.                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |         |               |            |                   |                  |                      |                   |
| 94     | 14–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo  | Commentary by a lawyer for labour: he defends the new forms of individual bargaining between employers and employees, especially qualified employees do not need unions to bargain for the working conditions. The existing labour regulations are outdated and must therefore be changed to enable free and independent negotiations between the two parties.                                                                 |         |               |            |                   |                  |                      |                   |
| Number | Date       | Newspaper          | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Neutral | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
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| 95     | 15–04–2017 | O Globo            | Temer and the President of the Camara Rodrigo Maia attempt to speed up the processing of the reforma trabalhista.                                                                                           | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 96     | 16–04–2017 | O Globo            | Data reveal that Brazilian spend R$ 1,85 million on lawyer remuneration per year which shows the necessity of the reforma trabalhista.                                                                 |         |               |            |                   |                   |                    | 1                 |
| 97     | 16–04–2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo | Temer sais que ele vai estudar alternativas de financiamento das entidades, em caso da descontinuação da taxa de contribuição.                                                                          | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 98     | 17–04–2017 | O Globo            | Temer promotes the voting in congress for the reforma trabalhista which he consider essential for the economy.                                                                                           |         |               |            |                   |                   |                    | 1                 |
| 99     | 17–04–2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo | The voting for the reforma trabalhista will be a test for the capacity of the government to act and will show if the government is able to enforce its interests in congress. | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 100    | 18–04–2017 | O Globo            | Rogério Marinho wants to speed up voting for the reforma trabalhista with a decree of urgency. The leader of the PT in congress Carlos Zarattini (PT/SP) is cited that the advance of Marinho is a punch and that the proposal was completely change compared to the original document. He argues that the current proposal opens the door for the employer to “torture” the employee. Marinho instead sais that the reform will end with the fascist heritage and correct “bizarreness” of the original labour laws (CLT). He argues that worker’s rights will not be cut but modernized and flexibilized. | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 101    | 19–04–2017 | O Globo            | Information that the government failed to declare the voting for the reforma trabalhista a matter of urgency to speed up the process.                                                                   | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 102    | 19–04–2017 | O Globo            | Temer argues that the reforma trabalhista will be a proof of the reconstruction of the dialogue between the Planalto and the Congress, which for long was paralyzed. | 1       | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 103    | 19–04–2017 | O Globo            | Information that the government failed to declare the voting for the reforma trabalhista a matter of urgency to speed up the process.                                                                   | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 104    | 19–04–2017 | O Globo            | Economist cited that support the necessity of the pension reform and of the reforma trabalhista.                                                                                                         |         |               |            |                   |                   |                    | 1                 |
| 105    | 19–04–2017 | O Globo            | Special attention must be given to pass the end of the union tax. The interests of the unions almost never match society’s interests.                                                                  |         |               |            |                   |                   |                    | 1                 |
| Number | Date       | Newspaper    | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Neutral | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
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| 106    | 20–04-2017 | O Globo      | Report on the failure of the government to achieve a majority for declaring the reforma trabalhista a matter of urgency. Criticism of the prior governments and their populist economic policies that failed. The structural reforms are necessary the social advanced will be lost. | 1       | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 107    | 20–04-2017 | O Globo      | The government finally achieved to accelerate the reforma trabalhista to make it a case of urgency with 287 votes in favour and 144 against it. The voting for the reform is now planned for the 26th of April.Temer sais that there is a majority in Congress for the necessary reforms. | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 108    | 20–04-2017 | O Globo      | A senator is cited who criticizes the reforma trabalhista and the failure of the government to achieve a majority in the first place.                                                                             | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 109    | 21–04-2017 | O Globo      | Report on the crisis within Temer’s base that was articulated in the voting against the matter of urgency of the reforma trabalhista.                                                                         | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 110    | 21–04-2017 | O Globo      | Discussion on details of the reforma trabalhista, especially regarding the implications of outsourcing.                                                                                                    | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 111    | 21–04-2017 | O Globo      | Discussion if whether the majority Temer achieved for the voting for urgency in congress will hold for the final voting on the reform.                                                                  | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 112    | 21–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo | The government is to launch a campaign on TV an in the social media to defend the reforma trabalhista, in advance of the planned protests on Mai 1st. | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 113    | 21–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo | Commentary defending the reforma trabalhista and that it will begin to resolve major obstacles in the relations between employers and employees. Necessity is stressed to strengthen collective agreements and therefore remove the union tax. The outsourcing is welcomed in view of the future challenges. If the union fee becomes voluntary this will strengthen the liberty of the unions and their power. | 1       | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| 114    | 22–04-2017 | O Globo      | Discussion on the proceeding of the reform and of the attempt of the government to achieve support for the project.                                                                                         | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                    |                   |
