

SOCIAL POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA CONCERNING GLOBAL ECONOMY

Kenia Cristina Lopes Abrao

(Social Assistant, PhD Candidate on Social Service at the Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Master degree on Social Service at the Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Goiás, Postgraduate student`s representative of the southern region 1 of the Social Service Education and Research Association (ABEPSS), studentship from CAPES Foundation)
Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina/CAPES Foundation,
Ministry of Education of Brazil , Brasília, Brazil

Abstract

This article intends to discuss the constitution and development process of social politics in the context of Latin-American capitalist production forms, which are determined by a subordinate position towards international organizations' guidelines, as it occurs in the Brazilian case. It is evident that the mechanisms that allow the prevalence of labor force dependency and overexploitation, present in peripheral countries, express the essential disparities of the contradiction between capital and labor and directly affect Brazilian social politics configuration.

Keywords: Social politics, Economy, Dependency

Introduction

To understand social politics, it is required to associate it with economical politics and its imbrications with a capitalist State basic functions, with conditions created to favor and attend an accumulation process, as well as to guarantee the conditions that legitimate social and economical order. Thus, economical politics are intrinsically related to production, accumulation, concentration and also consumption, while social politics refer to reproduction, (re)distribution and social consumption (SILVA, 1997).

Social politics attends labor and capital necessities, as well as the mandatory issues of an ongoing modernization. This way, it

is a result of the dialectically contradictory relationship between structure and history and, therefore, of simultaneously antagonistic and reciprocal relationships between *capital x labor*, *State x society* and *liberty and equality* principles which rule citizenship rights. Thus, social politics presents itself as a complex concept that does not befits with the pragmatic idea of pure supply or allocation of decisions made by the State and vertically applied upon society. (PEREIRA, 2009, p. 166, italics by the author).¹

It is fundamental to understand such a complex historical context, so as to comprehend the actual configuration of Brazilian social politics, marked by international

¹ From the original: “é produto da relação dialeticamente contraditória entre estrutura e história e, portanto, de relações simultaneamente antagonicas e recíprocas – entre *capital x trabalho*, *Estado x sociedade* e princípios da *liberdade* e da *igualdade* que regem os direitos de cidadania. Sendo assim, a política social se apresenta como um conceito complexo que não condiz com a ideia pragmática de mera provisão ou alocação de decisões tomadas pelo Estado e aplicadas verticalmente na sociedade” (PEREIRA, 2009, p. 166). (N. do T.)

influence, weak State intervention, mitigating social politics, inequitable selectivity, misery naturalization, plea for generosity and emphasis on family and market as the main agents of social supply. These characteristics reveal the political-economical dependence conditions of Latin-American countries on central countries, which Marini (2000) discusses through the concept of “unequal commodities trade”. Based on it, social politics resources are appropriate for the prevalence of conservative economical politics, which hinder the scope of social rights.

Social politics consolidation is not gradual or egalitarian among countries. For example, there was no historical follow-up of Latin-American countries with central capitalist countries, considering that the capitalist system development – or what Marini (2000, p.51) calls the “gigantic global trust” – and its accumulative logic imply a distinction between countries, specially related to economical, political and social issues, to the extent of conditioning certain countries’ economies, at the expense of other economies’ development and expansion. It is in the bulge of this context that takes place the discussion about the dependence of subordinate countries on formally independent nations.

The Brazilian social-economical formation process has been historically understood as subordinated to colonialist and imperialist nations. Therefore, central development and periphery’s sub development, which deeply mark a duality between productive sectors (industry and agriculture) and regions (Southeast and Northeast), has its genesis in the capitalist system, from the exploitation and domination relationships between nations in the North and in the South.

The genesis of dependence theory, in Latin America, emerges in the sixties in a context where global economy was already organized under the hegemony of big economical groups and powerful imperialist forces. Thereby, and from the way that Latin-American development elapsed, it was clear the inevitability of dependence relationships that would grow each time deeper.

