

## O MERCADO DE TRABALHO FORMAL EM BERTIOGA SOB A PERSPECTIVA DE GÊNERO

### EL MERCADO DE TRABAJO FORMAL EN BERTIOGA DE UNA PERSPECTIVA DE GÉNERO

### THE FORMAL LABOR MARKET IN BERTIOGA FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

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**RESUMO:** O presente artigo faz uma análise acerca do mercado de trabalho formal no município de Bertioga – SP, relacionando as questões entre crescimento populacional, trabalho e gênero, com o recorte oferecido, ano a ano, desde a emancipação do município. A pesquisa se baseia na dialética em que se pratica com a historicidade sobre o capitalismo, e os arranjos neoliberais e por fim, com a inserção da mulher no mercado de trabalho do município de Bertioga - SP. Podemos analisar as contradições da reestruturação produtiva e levantar hipóteses consistentes: a crise estrutural do capitalismo interfere diretamente na divisão sexual do trabalho e; a mulher está inserida nos postos de trabalhos informais e precários.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Trabalho. Gênero. Empregos formais.

**RESUMEN:** Este artículo analiza el mercado laboral formal en el municipio de Bertioga - SP, relacionando los problemas entre el crecimiento de la población, el trabajo y el género, con el recorte ofrecido, año tras año, desde la emancipación del municipio. La investigación se basa en la dialéctica en la que se practica con la historicidad sobre el capitalismo y los arreglos neoliberales y, finalmente, con la inserción de la mujer en el mercado laboral del municipio de Bertioga - SP. Podemos analizar las contradicciones de la reestructuración productiva y plantear hipótesis consistentes: la crisis estructural del capitalismo interfiere directamente con la división sexual del trabajo y; la mujer se inserta en trabajos informales y precarios.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Trabajo. Género. Empleos formales.

**ABSTRACT:** This article analyzes the formal labor market in the city of Bertioga - SP, relating the issues between population growth, work and gender, with the frame offered, year by year, since the emancipation of the municipality. The research is based on the dialectic in which it is practiced with the historicity about capitalism, and the neoliberal arrangements and finally, with the insertion of women in the labor market in the municipality of Bertioga - SP. We can analyze the contradictions of productive restructuring and raise consistent hypotheses: the

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*structural crisis of capitalism directly interferes with the sexual division of labor and; the woman is inserted in informal and precarious jobs.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Work. Genre. Formal jobs.*

## **Introduction**

The purpose of this article is to reflect on women and work, more specifically in formal jobs, with frame in the municipality of Bertioga - SP, the fastest growing in the Metropolitan Region of Baixada Santista, and pointed out for several years as the most grows proportionally in the state of São Paulo - and analyzed in charts by gender.

Based on the importance of studying the place of women in the world of work, this article was developed in the Public Management Technology course, at the Virtual University of the State of São Paulo, at Bertioga. In this way, empirical data were collected on population growth, by gender and economically active population, and highlighted, by gender and formal jobs year by year, in a section of the last 15 years.

In the first part, we will present the concept of gender, narrowing the understanding of the role of women in history, both in the productive and reproductive spheres, seeking to reflect on the importance of their struggles. Likewise, inserting women as beings that seek through work, often double, the recognition of equality in society.

Therefore, in the second part, we will present the historicity that chained capitalism, since the beginning of the industrial era, going through conceptualized systems such as Taylorism, Fordism and, finally, Toyotism. In the meantime, we dialogue with the relevant literature that presents the role of women in this system, and more, how it is inserted in this job market.

In the third part, we reserve the presentation of the municipality of Bertioga, its population growth and the jobs created, always cutting by gender, and since its political-administrative emancipation. For that, the data of the SEADE Foundation presented in graphs shows the importance of the article.

The present study dialogues with the main literature on work and gender, and offers a brief, deeper reflection of the current scenario in the city of Bertioga. The insertion of women in the labor market gains estimated relevance when we are talking about the neoliberal effects caused in jobs, such as informality and insecurity.

