

# 93

**DISCUSSION PAPER**

Originally published by Ipea in August 2000 as number 750 of the series Texto para Discussão.

## **POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND MACROECONOMIC INSTABILITY**

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Brasília, January 2015

## POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND MACROECONOMIC INSTABILITY<sup>1</sup>

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1. Helpful computational assistance was provided by Alinne Veiga and Aline Visconti who the authors would like to acknowledge. This version was also benefited by the comments of Lauro Ramos and Ajax Moreira.

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## DISCUSSION PAPER

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Discussion paper / Institute for Applied Economic

Research.- Brasília : Rio de Janeiro : Ipea, 1990-

ISSN 1415-4765

1. Brazil. 2. Economic Aspects. 3. Social Aspects.  
I. Institute for Applied Economic Research.

CDD 330.908

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## RESUMO

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Nas últimas duas décadas o Brasil experimentou uma *performance* macroeconômica muito aquém da registrada para o período imediatamente anterior. A inflação alcançou níveis sem precedentes e o crescimento econômico desacelerou consideravelmente. Apesar da percepção generalizada de que a *performance* macroeconômica estaria relacionada aos níveis de pobreza e desigualdade, existem poucas estimativas quantitativas sobre esta relação para o Brasil, ou mesmo para qualquer outro país. Neste artigo usamos séries de tempo mensais para estimar a relação entre a *performance* macroeconômica e os níveis de pobreza e desigualdade no Brasil.

As estimativas usando tanto dados agregados como um *pooling* de séries regionais revelam que a inflação parece estar pouco relacionada com pobreza e desigualdade. No entanto, quando se leva em consideração que a variação na taxa mensal de inflação foi bastante alta, mostra-se que as variações correspondentes nos níveis de pobreza e desigualdade são significativos. Com relação ao desemprego as estimativas indicam uma tênue relação desta variável com pobreza e desigualdade.

Finalmente, quando se considera a possibilidade de estas relações estimadas variarem ao longo do período analisado, foi identificada uma mudança nas estimativas relacionadas ao período mais recente (pós-real). De fato, a relação entre desemprego e pobreza ou desigualdade se torna bem mais tênue no final do período, o que parece consistente com a queda da pobreza observada a partir de 1995 quando o desemprego assume uma trajetória ascendente. Também há evidências de que a relação entre inflação e pobreza ou desigualdade é mais fraca nos períodos de aceleração inflacionária.

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# ABSTRACT

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Over the past seventeen years the Brazilian macroeconomic performance has been considerably weaker than in previous decades. Inflation reached unprecedented levels and economic growth declined considerably. Despite the overall perception that macroeconomic performance is closely related to poverty and inequality, very few quantitative estimates are available in Brazil and elsewhere about the relationship between macroeconomic performance and income distribution. In this study we use monthly time series to access the relation between this weak and unstable macroeconomic performance on poverty and inequality.

The estimates using aggregated and pooling time series reveal that inflation seems to have little association with inequality and particularly with poverty. However, since the variation in the monthly inflation rate over the past seventeen years has been very substantial, the associated variation of poverty became quite significant. As far as the impact of unemployment is concerned, the estimates indicate relatively weak relation between this variable and poverty or inequality.

Finally, time-varying regressions indicate that the major results of this study, although applicable to most of the period analyzed, may not necessarily reflect the current situation. In fact, the time-varying estimates reveal a sharp recent decline in the association between unemployment and poverty or inequality, consistent with the drop in poverty and inequality in 1995, despite a considerably increase in the unemployment rate. There is also evidence that the relation between inflation and poverty or inequality declines as inflation accelerates.

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## 1 - INTRODUCTION

The level of poverty and inequality is mainly determined by the distribution of household characteristics, the distribution of assets among households and the prices of these assets. These are often referred to as the structural determinants of poverty and inequality. However, the macroeconomic environment and, in particular, the rates of economic growth and inflation also have considerable influence on the level of poverty and inequality.

In the 1980s and 1990s the Brazilian macroeconomic performance was considerably weaker than in previous decades. At least two leading indicators clearly demonstrate this deterioration in the macroeconomic environment. On one hand, economic growth that reached spectacular levels in the 1970s and reasonable levels in previous decades declined considerably after 1981. In fact, the average growth rate of GDP dropped from an impressive average of 8% per year in the 1970s to an average of 3% per year in the 1980s and 1990s (see IPEA 2000).

On the other hand, inflation, which was already increasing over the previous decades, particularly in the mid-1960s and late 1970s, became a chronic problem over the past fifteen years. In fact, the Brazilian annual inflation rate rose from around 10% in the late 1940s to the absurd level of 2,500% in the early 1990s (see IPEA 2000). In the 1980s, for the first time inflation exceeded the level of 100% per year. In 1989 the inflation rate was over 1,000% per year and stayed above this level until the Real plan in 1994. Contrary to a series of previous stabilization plans, the Real plan has been able to reduce inflation in the short run and keep it down.