In his analysis, Marini (2000) clarifies that dependence is understood as a subordination relationship between formally independent nations, in which peripheral nations’ economies are conditioned by the development and expansion of central countries’ economy. This way, dominant countries would have the conditions for auto sustenance, while the economical expansion of peripheral countries would depend on them.

Therefore, the Latin American social-economical formation process is comprehended based on its subordinated relationship with global capitalist economy. In that context, there is an evident inequality of production relations, since development of certain parts of the system occurs thanks to the sub development of other parts. These established relationships are based on the market’s dominance by hegemonic countries and on the dependents’ loss of control over their own resources. In other words, the remainder produced in the periphery is appropriated by the center, and remainder generation is not due to the emergence of advanced technological levels or to laborers’ increased productive capacity; on the contrary, it occurs because of a greater laborer’s exploitation, through the intensification of surplus extraction processes and workday elongation (MARINI, 2000).

This shows that such way of production was constituted exclusively on intense laborer exploitation, and not on his productive capacity development. Under those three mechanisms, there is no chance that laborers have the required conditions to retribute their wasted laboring force, since they end up being more dependent on it than it would be in most cases, and also because they would be deprived of consuming the minimum so as to preserve it at its normal level (MARINI, 2000). According to the author:

in capitalist terms, this mechanisms (that, furthermore, can happen and normally do happen in a combined way) mean that labor is remunerated

below its value and corresponds, thus, to a work overexploitation (MARINI,)

This fact implies that for the endurance of world-scale capital accumulation, as well as of profit margins of national bourgeoisies associated with foreign capital, there is a double expropriation of labor force that occurs as a consequence of labor escalation, workday elongation and a diminution of the workers' consumption capacity, all of which evinces that the result of this process is social inequality and poverty, implying low wages, absence of job opportunities, illiteracy, sub nutrition and police repression (MARINI, 2000), a frame that pictures the delineation of social politics expressions in Latin-American countries.

In the scope of Marini (2000), the base that develops Latin-American economy is in the alliance with a global capitalist economy: its own population does not internally consume commodity production in Latin America. As a consequence of this, there is a separation between two moments of capital's cycle: production and circulation of commodities. This, in a way, would imply the loss of laborer's individual consumption, which would represent a preemptory element in the creation of a demand for what is produced, being one of the required conditions so production flow resolves itself appropriately in circulation flow. It is important to understand such a process, since it defines how an industrialization stage will be configured, revealing the consequences of capital's cycle and labor overexploitation.

This economic model (peripheral and dependent), by showing the country's or region's situation, concurringly reveals the Latin-American working class condition in this scenario: this class is composed by a contingent of those excluded from formal labor, with no access to social protection, a situation that derives from a profit-based economy. Additionally, for the population's majority, poverty and misery are accompanied by State's omission, mainly expressed by the absence of social politics. Advancing in this frame, it is important to remember that the region's stage of production and wealth accumulation, which is oriented by multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), is, in itself, the principal cause for poverty rising and social inequality (PAIVA; OURIQUES, 2006). The configuration of social politics that are subordinated to these organizations seems directed towards rights reduction and social politics restriction, with the institution of selectivity and focalization, considering that the "veiled objective of these organizations is that such programs are enough so as to avoid the aggravation of poverty and social pressures, but also that they are minimal so as to not alter social reality, maintaining the distance between rich and poor" (PEREIRA; SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 223).²

2 – Brazilian social politics in the context of neoliberal ideology

At the end of the forties, after the creation of the International Monetary Fund³ (IMF) and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development⁴ (IBRD) – whose main

² From the original: "objetivo velado desses organismos é de que esses programas sejam suficientes para não agravar a pobreza e pressões sociais, mas que sejam mínimos de modo a não alterar a realidade social, perpetuando o distanciamento entre ricos e pobres" (PEREIRA; SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 223). (N. do T.)