The considerations point to a considerable range of women outside formal jobs, and, above all, raise the hypothesis of concomitant situations, which the literature lays out with clear

bases within the historicity of capitalism. Thus, women become a reference in this study due to the data consonant in the municipality with the highest population growth, in the largest state in the country, São Paulo.

### **Fight for rights and the social role of women**

In the wake of history, if the Enlightenment preached that all "men are equal by nature", the extreme separation between the public spheres of government and the private spheres of the family and home in which men and women had completely different social roles, that the so-called sexual complementarity theory sounds natural. It was said that women were not equal to men, but complementary opposites, a theory that easily adapted to the molds of the time and made inequality seem something inherent in the relations between men and women (SCHIENBINGER, 2001).

Therefore, women were not seen as just inferior to them, but incomparable, due to fundamental differences. As Scott (1995) points out, women were seen as different; physically, morally and intellectually. Transplanting to the social scene of the time, women did not have the opportunity to attend school, the labor market, or participate in the public sphere. It was only with the women's movement, from the 1870s and 1880s that concessions were made and the entry of women into modern careers was allowed, and they could also participate in universities and, although not well regarded, inserted in some careers in the market of work (SCAVONE, 2008).

Scott (1995) states that feminist researchers with a more global political view regularly appealed to the categories of class, race and gender for "the writing of a new History". The use of the term "gender" by American feminists aimed to emphasize the fundamentally social character of distinctions based on sex. The word indicated a rejection of biological determinism implicit in the use of terms such as "sex" or "sexual difference".

The term "gender" also emphasized the relational aspect of the normative definitions of femininity. Through this vision, women began to be decentralized, solely and exclusively, as the focus of studies, and to analyze men and women as defined in reciprocal terms, and neither sex can be understood separately (SCHIENBINGER, 2001).

More recently, the life situation of women, specifically, the peculiarities arising from gender differences, has come to occupy some space as a topic of research and debate in university centers. The contested social movements of the 1960s and 1970s marked by the massive female presence, such as student demonstrations, the workers' movement and political

and social struggles, can be considered the triggers of discussions centered on women, who are no longer focused only as “Minority study” or “deviant group”, starting to be analyzed as a social and historical agent and as a subject of studies.

With the advent of modernization and increasing industrialization, especially since the 1960s, there are profound social, political, economic and cultural changes that modify the entire structure of society. Starting with the notion of family. The insertion of women in the job market transformed the pillars of the family institution in the feeling that it had to adapt to the needs of contemporary life and the new one to adapt the role of women (BAUMAN, 2010).

According to Londa Shienbinger, we can see that the structuring of scientific institutions and the historical context in which they are inserted can encourage or discourage the participation of women in this new context of the labor market. However, due to the modern division of labor, women generally have to choose either a professional career, or the maintenance of this traditional family. As a rule, they cannot opt for exclusive dedication to either sphere and are obliged to work twice as long. They are providers and responsible for the functioning of the home.

### **The insertion of women in the labor market**

Fordism and Taylorism, as principles of organization, permeate the conjuncture of capitalist industry. Thus, industry becomes the main form of expression of capitalist production. This, between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, initiates the insertion of workers in conceptualized, standardized systems, which spread throughout the world, as a model (NOGUEIRA, 2004, p. 27-29).

Taylorism develops within the concept of separation of activities, base and production, in which workers perform separate activities for the delivery of a product (BIHR, 1998, p.39). Fordism is characterized by a form of production and management, in which specialized employees produced practically the entire product, through a hierarchy (GOUNET, 1999, p. 18).

Antunes (1999) points out that this binomial contributed to the increase in the mass worker, in homogeneous production and in large quantities. Still, it exposes the fragmentation of work, in which it strongly establishes hierarchy. Menicucci (1999) and Nogueira (2004), point out that in the meantime, the worker often does not know why he is performing a certain task, and thus without knowledge of the work process.

Consequently, Toyotism, which became a new organization of work: sought to produce with high technology with fewer resources; called lean production, Toyotism surpasses Fordism, which had already been incorporated into Taylor's practices, and; it meets the production crisis, in which the economic issue becomes fundamental to continue with rising production, so we call it a new productive restructuring (NOGUEIRA, 2004; GUNET, 1999).

