

THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL POLICIES IN BRAZIL: the period from 1930 to 2010

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ABSTRACT

The study aims to present the reasons why, in Brazil, the State is seen as a provider of social policies, from Marshall's ideas of civil, political and social rights. When we think of the state as a provider of social policies shall be considered the dynamics of the state, all be considered, sin relation to families as much as in relation to the market as it will be according to the activities of these two that the State will be more or less active in relation to the provision of social policies. From this theoretical basis, this text seeks to analyze the supply of social policies in Brazil and their changes from 1930 to the present day. We can split that time into four major periods: 1930-1964, 1964-1985, 1985-1994 and 1994 to the present day. The first period was marked by the emergence of some social policies, the second presents several characteristics, the main ones being the dictatorship and lack of commitment to the needy, the third was a period of democratization with wide appeal for social policies, and the fourth is a period of consolidation of some social policies that were claimed in the previous period. Thus, this study aims to reflect about the social policies in Brazil, demonstrating that, despite the fact that it has been considered ineffective, our social policies have advanced significantly.

Keywords: Social Policies, State, Brazil.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The provision of social services, in most countries, is a mix between public and private. The state and the market interact continuously throughout history and they are who define the forms of social provision in the country. With the analysis of the public-private mix we have the scope of human needs that are considered as a social right (public initiative) and those that are relegated to the market (private sector). (Esping-Andersen, 1991).

For those social provisioning be considered public it should be legislated and administered directly by the state, or must have a government mandate for the private sector to provide the service. The causal relationship proposed by Esping-Andersen (1991) is that the public-private mix of provision reflects the structure of the well-being of a country. From the moment that the State takes on the charge of the execution of certain social services, these shall be considered social public policies, or social policies.

Since 1930 Brazil has undergone a process of economic development, social modernization and political participation, alternating to it authoritarian periods and economic crises. The growth of the economy and changes in demographic behavior, as well as the improvement of living conditions and the increase in public sector participation in the provision of social services, demonstrate the importance of studying the dynamics of social policies in Brazil. But it is important to emphasize that this process of evolution of social policies occurred unevenly, without taking into account the population that really suffer penury. With the 1988 Constitution it becomes the duty of the state to provide, for all population, basic social services health, wellness and quality education. The growth of the

Brazilian economy in the 2000s, due to economic and social stability attained in the 1990s, confirmed this role of the state the duty of the state.

However the State has found it difficult to maintain a universal social policy and quality, mainly due to the fact of having to meet the demands of primary care. Currently, with greater awareness of their rights, the population claims more complex requirements, causing an increase in the cost of social policy. Concomitant with increased costs and demands, the public sector seems to have reached its limit in taxation as well as in increasing its network of services. Thus, this study aims to understand how the Brazilian state behaves with this mix. In other words, how it interacted with the market for the provision of social services during the last century. This analysis was done for the period between 1930 and 2012. It will be present the social policies of the period and its peculiarities, showing its evolution and revealing that the actual government social policies do not have the same characteristics of the previous periods.

2 THE CONCEPTION OF SOCIAL POLICIES

To be able to understand the development of social policies, it is necessary to understand the development of civil, political and social rights and consequently the concept of citizenship. Marshall (1967) postulated the concept of citizenship as qualitative equality between individuals of a society that means, as whole participation in the community: everyone should be admitted as full members of society. Citizenship would be, in essence, the right to have rights.

Marshall (1967), in a 1873 essay, accepted as correct and appropriate a wide range of quantitative and economic inequality, but condemned the qualitative differentiation, by

occupation, between the man who was been, at least, a gentleman and the one who was not. Therefore, there is a kind of basic human equality associated with the concept of citizenship that is not inconsistent with economic inequalities. However, he referred only to "the duties and not rights of citizenship", otherwise the State would assume responsibility for granting these rights, which would lead to acts of interference. In this sense, the idea of equality used in the definition of citizen, is dissociated from the conception of economic equality.

