

STATES FAILURE TO ANSWER TO CIVIL SOCIETY DEMANDS

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1 INTRODUCTION

Recently the debate focused on political theories has evolved significantly encompassing the statutory provision of social services, and questioning the confidence in institutions. Trust is no longer seen as a regulatory mechanism but rather as a public good; these theories do not dismiss interpersonal trust but investigate its changing role, especially concerning politics, the future of society and the active citizen participation.

While security issues seemingly dominate government action, more and more nation states are coming under pressure from their own citizens. Some political analysts have diagnosed a crisis of representative democracy and argued for a stronger role of civil society. Citizen action, citizen initiatives, and protest movements have gained in importance and became a key issue for governments, with a plethora of different meanings attached to it (ARNDT, 1987), as the recent case of Brazil. Furthermore, the question of what civil society can bring to the table in attempting to attack the global challenges of the 21st century, with demands for political democratization, economic recovery, social democratization and educational reformulation has become a point of particular attention.

While some governments and the corporate sector would like to see civil society primarily in the role of service providers, citizens are increasingly aware of the political mandate of civil society (HALL; MIDGLEY, 2008). This article analyzes the reactions of the organized civil society in Brazil since the inauguration of the Soccer Stadiums in 2013, also known as the Brazilian Spring, initiated by the Free Fare Movement, a local entity that advocates for free public transportation. The demonstrations were initially organized to protest against increases in bus, train, and metro ticket prices in some Brazilian cities, but grew to include other issues such as high corruption on the government, in fact a crisis of representative democracy (RAWLS, 1971). Since then, social relations have been tense in Brazil and the civil society became a customs inspector over the State actions. Effective changes in the juridical order (ANNONI, 2002) was a request from the society, as well as in the Congress rules, including the effective use of the Federal Budget, aiming to changes concerning a really participative budget, transparency in all accounts, and benefits to every population segment. The movement started in May 2013 when President Dilma Rousseff kicked the first symbolic ball on the newly-laid pitch of the brand new Mane Garrincha Stadium in the Brazilian capital of Brazil. At a cost of 1.2 billion reais (\$ 590.1 million), the colonnaded stadium is the most expensive of the 12 that Brazil is building for next year's 32-nation World Cup, and a prime candidate to become a white elephant in a city with no major soccer club.

This research follows the analytical method (Woody, Slesinger, Stephenson) and is structured in real facts. The relation between State and society in the mobilization process for the conquest or implementation of rights will be the main objective of the paper, specifying that it counts with the support of the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), their contribution derives an

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important part of their legitimacy from the claim that they are able to have an open dialogue with governmental institutions. This ability, it is argued, contributed to aid effectiveness and efficiency in human rights demands (ARENDR, 1997; ASTON; GOODMAN, 2013; AXT; SCHWARZ, 2006). Donnelly (2013) says that rights are actually put to use, and foresees an assertive exercise, activating the obligations of the duty-bearer and through the contractual right defends its rights as a political legitimacy. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, for example, presents itself as a “standard achievement for all peoples and all nations”, and the governments protect human rights, and legitimate the citizens’ demands for security. Joel Feinberg (1980, p. 153) calls rights in a “manifesto sense”. Human rights do imply a manifesto for political change, including liberty, democracy, law (justice) (DWORKIN, 2011), which implies education, employment, habitat and health.

2 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE RELATIONSHIP STATE-CIVIL SOCIETY

Brazil’s development throughout the last two decades and along with its increasing involvement in the great international themes, are supported by a foreign policy that aims at an increasing inclusion in the international scenario. Consequently, the number of international partners grows exponentially every day, showing the need to consolidate old partnerships, as well as to attract new ones, particularly with Mercosur allied countries, BRICS, Asian countries, which have a remarkable cultural richness, as Japan, Taiwan, Philippines, India, and Iran, countries immersed in thousands of years of history, diversity and religious syncretism.