This crisis pointed out in Fordism was widely debated by Harvey (1992) and Bihr (1998), the "flexible accumulation" presents the search for capital to overcome the production crisis, and Toyotism represented new investments in search of lean production, certain of to combat the decrease in earnings, unproductive work, non-consumption, etc. It was some factors that established the weakening of Fordism and Taylorism.

[...] It is characterized by the emergence of entirely new production sectors, new ways of providing financial services, new markets and, above all, highly intensified rates of commercial, technological and organizational innovation. Flexible accumulation involves rapid changes in patterns of uneven development, both between sectors and between geographical regions, creating, for example, a vast movement in employment in the so-called "service sector" (HARVEY, 1992, p. 140).<sup>3</sup>

Now, if there is a productive restructuring, arising from the *structural crisis of capital* in which it seeks "lean production", then the workforce has to adapt to this new wave. And Antunes (1999) points out, that added to class struggles<sup>4</sup>, for this economic stagnation, there is a need to restructure capital itself. This movement is neoliberalism. Neoliberalism seeks, for example, the privatization of public companies, the removal of the State from the productive sector, the relaxation of laws, measures that seek to deregulate the State, among others.

The 1970s were instrumental in this transition process. Also, clearly between the 1980s and the 1990s, neoliberalism advanced. Neoliberalism disguised as modernization and innovative technical management in search of flexibility (MARY CASTRO, 2001, p. 275).

Concomitantly, the 1970s are going through the process of women's struggle, in which the emancipation of women is sought, and for that they occupy the movements of class struggles and debates about the role of women. Nogueira reinforces that, "the woman was predestined to

<sup>3</sup> [...] Caracteriza-se pelo surgimento de setores de produção inteiramente novos, novas maneiras de fornecimento de serviços financeiros, novos mercados e, sobretudo, taxas altamente intensificadas de inovação comercial, tecnológica e organizacional. A acumulação flexível envolve rápidas mudanças dos padrões do desenvolvimento desigual, tanto entre setores como entre regiões geográficas, criando, por exemplo, um vasto movimento no emprego no chamado "setor de serviços" (HARVEY, 1992, p. 140).

<sup>4</sup> Occurring at the end of the 60s and 70s, they undermined the domination of capital and revealed the possibilities of a hegemony (or a counter-hegemony) from the world of work. (ANTUNES, 1999, p. 42).

the role of mother and wife, having the responsibility to worship the concept of family as a basic and universal institution”<sup>5</sup> (NOGUEIRA, 2004, p. 37).

It is in this decade that the fight against oppression against women becomes more pronounced: it was necessary, more than ever, to fight for their economic and social emancipation, for their right to work, with all the specificities that this implies, such as example, equal wages for equal workers, in addition to the demand for a more united division in domestic work, in the reproductive sphere, freeing, at least partially, women from the double shift (NOGUEIRA, 2004, p. 37).<sup>6</sup>

The advance of neoliberalism, due to the structural crisis of capital, invariably results in precarious and informal work (ANTUNES, 1999). Such movement occurs and concerns women, despite being inserted in the formal and informal space, but precarious and vulnerable jobs are reserved; on the other hand, the salaried men of the industries have in their earnings the way of “collaborating” with the productive reorganization, accepting the reduction or stagnation of wages (HIRATA; LE DOARÉ, 1999, p. 10).