The concept of citizenship is divided into three parts: civil, political and social. The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom (come and go, press, thought and faith, property, valid contracts, justice). The political element refers to the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of this body. The social is everything that goes from the right to a minimum of security and economic well-being to the right to live as a civilized being, according to the standards that prevail in the society. (MARSHALL,1967).

Marshall (1967) suggests that citizenship is constituted through a chronological and a logical sequence. Chronological, because first are developed civil rights - those fundamental to life, liberty, property and equality before the law; then the political - right to participate politically, meaning the ability to organize parties, to vote and to be voted, then to arrive to the rights - those that allow equal participation of all community members in basic living standards, therefore ensuring their participation in the collective wealth. This logical sequence would be because the progress of citizenship is linked to the economic development.

For Marshall (1967), the equality applied to citizenship is composed, first, by the consecration of civil rights (freedom to come and go, right to property, right to justice), which attribute to individuals the right to defend and exercise their rights in equal terms with

others. In ancient societies the civil, political and social mingled and were merged into one. That happened because there was no separation of the state in its different functions and the civil rights were not universal. Rather, they depended on the social position of the individual in society.

Also according to Marshall (1967), the first major contribution from the capitalism to the development of civil rights of citizenship, was that, with it, was established the first universal civil law: the right to work free because every human being had become owner of their own labor, and free to work in any activity. Civil rights were, in their origin, markedly individual, that is why they harmonize with the period of individualistic capitalism. These rights have become to workers, a tool to raise their social and economic status that means, to claim their entitlement to certain social rights. But the method to ensure such rights is the exercise of political power, because social rights presuppose the absolute right to a certain standard of civilization, which depends on the fulfillment of the general obligations of citizenship. In this sense, the political rights allowed to social demands - through the representativeness of new classes, which before were out of the exercise of political power - the ability to enter the political agenda and modify the structure in the wealth participation (understood as minimum standards of living, not only in economic aspects).

Social rights were incorporated into the citizenship's condition under the view that social services were not a means of equalizing economically the society, but a mechanism to bring about equal opportunities: the State would guarantee a minimum of essential goods and services, aiming to equalize the status of citizen of all individuals, and not their income level. It can be said that civil rights, in theory, were not in conflict with the social class inequalities that were brought by capitalism, neither the political rights (to vote and be voted), in the second instance. Equality through the law was guaranteed and market freedom was maintained in parallel. But as it is developed a more humane sense of social equality, it

is also done a second analysis of the society built by the capitalist system. Even after the formal establishment of civil rights, in practice, one can observe execution failures, materialized mainly by the partiality and prejudices of class and derived economic inequalities. In the case of political rights such failures can be observed at the time of voting, by intimidation of the lower classes by the upper classes.

3 DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL POLICIES

According to Faria (1998), the adopted regime in a country concerning the provision of services and creation of social policies has a strong relationship with the roles assigned to the triad: state, market and civil society (in the texts, referred to as family). The configuration of the interrelations between these three institutions is able to promote different arrangements of social welfare.

The provision of demands for social services is related to the elements of the triad. Thus, state, market and family form the pillars of support for the guarantee of services and the welfare of individuals. These institutions, according by their structure, exert a profound impact on each other and are mutually impacted. For example: the number of children, the position of woman as housewife and in the labor market, care for the elderly and children - have influenced social policies of the state directed to particular family structure. At the same time, the future prospects of the members of this family are influenced by government policies. The market also has influence and is influenced when provides social services, supplying a demand not embraced by the state and families, or providing services with higher quality. (Faria, 1998).

In accordance with the role of each of these institutions - the state, the market and families - in the provision of these services is perceived a configuration different from the ways in which social services are allocated in a given society. However, it is important that the institutional arrangements form a sufficient outline for the effective guarantee of social rights. Government intervention is also scaled according to the size of the country role as guarantor of these services. However, these roles are dynamic and change over time, modifying also the burden of ensuring certain service and giving rise to new social demands (Faria, 1998).