This overall poor macroeconomic performance occurred despite persistent and continuous government interventions. In fact, a series of stabilization plans were implemented in order to improve macroeconomic performance. The latest, the Real Plan, is now almost six years old. It has, at least to date, been quite successful in fighting inflation. However, its impact on economic growth, has been relatively modest.

The motivation for this intense government intervention has not been unrelated to poverty and equity concerns. As a matter of fact, one of the main reasons that motivated the Brazilian government to strive so actively to improve the macroeconomic performance lies in the overall perception that macroeconomic performance has a great impact on poverty and inequality. Despite this general belief, very few quantitative estimates are available in Brazil (see Hoffmann, 1996; Ferreira and Litchfield, 1996; Barros, Cardoso and Urani, 1995; and Barros, Mendonça and Neri, 1995) and elsewhere about the relationship between macroeconomic performance and income distribution.

In fact, most literature on the determinants of poverty and inequality has focused attention on the structural determinants. Considerably less attention has been given to the connection between macroeconomic fluctuations and the level of



poverty and inequality. Even in this case, attention has been concentrated on the impact of growth on poverty (Datt and Ravallion, 1995) and inequality (Kuznets, 1955). Indeed, almost no attention has been given at all to the impact of other dimensions of the macroeconomic environment, such as the inflation rate.

Perhaps the lack of attention given to the estimated macroeconomic effects on poverty and inequality could, at least partially, be justified by the presumption that these effects are weak in relation to the impact of structural factors. However, there is also an alternative simpler explanation based on the availability of information.

Two factors, however, led the Brazilian experience over the past fifteen years to be particularly suitable for an empirical analysis of the relationship between income distribution and macroeconomic performance. First, the availability of temporally comparable monthly employment surveys and annual household surveys covering the entire period ensure that the time series on poverty and inequality over this period are available. Second growth, inflation and unemployment varied considerably over the period. All such wide variations are very important for identifying the effects of macroeconomic variables on poverty and inequality and for getting precise estimates of these effects.

The objective of this study is to explore this empirical possibility to investigate the relationship between poverty and inequality, on one hand, and inflation and growth, on the other.

This paper is organized as follows: in the following section we present a basic description of the monthly evolution of poverty, inequality, inflation and unemployment in Brazil over the past seventeen years. In Section 3 we describe the methodology used to obtain quantitative estimates of the impact of inflation and unemployment on poverty and inequality. In this section, we also provide some alternative regression models estimated by us using monthly aggregated time series and by pooling regional specific time series. In Section 4 we submit our estimates of the impact of unemployment and inflation on poverty and inequality. Finally, in Section 5 we present a summary of the main findings of this paper.

## **2 - BASIC DESCRIPTION**

In this section we investigate the overall trends in some macroeconomic variables, namely inflation and unemployment, and the degree of poverty and inequality. For most of this analysis we use aggregated monthly time series covering metropolitan Brazil during the period from 1982 to 1998.<sup>1</sup>

Inflation is measured by monthly variations in the INPC-R (Índice Nacional de Preços ao Consumidor, Restrito). The unemployment rate follows the standard

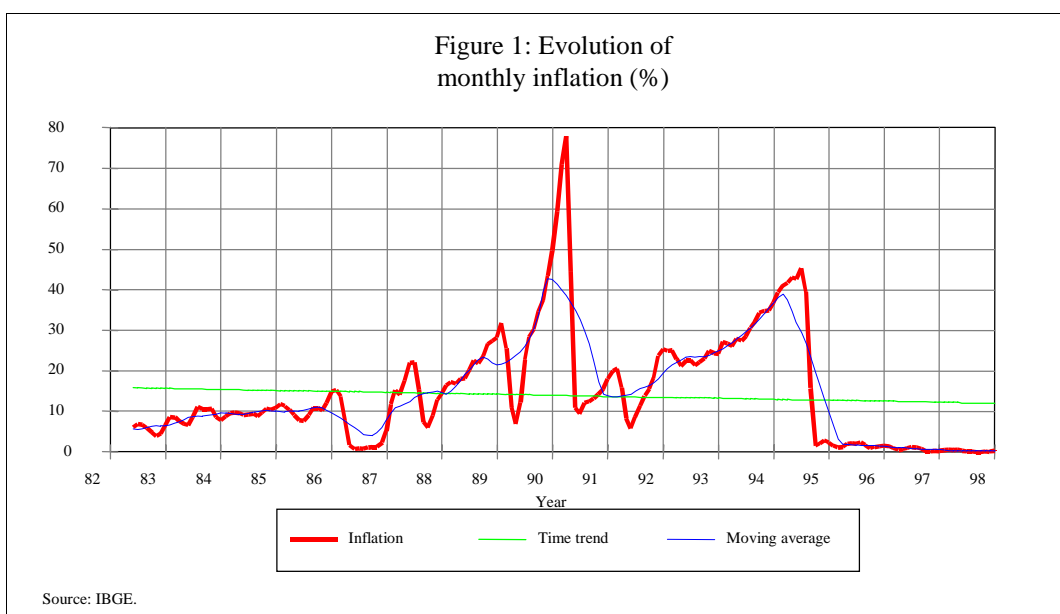
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<sup>1</sup> Metropolitan Brazil consists of the regions of the following capital cities: Porto Alegre, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, São Paulo, Recife and Salvador.