| Number | Date       | Newspaper                  | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
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| 115    | 22–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo       | Rodrigo Maia is criticizing the unions for their resistance against the update of labour laws. He argues that they are mobilizing protest because of fear that they loose power.                                    | Neutral       | 1          | 1                 |                   |                      |                  |
| 116    | 24–04-2017 | O Globo                   | Article on the pension reform. Information that this week the vote for reforma trabalhista will take place in congress.                                                                                         |               | 1          |                   |                   |                      |                  |
| 117    | 24–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo       | Information on the voting for the reforma trabalhista and on discussion whether the government will obtain enough votes for the reform in congress.                                                            |               | 1          |                   |                   |                      |                  |
| 118    | 25–04-2017 | O Globo                   | Information on the voting for the reforma trabalhista in congress. 257 votes will be needed to pass the reform. Several allies of the government have announced to vote against the reform. The government considers the voting a test for the later vote for the pension reform. Information on the content of the reform, the most contested points are the end of the compulsory union tax and the intermittent working day. |               | 1          |                   |                   |                      |                  |
| 119    | 25–04-2017 | O Globo                   | Commentary by a critique of the reforma trabalhista arguing that the reform aims at precarization of labour and that it negatively influences the negotiations between employers and employees. The reform aims at reducing labour costs together with outsourcing. He argues that the reform will lead to a weakening of the worker’s representation and of labor laws. |               | 1          |                   |                   |                      |                  |
| 120    | 25–04-2017 | O Globo                   | Rogério Marinho received yesterday 450 proposals for amending the reforma trabalhista, above all from the opposition. The most contested topic is the end of the compulsory union tax, the Planalto refrains from a positioning towards the issue. In addition the intermittent working days are contested, especially by unions. The reforms are promising to modernize labour laws. |               | 1          |                   |                   |                      |                  |
| 121    | 25–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo       | Information on strike and protest activities of the unions against the reforma trabalhista. The union leaders consider the reform to be damaging for workers.                                                      |               | 1          |                   |                   |                      |                  |
| Number | Date       | Newspaper               | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Neutral | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control |
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| 122    | 25–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo    | The leader of the PSB party says that the party is against the reforma trabalhista and that the party is not supporting the government because the reform and the pension reform do not go along with their party ideology.                      | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| 123    | 25–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo    | The leader of the government fraction in congress is cited saying that they have enough votes to approve the reforma trabalhista.                                                                            | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| 124    | 25–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo    | Commentary by a professor and President of the Worker's Council: if the union fee is turned voluntary this will strengthen sectoral negotiations, the existing system and existing labour laws must be revised. The creation of the intermittent working day is a new, modern element of the reform. In sum, the reform will create more security and confidence among employers and employees, reduce conflicts and turn companies more productive and the economy more competitive. | 1 1 1   |               |            |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| 125    | 25–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo    | The President of the Camara Rodrigo Maia is cited saying that he hopes to pass the reform this week and that therewith the Brazilian labour laws will be modernized. He argues that there will be enough votes for the reform. Details on the reform are described. | 1       |               |            |                   |                   |                     |                   |
| 126    | 25–04-2017 | O Estado de S. Paulo    | Information on the planned strike activities of the unions and especially the metalworkers against the reforma trabalhista.                                                                            |         |               |            |                   |                   |                     |                   |

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| Number | Title                                                                 | Date       | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1      | Manaus superou crise apesar de ‘cerco impiedoso’ do PT, diz prefeito | 05–12-2016 | Interview with PSDB mayor Artur Virgílio. He blames the PT governments for a missing economic vision, the mistakes they made resulted in the economic crisis. To gain international credibility signals to reform labour laws must be made. |