The second half of the twentieth century ushered in a new age world. A period of great tension came to an end, marked mainly by two major world wars, which have transformed the global dynamics from the socioeconomic, political and cultural point of view. To the extent that the society was still recovering from a recent trauma, governments sought to revise their action logic. If the physical geography of the planet was undergoing unprecedented reconstruction, the role of the national state experienced a makeover, as great as the destruction observed in their territories. (Faria, 1998).

Given this scenario, the so-called State of Social Welfare was the solution found by countries to sustain the reforms demanded by the population. During the post-war period, rapid growth for those who started from nothing allowed the existence of an important economic surplus. Such resources overstepped the needs of the government and were available to managers. Driven by the development and guided by Keynesian policies, the "Welfare State", then a process of frank ascension began marked largely by government protection to citizens and consequent institutionalization of citizenship rights.

Simultaneously with this expansion, the centralizing logic has imposed the new directions of state institutions. As a result of a great war effort undertaken by the countries

most affected by the conflict, centralization led to a significant increase in the administrative capacity of the state. If national defense is the exclusive function of government, it is not difficult to imagine the swelling that the public administration has gone through, with the advent of war activities.

In this context, the "Welfare State" found fertile ground for their proliferation. With the surplus of resources, the theory of Keynes and the administrative superstructure in hand, the government was able, finally, to provide the most diverse social services, accelerating the recovery of post-war and embracing the national population. After that, the third group of rights of citizenship of Marshall was guaranteed, not only legally, but also in social practice.

According to Faria (1998), the development of the Welfare State, previously explained, has decreased the participation of families in the provision of services. In this theoretical perspective, the process of industrialization, characterized by specialization of productive activity, led to profound changes in society, changing the role of traditional institutions like the family, and causing the marginalization of certain social groups. Consequently, new demands arise for the state, which now assumes the role of ensuring certain minimum standards of life through social policies. However, only countries with certain level of development would have the necessary conditions to provide certain benefits and public services to the population.

From the 70s, the "Golden Years of Capitalism" suffered a crisis. At that time, there was low economic growth, inflationary surges and fiscal imbalances in many nations of the world. The uncontrolled increase in government spending and increasing debt State led the "Welfare State" into decay, since the surplus did not follow the growth of spending, and the financing capacity had become increasingly limited. Thus, the harmonious relationship of

Keynesian policies and social became confrontational. Draibe and Wilnes (1988) consider the existence of two main currents that try to explain the reason for the crisis of the "Welfare State": the progressives and the conservatives.

Draibe and Wilnes (1988) define the progressives as those defenders the ever smaller degrees of poverty, inequality and injustice. According to OECD, the Welfare State was turning into a Welfare Society through customization of demands and participation of communities on management. In addition, the Welfare Society would be built by using resources in a more democratic, rational and human way. The economic argument for the existence of the welfare state was based on the idea of rethinking the state of social welfare, to ensure that this institution would be stable even in crisis situations. For this, it would be necessary to revise the ways of funding social programs and tax structure of the state. The conservatives advocated that the State's social spending generated budget imbalances which in turn penalized the productive activity, producing inflation and unemployment. They understood that government intervention was harmful to the functioning of the economy because print more money would generate inflation, and the taxation would make the production more expensive - which eventually would generate unemployment. But the two currents believed that an economic crisis poses a dilemma for society: it is a situation of need for increased social spending and simultaneous decline in revenue. Moreover, both believed that the inclusion of a new social program is always accompanied by another. Thus, Pierre Rosavallon, citing Draibe and Wilnes (1988) believes that the crisis of the State Social Welfare is much more than a financial crisis: it is the depletion of a form of social provision.

In general, the Welfare State began to be rethought from the 80s of last century. Both conservatives and progressives recognized the crisis, however, each one advocated different solutions for that. Conservatives believed in reducing the centralizer and

interventionist role of the state. The progressives believed in decentralization and empowerment of social policies through more participatory forms of beneficiaries (Draibe And WILNES, 1988).