definition considering anyone who did not have a job in the reference week but did look for a job during that week. Poverty is measured by the average income gap using a monthly poverty line of R\$ 50 per person. Inequality is measured using the Theil Index. Both measures use the distribution of persons according to the per capita family income.

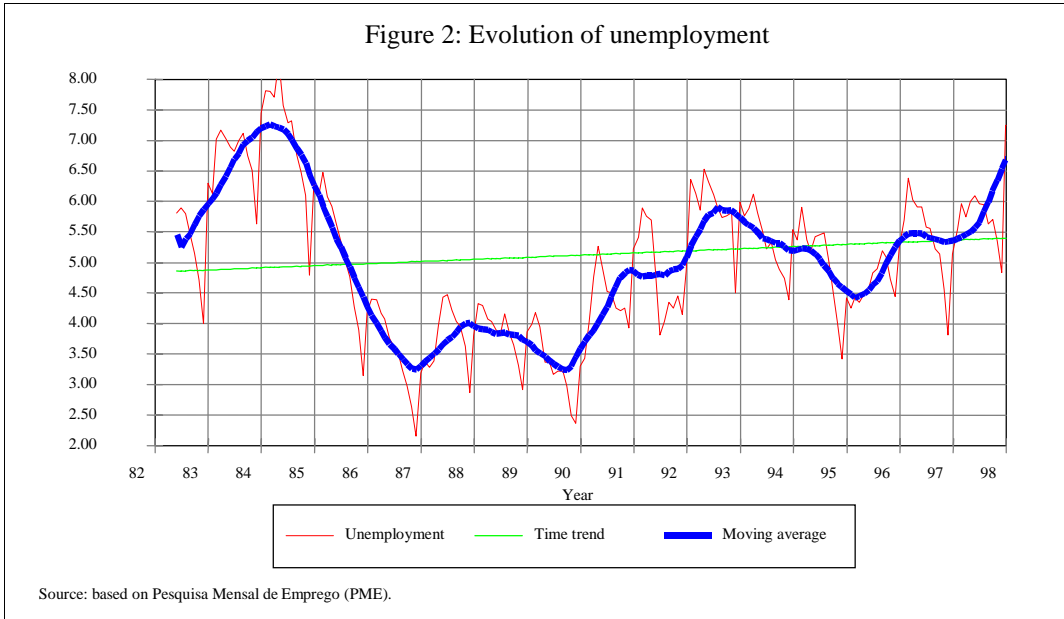
### *Inflation*

During this period, inflation underwent sharp fluctuations, mainly between 1986 and 1992, caused by a sequence of five unsuccessful stabilization plans. Despite these fluctuations, the rate of inflation displayed a sharp upward trend at least until the Real Plan in mid-1994 (see Figure 1). In fact, the monthly inflation rate went from 5% per month in the beginning of the 1980s to 40% per month by mid-1994. With the Real Plan, inflation declined and continued extremely low during the past five years.