Therefore, these neoliberal adjustments, to this day in different spaces, have neglected women, “leading to an even greater precariousness for the whole working class, including the male contingent”<sup>7</sup> (HIRATA, 2001; 2002). These effects resulting from neoliberalism<sup>8</sup> point out that other determining variables, since the movement started in the 1970s by women, mentioned here, still remain without the necessary treatment, as stated by Nogueira in the dialogue with Hirata's texts:

[...] Wage inequalities have not decreased, that working and health conditions have not improved, and that the division of domestic work has not changed substantially, despite the greater involvement in professional responsibilities on the part of women. Everything indicates that, despite the increase in the number of jobs, the social inequalities that capitalism on a global scale, through its policy of flexibility, brought to labor relations and the health of workers worsened a lot (NOGUEIRA, 2004, p. 39).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> “a mulher estava predestinada ao papel de mãe e esposa, tendo a responsabilidade de cultivar o conceito de família como instituição básica e universal”

<sup>6</sup> É nessa década que o combate à opressão contra a mulher torna-se mais acentuado: era preciso, mais do que nunca, lutar pela sua emancipação econômica e social, pelo seu direito ao trabalho, com todas as especificidades que isso implica, como, por exemplo, salários iguais para trabalhadores iguais, além da reivindicação de uma divisão mais justa no trabalho doméstico, na esfera reprodutiva, libertando, ao menos parcialmente, a mulher da dupla jornada (NOGUEIRA, 2004, p. 37).

<sup>7</sup> “levando a uma precarização ainda maior para o conjunto da classe trabalhadora, incluindo o contingente masculino”

<sup>8</sup> Helena Hirata concludes this synthesis in a study that points out these effects in Asia, Europe and Latin America.

<sup>9</sup> [...] as desigualdades de salários não diminuíram, que as condições de trabalho e de saúde não melhoraram, e que a divisão do trabalho doméstico não se modificou substancialmente, a despeito de um maior envolvimento nas responsabilidades profissionais por parte das mulheres. Tudo indica que, apesar do aumento do número de empregos, as desigualdades sociais que o capitalismo em escala global, através de sua política de flexibilização, trouxe para as relações de trabalho e para a saúde dos trabalhadores pioraram muito (NOGUEIRA, 2004, p. 39).

Given the contextualization of the struggle for equal rights and the search for equal insertion into the labor market by women, it is possible to transplant the discussion to the role of women in the labor market in the municipality of Bertiooga - SP.

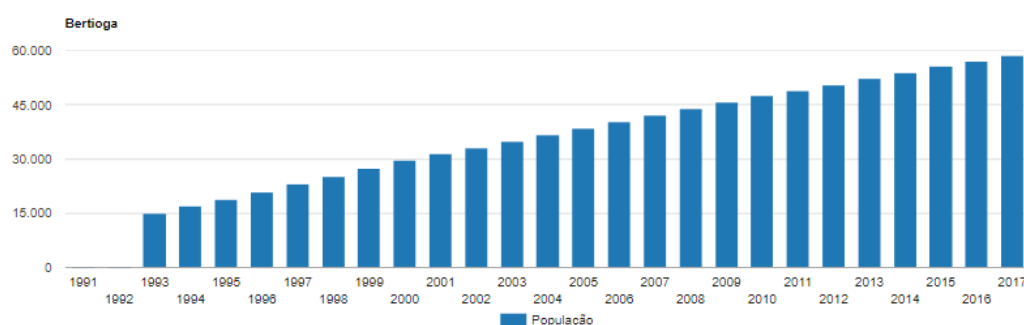
Thus, the research investigates the specificities of the municipality of Bertiooga - SP, looking for elements that analyze the disproportionate population growth of the municipality (SEADE, 2018), pointed for some years in a row as the fastest growing municipality in the state of São Paulo (IBGE, 2017), relating this data to the rates of formal employment in the municipality, being able to establish a scenario of the role of women in the labor market. Are they in formality or informality?

### Bertiooga and formal jobs by gender

The municipality of Bertiooga, according to IBGE data (CENSO, 2010), has 47,645 inhabitants, and today, it is estimated at 61,736 inhabitants (idem, 2018). Bertiooga, belonging to the Baixada Santista region, and between the years 2010 and 2015, is the city that grew the most in the entire state of São Paulo (SEADE, 2015).