Esping-Andersen (1995) states that the Welfare State has meant more than a mere accumulation of social policies in developed industrial world. In general terms, it represented an effort of economic, moral and political rebuilt. Economically, it meant an abandonment of orthodoxy of pure market logic in favor of the requirement for extension of employment security and the gaining such as the rights of citizenship; morally, the Welfare State has meant the defense of the ideas of social justice, solidarity and universalism. The Welfare State was born to meet the challenges of the industrial era and to serve the interests of the nation state.

The external reference context is radically different today. The assumptions that guided the construction of these welfare states are no longer in effect. The search for non-inflationary growth, induced by demand, is almost impossible. Currently, it is the service sector, and no longer the industry, which ensures full employment economy. Furthermore, the population is undergoing a process of rapid aging. The family structure has also changed. The family is not mainly dependent financially of men anymore, since women are also participating in a more active way to labor market. Thus, the contemporary welfare states face major challenges, often several. Some of these challenges are generated by the Welfare States, others are generated by exogenous macroeconomic relationships of the process. One of the endogenous problems is the inability of social security system to meet the needs of the population, which undergoes changes in family structure, in occupational structure and in life cycle. This is primarily due to the fact that the ideals of universalism and equality are no longer applicable to the new population structure, since the industrial working class is no longer relatively homogeneous. (Esping-Andersen, 1995).

For Esping-Andersen (1995), many believe there is a trade-off between economic growth and a system of universal social security, generous and egalitarian, that reach the entire population. The author suggests that, since the beginning of the seventies, three different answers to solve the crisis of the welfare state in the face of demographic and socioeconomic changes can be identified. The Scandinavian way: with the shift towards active policies for the labor market, and the expansion of social services and the promotion of gender equality in the seventies and eighties, came into existence a Nordic model, specifically Swedish. The neoliberal route: market deregulation strategies during the eighties, with a strong commitment to full employment. And the route of reducing labor, characterized by benefits directly linked to employment and contributions of each, that becomes the careers long and uninterrupted. As the benefit is tied to each individual, the family welfare is subjugated to the rights and provider's income, in that case, the man.

The welfare state faces problems of change in family structure, with greater participation of women in the labor market, declining fertility and aging population. The State, therefore, should fill the role previously delegated to the family that means, it should be more present with social policies, especially to the elderly, since this population is significantly increasing. When the family dependence ceases to be centered on a single individual, usually the man, the state is relieved of the heavy burden of social policies.

4 SOCIAL POLICIES IN BRAZIL

From this reference the development of Brazilian social policies, within an economic and political scenario of the country is presented. You can see that the drama of economic inequality persists throughout Brazilian history, even in periods of economic growth.

Between the thirties and the seventies the Social State had institutionally constituted and established itself, in Brazil. Over the period of formation of the "Welfare State" in Brazil, we can think of two main phases which are: 1930/1943 and 1964/1985, both carried out under authoritarian regimes, a situation that seems to endorse the thesis of elite's preventive actions and the search for forms of legitimation, through social policy (FAGNANI, 1997). The consolidation of the welfare state occurs in period 1985/1994, with the restructuring of the Brazilian democratic regime and inclusion of rights won in the Constitution. Finally we present the governments in which there was the implementation of these rights, showing the achievements effectively attained and the difficulties faced as well as those that are yet to be realized.

4.1 The period 1930-1964

The Brazilian social area was developed through fragmented actions, since the colonial period. Until 1930 the social actions were under the responsibility of religious brotherhoods, mutual aid societies and Holy Houses of Mercy. From the 30s Brazil begins to introduce changes. Economic, with the change of its economic development model, moving from an agricultural export model to a urban industrial model. Political, with the rise of Getúlio Vargas to government and emergence of the populist state. It is in this context that begins to develop the first social policies in Brazil, with the emergence of a modern state of Social Welfare. (Freitas, 2005).

The emergence of the modern Welfare State can be interpreted under the guidance of the dual model, modern society / traditional society, where it is believed that the Brazilian society went from a time delay or underdevelopment to a development status that occurred

in steps. According to Freitas (2005), scholars start from the assumption that the proper way for the development of any nation is to move from a traditional society to a society of mass consumption.