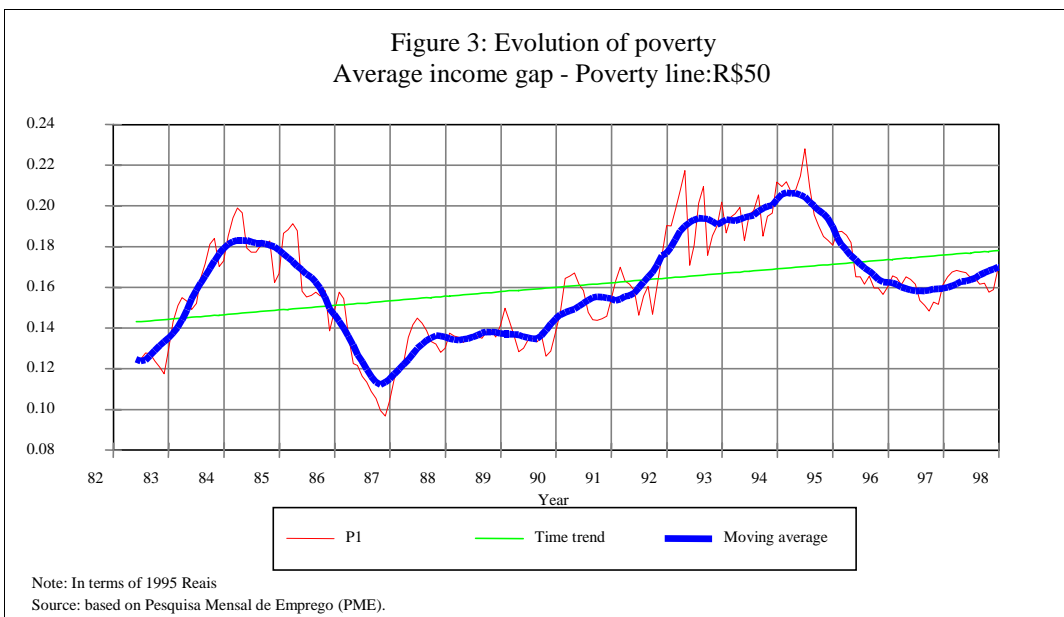
### *Unemployment*

Figure 2 reveals two different patterns on unemployment evolution. In fact, the evolution of unemployment is quite distinct between 80s and 90s. While there is a downward trend in the first period, the opposite is registered for the second one. There are exceptions in both periods mentioned above. There was an increase on unemployment rates between 1983-84 and a decrease between 1994-95, which are consistent with business cycle. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the unemployment fluctuations in the 1980s were much wider than in the 1990s.



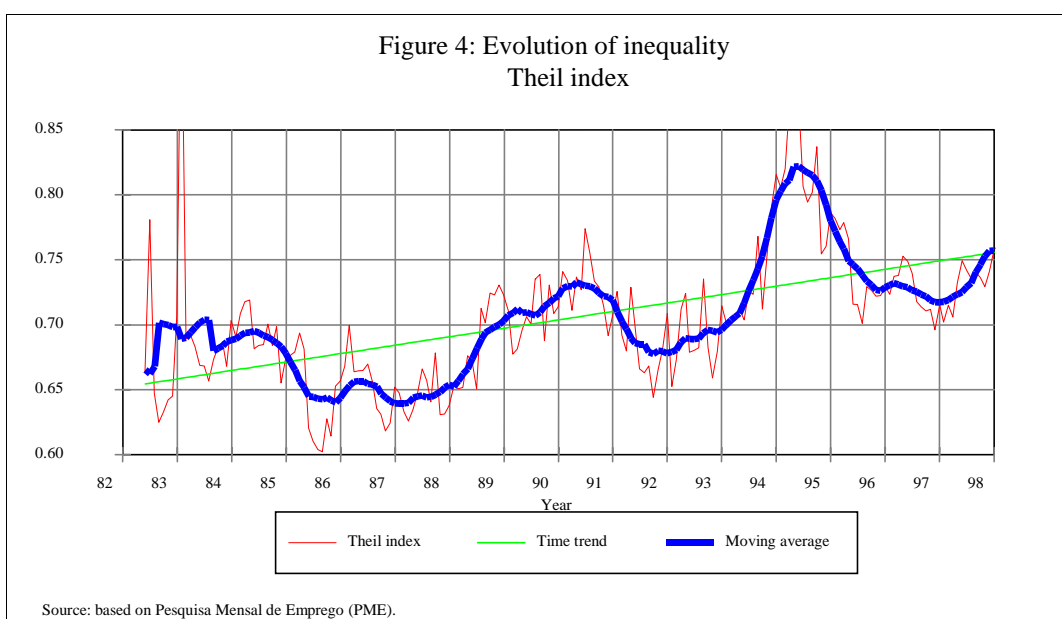
*Poverty*

Figure 3 reveals that poverty followed an upward trend, coupled with substantial oscillations around it. As a result of its upward trend, the average income gap was almost four percentage points higher in 1998 than in 1982. Overall, during this period poverty reached its highest value around mid-1994, on the eve of the Real Plan, and reached its lowest level at the end of 1986, nine months after the Cruzado Plan. As far as an eye-bowl analysis can identify, poverty seems to be related to unemployment and not too much to inflation.



### *Inequality*

Figure 4 reveals that inequality also followed an upward trend coupled with substantial oscillations around it. As a result of this upward trend, the Theil index was almost 12 percentage points higher in 1998 than in 1982. Over this period inequality reached its highest level around mid-1994, on the eve of the Real Plan, and reached its lowest level by mid-1985, before the Cruzado Plan. The same preliminary observations about the connection on poverty and macro variables seems to hold for inequality.