Nevertheless, Brazil as other Latin American countries was immersed in more than two decades of authoritarian government, marked by repression, disguised by a progressive democracy, but evidencing state corporatism. The authoritarianism allowed a minimum population access to the arena of political decision, which became a turn point for the citizens’ struggle for a political subjectivity more difficult. As a legacy of colonialism in Brazil, a highly stratified society emerged in a hierarchical context of classes, race and gender. Social elite of ‘decent people’ emerged, acting as central models for the poor and afro-descendant communities. This legacy gave to the region a series of characteristics which have been refaced by political exclusion: “caudillismo”² a peculiar system in the Northeast of Brazil, especially in the State of Bahia, immersed in personal systems, clientele’s and centralism bureaucratic organization. Claims for political and democratic inclusion were evident in Brazil, in which the citizens demands for free elections, strikes, popular protests, were important during the 1960s and 1970s. Military interventions in politics were a particular characteristic in Brazil and neighbor countries such as Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Peru during the XXth century. The exclusion politics rose to the highest level when the National Security System started investigating and arresting supposed members of communists associations, torturing, killing and deporting suspects, among them members of professional associations as the Brazilian Barrister’s Association, the Brazilian Association for the Progress of Science, the Brazilian

² The term is often associated with the military leaders that ruled countries in Latin America in the early 19th century when the political conditions were unstable, there had been a long armed conflict prior to the gain of power, and in some cases did not win a democratic election. The leader who came into power after a country had won independence or ended a civil war had to be charismatic because the control that they held over their armies and civilians depended on how they held themselves in front of the people. The Caudillo brings order to the country, but does not always exert their power in a non-violent manner. In some cases, Caudillos would use force to gain the changes they wanted and to ensure that the people under him knew who was in command. See Bijos (2013, p. 117).

Press Association, academic professors, who publicly criticized the economic political measures, as well as the reduction or elimination of civil and human rights.

The severe government repression of the late 1960s and early 1970s was a second factor that helped galvanize revolt waves that received the adhesion of all segment of the population, especially women who founded organizational nuclei of the contemporary Brazilian feminism, activists women, who were active in militant Left organizations, thousands of women involved in these and other collective struggles, and also groups of students (ALVAREZ, 1994, p. 14). Many of these women militants began working with thousands of poor and working-class women's groups, such as the mother's clubs and housewives associations, which sprang up throughout Brazil in the 1970s and 1980s. They were the first to protest the authoritarian regime's regressive social and economic policies. They organized against the rising cost of living. Women militants demanded adequate schools, day care centers, running water, sewers, electrification, and other urban structural necessities; and clamored for their right to adequately feed their families, school their children, and provide them with a decent life.

For twenty-four years the Brazilian population lived under the authoritarian regime, establishing middle-class women clandestine networks and networks established among student movement activities in the mid- to late 1970s. By the later 1970s, panoply of social and political movements, all vocally opposed to the continuation of military rule, began remapping the terrain of Brazilian civil society. Alvarez (1994, p. 27) emphasized that "women of the popular classes also pointed to the inadequate living conditions of the urban periphery and to the exhausting labor that they and their spouses performed", as well as social conditions aggravated by material problems.

3 THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION, 1981-1988

After 1980 there was an increased importance of electoral politics, which had two important consequences in the old political partisan divisions among movement participants. New forms of ideological struggle within the feminist movement aroused, as well as a recently divided opposition scrambled to secure votes for the 1982 elections, showing a renewed partisan struggle over the organized constituencies and mobilizational potential of the women's movement, and students' groups.

In 1985 the first civic president in 21 years, José Sarney, took office, creating within the Ministry of Justice the National Council on Women's Rights (Conselho Nacional dos Direitos da Mulher, or CNDM), giving opportunity to women's movement organizations to secure the majority of seats within the new government body.

From 1986 to 1988, a new democratic constitution was formulated in Congress, encompassing a new era of democratization in the country (ALVAREZ, 1994, p. 42). The reformist euphoria of the first few years of civilian rule gave way to widespread disillusionment by the late 1980s. In São Paulo from 1986 to 1990, the Center-Right PMDB administration of Orestes Quercia started his administration inserting women in higher posts, especially the Paulista Council on Women's Condition, but inadvertently reduced its staffing and resources, and marginalized it from policymaking arenas. Even the Labour Party (PT) whose members had long been critical to PMDB, was unable to articulate innovative programs, coordinate and accompany policies and directives aimed at implementing special educational programs, potable water, sanitation, health, among others. Women

claimed for justice as they were victims of violence, and set up a battered women's shelter under municipal auspices. In São Paulo, the *coordenadoria* persuaded the health department to provide abortion services to women in one municipal hospital as permitted by law (abortion is legal in cases of rape, incest, or danger to the women's life) and, as in Santos and Santo André, also established referral and counseling services and shelters for female victims of domestic violence (ALVAREZ, 1994, p. 49). To publicize their claims women established feminist nongovernmental organization (NGOs), as the Centro Feminista de Estudos e Assessoria (Feminist Center for Research and Consulting, or CFEMEA) in Brasilia to monitor the regulation of constitutionally guaranteed rights through the formulation of ordinary and complementary laws in the National Congress.³