According to Oliveira, cited by Freitas (2005), political change in Brazil was of fundamental importance, with the rise of Getúlio Vargas and the emergence of the Populist State. The Brazilian populism had specificities that had the objective of encouraging and strengthening market mechanisms in order to facilitate the economic achievement of the Brazilian liberalism. These features can be exemplified by the creation of the Ministry of Labor, Industry and Commerce and the labor and social security legislation which created new forms of relationship between capital and labor.

However, it is worth noting that the Brazilian social security system sought to control the lower classes and especially the working classes, in order to try to overcome the crisis of hegemony suffered by the oligarchic state. Thus, labor legislation, much before affecting the relations of agrarian production, preserved an accumulation model suitable for industrial expansion. One can see that this change of economic model, with the emergence of the Welfare State Social modern in Brazil, caused no changes in the pattern of political and economic domination (Freitas, 2005).

Between 1943 and 1964, there was a fragmented and selective expansion, either because the policy was addressed only to some groups, or because not all areas of social intervention of the State have worked fully. This period can also be characterized as a massive expansion, in a time of growth pattern of mass politics, in which access was greatly expanded by solving the first pole of the binomial "quantity - quality".

4.2 The period 1964-1985

According Fanai (1997), the period 1964-1985 is marked by regressive taxation, centralization of decisions and privatizations. In this period can be listed five main features in the sectors that were subject to government intervention: regressive financing mechanisms; centralization of decision-making; privatization of public space, coverage expansion and reduced redistributive character.

The regressive financing mechanisms were based on the funding policy to restrict use of fiscal resources and prevalence of self-sustaining sources. Redistribution was secondary concern, the focus was on growth. There were four main sectors that suffered on regressive financing: the housing sector, where funding sources (FGTS and savings) were regulated by the market and self sustention sources, which is incompatible with the income levels of the major part of the population; the pension industry, which was funded by the government, through the Assistance Fund and Social Security (Contributions of employees, employers and self-employed); the public health, food supplementation and public transport were totally dependent on the Treasury resources, staying that way marginalized; and education, in which federal, state and municipal shared the responsibility to provide education up to high school. Furthermore, the resources for funding were bound to the Constitution, making sub-national governments (states and municipalities), primarily responsible for the area. (FAGNANI, 1997).

The centralization of decision-making meant that there was a lack of social control and participation of sub-national governments. This occurred because the tax reform was based on the concentration of the national cake and negotiated transfers, as well as in an administration form based on the expansion of public enterprises, which used its own revenue for their maintenance and for greater agility. The political sphere was marked also

by the expansion of basic funding, with the creation of fiscal funds controlled by the federal government to fund policies and a federal bureaucracy with much power to determine social policies. (FAGNANI, 1997).

The privatization of public space was very perverse, because it made possible the creation of captive markets and overbillings within the public area and it was favoring certain actors by the government. In contrast, the business sectors financed the governments. By observing the area of health, this privatization has caused the spread of unneeded services with higher pay, resulting in a lack of control and rising costs. In education, privatization occurred at all levels, from the most basic to the top, which caused a major increase in costs in this area, in addition to hiring teachers without preparation. In the housing sector, there was favoring of companies to build housing. In sanitation, the investments were more geared to the satisfaction of the business sector (building) than to the collective. Thus, the interference has caused clientelistic practices, such as favoring positions, nominations for public offices, provision of services in a assistencialist way. (FAGNANI, 1997).

The expansion of coverage consisted in increasing the services offered, reflecting higher capacity for government intervention in social spheres. In social security there was an increase on the number of insured urban inactives. In health increased number of hospitalizations and consultations. In education increased enrollment for ages from seven to fourteen. There were increased coverage even in housing, nutrition and sanitation. (FAGNANI, 1997).