Below is a graph of this population growth<sup>10</sup> in the municipality of Bertiooga, where the objective is only to point out graphically how there has been an uninterrupted population increase since its emancipation, in 1991, SEADE (2018):

**Figure 1 - Graph: population growth in the municipality of Bertiooga**



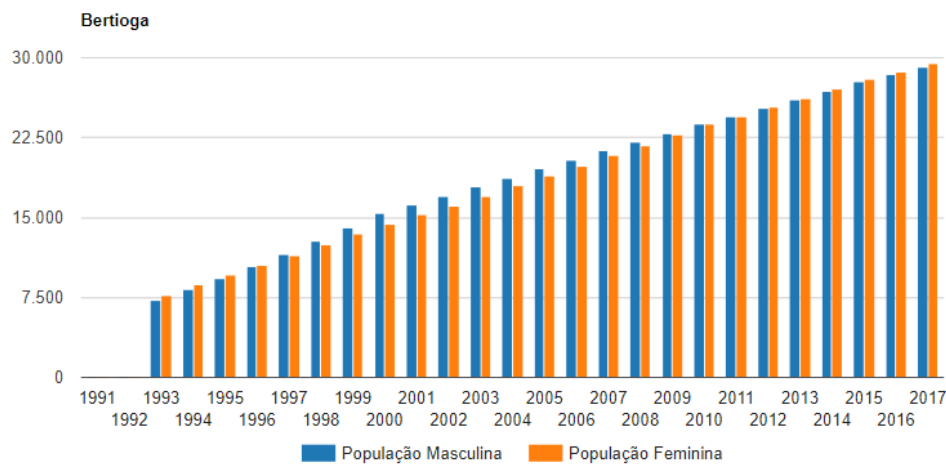
Source: SEADE Foundation (2018)

<sup>10</sup> “The populations presented here are the result of projections made using the demographic component method. This method considers trends in fertility, mortality and migration, based on the vital statistics processed at Seade Foundation, and the formulation of hypotheses of future behavior for these components. The base population, by age and sex, considers the results corresponding to the various Demographic Censuses carried out by IBGE. The projected populations refer to the 1st of July of each year” (SEADE, 2018).

The population increase between 1993<sup>11</sup>, 14,947 inhabitants, in 2017, 58,595 inhabitants, occurred due to real estate speculation and investment in infrastructure, originated mainly by the construction of the highways that connected the region with the municipality, and by the construction of the Riviera de São Lourenço project (MAZZOLENIS, 2013).

Also, I present in the next graph the same population data, but by gender, and from that moment we started to dialogue with the clipping of this article, women in formal jobs in the municipality of Bertiooga.

**Figure 2 - Graph: population data by gender**



Source: SEADE Foundation (2018)

The graph above shows that the female population has gradually grown closer to the male population, and as of 2011 - the female population with 24,508 inhabitants, and the male population with 24,491 - the female population became larger than the male.

Let's analyze how this population increase occurred, considering the age group of 10 to 65 years old<sup>12</sup>, age group in which we cut out just to exemplify the estimated population growth, and to demystify that this increase may have occurred by birth rate, or by the increase in inhabitants in old age from other municipalities.

One of the hypotheses is that with the marked urbanization and industrialization process, mainly from the 1980s onwards, a new configuration of the migratory pattern in Brazil can be noticed, being possible to observe the decrease in inter-regional migratory flows and the consequent increase in short-distance migrations (RIBEIRO *et al.*, 2015).

<sup>11</sup> The data from 1991 to 1992 are not present because the municipality was not yet covered by the SEADE Foundation, from 1993 it started to cover the municipality of Bertiooga, and in 1997 it started to cover the 645 municipalities in the state of São Paulo (SEADE, 2018).

<sup>12</sup> Economically Active Population (PEA, Portuguese initials) - according to IBGE (2018), the PEA is made up of people aged 10 to 65 years old who were classified as occupied or unemployed.