In the 1990s, these feminist incursions into the societal, cultural, and academic realms, like the policy-oriented activities of growing numbers of feminist NGOs, seldom made the headlines of the mainstream or the alternative press as they had during the heady days of transition politics in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Women were not afraid of organizing themselves, articulate new forms of strategies, and new strands of feminism multiplied. Growing numbers of poor and working-class women created Rede Mulher, União de Mulheres de São Paulo, Black women's movement "Coletivo de Mulheres Negras" from the coastal city of Santos, women's sections of the trade union centrals like the PT-influenced Central Unica dos Trabalhadores, or CUT, and several women's centers in São Paulo's urban periphery, expanding the feminist agenda to (re)affirm the interrelations of class and gender oppression in poor and working-class women's lives, a focus of historical feminist discourse and organizing in the era of the "other woman's feminism" now being appropriated and rearticulated by its subjects, as emphasized by Sonia Alvarez (ALVAREZ, 1994, p. 50).

The emergence of an autonomous women's movement in authoritarian Brazil was not able to eradicate poverty. Unemployment, combined with poverty, had a dramatic impact on women. It forced many women, especially those from the lowest income sector, into the informal (and sometimes, but less frequently, the formal) labor market for the first time. The political opening up during the latter part of the 1980s indicated a measure of qualified success in the institutionalization of mechanisms of state access and economic growth.

At the early stages in the Brazilian transition to democracy, there were still many unanswered questions. What were the implications of the transformation of so many movement organizations into NGOs? Would be set new patterns of living conditions for all?

Because the democratization process occurred within the framework of neoliberal economic adjustments, government spending on social services was reduced. Up to now, Brazil has a significant amount of its population living with an income which is not enough to cover its mainly necessities. The main continuous determinant of poverty in Brazil may be, in the words of Sônia Draibe (2002, p. 2)

that the governments under strong international pressure, had radically decided for one side of the balance - to make only the fiscal and economics adjustment. On doing that they gave important paths in the direction of the destruction of the old Welfare State. Concerning Latin American, it was in fact a still embryonic Welfare State born in some few countries of the region.

³ In 1993, CFEMEA published a comprehensive study of pending congressional legislation in the areas of violence, work, welfare, health and education with the aim of enjoining women's movement activists to pressure Congress on these bills and other stalled policy areas of interest to women. See Centro Feminista de Estudos e Assessoria (1993).

Nevertheless, Draibe (2002, p. 2-3) shows that the “dismantlement” of the State, which has been anxiously awaited for some citizens, is not happening, especially in its social programmes, what is happening is

a movement of *gradual inflexion of the past social protection*, seen mainly on the institutional policies and programs level, through the introduction or reinforcement of at least three main characteristics: the decentralization, new parameters for the displacement of resources and the redefinition of public-private relations in the financing and in the provision of goods and social services. The new social policies establishment, coming out from this parameter, is still characterized for the expansion and multiplicity of participatory mechanisms and, in the great majority of the programs, and by the reinforcement of the government regulatory power.

Facing a national policy of economics adjustment, it became necessary even more the establishment of a counterpoint of poverty elimination and one of its faces is the popular microcredit for the excluded ones.

When President Dilma Rousseff took office in January 2011, she continued consolidating the social programs launched during the eight presidential term of Luis Inácio Lula da Silva, which combined an array of cash transfer programs, sharply expanding his version of the model, named Family Grant. The Family Grant aims at breaking the cycle of poverty in Brazil, giving the poor small cash payments in exchange for keeping their children in school and taking them for regular medical checkups. Each month the poor families receive an amount of about US\$ 35.00. The target is to reach at least 11.4 million of families - more than about a quarter of Brazil's population. The program has been launched with the support of the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank who are putting up US\$3 billion in loans for the program. Its total cost over the president's four-year term will be closed to US\$7 billion. Its annual cost - about a third of 1 percent of Brazil's gross domestic product - will be more than offset by savings during President Lula da Silva's administration, and due to its success, it has squeezed out of the civil service pension system (SAN DIEGO UNION-TRIBUNE, 2004).