³ "On its origins, the IMF had the role of providing financial resources for countries that were in a deficit of their external accounts, due to adverse junctures, deflecting a worsening of the crisis" (PASTORINI; GALIZIA, 2006, p. 75). (From the original: "Ao FMI, nas suas origens estava reservado o papel de prover recursos financeiros para países que apresentassem déficits nas contas externas decorrentes de conjunturas adversas, evitando assim o agravamento da crise" (PASTORINI; GALIZIA, 2006, p. 75) N. do T.). Its prescription, according to Pereira (2000, p. 171), consists "in an auto-sustained development, in the balance between public expense and tax collection, in a permanent combat against inflation and in the prioritization of social politics that are minimal or focalized on extreme poverty". (From the original: "no desenvolvimento auto-sustentado, no equilíbrio entre gasto público e arrecadação, no permanente combate à inflação e no primado das políticas sociais minimalistas ou focalizadas na pobreza extrema". N. do T.)

⁴ "The IBRD would assume the responsibility of financing infrastructure recovery and construction projects that are required for economical development" (PASTORINI; GALIZIA, 2006, p.75). (From the original: "O BIRD

objective involved the economical reconstruction and development of capitalist countries, specially on infrastructure issues (energy, transportation and communication) – and with the Marshall Plan this bank started also to finance investments that contributed to propel the economical development of Latin-American countries. On this issue, Brazil initiated a partnership with these multilateral organizations and which was enforced through the years, since the first loan on 1949, to the electric power sector (PASTORINI; GALIZIA, 2006).

After that period, between the fifties and sixties, to be more precise, Brazil experienced the “developmentism summit”, as pointed Castelo (2012, p. 620). This model grew deeper and developed thanks to the introduction of financial capital in the country. It was responsible for the arrival of multinationals, which aimed to invest on durable consumption goods branch (JK government) and to start producing capital and industry-based goods, with a big support from the State (Vargas government). Brazilian political, economical and cultural control was in the hands of capitalism. Therefore, and according to Marini (2000, p. 87), it was sealed “an agreement between the Brazilian bourgeoisie and North-American economical groups”. This way, the miracle came, the cake got bigger, but dependence and underdevelopment persisted, and social-economical inequalities increased, with immense losses for the working class” (CASTELO, 2012, p. 621).⁵

In the following years the scenario was not different: international support was intensified and diversified. In the mid-seventies the highlight was on social projects funding, on infrastructure financing, while resources were scarce for projects against poverty, especially in Latin-American countries. Besides those⁶ elements, on that same decade there was a rise on interest rates in the United States, which had direct consequences on subordinate countries, and led the IMF to take charge about the reprogramming and refinancing of the debt⁷ (PASTORINI; GALIZIA, 2006).

The debt opened the gates so neoliberalism could enter, and the working sectors were those who suffered the most the negative consequences of the implementation of this big capital’s political-economical project: poverty and unemployment raise, reduction of social and labor rights guarantees, loss of potential for struggle and organization, etc. It is in the eighties that most Latin-American countries apply neoliberal politics programs (PASTORINI; GALIZIA, 2006, p.66).⁸

It is impossible to deny that since the XIX century there have been social and political advancements, arduously conquered through the struggle between classes and the evident correlation of forces that predominated, and also years later, with the re-democratization process that culminated with the promulgation of the Federal Constitution, on 1988, with a social protection system guided by three spheres which compose it: social security, health and social assistance. According to Pereira (2000, p.152), from this period, called as of

assumiria a responsabilidade por financiar os projetos de recuperação e construção da infra-estrutura necessária ao desenvolvimento econômico” (PASTORINI; GALIZIA, 2006, p.75) N. do T.).

⁵ From the original: “um compromisso entre a burguesia brasileira e os grupos econômicos norte-americanos”. [Dessa forma,] “O milagre veio, o bolo cresceu, mas a dependência e o subdesenvolvimento persistiram, e as desigualdades socioeconômicas aumentaram, com imensas perdas para a classe trabalhadora” (CASTELO, 2012, p. 621). (N. do T.)