### 3 - METHODOLOGY

In its simplest form, the aggregated relationship between poverty ( $p$ ) and inequality ( $q$ ), on one hand, and inflation ( $i$ ) and unemployment ( $u$ ), on the other hand, can be expressed as

$$p = \alpha_p + \beta_p \cdot i + \eta_p \cdot u + \varepsilon_p$$

$$q = \alpha_q + \beta_q \cdot i + \eta_q \cdot u + \varepsilon_q$$

where  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\eta$  are parameters to be estimated and  $\varepsilon$  captures a set of other explanatory factors.  $\beta_p(\beta_q)$  measures the effect of inflation on poverty, while  $\eta_p(\eta_q)$  measures the effect of unemployment on poverty (inequality). Hence,  $\gamma_p = \eta_p / \beta_p$  ( $\gamma_q = \eta_q / \beta_q$ ) measures the rate of substitution between unemployment and inflation along an iso-poverty (inequality) line, i.e.,  $\eta / \beta$  measures by how many percentage points inflation has to drop to compensate for an increase in unemployment of one percentage point. Some estimates will also include variables

with a lag for unemployment, inflation, poverty and inequality as some regression models.

To obtain some rough estimates of the magnitude of these two effects we regress measures of poverty and inequality on the level of the inflation and unemployment rate. We use a series of alternative data sets and econometric models to estimate these regressions. The regression models vary slightly according to the data set been used. In some cases we allow the parameters to vary over time, while in others we allow the parameters to vary across regions. In this section we describe the alternative methodologies being used. Before we begin to describe these differences, it is important to emphasize that, in all cases, the dependent variables will be the measures of poverty (average income gap) or inequality (Theil index) that we introduced in Section 2, whereas the independent variables will always be the inflation and unemployment rate also defined in Section 2, as well as lags in poverty and inequality.

### **3.1 - The series**

As already mentioned, PME can be used to estimate monthly measures of poverty, inequality and unemployment. These estimates can be obtained for each of the six major Brazilian metropolitan areas, and for the six areas as a whole. Moreover, to this database we can add monthly data on inflation, both broken down into each metropolitan area and for all metropolitan areas together. As a result we can have two basic monthly databases. On one hand, we have a data set containing aggregated time series for all metropolitan Brazil. On the other, we have a data set containing time series for each of the six major Brazilian metropolitan areas. In this study we use both data sets: the aggregated time series and the pooling time series. To make use of their comparative advantages we estimate slightly different models in each case.

#### **3.1.1 - Aggregated time series**

Based on the aggregated time series we estimated two types of models. The first assumes that all parameters in equation (1) and (2) are time invariant. The estimated parameters and their corresponding standard errors are presented in Table 1. The second model recognizes that the magnitude of the effects of inflation and unemployment may vary over time. As a result, instead of running a simple regression using the entire period, we run a regression series, each one covering a contiguous period of 36 months. The evolution of the estimated parameters is presented in Figures 5 and 6.

#### **3.1.2 - Pooling time series**

The availability of time series for each of the metropolitan areas allows us to identify the impact of inflation and unemployment on poverty and inequality using both time and regional variations. Using this information as basis we also estimated two alternative models. The first one assumes that all parameters are time invariant and common to all metropolitan areas. The estimated parameters

and their corresponding statistical significant are presented in Table 3. The second model assumes that the impact of inflation and unemployment are common to all regions but that the level of poverty and inequality may vary across regions, i.e., this model assumes that all slope coefficients are common to all regions but the intercept is region specific. In other words, a fixed effect model is estimated. The estimated parameters and their corresponding statistical significant are also presented in Table 4.

## **4 - REGRESSION RESULTS**

In this section we discuss our estimates of the relation between unemployment and inflation on the one hand and poverty and inequality on the other hand. Although we concentrate our attention just on the estimates for one inequality measure (Theil Index) and one poverty measure (Average Income Gap – P1), the results obtained from all other inequality and poverty measures considered are very similar. Due to high probability of endogeneity of unemployment and inflation our results will not be interpreted in a causal context.<sup>2</sup>

### **4.1 - Poverty**

We estimated four different models based on monthly data. Three of them assuming the relations are time invariant. We begin by analyzing their results. Then we comment on the results obtained from the time variant parameter model.

#### **4.1.1 - Time invariant parameters**

##### *Aggregated time series*

The estimates based on the aggregated time series reveal that both inflation and unemployment are harmful related with poverty. More specifically, Table 1 shows that a one percentage point increase in monthly inflation is associated to increases in the average income gap by 0.04 percentage point, whereas an increase in unemployment by a one percentage point is associated to increases in the average income gap by 1.2 percentage point. Although the results suggests positive and significant relations, from a substantive point of view the movements associated to inflation could be considered rather slight. In fact, for instance, considering an increase in the inflation rate from 20% to 100% a year, the monthly inflation rate would have to increase by 4.4 percentage points. According to our estimates, associated to this increase in inflation would be an increase in poverty of 1/6 of one percentage point. This is certainly a rather weak movement on poverty compared to a fivefold increase in inflation.

In taking the extremes, consider the full variation in inflation over the period. Inflation over the period varies from essentially zero to 80% per month. Even this increase of 80 percentage points in monthly inflation would be associated to an increase on poverty of just 3.2 percentage points.