Although the present course of Brazilian foreign policy started in the second half of Fernando Henrique Cardoso's government, there were no qualitative changes at that moment. The former president had not possessed the will or political basis to implement modifications that could go far beyond timid critic rhetoric. Lula's inauguration in 2003 transformed this situation and, at the beginning of his government, Brazilian foreign policy has shown a remarkable development and leadership that surpassed many expectations. To fulfill his strategy, Lula's government's International Relations were characterized by three dimensions: an economic diplomacy, a political one, and a social agenda. The first dimension is a realist one, the second aimed at offering resistance and assertiveness, whereas the third is a propositive one.

Lula showed himself as a common labor man, also as an example of lather mechanical that rose as a syndicate leader, founded the Labour Party and became President of the Republic for two terms (2003-2010), with more than 52 million votes from the Brazilian citizens.

Lula main goals were to transform Brazil in an honest and equitable country, without famine, beginning with a food security program “Zero Hunger”, “First Job Employment”, and “Family Fellowship” (SILVA; AMORIM; GUIMARÃES, 2003). His objectives included to prioritize the

Brazilian foreign policy to reaffirm an economic and political space aiming at South America reunification. It started with the rejection of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), identified as a region annexation Project of the North American government, which originated in the launching of the South American Community of Nations (CASA), in December 2004.

Lula emphasized that Brazil needed to state what it stands, doing justice to struggle for the survival in which its children are engaged; internationally, affirming its sovereign and creative presence in the world. The Brazilian foreign policy should reflect the desire for change expressed by the ordinary people in the street (BRASIL, 2008, p. 17).

The Brazilian diplomatic axes obtained more emphasis or different approaches in the current government with Dilma Rousseff; both from the point of view of doctrinal innovation of Lula's policy and as a result of the change of circumstances or the emergence of new opportunities. The Brazilian goals of social policy have broadened to include poverty alleviation, social inclusion and the promotion of human rights.

The implementation of these goals proved to be of limited effectiveness in addressing mass poverty and promoting human welfare in urban areas, as well as in the most remote rural villages. Institutional changes have not promoted equitable patterns of economic growth especially education, employment and transportation. These lacunae have undoubtedly helped to perpetuate serious problems of poverty, vulnerability, powerlessness and exclusion.

To aggravate the situation, Brazil entered into the competition to the World Cup in 2014, which demanded a lot of infrastructure in building new soccer stadiums, hotels, roads, communication and security. By mid-June 2013, violent protests followed the announcements about fare increases in São Paulo, and like dynamite spread over to major cities and also to remote towns throughout the country. The smaller-scale protests against the 2013 Confederations Cup and the 2014 World Cup changed to a bigger nationwide protest, through Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, emails, motivating all segments of the population. Protesters decided to demonstrate their anger in public arenas, which led to dozen of persons being shot and wounded by the police. Workers at the Brazilian world cup stadiums have threatened strikes, slamming their conditions as unsafe, as construction employees died at the site, as in the northern city of Manaus. In Brasilia, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and other places the citizens complained that hosting these tournaments is a luxury that the country cannot afford. Brazil rage spilled onto the streets of more than 107 cities across the country, with over a quarter of a million people demonstrating their discontent with the government. The Brazilian newspapers and TV channels showed that dozen people have been killed and hundreds injured during the protests in cities like Belo Horizonte, Brasília, Rio de Janeiro and Salvador from a peaceful movement to violent ones, as activists clashed with the police, setting fire to public buildings, vandalizing shops, signposts and traffic lights. On Friday 21st of June 2013, about 3,000 people were rallying in front of the National Congress in Brasilia demanding the resignation of several police members.

On Sunday, June 23, 2013, a group of protesters decided to camp in front of the residence of Mr. Sergio Cabral, Governor of the city of Rio de Janeiro, demanding better public services.

Despite the complaints, the Brazilian authorities opened new channels for public discussions, meeting the youth representatives and listening to their demands.

4 ANALYZING THE AMUSEMENT OF THE YOUNG GENERATION “ROLEZINHOS”

Following the protests, the young generation joined the demonstrators, with special requests for the improvement of social policies, education, extra classes’ activities including cultural entertainment, public libraries, theatres, and expressed their anguishes concerning discrimination getting together in mass at shopping malls to have some fun, what frightened the owners and managers. Shopping centers owners reacted to it with a mixture of fear, admiration, and heavy-handed repression. New youth slang was created “rolar” or “rolezinhos” which means to go out with friends on a leisurely stroll.

It started in December 2013, when a group of young people used Facebook to plan a “rolezinho” (little outing) at a shopping centre in the southern city of São Paulo, “to have a bit of fun” in a country where entertainment and cultural events are expensive. Remarkably, that day, six thousand youngsters showed up.