The low redistributive occurred in several areas: in security, reflected in the low value of the benefits, benefits data according to the contribution, limited coverage of rural workers, privilege certain categories. In health, the largest investments were made in

developed areas due to high mortality and epidemics due to poverty. In education, there was deterioration of basic schooling, low effectiveness of primary education (repetition and dropout), low wages and poor teacher training, reduced supply of equipment. In housing, a portion insignificant SFH was aimed at low-income families, high subsidies given to high grade. Sanitation, low share of households served by a network of general sanitation, neglecting even the less developed regions (such as the North of the country). (FAGNANI, 1997).

Between 1981 and 1985 there was a weakening of authoritarianism, a worldwide financial crisis and openness to participation. These factors led to a struggle for greater redistribution of income and the need to address the social needs. The civil society pressures, coupled with the economic crisis and emerging needs, pressed his authoritarian regime.

The military period (1964 - 1985) was marked by an increased capacity of state intervention in the field of social policy, due to the creation of new institutional and bureaucratic instruments. This has increased the possibilities for state spending in this area, expanding the supply of goods and services who attended, especially the middle and upper classes, showing no significant impacts on income redistribution, which featured a conservative modernization.

4.3 The period from 1985 to 1994

Fagnani (1997) states that during this period the government passes to recognize its social debit and committed itself to the rescue. There was a need for profound changes in the economy and society as well as urgent social priorities. Emergency measures were adopted

(fighting against hunger, unemployment) in line with the structural (economic growth, wages increase, decentralization policy to widen participation and control). It can be said that social reform initiatives came from the executive and the legislature.

The period between 1985 and 1988 is characterized by the democratic transition, which reinforced the importance of the rule of Law, creating more democratic and solid institutions, aiming at a democratic and redistributive project, who raised the banner of building a welfare state, Universal and Equitable.

From 1988 to 1993, the system of social policies was an important area of state action. However, its performance was always below the social needs of the population, even in the period of accelerated expansion. The programs even the most universal, contributed little to the reduction of sharp inequalities in the Brazilian society.

The democratic transition in Brazil was actually a conservative pact inter elites with strong character "negotiated" and "from the top", which ended up generating a fissure in the ruling coalition, with serious impacts on the direction of social policies in the country. While one group wanted the expansion of social rights the other consisting of the conservative sectors - with its epicenter in the federal executive - sought to obstruct this process both in the National Constituent Assembly as in the Supplementary Constitutional Regulations. At this point there is a primacy of action-clientelistic welfare, with fragmentation and overlapping programs in all sectors, which were often managed with numerous complaints of corruption and favoritism.

One problem at this time was the complementary distortions in constitutional regulation: several maneuvers were adopted to delay enforcement of new rights, hindering its regulation. One focus was the financing of social security, which no longer rely on many features retained, despite the institutionalization of the social security budget in the 1988

Constitution, in order to prevent the practice of appropriating social programs funds to cover deficits. However, the play was breached, causing the security coffers to fund the Union. The result is that the Union passed to be financed by the security and not the opposite (Jaccoud, 2005).

At this time, according to Fagnani (1997), security financing is compromised by deliberate breach of some constitutional mechanisms. The was prediction that the Union would transfer funds from the National Treasury and social contributions to social security, which did not happen, again affecting the terms and distortions of constitutional rules. These funds would be used to finance the Finsocial, the contribution on profit and Pis-Pasep, but were retained in the Treasury and did not meet its end. Another factor to be considered is the impact caused by the breach of the social security budget, since, without it, there was no control over any surplus revenues, which should be linked to security, these being freely allocated by the Union.

According Draibe (1989), the other areas of social policy followed a behavior that mirrored both the movement's wider economy as funding and public spending: cuts and reductions in the worst years and small recoveries in the best years. That means that the Constitution strengthened, diversified and made and revenue sources to converge, tending to reduce as much weight contributions in the financing of social expenditure as submission of the latter to swings in the economy

In order to minimize the problems caused by constitutional deregulation, a new agenda for Constitutional Reforms was formulated, with a redesign that pointed to a move away from universal and equitable conceptions of social rights, emphasizing the selectivity to meet the most needy. Beside this, it was noticed a bureaucratic fragmentation of the social policy, due to the lack of decisions and not facing the process of decentralization of the

policy, making the Government showed itself still very susceptible to clientelistic practices in an attempt to get wider support base (FAGNANI, 1997).