| 2      | Izalci pede agilidade do governo federal para implantar medidas de combate à recessão | 06–12-2016 | The Temer government is preparing a package to combat the economic crisis. Among the urgent measures is the labour reform.                                                                                   |
| 3      | Para tucano, recessão econômica em 2016 é ‘reflexo absoluto’ da pessima administração dos governos do PT | 20–12-2016 | The deep economic crisis is a heritage of the PT governments, that are severely offended. Among the necessary measures is the labour reform.                                                                   |
| 4      | Izalci afirma que minirreforma trabalhista ajudará Brasil a gerar emprego e renda | 22–12-2016 | The Temer government is looking for ways to create employment and overcome the crisis. Argument that a reform of the historic labour laws is necessary to flexibilize labour market to adapt it to current realities. |

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| Number | Title                                                                 | Date         | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Neutral | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
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| 5      | Efeito PT: desemprego tende a crescer em 2017 antes de voltar a cair   | 26–12-2016   | PSDB deputy argues that the PT governments destroyed the economy and that structural reforms are necessary to recuperate growth such as the reform of labour laws. The planned measures are already making an impact.                                                                                                                              | 1       | 1             | 1          |                  |                 |                  | 1             | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompame/noticias/efeito-pt-desemprego-tende-a-crescer-em-2017-antes-de-voltar-a-cai/ |
| 6      | Vecci defende celeridade na aprovação das reformas que podem retirar Brasil da crise | 29–12-2016   | The Temer government took important measures to confront the economic crisis, if the reforms economic growth will return in two years. An important reform is the reform of labour laws in this context.                                                                                                                                   | 1       | 1             | 1          |                  |                 |                  | 1             | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompame/noticias/vecci-defende-celeridade-na-aprova-o-das-reformas-que-podem-retirar-brasil-da-crise/ |
| 7      | Sobe o número de empresas que pedem socorro à Justiça para pagar dívidas | 04–01-2017   | The PT governments are blamed for the severe economic crisis. To resolve the crisis and generate investments, reforms such as the reform of labour laws must be approved urgently.                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 1       | 1             | 1          |                  |                 |                  | 1             | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompame/noticias/sobe-o-numero-de-empresas-que-pedem-socorro-a-justica-para-pagar-dividas/ |
| Number | Title                                                                 | Date       | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                 |
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| 8      | Para Rogério Marinho, retomada da economia depende da aprovação reformas | 05-01-2017 | The deep economic recession is a heritage of the PT governments. PSDB deputy Rogério Marinho argues that the measures of the Temer government are beginning to have an impact on the economy and that structural reforms are needed, such as the modernization of labour laws, of outsourcing and of temporary work. | 1             | 1          | 1                 | 1                 | 1                                  | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/para-rogerio-marinho-retomada-da-economia-depende-da-aprovacao-reformas/ |
| 9      | Brasileiros pouparam cada vez menos com crise deixada como 'herança' pelo PT | 10-01-2017 | The saving rates of Brazilians are low. For PSDB deputy Adérnis Marini that is a natural consequence of the economic crisis caused by the PT governments. Reforms are necessary such as the reform of labour laws. Flexibilization and stimulation of investment are key to create employment. | 1             | 1          | 1                 | 1                 | 1                                  | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/brasil-eiros-pouparam-cada-vez-menos-com-crise-deixada-como-heranca-pelo-pt/ |
| 10     | Em encontro com Temer, Aécio propõe estímulo a PPPs no sistema prisional brasileiro | 11-01-2017 | PSDB senator Aécio Neves in a talk with Temer stresses the need to urgently process reforms such as the flexibilization of labour laws.                                                                                       | 1             |            |                   |                   | 1                                  | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/em-encontro-com-temer-aecio-propoe-estimulo-a-ppps-no-sistema-prisional-brasileiro/ |

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| Number | Title                                                                 | Date       | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                                           |
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| 11     | Entrevista coletiva de Aécio Neves após encontro com o presidente Michel Temer | 11–01-2017 | Interview with PSDB senator Aécio Neves regarding his meeting with Temer. He argues that this is the year of the reforms that need to be passed through congress, such as the flexibilization of labour laws. | 1            | 1          |                   |                  |                     |                  | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/entrevista-coletiva-de-aecio-neves-apos-encontro-com-o-presidente-michel-temer/ |
| 12     | Idosos representam menos de 1% do mercado de trabalho                | 12–01-2017 | PSDB deputy Gomes de Matos argues that the unemployment crisis was caused by the PT governements. Public policies that stimulate employment for older people are needed and a flexibilization of labour laws. The current labour laws are still from the era of Getúlio Vargas and the challenge of an ageing society must be addressed. | 1            | 1          | 1                 |                  |                     |                  | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/idosos-representam-menos-de-1-do-mercado-de-trabalho/ |
| 13     | Crescimento da economia e retomada dos empregos dependem da aprovação de reformas, afirma Izalci | 17–01-2017 | Temer states that unemployment is the central preoccupation of the government. The high unemployment is a consequence of the economic crisis inherited by Rousseff. PSDB deputy Izalci Lucas argues that the labour reform is pivotal to stimulate the economy and generate employment. | 1            | 1          | 1                 |                  |                     |                  | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/crescimento-da-economia-e-retomada-dos-empregos-dependem-da-aprovacao-de-reformas-afirma-izalci/ |