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<sup>2</sup> We mean that probably movements on inflation or unemployment do not cause movements on poverty or inequality. Rather there are probably other variables whose movements cause movements on all these variables at the same time.

Table 1  
**The Impact of Inflation and Unemployment on Poverty and Inequality**  
**Monthly Aggregate Time Series**

| Dependent variables         | Unemployment | Inflation |
|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>Poverty line: R\$ 50</i> |              |           |
| <i>Average income gap</i>   |              |           |
| Coefficient                 | 1,16         | 0,04      |
| Standart deviation          | 0,11         | 0,01      |
| <i>Theil index</i>          |              |           |
| Coefficient                 | 1,16         | 0,09      |
| Standart deviation          | 0,27         | 0,02      |

Source: Based on Pesquisa Mensal de Emprego (PME) from May 1982 to December 1998.

The relation between unemployment and poverty, as opposed to inflation, can be considered strong. For instance, an increase in unemployment by two percentage points would be related to an increase on poverty by almost 2.3 percentage points. To take the extreme case, note that over the past fifteen years the unemployment rate ranged from 2.2% to 8.3%, i.e., a change of 6.1 percentage points. According to our model a change in unemployment of this magnitude would be followed by an increase in poverty of 7.1 percentage points.

Table 2 provides some estimates with lag variables. If the measurement for poverty is included with a lag between regressions, the contemporary relation between inflation and unemployment on poverty become much weaker. The unemployment and inflation coefficients, which are 1.16 and 0.04 respectively in Table 1, drop to 0.22 and 0.01.

Table 2  
**The Impact of Inflation And Unemployment On Poverty And Inequality**  
**Monthly Aggregate Time Series**

| Dependent variables         | Unemployment | Unemployment t-1 | Inflation | P 15 t-1 | Theil t-1 |
|-----------------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| <i>Poverty line: R\$ 50</i> |              |                  |           |          |           |
| <i>Average income gap</i>   |              |                  |           |          |           |
| Coefficient                 | 0,65         | 0,57             | 0,05      | -        | -         |
| Standart deviation          | 0,27         | 0,27             | 0,01      | -        | -         |
| <i>Poverty line: R\$ 50</i> |              |                  |           |          |           |
| <i>Average income gap</i>   |              |                  |           |          |           |
| Coefficient                 | 0,22         | -                | 0,01      | 0,86     | -         |
| Standart deviation          | 0,05         | -                | 0,00      | 0,03     | -         |
| <i>Theil index</i>          |              |                  |           |          |           |
| Coefficient                 | 0,31         | -                | 0,03      | -        | 0,72      |
| Standart deviation          | 0,20         | -                | 0,02      | -        | 0,05      |

Source: Based on Pesquisa Mensal de Emprego (PME) from May 1982 to December 1998.

When the lag of poverty level is excluded, unemployment lag becomes significant, the contemporary inflation coefficient drops from 1.16 to 0.65 and the association

between unemployment and inequality in the following period is similar to the contemporary association, with the estimate coefficient of 0.57.

*Pooling time series*

Tables 3 and 4 also give estimates of how close are inflation and unemployment to poverty based on pooling regional specific time series. Two models are estimated. They differ to the extent that one of them (the fixed-effect model) allows the intercept of the regression to vary across regions. These tables reveal that the pooled data estimates suggest a closer relation between the variables investigated than those obtained using the aggregated time series.

The results also reveal that the fixed-effect model estimates are closer to those obtained using aggregated data than are the estimate models without a fixed effect. This result indicates that cross-sectional estimates of the relation between macro variables and poverty tend to be much greater than those obtained from time series. As a matter of fact, the estimates based on a fixed-effect model are essentially the same as those obtained with the aggregated time series. However the estimates with the pooled data tend to be higher. Nevertheless, they are of the same order of magnitude of those obtained using aggregated time series.

Table 3

**The Impact of Inflation and Unemployment on Poverty and Inequality  
Pooling Monthly Regional Times Series (Without Fixed Effect)**

| Dependent variables         | Unemployment | Inflation |
|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>Poverty line: R\$ 50</i> |              |           |
| <i>Average income gap</i>   |              |           |
| Coefficient                 | 2,35         | 0,11      |
| Standart deviation          | 0,10         | 0,01      |
| <i>Theil index</i>          |              |           |
| Coefficient                 | 2,58         | 0,17      |
| Standart deviation          | 0,19         | 0,02      |

Source: Based on Pesquisa Mensal de Emprego (PME) from May 1982 to December 1998.