In Salvador, a major shopping mall Iguatemi closed its doors in the afternoon of Saturday June 22, 2013, the same happening in Brasília, as a preventive closure. The police decided to disperse the younger’s using tear gas against the crowd. Meanwhile some protesters have set fire on vehicles, at bus stops, and also public buildings across Bahia state, Rio de Janeiro and Brasília. The situation started to get out of control, as other protesters joined the crowd adding demands against corruption and prices hikes.

Although the great majority lives in a “favela” (shanty town) the younger’s want to prove that they represent the new Brazilian middle class, who are studying at public universities and have access to the internet, credit and purchasing power, thanks to a decade of leftwing governments under former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2011) and current president Dilma Rousseff.

The social meetings were met with tear gas and police beatings. The younger’s feel discriminated by the society because the participants are Afro-Brazilians from the periphery, who are seen as out of place in the luxurious sophistication of the shopping malls. Besides tear gas the militarized police used rubber bullets and pepper spray against thousands of young people engaged in rolezinhos, arresting most of them, in order to thwart the movement.

In interviewing these younger’s they said that: “A dark-skinned person at a shopping centre is immediately targeted for close watching by the security staff, who think we are probably going to steal something,” cargo assistant Diego Meier told us, adding that he regards these malls as “palaces of the bourgeoisie and capitalism.”

“At times I am badly served by staff and I notice that it is dark-skinned Afro-Brazilians who work the security shifts or clean toilets. We must have the same rights, independently of skin color, social class and purchasing power,” said Anderson, an Afro-Brazilian like Meier.

President Rousseff herself criticized the harsh police response and prejudice against poor young people. Minister for Racial Equality Policies Luiza Bairros said that *rolezinhos* were “peaceful demonstrations” and that black people should not automatically be associated with the idea of crime, as is customary. “The problems arise when white people are afraid of young black people,” she said.

Brazil’s middle and upper classes associate the presence of overwhelming numbers of poor black youngsters in public spaces like the beaches, with the danger of “dragnet” attacks by mobs of thieves. But *rolezinhos* do not loot or steal or destroy.

The government, on the other hand, views them as “an expression of dynamism, social mobility and the changes that have occurred in Brazilian society in recent years.”

The transformation from a social class that up until recently had no future, into another that has dreams, is expressed in the music that young people taking part in *rolezinhos* listen to at top volume in the shopping centres. The lyrics and videos of “ostentation funk” proclaim that the road to happiness involves climbing the social ladder, marked by the possession of luxury goods and, afterwards, going out with blonde-haired women. “This kind of funk was a preview of the *rolezinho* phenomenon. It shows a desire, conscious or unconscious, for social integration. But it’s also part of the culture,” film student Gonzalo Gaudenzi, who studied the history and origins of the genre, told the interviewer. Brazilian funk (inspired by U.S. rap music) was born in the urban peripheries with lyrics on everyday topics such as drug trafficking, narcotics, police repression or sex. But with the spread of social welfare, it began to reflect the aspirations of many of the 30 million people, in this country of nearly 200 million people, who were lifted out of poverty thanks to an economic model based on domestic consumption as the springboard for growth.

“If the music they listen to all day is telling them that to get the best girls and the highest social status they have to have the best cars, clothes and watches, even if they can’t buy them they will want to get close to that world and feel its presence. And where can they do that? At the shopping malls,” said Gaudenzi.

Brazilians are complaining that the lead-up to this summer’s World Cup is turning entire cities into spectacle venues, complete with soaring prices. Suddenly, the owners of bars and restaurants at the seaside in Rio de Janeiro, Salvador (Bahia), Fortaleza (Ceará), Natal (Rio Grande do Norte) were surprised by the arrival of *isoporzinhos* (styrofoams). Medium class and poor black people decided to go to the popular and renowned bars with picnic baskets full of beverages and sandwiches, gaily affronting the restaurants’ clients with goods bought at the supermarket. The cost of lifestyle products (beach-related services, restaurant food and booze, for example) seem to be rising well above the inflation rate (5.9 percent during 2013). Statisticians say that the prices for some food items such as shrimp omelets and pastries are higher than comparable items in New York or Paris. As the young generation has no financial resources to go to modern and sophisticated bars and restaurants they just get together in front of them. Sometimes those are peaceful and innocent meetings, but they really annoy a lot of people with their noisy and talkative way of behaving and verbal disagreements arise.