⁶ In that context, the analysis by Mandel, Tardío Capitalism (1979) about the structural crisis of monopolist capitalism is essential so as to complement this analysis.

⁷ The explanations of debt as an imperialist domination mechanism, is in Lenin and Luxemburg.

⁸ From the original: “A dívida abriu portas para a entrada do neoliberalismo e foram os setores trabalhadores os que mais sofreram as consequências negativas da implementação desse projeto político-econômico do grande capital: aumento da pobreza e desemprego, redução da garantia dos direitos sociais e trabalhistas, perda de potencial de luta e organização etc. É na década de 80 que a maior parte dos países da América Latina começa a implementar os programas de políticas neoliberais” (PASTORINI; GALIZIA, 2006, p.66). (N. do T.)

“Democratic Transition” or “New Republic”, emerges such a concept of social protection, in which social rights as well as their fully realized policies were recognized as citizenship. That was a pioneering act in Brazilian politics, by officially recognizing the absence of social protection as a right, and, therefore, by assuring in a Federal Constitution a social protection with its own purpose of satisfying social minimums.

On this Constitution the formal reformulation of the social protection system incorporated values and criteria that, although antique in foreign countries, at Brazil they sounded like a semantic, conceptual and political innovation. The concepts of “social rights”, “social security”, “universalization”, “equity”, “political-administrative decentralization”, “democratic control”, “social minimums”, among others, became, in fact, key categories in the constitution of a new social politics pattern to be adopted by the country (PEREIRA, 2000, p. 152).⁹

Meanwhile, the universal pattern for social politics and the amplification of social rights¹⁰, according to what was expected on the Citizen Constitution, were never successfully introduced¹¹. By the contrary, since their promulgation¹² they were criticized and labeled by conservative parties, as not viable and inconsistent, due to their opposition to dominant neoliberal tendency (PEREIRA, 2000). As a consequence of these attacks, there was clearly a governmental opposition that applied maneuvers so as to retard or hamper the ordinance in

⁹ From the original: “Nesta Constituição a reformulação formal do sistema de proteção social incorporou valores e critérios que, não obstante antigos no estrangeiro, soaram, no Brasil como inovação semântica, conceitual e política. Os conceitos de “direitos sociais”, “seguridade social”, “universalização”, “equidade”, “descentralização político-administrativa”, “controle democrático”, “mínimos sociais”, dentre outros, passaram, de fato, a constituir categorias-chave norteadoras da constituição de um novo padrão de política social a ser adotado no país (PEREIRA, 2000, p. 152). (N. do T.)

¹⁰ “The rights with which social politics identify, and are accomplished, are the social rights, guided by the principle of equality, even though they have in their scope individual rights – guided by the principle of freedom. The identification of public policies with social rights is due to the fact that these rights have a perspective of equity, social justice, and allow society to demand the State for positive and active attitudes, so as to transform these values in reality” (PEREIRA, 2009, p. 102). (From the original: “Os direitos com os quais as políticas públicas se identificam, e vem concretizar, são os direitos sociais, que se guiam pelo o princípio da igualdade, embora tenham no seu horizonte os direitos individuais – que se guiam pelo princípio da liberdade. A identificação das políticas públicas com os direitos sociais decorre do fato de esses direitos terem como perspectiva a equidade, a justiça social, e permitirem à sociedade exigir atitudes positivas, ativas do Estado para transformar esses valores em realidade” (PEREIRA, 2009, p. 102). N. do T.)