Table 4

**The Impact of Inflation and Unemployment on Poverty and Inequality  
Pooling Monthly Regional Times Series (with fixed effect)**

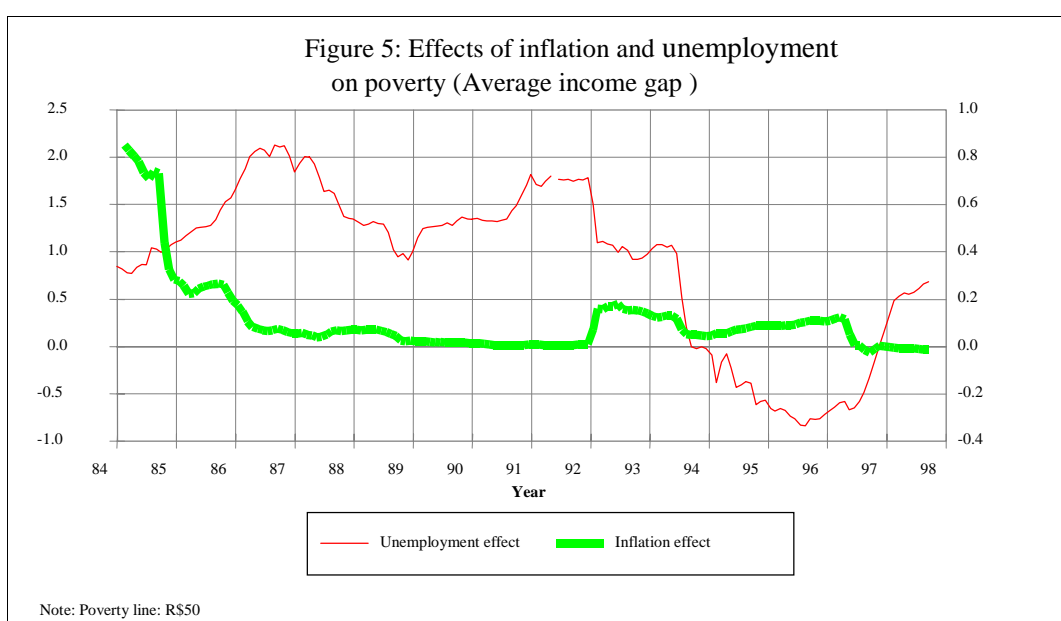
| Dependent variables         | Unemployment | Inflation |
|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>Poverty line: R\$ 50</i> |              |           |
| <i>Average income gap</i>   |              |           |
| Coefficient                 | 1,47         | 0,08      |
| Standart deviation          | 0,06         | 0,01      |
| <i>Theil index</i>          |              |           |
| Coefficient                 | 1,39         | 0,13      |
| Standart deviation          | 0,15         | 0,02      |

Source: Based on Pesquisa Mensal de Emprego (PME) from May 1982 to April 1997.



### 4.1.2 - Time variant parameters

In the previous subsection we assumed that the relation between macroeconomic variables and poverty were time invariant. In this section we dispense this assumption. We estimate these relations by running a series of local regressions using a 36-month wide window. Figure 5 presents the estimated temporal development of the coefficients of inflation and unemployment, respectively. Figure 5 shows that the impact of unemployment remains relatively stable around 1.0 until 1991. From 1991 to 1993, the impact of unemployment collapses. The estimates from 1993 onwards reveal no impact of unemployment on poverty. Since 1996 there has been an increase in the effect of unemployment.



This figure also indicates that the impact of inflation was high in the early 1980s but declines significantly towards 1985. It remains low but stable from 1985 to 1991. In 1991 and 1992 the impact of inflation rose again. After 1992 it drops to stabilize at a moderate level and remains stable at this level until today.

In short, over most of the period there is a strong association between unemployment and poverty and a weak one between inflation and poverty. However, at the end of the period unemployment seems to be unrelated to poverty while inflation become closed related to poverty. This evidence of recent major changes in the magnitude of the coefficients of inflation and unemployment indicates that estimates based on the overall period may not properly reflect the current situation.

## 4.2 - Inequality

As in the case of poverty, we also estimate four alternative models for inequality based on monthly data. Three of them assume that the relation between macro

variables and inequality are time invariant. We begin by analyzing the results obtained with these three models. Then we discuss the results obtained with the time-varying parameter model.

#### **4.2.1 - Time invariant parameters**

##### *Aggregated time series*

The estimates based on the aggregated time series reveal that both inflation and unemployment are somehow connected to inequality. More specifically, Table 1 reveals that a one percentage point increase in monthly inflation is associated to an increase in the Theil index by 0.09 percentage point, whereas an increase in unemployment by a one percentage point is associated to an increase in the Theil index by 1.2 percentage points. Although these coefficients are positive and significant from a substantive point of view, they could be considered rather small.

For instance, consider, as in the case of poverty, an increase in inflation from 20% to 100% per year, implying that the monthly inflation rate would increase by 4.4 percentage points. Given the estimated coefficient of inflation, it would be accomplished by a 0.4 of a percentage point increase on inequality, which is certainly a rather small change in inequality compared to a fivefold increase in inflation. However, if we take the total variation in inflation over the entire period we get an equivalent significant variation on inequality. In fact, inflation in the period varied from zero to 80% per month. Such variation in monthly inflation would be associated to an increase in the Theil index of 7.2 percentage points.