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| Number | Title                                                                 | Date       | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Link                                                                                   |
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| 14     | Tucanos rebatem declarações de presidente da CUT sobre conjuntura política | 18–01-2017 | Report on the planned manifestations of the CUT against the reforms of Temer. The CUT plans to go to the streets to protest against the reforms, among them the labour reform. | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/tucanos-rebatem-declaracoes-de-presidente-da-cut-sobre-conjuntura-politica/ |
| 15     | Tendência de redução na taxa de juros indica avanço na retomada do crescimento econômico, diz tucano | 19–01-2017 | The President of the Central Bank argues that without the reform agenda, especially the tax, pension and labour reforms, Brazil will not have a future. | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/tendencia-de-reducao-na-taxa-de-juros-indica-avanco-na-retomada-do-crescimento-economico-diz-tucano/ |
| 16     | Efeito Dilma: Pesquisa aponta que desemprego ampliado no Brasil é de 21,2%, quase o dobro da taxa oficial | 23–01-2017 | The economic policies of the Rousseff government destroyed the labour market and resulted in high unemployment. Only with the flexibilization of labour laws the situation will improve. | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/efeito-dilma-pesquisa-aponta-que-desemprego-ampliado-no-brasil-e-de-212-quase-o-dobro-da-taxa-oficial/ |
| Number | Title                                                                 | Date       | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra Reform | Pro Reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                                     |
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| 17     | Tucanos defendem que 2017 seja o ano das reformas para desenvolvimento do país | 23–01-2017 | PSDB deputies argue that with the approval of the pension, the tax and the labour reform the country will grow again and have chances to develop. The reform of labour laws is necessary because many international investors do not bring their business to Brazil for fear of labour issues. The laws of the 1940s are outdated and must be adapted to the globalized world. | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                     |                 | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/tucanos-defendem-que-2017-seja-o-ano-das-reformas-para-desenvolvimento-do-pais/ |
| 18     | Rodrigo Maia terá o apoio do PSDB, diz Aécio Neves                     | 24–01-2017 | Interview with Aécio Neves who voices support for the labour reform.                                                                                                                                          |               | 1          |                   |                   |                     |                 | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/rodrigo-maia-tera-o-apoio-do-psdb-diz-aecio-neves/  |
| 19     | Petistas tentam fugir da responsabilidade pela crise que deixaram ao país, reprov Haddad | 25–01-2017 | The PT neglects responsibility for the economic and social crisis with which they left Brazil. The PT criticizes the labour reform without mentioning the reforms conducted by Rousseff that infringed labour rights. | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                     |                 | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/petistas-tentam-fugir-da-responsabilidade-pela-crise-que-deixaram-aopais-reprova-haddad/ |
| Number | Title                                                                 | Date         | Main content                                                                                     | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                                                |
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| 20     | Déficit abaixo do esperado indica que medidas do governo estão na direção certa, avalia Dalírio Beber | 31–01-2017   | The fact that the fiscal deficit of 2016 is below the established target shows that the measures implemented by the government are in the right direction. The sooner other reforms such as the labour reform are passed, economic development will catch up in a way that thousands of jobs will be recovered. | 1             | 1          | 1                 | 1                 |                     |               | http://www.psd.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/deficitabaixodoesperadoidicaquemedidasdoungovernoestaonadirecao certa-avaliadalirio-beber/ |
| 21     | Saques do FGTS podem movimentar mais a economia do que o governo previa, aponta pesquisa | 31–01-2017   | The labour reform is of utmost important to put in place modern legislation that is appropriate to current times. | 1             | 1          | 1                 | 1                 |                     |               | http://www.psd.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/saquesdofgtspodemmovimentarmais-a-economia-do-que-ogoverno previa-aponta-pesquisa/ |
| 22     | Herança do PT: desemprego atinge 12,3 milhões de brasileiros         | 31–01-2017   | The policies of the Rousseff government destroyed the labour market and left over 12 million unemployed. To solve the crisis structural reforms such as the labour reform are indispensable. | 1             | 1          | 1                 | 1                 |                     |               | http://www.psd.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/heranca-do-pt-desemprego-atinge-123-milhoes-de-brasileiros/ |
| 23     | Queda na inflação mostra fim do ‘ciclo de demagogia’, diz Daniel Coelho | 01–02-2017   | The President of the Central Bank stresses the importance of the reforms, among them the labour reform, for decreasing levels of inflation. | 1             |           | 1                 |                   |                     |               | http://www.psd.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/queda-na-inflacao-mostra-fim-do-ciclo-de-demagogia-diz- daniel-coelho/ |

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| Number | Title | Date       | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra | Pro | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                 |
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| 24     | Rogério Marinho será relator da reforma trabalhista na Câmara dos Deputados | 02–02-2017 | PSDB deputy Rogério Marinho is named reporter of the labour reform. Marinho is cited saying that the aim is to modernize the outdated legislation the limits productivity and competitiveness of Brazil. | 1      | 1  |                   |                  |                     | 1               | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/rogerio-marinho-sera-relator-da-reforma-trabalhistor-da-reformatrabalhistor-da-reforma-trabalhista-na-camara-dos-deputados/ |