¹¹ For a discussion about the historical configuration of social assistance and social politics in Brazil, the analysis offered by Paiva (1999, p. 14) is enlightening, as it analyzes the social-economical processes in which public social politics were produced in the Brazilian context. His studies show that “the historical configuration of social politics in Brazil has been characterized by the predominance of a discriminatory and restrictive profile, in terms of social rights. From the first meaningful measures related to social and labor legislation, it is evident that the logic of accumulation superimposed itself over the workers’ egalitarian interests and aspirations, leading to the anti-democratic nature of the established relationship between the State and society”. (From the original: “a configuração histórica das políticas sociais no Brasil tem se caracterizado pela predominância de um perfil discriminatório e restritivo em termos de direitos sociais. Desde as primeiras medidas significativas no campo da legislação social e trabalhista, pode-se constatar que a lógica da acumulação tem se sobreposto aos interesses e aspirações igualitárias dos trabalhadores, em decorrência da natureza antidemocrática da relação estabelecida entre o Estado e a sociedade” (N. do T.)).

¹² “For many, proposals of this kind, at that time, were anachronistic, since the transnationalization process as well as neoliberal ideology, opposed to such proposals, were gaining force and global dimension, thanks to, mainly, the real socialism decomposition, which directly or indirectly served them as a paradigm”(PEREIRA, 2000, p. 149). (From the original: “Para muitos, propostas desse tipo, naquele momento, eram anacrônicas, pois tanto o processo de transnacionalização como a ideologia neoliberal, contrários a elas, estavam ganhando força e dimensão global, graças, principalmente, à decomposição do socialismo real que lhes servia direta ou indiretamente de paradigma”(PEREIRA, 2000, p. 149). N. do T.)

the Constitution, and even the approval of the Organic Law of Social Assistance, which was delayed five years.

It was in this context permeated by economical crisis and political regression that conditions grew for a dissemination of neoliberal ideology in Brazil, although its establishment might have been somewhat slow¹³. Anchored in the argument that the new scenario was not suited for a constant State's presence, those who followed the neoliberal orthodoxy started to legitimate private meddling policies (PEREIRA, 2000). What begins to rule, then, is the predominance of social politics implemented with the purpose of reducing social expense, the dismount of social rights arduously conquered and the reorientation of resources from public assistance to the attendance of capital's necessities, that is, a mitigating social politics, with a detriment on important mediations for the amplification of citizenship.

From this context it can be identified that the dependency condition of Latin-American countries directly interferes on social politics in several ways. Neoliberal theses that imposed an implicit dismount of social rights – historically conquered by working classes' pressure, organization and struggle – antique procedures that are taken as innovative resurrect (appeal to generosity, focalization on extreme poverty, overexploitation of workers, social politics privatization and reduction of State's functions), leading to a situation where market and society become in charge of the State's burdens. Other mechanisms and neoliberal practices that permeate social politics are associated also to the acceptance of social inequity as a natural fact, to the act of making individuals responsible for their own welfare and to the “deflection of the compromise of social politics with the satisfaction of social needs and the adoption of technical and punctual solutions, apparently neutral and easily controllable” (PEREIRA; STEIN, 2009, p. 111).¹⁴ Such dynamics generate tragic consequences on society, as the State limits its role on social protection and appeals to the generosity of the richest so as to soothe the suffering of the poorest. It is, thus, a perverse scenario, in which resources that should be invested on social politics, especially in Social Security, are misappropriated so as to maintain the neoliberal economical policies that restrict the amplification of social rights.

This configuration of the Brazilian social protection system is intrinsically related to several factors, with a highlight on the strong and contradictory relationship between nations' center and periphery, in terms of economical power, as pointed by theories of dependence and subordination to external market, essentially to financial capital.

For Netto (2001) this process is situated on a context of monopolist capitalism, in which the State extended its functions and guaranteed a control over labor force, which is occupied and a remainder, to rapidly attend capital's interests and logic, that is, the warranty for the monopolies' profits. Meanwhile, for that to happen the strategy used by the State to respond the capital's demands in the era of monopolies, consists on lengthening its social-economical maintenance and legitimation baseline, absorbing the working class demands, institutionalizing the access to citizenship rights. This process is marked by confrontations and collisions between classes, with a State that regulates social relations by means of force and persuasion.