By end of June 2013, the Brazilian Government called in the military to help police monitor and ensure safety during the soccer games in Belo Horizonte, Brasília, Rio de Janeiro and Salvador, as protests continued to spread. Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff tried to calm down the protests via a televised address, promising new plans for public transport, the health care system and pumping oil royalties into education.

The building up of the image of a sensible President to the social movements and open to the dialogue initiated after the citizens’ street manifestations has shaken up the country during the month of June 2013 and contributed to the negative popularity index of President Dilma Rousseff.

Despite the governmental promises, the socioeconomic inequality continues in the same pattern in all the Brazilian States, leaving the citizens hopeless. The World Cup, in the meantime, will test the power of the soccer balls over the electronic voting machines.

5 THE PROMOTION OF NEW PATTERNS OF SOCIAL POLICIES

The recently civil society movements in Brazil have changed the scenario of the 2014 elections and have presented new candidates, new political parties and many criticisms concerning democracy and the contemporary politics.

While some governments and the corporate sector would like to see civil society primarily in the role of service providers, citizens are increasingly aware of the political mandate of civil society (HALL; MIDGLEY, 2008). Historically civil society is a concept that was bound to the West until the beginning of the third wave of democratization (COHEN; ARATO, 1992; KEANE, 1988). The concept of civil society emerged in the nineteenth century, around 1820 (RIEDEL, 1984, p. 132), as a dualist concept capable of expressing two changes brought about by Western modernity: the differentiation between the family and the economic sphere caused by the abolition of bondage and the differentiation between state and society caused by the systemic specialization of the modern state. The dualism between the private sphere (Ferguson, Smith, Marx), and the economic sphere which concerns to the public sphere (Hegel, Gramscsi, Colás), implies that “[...] the state is not the state if it always merges with civil society and that the latter is not society when it is political society or the state.” (RIEDEL, 1984, p. 133). Emphasis is put on the first formulation of civil society as a dualist concept which expresses the beginning of a process of state and society differentiation in the West (LIPSCHULTZ, 2006, p. 14).

However, while policy itself tends to evolve slowly, the perceptions and practices that generate policy change have advanced markedly over the past decade. Interventions have become more targeted and tailored to meet the specific economic and social needs of diverse groups (HALL; MIDGLEY, 2008, p. 2). Members of Free Tickets (Movimento Passe Livre), the Brazilian Indigenous Population Peoples Articulation (Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil), Groups of Lesbians, Gays Bisexuals and Travesties’ (LGBT); and Landless People (Sem Terra) said they met the President after the protests, but things have not moved on, they complain that the doors of the presidential palace “Palácio do Planalto” remain closed.

At the beginning of February 2014, 15,000 members of the landless group MST (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra) made a rally through Esplanada dos Ministérios in Brasília and forced their entering into the presidential Palace, but were blocked up by the police. After the frustrated attempt, some members of MST started protesting and calling names, complaining about the absence of dialogue. Their prominent representatives were invited to meet the president, who received an official letter with 10 points. She has listened to the criticisms with promises to analyze the demands. Marcos Terena an indigenous and representative of the Brazilian Commission for Justice and Peace said that there is no substantive dialogue between the federal government and the indigenous peoples.

Anthony Hall & James Midgley (2008, p. 3) conceptualize ‘social policy’ and call our attention to the fact that the term is nowadays fraught with potential ambiguity and confusion... In the first instance, a basic distinction should be made between social policy as (a) an applied policy arena relating to governmental and other institutional interventions that affect people’s welfare and (b) an academic field of enquiry. These two aspects are closely related since theory feeds directly into practice.

Historical examples are the writings of Auguste Comte, one of the founding fathers of sociology, who advocated the scientific social planning, as well as Robert Owen a pioneering industrialist, who in the early 1800s established the community of New Lanark in Scotland. Highlights are put in poverty surveys conducted by Charles Booth, Paul Kellog and Seebohm Rowntree who cleverly exposed the harsh and brutal conditions under which many ordinary people lived and fuelled pressures for social reform by pioneers such as Sidney and Beatrice Webb in the UK and Jane Addams in the US (Midgley et al., 2000). On analyzing 'social policy' and movements of civil society anti-slavery movements in the US, Latin America and England during the nineteenth century are put to the fore as early intellectual expressions of progressive social policy (HALL; MIDGLEY, 2008, p. 3). Informal mechanisms have always evolved for dealing with the absence of governmental policies to suppress the needs of the elderly, sick and frail amongst their numbers. On mentioning the Landless Movement and the indigenous population in Brazil, they have found their own ways to build systems of social support, and to find the most appropriate solutions for their problems, opening channels of discussion with governmental authorities.