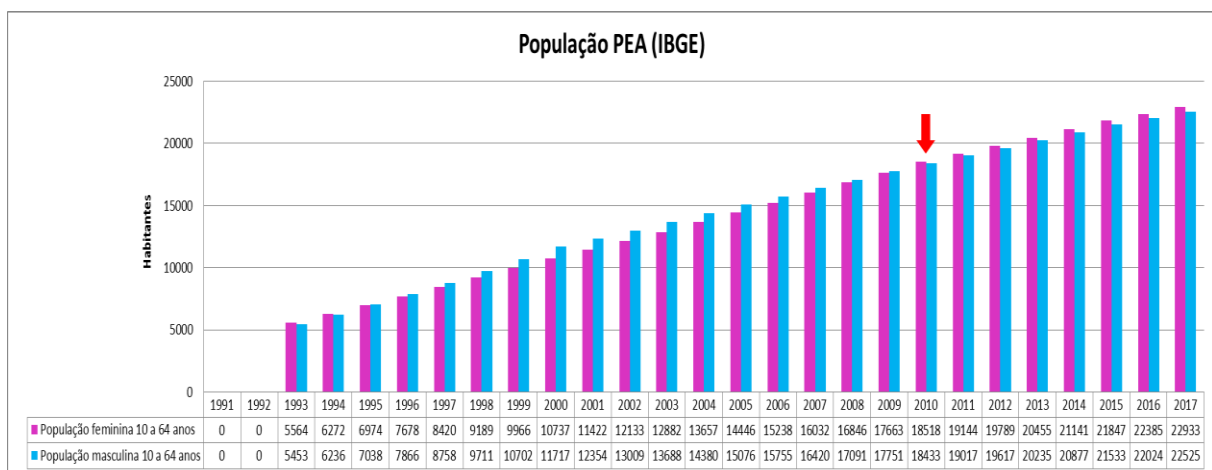


More specifically, in the Metropolitan Region of Baixada Santista - RMBS, the study of mobility gains importance due to the recent processes of urban and demographic changes that the region has been undergoing. On the one hand, census data demonstrate a reduction in population growth in the municipalities considered central, and the population of Santos, a pole city, has remained practically the same since the 1980s. On the other hand, a strong population growth was observed in peripheral areas of the region, with the largest population growth being the municipality of Bertioga - SP.

The perceived growth pattern can also be related to the intra-metropolitan migration in the RMSB, with a negative migratory balance in the municipality of Santos and population displacement from the pole city towards the metropolitan periphery, where the cost of land and the maintenance of life are cheaper (VAZQUEZ, 2011). Thus, the commuting movements are related to the expansion of the urban space, and, consequently, generate new dynamics in the territory and in the integration between the municipalities of the region.

The increase in the economically active population indicates that the municipality of Bertioga - SP, fueled by recent real estate developments, is configured as a space for “job opportunities”, whether in civil construction or in domestic services for seasonal residences.

**Figure 4 - PEA population (IBGE)**



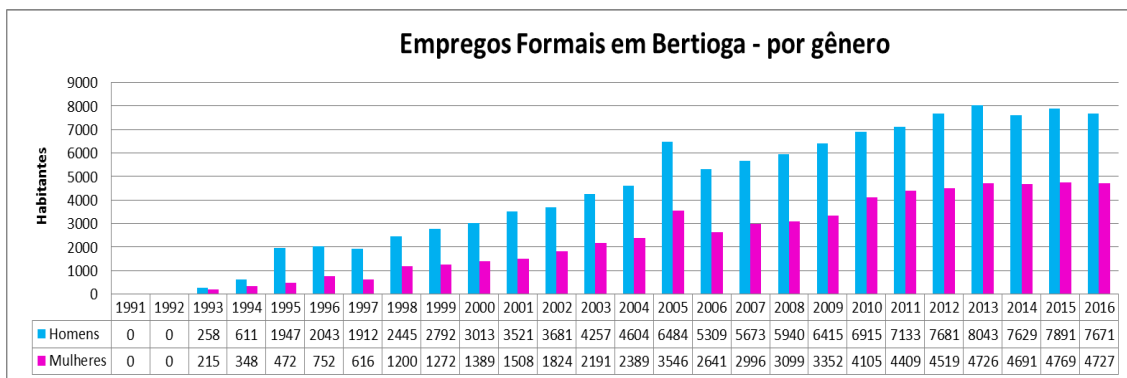
Source: SEADE Foundation (2018)

We can graphically observe that in 2010 the female population became larger than the male - female population, 18,518 economically active inhabitants, and male population, 18,433 economically active inhabitants, we soon understood that the female population has a determining role in the growth of the economically active population, even of the total population growth.