In a society where a monopolist capitalism regime rules, one of the strategies identified by the State, as a political and economical instance of the bourgeoisie to attend the

¹³ In the Latin-American context, Brazilian adhesion was considered as a bit belated, only at the end of the eighties, after Chile, Bolivia, Mexico and Argentina. The situation presented on this period was one in which Brazil was coming out of a military dictatorship, thus creating an unfavorable climate for neoliberalism, at least at the beginning (SADER, 2004 apud PEREIRA, 2004, p. 154).

¹⁴ From the original: “desvio do compromisso da política social para com a satisfação das necessidades sociais e adoção de soluções técnicas e pontuais, aparentemente neutras e facilmente controláveis” (PEREIRA; STEIN, 2009, p. 111) (N. do T.)

population's demands, is the constant and systemic intervention to deal with social related refractions, prioritizing and applying social policies with the purpose of preserving and controlling labor force (occupied and remainder), and regulating the minimum platform for consumption. Aligned with this thought, Iamamoto (2009), on his studies, points out that as financial capital is subordinating society and its sovereignty, it consequently imposes its logic of unending growth and universal commodification. This process worsens and deepens all kind of inequities and paradoxically turns invisible live labor, responsible for creating wealth and the subjects that achieve it.

the social “question” is something more than poverty or inequity. It expresses a *trivialization of humanity*, resulting from the indifference towards the sphere of necessities of the majority and the rights that are relevant to them. Indifference towards the destinies of huge contingents of working men and women, submitted to a historically produced poverty (and not naturally produced), universally subjugated, abandoned and disdained, as they are leftovers for the standard necessities of the capital (2009, p. 31).¹⁵

The author mentions that, on a scenario ruled by capital orbit, the multiple expressions of the social issue – materialized under several forms – become a target of philanthropic and meritorious actions, as well as of selective and focalized programs on the combat against poverty, aligned with the privatization of public social politics, whose implementation is delegated on private organizations of the civil society. That is, the State's intervention on social and economical life is limited to the strictly necessary, while the market obtains a legitimate and integral freedom which feeds profit expectations.

The market's endeavor for the population's welfare supply is a successful foray for the reduction of the State's functions, the dismount of historically and arduously conquered rights, intense social fragmentation, social expenses reduction and “the benefit from the private regulation of misery” (PEREIRA; SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 219).¹⁶ On the actual scenario the State is not worried about being the social politics conductor; on the contrary, it backs off and tends to coalesce public and private forces and resources with an expressive recognition and valorization of informal networks (domestic and voluntary employment) for the supply of non-institutionalized social protection. In relation to market, the author emphasizes that it never had a social vocation and, therefore, “despite the practice of philanthropy as a marketing strategy, it prefers to improve on its own specialty, which is to satisfy preferences, aiming at profits, and not social necessities” (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 34).¹⁷

Allied with this strategy, the emphases on market and family are introduced as the principal agents of social protection supply. In the case of family, it is not about an innovative attitude, since “the Brazilian governments always benefitted from the autonomous and voluntary participation of family in the supply of welfare for its members” (PEREIRA, 2008,

¹⁵ From the original: “a “questão” social é mais do que pobreza e desigualdade. Ela expressa a *banalização do humano*, resultante da indiferença frente à esfera das necessidades das grandes maiorias e dos direitos a elas atinentes. Indiferença ante os destinos de enormes contingentes de homens e mulheres trabalhadores submetidos a uma pobreza produzida historicamente (e, não, naturalmente produzida), universalmente subjugados, abandonados e desprezados, porquanto sobranes para as necessidades médias do capital” (2009, p. 31). (N. do T.)

¹⁶ From the original: “lucrar com a regulação privada da miséria” (PEREIRA; SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 219). (N. do T.)

¹⁷ From the original: “a despeito de praticar a filantropia como estratégia de marketing, prefere aprimorar-se na sua especialidade, que é a de satisfazer preferências, visando ao lucro, e não necessidades sociais” (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 34). (N. do T.)

p. 29).¹⁸ That is, family is configured as an ideal private instance and, therefore, must be held responsible for the social protection of its members, especially in a context of capitalist formation, under the aegis of liberalism (MIOTO, 2010).