| 25     | Para líder do PSDB, Câmara terá ano desafiador com análise das reformas necessárias ao país | 02–02-2017 | The leader of the PSDB in parliament stresses the necessity to promote the reforms necessary for the country such as the labour reform.                                                                   | 1      | 1  |                   |                  |                     | 1               | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/para-lider-do-psdb-camara-tera-ano-desafiador-com-analise-das-reformas-necessarias-ao-pais/ |
| 26     | Para tucano, baixa da inflação e reforma trabalhista serão primordiais para retomada da economia | 06–02-2017 | PSDB deputy Nelson Padovani is cited arguing that the labour reform is essential for the recovery of the economy and the reduction of unemployment. People will only be employed again if there is a completely different labour legislation than that introduced by Getúlio Vargas. | 1      | 1  |                   |                  |                     | 1               | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/para-tucano-baixa-da-inflacao-e-reforma-trabalhista-serao-primordiais-para-retomada-da-economia/ |
| Number | Title                                                                 | Date       | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                                                                                 |
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| 27     | Palestras ITV: Regulamentação do trabalho deve estimular solução de conflitos dentro da empresa e não na Justiça | 08-02-2017 | The labour reform will contribute to the solution of conflicts between employers and employees within the company with the aim to reduce the number of court cases. The outsourcing reform does not mean the precarization of employment as suggested by the unions because labour rights will be maintained.                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |neutral        |pro         |1                  |                   |                   |                 | [http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/palestras-itv-regulamentacao-do-trabalho-deve-estimular-solucao-de-conflitos-dentro-da-empresa-e-nao-na-justica/](http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/palestras-itv-regulamentacao-do-trabalho-deve-estimular-solucao-de-conflitos-dentro-da-empresa-e-nao-na-justica/) |
| 28     | Em ciclo de debates, PSDB discute reforma trabalhista sem redução dos direitos dos trabalhadores | 08-02-2017 | Plenary discussion with PSDB deputies on the labour reform. The reform is described as an opportunity to modernize outdated legislation and adapt it to current demands. The advantages of the reform are discussed for both, employers and employees.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |neutral        |pro         |1                  |1                 |                   |1                | [http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/em-ciclo-de-debates-psdb-discutete-reforma-trabalhista-sem-reducao-dos-direitos-dos-trabalhadores/](http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/em-ciclo-de-debates-psdb-discutete-reforma-trabalhista-sem-reducao-dos-direitos-dos-trabalhadores/) |
| 29     | Relator da reforma trabalhista, Rogério Marinho quer ampliar benefícios aos trabalhadores | 08-02-2017 | Rogério Marinho stresses the contribution of the labour reform to employment and the advantages for workers that go along with the flexibilization of the daily hours, the regulation of temporary works and the strengthening of collective agreements.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |neutral        |pro         |1                  |1                 |                   |1                | [http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/relator-da-reforma-trabalhista-rogerio-marinho-quer-ampliar-beneficios-aos-trabalhadores/](http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/relator-da-reforma-trabalhista-rogerio-marinho-quer-ampliar-beneficios-aos-trabalhadores/) |
| Number | Title                                                                 | Date       | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                                       |
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| 30     | Senador José Aníbal defende urgência de reformas estruturantes no país | 08–02-2017 | PSDB deputy José Aníbal defends the urgency of the structural reforms, among them the labour reform. He stresses the necessities of changing legislation similar to other countries and the advantages for the worker because the reform will ensure work. | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                     |                 | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/senador-jose-anibal-defende-urgencia-de-reformas-estruturantes-no-pais/ |
| 31     | PSDB sai na frente ao qualificar debate sobre reformas prioritárias do ano legislativo | 10–02-2017 | PSDB is ready to promote and defend the necessary structural reforms. The urgency to pass a modern labour legislation is stressed.                                                                     | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                     |                 | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/psdb-sai-na-frente-ao-qualificar-debate-sobre-reformas-prioritarias-do-ano-legislativo/ |
| 32     | Tucano Rogério Marinho é escolhido relator da reforma trabalhista da Câmara | 10–02-2017 | The chamber of deputies installed the special commission for the labour reform with PSDB Marinho as reporter. Marinho argues that all segments will be involved in the next weeks and that labour legislation will be modernized without sacrificing labour rights. Several PSDB deputies are cited who stress the importance and the benefits of the reform for competitiveness, fighting unemployment and the future of Brazil and to reduce the number of labour court cases in Brazil. | 1             |             |                   |                   |                     |                 | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/tucano-rogerio-marinho-e-escolhido-relator-da-reforma-trabalhista-da-camara/ |
| Number | Title | Date        | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                                                      |
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| 33     | Líder do governo defende votação do projeto que regulamenta a terceirização esta semana | 13–02-2017 | PSDB senator Aloysio Nunes argues that the outsourcing reform is as important as the labour reform and will promote employment. The intention of the reform is to create more employment and thereby stimulate growth. | 1             | 1          |                     |                   |                     |                   | http://www.psdb.org.br/companion/noticias/lider-do-governo-defende-votacao-do-projeto-que-regula-mente-a-terceirizacao-esta-semana/ |