4.4 Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002)

Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) took office amid a crisis due to unnecessary spending on social policies. The factors that led to the inefficiency of these policies were, among others: lack of planning and coordination; overlaps of responsibilities between members of the Federation; blurring of priorities; little capacity to redistributive social policies, and lack of transparent criteria for the allocation of means. The Cardoso government seeks to reconcile stabilization with the goals of reform and improve the efficiency of public policies. For this he proposed: decentralization (the process would be more transparent and possible follow-up); flexible (opening sectors to private investment - privatization) through the establishment of partnerships with civil society initiatives (third sector), and focus (establishing criteria for selecting the target population of a program among those who needed it the most)

The first term of the Cardoso government was monetary stabilization with trade liberalization and privatization. There was growth accompanied by an increase in consumption and income. According to Jaccoud (2005), there was an increase in social spending to the end of this term (average 22%). However, in 1997, global economic instability and risk of breakdown in the balance of payments reduced growth and increased unemployment. In the second term, therefore, there is a slower growth rate.

Jaccoud (2005) analyzes the Brazilian social policy in the FHC is two terms through the structural axes of the Brazilian Social Protection (SBPs), which groups by similarity for

the various social policies, according to the specific motivations that originated them (theoretical nature), and also according to the direction or main ground they will assume from time to time. This methodology allows the reclassification of policies as they gain status, that is, as its explanatory foundation turns with his own change of direction that society assigns. The axes of the FHC were: - Labor and Employment (general pension system and employee, the employee protection policies, policies on agrarian and land organization); - Social Assistance and Combating poverty; - Unconditional social citizenship rights; - Social structure .

According to Jaccoud (2005), the evolution of expenditure per axis in the first Cardoso government demonstrates that the axis with the largest growth was the labor and employment, accounting for 70% of spending growth in the period, followed by assistance to combat poverty. However, at the FHC second term there was the weakening of the domestic economy in the face of the global crisis (high pressure on the exchange rate and external debt), which eventually caused a decline in social spending and adoption of containment mechanisms, such as the LRF. The axis of Labor was the most significant, but showed a decrease, while the most sacrificed was the Urban Infrastructure. Spending on Assistance showed steady increase, while with Citizenship Unconditional there were variations, increasing and decreasing. In general, those who were on the rise, have declined in the first year of the crisis and then recovered in a very slow pace, signaling a new government attitude about social policies (Jaccoud, 2005).

4.5- Luís Inácio Lula da Silva Government (2003-2010)

During the military period the country had a conservative system, heavily criticized in the 90s and leading to the definition of a social reform agenda that would move toward decentralization, participation of beneficiaries, expenditure efficiency, among others.

When President Lula took office, important part of the social agenda proposal had already been implemented, with positive results against poverty and improvements in education and health. However, the reduction of inequality was not minimized.

The theme of social policies under Lula becomes directed by the need for efficiency in social spending and greater effectiveness of programs and actions. However, the first half of his government merely continued an orthodox economic policy model, emphasizing inflation control, including restricting public spending. The results were positive, reaching lower inflation rates and from the recessive posture, the prices fallen and the economy stabilized.

Given this restrictive stance initial social policies were more restrained, although some political administrative measures have been taken. Among them it may be mentioned, according to IPEA (2003): the structuring of new policies based on solid new institutions, as it was with the national policy for food security and nutrition; rationalization of public resources, unifying the income transfer programs; creation of new democratic deliberation and collective promotion of reforms forums, such as Social Security and Tax.