The coefficient for unemployment on inequality is 12.9 times greater than the corresponding one for inflation. As a consequence, from a substantive point of view, the relation between unemployment and inequality can be considerably stronger than the one between inflation and inequality. For instance, an increase in unemployment by four percentage points will be accomplished by an increase on inequality by more than 4.8 percentage points. To take the extremes, note that over the past fifteen years the unemployment rate ranged from 2.2% to 8.3%, i.e., a change of 6.1 percentage points. According to our estimation there should be an increase in inequality of 7.3 percentage points, which is certainly significant.

The inclusion of the Theil index with one lag in the regressions makes unemployment no more significant at a 10% level and makes the coefficient drop from 1.16 to 0.31. The inflation coefficient is also substantially reduced from 0.09 to 0.003 (Table 2).

##### *Pooling time series*

Tables 3 and 4 also give estimates of the relation between macro variables on inequality based on pooling regional specific time series. The same two models considered for poverty are estimated for inequality. These tables show that, as in the case of poverty, the estimates of the coefficients of inflation and

unemployment using pooled data are higher than those obtained using the aggregated time series. This table also shows that the fixed-effect model estimates are very close to that obtained from aggregated time series, indicating that cross-sectional estimates of the relations mentioned tend to be greater than those from time series. Although the estimates with pooled data tend to be higher, they are of the same order of magnitude as those obtained using the aggregated time series.

#### 4.2.2 - Time variant parameters

In the previous subsection we assumed that the relation between macroeconomic variables and inequality were time invariant. In this section we dispense this assumption. We estimate these relations by running a series of local regressions using a 36-month wide window. Figure 6 gives the estimated temporal evolution for the coefficients of inflation and unemployment. Figure 6 reveals that the relation between unemployment and inequality remains relatively stable around 1.0 until 1987. From 1987 to 1992, this relation is insignificant. The estimates from 1993 onwards reveal a surprising negative relation between unemployment and inequality and, after 1994, the estimates of this coefficient rises at an increasing rate.

This figure also indicates that the relation between inflation and inequality was unstable in the early 1980s, and stable but very weak from 1984 to 1987. From 1991 to 1992 the coefficient of inflation increases significantly. After 1992 it drops to stabilize at a moderate level, and remains stable at this level until today.



## 5 - CONCLUSION

Over the past seventeen years the Brazilian macroeconomic performance has been considerably weaker than in previous decades. Inflation reached unprecedented levels and economic growth declined considerably. In this study we use monthly and annual time series to access if this weak and unstable macroeconomic performance is somehow related to poverty and inequality.

The basic descriptive analysis was also able to identify, at least qualitatively, that inequality is more sensitive to inflation than poverty, while poverty is more sensitive to unemployment than inequality.

A more detailed regression analysis, using aggregated and pooling time series, were then conducted to obtain quantitative estimates of how inflation and unemployment are associated to poverty and inequality.

The estimates reveal that a ten percentage point increase in the monthly inflation rate is accomplished to increases in the average income gap and Theil index by less than one percentage point. From a substantive point of view, this result indicates that inflation seems to be weakly related to inequality and particularly to poverty. However, since the variation in the monthly inflation rate over the past seventeen years has been very substantial, inflation for the period ranging from 0% to the astonishing level of 80% per month, variation on poverty became quite significant. In fact, an increase in monthly inflation by 80 percentage points would be associated to an increase in the poverty income gap of 3.2 percentage points and 7.2 percentage points in the Theil index, which are certainly significant changes.

As far as unemployment is concerned, the estimates indicate that a one percentage increase in unemployment would be associated to an increase of the average income gap and the Theil index by 1.2 percentage points. Overall, the magnitude of the coefficients should be considered relatively small. Note that, while inflation is stronger related to inequality, unemployment is stronger related to poverty. Over the past seventeen years the unemployment rate has varied six percentage points between 2% and 8%. This variation is associated to an increase in the average income gap of 7.1 percentage points and an increase in the Theil index of 7.3 percentage points, which are certainly significant changes. The inclusion of the Theil index and the average income gap with one lag in the regressions substantially reduces the coefficients of inflation and unemployment.

Finally, the time-varying regressions indicate that the major results of this study, although applicable to most of the period analyzed, may not necessarily reflect the current situation. In fact, the time-varying estimates reveal a sharp recent decline in the coefficients of unemployment on poverty and inequality, consistent with the drop in poverty and inequality in 1995, despite a considerably increase in the unemployment rate. There is also evidence that the coefficients of inflation on poverty and inequality declines as inflation accelerates. This decline in the importance of inflation is consistent with the idea that, as an inflationary process progresses, society creates institutions (indexing mechanisms) in order to neutralize the real effects of inflation.

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