| 34     | Para Pestana, convergência da inflação com centro da meta reinaugura responsabilidade fiscal no governo federal | 13–02-2017 | PSDB deputy Marcus Pestana argues that the labour reform will overcome legislation of the 40s that is too rigid for the contemporary economy. The rigid rules prevent the creation of new employment and penalize unemployed and young people. The Brazilian economy is down because of the mismanagement of the PT governments. | 1             | 1          | 1                   |                   |                     |                   | http://www.psdb.org.br/companion/noticias/para-pestana-convergencia-da-inflacao-com-centro-da-meta-reinaugura-responsabilidade-fiscal-no-governo-federal/ |
| 35     | Após Dilma, Brasil pode ter até 3,6 milhões de pessoas na pobreza até o final de 2017 | 14–02-2017 | A study of the World Bank is cited that predicts an increase in poverty in Brazil. The economic crisis left by the Rousseff government is cited as a threat to the advancements in reducing poverty and inequality. Deputy Daniel Coelho argues that the labour reform is an important step to modernize legislation, the flexibilization will stimulate employment. | 1             | 1          | 1                   |                   |                   | 1                 | http://www.psdb.org.br/companion/noticias/apos-dilma-brasil-pode-ter-ate-36-milhoes-de-pessoas-na-pobreza-ate-o-final-de-2017/ |
| Number | Title                                                                 | Date         | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                 |
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| 36     | Comissão de modernização das leis do trabalho define cronograma nesta terça | 14–02-2017   | The special commission for the modernization of labour laws will meet today. Marinho is cited saying that the economy has changed compared to 70 years ago and that therefore labour relations and employment must adapt. Marinho wants to hear union and company representatives, the labour court and the government on his plans. | 1            | 1          |                   |                   |                     |                   | [http://www.psdb.org.br/acomp‌‌anhe/noticias/comissao-de-modernizacao-das-leis-do-trabalho-define-cronograma-nesta-terca-feira-14/](http://www.psdb.org.br/acomp‌‌anhe/noticias/comissao-de-modernizacao-das-leis-do-trabalho-define-cronograma-nesta-terca-feira-14/) |
| 37     | Tucano apresenta projeto que propõe o fim do imposto sindical obrigatório | 15–02-2017   | PSDB deputy Paulo Martins presents the law that proposes the end of the obligatory union fee. The reform aims at giving workers the freedom of choice. He criticizes that by now unions are practically extensions of political parties and use the fees for political campaigns. Created by Getúlio Vargas, the compulsory fee is not democratic and hinders appropriate representation. The law will strengthen the union that really engage for the members. | 1            | 1          |                   |                   |                     |                   | [http://www.psdb.org.br/acomp‌‌anhe/noticias/tucano-apresenta-projeto-que-propoe-o-fim-do-imposto-sindical-obrigatorio/](http://www.psdb.org.br/acomp‌‌anhe/noticias/tucano-apresenta-projeto-que-propoe-o-fim-do-imposto-sindical-obrigatorio/) |
| Number | Title                                                                 | Date       | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                                                                                 |
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| 38     | Expectativa de aprovação das reformas na economia leva dólar e risco-país a menor nível em anos | 16–02-2017 | PSDB deputy Luiz Carlos Hauly claims that the expectation of structural reforms has contributed to the improved dollar price. He argues that the envisaged reforms such as the labour reform will recuperate the credibility of the government in front of national and international agencies.                                                                 | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                     |                   | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/expectativa-de-aprovacao-das-reformas-na-economia-leva-dolar-e-risco-pais-a-menor-nivel-em-anos/ |
| 39     | Presidente do TST defende necessidade da reforma trabalhista para prevenir instabilidade econômica | 17–02-2017 | The President of the Labour Court stresses the necessity of the labour reform to prevent economic destabilization. If nothing is done, the situation will result in a similar crisis as in Venezuela. He argues that the state and the judicial power should intervene less in labour relations.                                             | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                     |                   | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/presidente-do-tst-defende-necessidade-da-reforma-trabalhista-para-prevenir-instabilidade-economica/ |
| 40     | Debates não irão alterar cronograma da Reforma Trabalhista, diz Marinho | 22–02-2017 | Marinho is cited saying that the requested hearings in public audiences on the labour reform in the states will not delay the timetable for the reform plans. He aims at presenting a report at the beginning of May and vote shortly after, maybe even at the end of April.                                                                 | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                     |                   | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/debates-nao-irao-alterar-cronograma-da-reforma-trabalhista-diz-marinho/                     |
| Number | Title | Date       | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                 |
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| 41     | A economia começa a reagir aos desmandos deixados pelo PT, diz Betinho Gomes | 24–02–2017 | PSDB deputy Betinho Gomes observes a reaction of the economy in response to the measures taken by the Temer government. The profound crisis is a consequence of the PT governments and the incapacity of their presidents. The incapacity of Rousseff resulted in a historic crisis and 12 million unemployed. He defends the necessity of the approval of the labour reform. | 1             | 1          | 1                 | 1                 | 1                   | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/economia-comeca-reagir-aos-desmandos-deixados-pelo-pt-diz-betinho-gomes/ |
| 42     | Para especialistas, reforma trabalhista pode retomar novos empregos | 01–03–2017 | Economic experts argue that the labour reform will contribute to the creation of employment.                                                                                                                  |               | 1          | 1                 | 1                 |                     | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/para-especialistas-reforma-trabalhista-pode-retomar-novos-empregos/ |
| 43     | Ao contrário dos EUA, número de brasileiros que dependem do seguro-desemprego aumenta | 03–03–2017 | PSDB deputy Adémis Marini defends the necessity of the structural reform for the recuperation of employment. The most important the labour reform to modernise labour legislation. The reform will contribute to the creation of employment. The labour reform will give more security to the entrepreneur and the employee and it will contribute to more competitiveness in the labour market. | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                     | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/ao-contrario-dos-eua-numero-de-brasileiros-que-dependem-do-seguro-desemprego-aumenta/ |