Social policy has been considered as synonymous of government intervention to provide social services to the poor and destitute, signifying minimal State action, or as named by the European post-war analysts as the 'welfare state', in which government was perceived as having a duty to ensure certain fundamental living standards for all its citizens, literally 'from the cradle to the grave'. Notwithstanding the involvement of government funding for key social sectors as health, education and housing, the economic context changed this view to Keynesian principles of employment-generating public investment, named as normative principles based on a new concept of 'civilized' and 'modern' society. Economic theories of the 1950s highlighted modernization and growth through urban-based industrialization, generating employment while alleviating poverty. Automatic growth would generate improvements in the welfare of a wider population; government intervention to meet social needs would be minimized (HARDIMANN; MIDGLEY, 1982). Governmental authorities were oriented to restrict its actions to dealing with social pathologies such as crime and prostitution, as well as helping those who could literally not help themselves, such as the disabled, the old and infirm or orphans. Changes were made through the beginning of the 1960s aiming at mobilizing the family and the community, and via charitable or voluntary organizations such as the church, through individual effort in the market place, without the government intervention to meet social needs (HALL; MIDGLEY, 2008, p. 4).

During the 1980s, Keynesian economics together with the hitherto central role of the State in implementing public policy proved unworkable and came under fire.

The economic growth really took place, but it did not guarantee improved standard of living and welfare for the poorer classes. The citizens started questioning improvements in basic services such as health, education and housing, besides pressing the governing elites to expand social service provision by building new schools, houses and hospitals in the competition to secure electoral support and political legitimacy. In Brazil the governing elites of the Northeast used to maintain the poorer classes in the rural areas, especially in dry season areas without electricity, potable water and sanitation. The socioeconomic inequality is visible when one examines the 40 million Brazilian household and concludes that 10 million are considered as insalubrious and 2 million do not have any electricity access. Nearly 21 million people do not have potable water in their houses. By 2002, only 8,2% of the Brazilian population had access to computers and a wide

access to information (Pochmann: 2004). Besides these fundamental rights, the denial of access to these rights may imply the denial to life. The historical development and legal experience are dictating the content of those rights in civil, political, economic, social, cultural aspects.

Poverty reduction and livelihood strengthening should be tied to educational policies, in this context literacy conditions have been aggravated in Brazil and is a structural pattern of inequality.

In this context, highlights are put in the role of the non-governmental organizations and Non-governmental Development Organizations (NGDOS) which show the right to popular participation, civil liberties such as the freedoms of speech, press, and assembly, the empowerment of citizens in their participation in politics and how they exercise control over the state.

Transnational advocacy networks seek influence in many of the same ways that other political groups or social movements do, and they keep an eye on governments and how they conduct the state. Typology of tactics that networks use in their efforts at persuasion, socialization, and pressure includes (1) information politics, or the ability to quickly and credibly generate politically usable information and move it to where it will have the most impact; (2) symbolic politics, or the ability to call upon symbols, actions, or stories that make sense of a situation for an audience that is frequently far away, (3) leverage politics, or the ability to call upon powerful actors to affect a situation where weaker members of a network are unlikely to have influence; and (4) accountability politics, or the effort to hold powerful actors to their previously stated policies or principles.

Civil society is a concept that was bound to the West until the beginning of the third wave of democratization (COHEN; ARATO, 1992; KEANE, 1988). The concept of civil society emerged in the nineteenth century, around 1820 (Riedel, 1984:132), as a dualist concept capable of expressing two changes brought about by Western modernity: the differentiation between the family and the economic sphere caused by the abolition of bondage and the differentiation between state and society caused by the systemic specialization of the modern state. In this context, social differentiation meant that “[...] the state is not the state if it always merges with civil society and that the latter is not society when it is political society or the state.” (RIEDEL, 1984, p. 133). Thus, in its first formulation civil society is a dualist concept which expresses the beginning of a process of state and society differentiation in the West.

On analyzing Brazil, the generation of the 1960's remembers with sadness the period in which the country was under the military regime, when people could not participate freely in the political process and there was limited freedom of expression or belief. For 23 years the people were oppressed by military authorities who used political persecution, torture, disappearances, and massacre even at the universities to grab professors from the classrooms and students who were sent to prisons (ALVAREZ; DAGNINO; ESCOBAR, 2000; HUGGINS, 2006; HARITOS-FATOUROS; ZIMBARDO, 2006; GARLAND, 2001), murdered, and declared as disappeared. Only in 1988 Brazil faced the return to democracy, and the electoral process was restored, with a New Constitution which was ratified on October 5, 1988, by the 1988 Constituent Assembly. As of March 2012, it has been amended 70 times and has 250 articles.