The context of the deployed fiscal adjustment since the Cardoso government and maintained by the Lula government, according Druck and Fig (2007) turned out to delimit the social policies to a focused social policy, toward the poorer classes and miserable, creating supplementary income programs. For the authors, "this marriage of orthodox economic policies and targeted policies to combat poverty, the reduction came accompanied by the relative reduction of the already limited universal policies" (DRUCK AND

FIGUEIRAS, p. 29, 2007). Then came a deepening of the focused practice model, initiated under President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, which according to Druck and Figueiras (2007), "both from the point of view of the amount of resources transferred and the number of households reached, have assumed a dimension never seen before."(DRUCK AND FIGUEIRAS, p. 30, 2007).

According to IPEA (2004), some changes in the social area were significant, as the creation of the Ministry of Social Services (MAS), which assumed a central position in the conduct of government social programs, and the unification of the income transfer programs, creating the Conditional Direct Income Transfer program, resulting in the "Bolsa Família" Program. (Castro, 2005)

According to the analysis developed by IPEA, the government managed to meet considerable part of the existing historical social demands in the Brazilian scenario. Significant changes can be made by multiplying the opportunities for social participation such as, for example, the creation of the National Food and Nutritional Security and Economic and Social Development Council, and the structuring of policies, taking reference to historical demands, of which may be cited the Policy for the Promotion of Racial Equality and the National Policy for Youth. However, the effective implementation of these social changes encountered limitations and economic policies, as it was the case of "immense difficulties in getting transposed the primacy of fiscal and monetary policies for any alternatives that put themselves in contention, even being coherent and consistent macroeconomic terms."

5. FINAL REMARKS

This paper aimed to present the importance of social policies, and the increase of its importance in the Brazilian politic in recent years. As already mentioned, Marshall argues that for the constitution of citizenship there is a chronological order to be followed (direct civil, political and social). Within this logic there are the social rights, or social policy. It is noticed that in the Brazilian case, social policy began in periods of suppression of political rights. The reason for the existence of social rights without political rights is the fact that the latter present content and an arbitrary range, without the involvement of society on the implementation of these policies.

The absence of civil society participation in decision-making made in the period 1964 to 1985, the Brazilian social system to present a regressiveness of the financing mechanisms. Social policies had lower use of fiscal resources, being financed mostly through self-sustainable sources. The centralization of decision-making emerged in the conservative strategy was also something striking together with the absence of social control and exclusion of sub-national governments (states and municipalities). Another important feature of the authoritarian period was its ability to favor particular and patronage interests. In addition there was a low redistributive character that showed up so bonded with the other structural features of the social policy of the military regime.

Thus, in the military era, there was a huge capacity of state intervention in the field of social policies. New institutional and bureaucratic instruments were created capable to increase the possibilities of state spending in this field, growing the supply of goods and services that attended, especially the middle and upper classes, showing no significant impacts on income redistribution.

The period 1985-1988 was characterized by the democratic transition, in which projects of a democratic and redistributive welfare state were presented when it raised the banner of building a welfare state, Universal and Equitable. Between 1988 and 1995 the social security budget was made, institutionalized in the 1988 Constitution, in order to prevent the practice of appropriating funds for social programs to cover deficits. However, the law was breached, causing the security to fund coffers of the Union

From 1995 to 2002 there were decentralization, change in supply mode and focus on social policies. With regard to decentralization, there is the rearrangement of skills. In terms of service provision has been introduced to ease social spending, allowing the opening of sectors to private investment (privatization) and partnerships with civil society initiatives (third sector). Regarding targeting, the government started to establish criteria for selecting the target population that would receive some benefit.

Between 2003-2010, efforts were focused on improving the efficiency of social spending and greater effectiveness of programs and actions. During this period we sought, by means of economic stability, the building of a social protection agenda based on the distribution of income and a convergence between universal measures such as improvement in health services and education and its focus on the neediest. There was also improvement in the management of social programs, especially in the focused and unified ones. But there needs to be an improvement of the model and the methods of registration of families, since many of them (usually the poorest) have not yet been able to appear on such entries.

Advances in the Brazil social policies since the 1988 Constitution are undeniable. However it is necessary attention to the lessons learned so far, in order to have enough innovations that ensure social policies and public spending with maximum efficiency.

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