| Number | Title                                                                 | Date      | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                                           |
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| 44     | TV ajuda não apenas os membros do PSDB, mas também os brasileiros', diz José Aníbal | 06-03-2017 | José Aníbal stresses the importance of the labour reform for the recovery of economic growth that was lost during the crisis provoked by the PT governments.                                                   | 1             | 1          | 1                 | 1                 | 1                    | 1                 | [http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/tv-ajuda-nao-apenas-os-membros-do-psdb-mas-tambem-os-brasileiros-diz-jose-anibal/] |
| 45     | Presidente do segmento, Ramalho quer núcleos do PSDB Sindical em todo o Brasil | 09-03-2017 | The President of the PSDB unions argues that the modernization of labour laws are extremely important but that a consensus must be found that favour both, employers and employees.                  | 1             |            |                   |                   |                      |                   | [http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/presidente-do-segmento-ramalho-quer-nucleos-do-psdb-sindical-em-todo-o-brasil/] |
| 46     | Mercado de trabalho vai demorar a reagir à crise herdada pelo PT         | 09-03-2017 | A study of the FGV points out that the labour market may take time to react to the economic crisis inherited by the PT governments, the resumption will only begin in October. PSDB deputy Vitor Lippi argues that in face of the difficult economic situation the government must work towards the recuperation of trust and the modernization of the country with the aim to create more employment. Marinho argues that the labour reform is an opportunity to recuperate employment. | 1             | 1          |                   |                   | 1                    | 1                 | [http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/mercado-de-trabalho-vai-demorar-reagir-crise-herdada-pelo-pt/] |

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| Number | Title | Date     | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                 |
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| 47     | Rogério Marinho quer tornar opcional o pagamento da contribuição sindical | 15–03-2017 | Rogério Marinho wants to include in the labour reform a proposal that turns the compulsory union fee voluntary. This will strengthen the unions that really represent workers and not only live on the contributions. Marinho criticizes the excess number of unions in Brazil compared to other countries. | 1             |            |                   |                   |                      |                 | http://www.psdbrg.br/a acompanhe/noticias/rogerio-marinho-quer-tornar-opcional-o-pagamento-da-contribuicao-sindical/ |
| 48     | ‘Parou por quê?’, análise do ITV | 15–03-2017 | Report on the manifestations taking place against the reform. The labour reform aims to remove obstacles that make hiring difficult and protects those who are employed. Those who are inside want more protection, those who are outside remain excluded. | 1             |            |                   |                   |                      |                 | http://www.psdbrg.br/itv/parou-por-quem-anaise-do-itv/               |
| 49     | PSDB é protagonista de ações de combate ao desemprego nos últimos anos | 15–03-2017 | Report on the historic support of the PSDB in combatting unemployment and on the crisis in the labour market that is a consequence of the PT governments. Description of the instruments of the labour reform. | 1             | 1          |                   |                   |                      |                 | http://www.psdbrg.br/a acompanhe/noticias/psdb-e-protagonista-de-acoes-de-combate-ao-desemprego-nos-ultimos-anos/ |
| Number | Title                                                                 | Date         | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                                                                                 |
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| 50     | Brasil retoma criação de empregos após 22 meses de demissões          | 17-03-2017   | The minister of labour Ronaldo Nogueira argues that the labour reform will guarantee full employment and create new job openings. He stresses that to overcome the crisis structural reforms are necessary, above all in labour legislation. |               | 1          | 1                 |                   | 1                    |                  | http://www.psdbr.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/brazil-retoma-criacao-de-empregos-apos-22-meses-de-demissoes/ |
| 51     | Rogério defende terceirização e diz que 'PT destruiu economia com discurso retrógrado' | 22-03-2017   | Rogério Marinho argues that the PT governments destroyed the Brazilian economy. He defends the outsourcing reform with the argument that outsourcing is already common practice in Brazil. |               | 1          | 1                 |                   | 1                    |                  | http://www.psdbr.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/rogerio-defende-terceirizacao-e-diz-que-pt-destruiu-economia-com-discurso-retrogrado/ |
| 52     | ‘A modernização das relações de trabalho’, por Marcus Pestana         | 27-03-2017   | Guest article by PSDB deputy Marcus Pestana. He blames the economic policy of the Rousseff government for the economic recession and the high number of unemployed. The best social policy is the creation of labour. To recover economic growth, structural reforms are necessary. Current labour laws stem from the times of Vargas and must urgently be updated to meet the current dynamics of the economy. The reforms are the answer to unemployment. |               | 1          | 1                 |                   | 1                    |                  | http://www.psdbr.org.br/acompanhe/artigos/modernizacao-das-relacoes-de-trabalho-por-marcus-pestana/ |
| Number | Title | Date       | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                                           |
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| 53    | ‘Respeito à verdade’, por Rogério Marinho | 27–03-2017 | Guest article by Rogério Marinho who blames the PT governments for the crisis in Brazil and the deferral of structural reforms. He argues that the modernization of labour laws is crucial to recuperate growth and create employment. He says that the critic of the left that with the labour reform rights will be lost is wrong. Individual labour laws are protected by the constitution. He further advocates for the reform of the union system, in international comparison there is an excess number of unions in Brazil and the unions are often transparent and do not represent workers’ rights. The use of the money collected by the compulsory union fee is not controlled by society or the state, transparency is needed. The opponents of the labour reforms want to leave things as they are and identify themselves with the patrimonialism and corporatism that has damaged the country. | 1             | 1          | 1                 | 1                | 1                     | http://www.psd.org.br/acompanhe/artigos/respeito-verdade-por-rogerio-marinho/ |