How people use their capabilities to defend human rights? The idea of “human capabilities” has become increasingly popular in recent discussions of human rights (DONNELLY, 2013; SEN, 2003) as it motivates the citizens to get together, develop or realize their wishes. Their capabilities increased as they started to interact with each other, advocating their cause through particular kinds of mechanisms, structured in terms of networks at facebook, linkedin, twitter, e-mails

messages, blogs and links. Historically, citizens used to march through the avenues with guns, tools and stones on hands, feeling their vulnerability and weakness to convince the government of their particular arguments. The government, opponent to requests used the coercive powers of the state to frighten them, emphasizing the control of the state abusing and violating their rights.

A single campaign may contain many of these elements simultaneously, as we have seen in Brazil during the last months.

Besides the present context of social movements in Brazil, we may highlight the human rights movements in Argentina in the period of 1976-83. The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo marched in circles in the central square in Buenos Aires wearing white handkerchiefs to draw symbolic attention to the plight of their missing children. The network also tried to use both material and moral leverage against the Argentine regime, by pressuring the United States and other governments to cut off military and economic aid, and by efforts to get the UN and the Inter-American Commission on Human rights to condemn Argentina's human rights practices.

The same issues happened in Chile with the military regime when women decided to get together and fight the governmental oppression, besides organizing the "ollas comunales", where they cooked together to protect themselves of hunger and the inflation prices. The posed question is: are we marching toward a global civil society? Many scholars now recognize that "the state does not monopolize the public sphere", and are seeking ways to describe the sphere of international interactions under a variety of names: transnational relations, international civil society, and global civil society. A wide range of issues have been evidenced: environment, deforestation of the Brazilian Amazon, rainforest campaigns, and international banking systems.

All issues pointed out in this analysis show that both states and NGOs are learning new languages with which to address old problems. Although the problem may not become more tractable in translation, the linkages that networks make possible search for common ground, as specified in the context of the effectiveness of human rights.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The adverse social impacts of the Brazilian policies show that welfare provisions have not been inserted into sectors as health, primary education, transport and employment. The governmental authorities have not discussed medium and long-term policies for dealing with the adverse social impacts of the World Cup in the country, as well as the building of dozen of soccer stadiums. The perspectives discussed in a narrative format and showing the chronology of facts, consider social policy as being concerned primarily with social and welfare services, of offering safety nets to alleviate immediate crises, as the Family Grant which is offered by the Brazilian government to maintain children at school and supervise their health conditions, such as vaccination.

Another conceptualization of social policy is concerned essentially with more fundamental questions of sources and stability of employment, and the creation of jobs for the young generation. Social policy is also a wider spectrum of collective interventions, as cultural rights. People may have access to libraries, theaters, shows, music performances, and feel integrated and be involved in participatory planning, so that they can speak of their concerns and hopes. The government should reformulate the social policy agenda periodically, showing its evolution in thinking inspired by several factors. One of these factors is the extreme poverty and deprivation

of a developing country, like Brazil, to provide context-specific solutions to be devised based on local capacities and needs. The idea of alleviating the absolute poverty of particularly vulnerable groups, like the inhabitants of shanty towns (favelas) in Brazil should give priority to the maximization of the potential of the poor by increasing labor productivity. Basic social services in health care, education, family planning, nutrition and primary education have to be provided, but targeted transfers and safety nets, such the Family Grant or social funds, are seen as an essential complement in order to protect those who may not benefit directly from economic growth or social service provision. As emphasized by the civil society movements in Brazil, as well as with the phenomenon of “rolezinhos” are a combination of exclusion and marginalization, which affect large sectors of the population that are landless, jobless, and illiterate, factors associated with social class, caste, ethnicity, religion, culture, age or gender, which have been trapped by situations of poverty, violence and vulnerability.

On discussing violence and discrimination, improvements should be done in women’s life, indigenous populations, the old and those at the bottom of the social ladder such as scheduled castes, Afro-descendants and street children, who need governmental intervention.

As a point of conclusion we foresee that the public sector should have mechanisms to offer a worthy life for each of its citizens, and in the absence of this effectiveness, it will be filled in with the participation of the civil organized society, which will demand to the State the right to life, social rights as education, habitat and health.

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