On the scope of those following neoliberal ideology and the practice focused on extreme poverty, which permeate the social political environment, the fragmentation and short-term logic dominates. There is no serious study about reality, since what strengthens is the short-range knowledge. In this case, what is prioritized and prevailed are the social installments ruled by immediacy and which offer instantaneous results, generally accountable (PEREIRA; STEIN, 2009).

The criteria for the selection of those that are on a famine situation are based on family rent, arguing that in the implementation of public policies the purpose for selectivity is only to guarantee the access of those social groups previously considered as meritorious (MORENO, 2000). On the track of this ideology, individual preferences substitute social necessities on the definition of policies and it is evident that right is superseded by merit “and history, whose sense of totality is essential to think about complex and long-term changes, is limited to localized and isolated events that require punctual responses” (PEREIRA; STEIN, 2009, p. 108).¹⁹

These conditions undoubtedly reveal an imperial North-American influence upon Brazil, reigned by the logic of privatization. And to escape of such an influence, according to Sader (apud PEREIRA, 2004, p. 157), reveals as an urgent task for most countries, since it implies to surpass the space of social politics and to “reinvent socialism, relocating it at the same time on the historical horizon”.²⁰

Conclusion

The ideas exposed in this document show that, historically, the Brazilian social politics model has been structured through a late capitalist economical development. Its formation was – and still is – conditioned by the external interests and determinations of economical, political and social transformations, with a centrality that is delegated to international organizations and multilateral agencies which attend capital’s interests, and derives from a scenario with a fragile and unstable democratic regime, assaulted many times by the authoritarianism of its leaders, considering the military dictatorship of 1964.

Based on this frame, Brazilian social protection, until the eighties, showed trends that were not very universalist, prevailing the interests of the elite and the Brazilian bourgeoisie, aligned with international interests, and without taking into account the needs of the national population majority. The apparent attitude of *protection for all* still prevails, contradicted by reality and by governmental actions. What is going on in the Brazilian context is development with dependency, which allows the emergence and intensification of social inequities, exacerbating more and more social issue expressions. And the solution neoliberal ideology proposes, so as to ease the consequences on social issues, is the reconstitution of free market, with a strategy that enforces the State’s reduction and intervention in certain areas and activities, principally on social matters.

In this context, social politics are substantially altered on its guidelines and on their functionality, and the social issue is depoliticized and disqualified from its *status* as a public

¹⁸ From the original: “os governos brasileiros sempre se beneficiaram da participação autonomizada e voluntarista da família na provisão do bem-estar de seus membros” (PEREIRA, 2008, p. 29). (N. do T.)

¹⁹ From the original: “e a história, cujo sentido de totalidade é essencial para se pensar em mudanças complexas e de longo prazo, se restringe a acontecimentos localizados ou isolados que requerem respostas pontuais” (PEREIRA; STEIN, 2009, p. 108). (N. do T.)

²⁰ From the original: “reinventar o socialismo, recolocando-o ao mesmo tempo no horizonte histórico” (N. do T.)

and political issue of national range. A process called (re) philanthropization occurs, meaning a displacement of social politics from public sphere, moving to a private one, with the come back of philanthropic actions.

On a political dimension, this process indicates that social-related expressions have been answered fragmentarily, and its manifestations are dealt with as individualized, psychologized social problems, understood as people or from a moral nature. It is an ideological perspective that moves structural issues to a personal level, with the imposition of social politics which promote privatization and are unfavorable for the universalist principle of the right to citizenship, as many Brazilian laws preconize. It is a movement based on a conservative conception of society, in which it is conceived that social welfare guarantees are a responsibility of individual people and their families, that is, of the private context. From this, the consequence is a State that tends to abandon its responsibilities as supplier of social goods and services, commandments that are transferred to civil society through decentralization, paved on the optics of privatization.

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