| Number | Title                                                                 | Date         | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Link                                                                                       |
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| 54     | Relator da Modernização Trabalhista se reúne com centrais sindicais que defendem atualização das leis | 29–03-2017   | Rogério Marinho met with union representatives to discuss modernization of labour laws.                                                                                                                    | http://www.psd.org.br/acompanheiro/noticias/relator-da-modernizacao-trabalhista-se-reune-com-centrais-sindicais-que-defendem-atualizacao-das-leis/ |
| 55     | Marinho revela que Lei da Terceirização ainda pode ter ajustes       | 03–04-2017   | Rogério Marinho points out the necessity of the outsourcing reform proposed by Temer for the economy of the country. The reform will bring legal security for workers.                           | http://www.psd.org.br/acompanheiro/noticias/marinho-revela-que-lei-da-terceirizacao-ainda-pode-ter-ajustes/ |
| 56     | Marinho apresenta versão de relatório final de modernização das leis trabalhistas para bancada do PSDB | 11–04-2017   | Rogério Marinho presents the content of the labour reform to PSBD deputies.                                                                                                                                 | http://www.psd.org.br/acompanheiro/noticias/marinho-apresenta-versao-de-relatorio-final-de-modernizacao-das-leis-trabalhistas-para-bancada-do-psdb/ |

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| Number | Title                                                                 | Date      | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                                       |
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| 57     | Modernização da legislação vai melhorar relações trabalhistas sem retirar direitos, diz relator | 12-04-2017 | Rogério Marinho presents the content of the labour reform. The proposal aims to create more liberty and more security in labour relations and facilitate relations between employers and employees. Marinho is cited that labour laws need to be modernized to adapt them to current realities. The reform aims at improving the situation of informally employed and subcontracted who do not have legal security up until now. He denies the critic that the reform will destroy labour rights on the contrary the aim is to increase legal security in all areas of employment by adapting 70 year old laws. | 1             | 1          | 1                   | 1                 | http://www.psdbr.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/modernizacao-da-legislação-vai-melhorar-relações-trabalhistas-sem-retirar-direitos-diz-relator/ |
| 58     | ‘Fim do imposto sindical’, por Marcello Richa                        | 13-04-2017 | Discussion of the end of the compulsory union fee. Currently there are far too many unions that do not always adequately represent workers and is inefficient. As soon as unions begin to depends on their members, they will make greater efforts to represent them. | 1             | 1          |                                                                  |                   | http://www.psdbr.org.br/acompanhe/artigos/fim-do-imposto-sindical-por-marcello-richa/ |
| Number | Title                                                                 | Date       | Main content                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Contra reform | Pro reform | Stories of Decline | Stories of Rising | Power – Helplessness | Power – Control | Link                                                                                                                                 |
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| 59     | Marinho reforça que modernização das leis trabalhistas não retira direitos | 17–04-2017 | Rogério Marinho stresses that the labour reform is not a setback if labour rights but the modernization of legislation. The reform will as well contribute to the reduction of court cases. The reform offers more protection for groups that were not protected before. | 1             | 1          |                   |                   | 1                   |                | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/marinho-reforce-que-modernizacao-das-leis-trabalhistas-nao-retira-direitos/ |
| 60     | Marchezan pede apoio à reforma trabalhista em reunião na Fiergs       | 17–04-2017 | Panel discussion on the reform of labour laws that are described by various participants as the way out of the crisis. The flexibilization is seen as a positive signal. It is argued that currently the legal system only caters to the worker but that it must as well cater to entrepreneur. The reform is necessary to support the unemployed. | 1             | 1          |                   |                   | 1                   |                | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/marchezan-pede-apoio-reforma-trabalhista-em-reuniao-na-fiergs/ |
| 61     | Governo pretende acelerar votação da reforma trabalhista              | 18–04-2017 | In order to speed up the process for the labour reform, the government intends to vote in the house of representatives a request to speed up the vote. Report and citations on the advantages of the labour reform and that it will strengthen workers’ rights by creating employment. | 1             | 1          |                   |                   | 1                   |                | http://www.psdb.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/governo-pretende-acelerar-votacao-da-reforma-trabalhista/ |
A preocupação da oposição é com o fim da boquinha do imposto sindical, diz Daniel. With the applause of the opposition, the House of Representatives rejected the request for urgency in the processing of the labour reforms. Following Rogério Marinho’s reforms, a moment of decision this week, the pension reform and the labour reform will be studied and, if possible, the reform will be improved accordingly. He says that constructive criticism will be accepted.

http://www.pds.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/amplamente-debatidas-e-aperfeiçoadas-pelo-psdb-reformas-chegam-momento-decisivo/

Rogério Marinho says that after receiving a series of suggestions in the labour reform, these proposals will be studied and, if possible, the reform will be improved accordingly. He says that constructive criticism will be accepted.

http://www.pds.org.br/acompanhe/noticias/rogerio-marinho-affirma-que-nao-ira-desfigurar-o-texto-da-reforma-trabalhista/