Therefore, we present the population graph since the emancipation of the municipality of Bertioxa, and then separate it by gender. We identified that in 2011, the female population surpasses the male population, which makes the debate relevant, because until 2017 the scenario is repeated. To validate the sequence of our article, we stratified by gender and PEA, which shows us that the female population is numerically ahead before, since 2010.

The graph below shows the number of formal jobs<sup>13</sup> year by year, by gender. 2017 is not yet available from the SEADE Foundation.

**Figure 5 - Graph: number of formal jobs by gender**



Source: SEADE Foundation (2018)

We can analyze in the graph above, that since 2010, there has been a maintenance of formal jobs in both genders. We can see that the jobs are predominantly male. There is no intention in this article to point out the fluctuation of jobs by sector, nor even to point out the reason for the maintenance of jobs. It is evident that in both genders there has been a maintenance of jobs since 2011.

The purpose of this study is to point out the population growth, which is predominantly higher in the female gender, however, the maintenance of these jobs questions the

<sup>13</sup> The number of formal jobs corresponds to the active employment contracts on December 31 of each year held by men, according to information provided by the contractors when preparing the Annual List of Social Information - Rais, of the Ministry of Labor and Employment - MTE. An employment relationship is understood to be the employment relationship maintained with the employer during the base year and which is established whenever paid work occurs with hierarchical submission to the employer and the time established by the employer. This relationship may be governed by the Consolidation of Labor Laws - CLT or by the Single Legal Regime, in the case of a statutory employee of the public service. Additionally, Rais raises data on individual worker bonds, temporary worker (Law no. 6,019, of January 3, 1974), apprentice minor, director with no bond who has chosen to pay FGTS and worker with a fixed-term employment contract (Law no. 9,601, of January 21, 1998) (Statistical Yearbook Rais - Guidelines for use, 2010). The information is provided for each of the employing establishments, defined "as being a unit that has a specific code in the National Register of Legal Entities - CNPJ or in the Specific Register of INSS - CEI. Even companies that declare Rais centrally must provide separate information for each establishment" (Annual Statistical Rais - Guidelines for use, 2010) (Ministry of Labor and Employment - MTE. Annual List of Social Information - Rais).

circumstances that this population is inserted in the labor market, and more specifically the woman.

### **Final considerations**

In this article we try to show how women are inserted in the labor market, in formal positions, and more than that, to raise the discussion of the sexual division of labor. The historicity presented asks us to understand, at least initially, gender social relations as unequal. Despite being inserted in the formal job market, women, in the municipality of Bertioga, are always outnumbered. Therefore, this participation of women in the labor market, within the capitalist sphere, is accompanied by traces of informality (NOGUEIRA, 2004).

This is evident when we present the population growth by economically active population divided by gender, women are in greater number, but formal jobs remain in maintenance, without growth. Women have always been used by capitalism to play low-paid roles, usually in precarious and informal jobs, since the advent of the industrial revolution (SAFFIOTI, 1976).

Hirata (1999) points out, the insertion of female work is conveyed with flexibility, certain that it is assumed that reconciliation with the activities of the home. And yet, women's remuneration is related to the feeling of complementarity. The present study does not bring a positive view on female participation in the labor market in Braga, because the factors discussed above are understood.

The struggles for better conditions are to understand that female emancipation is the search for equal rights, and thus, for everyone's rights. Capital cannot fight the search for female emancipation in the same way that it fought the working class, simply because it has to preserve the sphere of social reproduction (MÉSZAROS, 2002).

Furthermore, productive change will only be possible within capital, if there is a change in the reproductive sphere. Both genders must be aware of their rights, and of their responsibilities within the consciousness of the working class (MÉSZAROS, 2002).

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