Núcleo de Pesquisa de Políticas Públicas da Universidade de São Paulo

NUPPs' Project:

BRAZIL, 25 YEARS OF DEMOCRACY – A CRITICAL SURVEY: PUBLIC POLICY, INSTITUTIONS, CIVIL SOCIETY AND CIVIC CULTURE – 1988-2013

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PRELIMINARY INFORMATION

This project brings together the different research initiatives currently being carried out at the Center for Public Policy Research – NUPPs, of São Paulo University, and which by their very character bring continuity to the intellectual trajectory of the Center[1]. NUPPs is dedicated to the study and analysis of programs of public policy from the standpoint of democratic governance, citizenship and social equity. Its interdisciplinary research teams analyze the stages of formulation and implementation of public policy, especially in matters relating to evaluation of their efficiency and effectiveness. One of its main aims, therefore, is to analyze the quality of management of public policy in the country, bearing in mind the role of the executive and the legislature in the current democratic system.

The main objective of this project is to undertake a critical survey of the 25 years of Brazilian democracy (1988-2013) based on an analysis of three principal features: public policy, democratic institutions and the relationship between civil society and political culture. The perspective adopted is that which takes as its starting point the quality of democracy (Diamond and Morlino 2005), that is, one which concentrates on the relationship between democratic principles, institutional procedures, political participation and the results of democratic functioning. For this reason questions of responsiveness and accountability of democratic governments are paramount. Although the study is centered on the Brazilian case, it will also take account of comparative analyses of similar experiences elsewhere. As what has been happening in Brazil receives more study, so we intend to contribute to the international research agenda, which, after studies of political transition and democratic consolidation, have concentrated their efforts on the question of quality in the new democracies. At the same time, it is hoped that research results will serve as a critical reference for an agenda which would lead to the perfecting of models of management of public policy and reform of democratic institutions.

To this end the project will include participation of lecturers, researchers and students of five USP universities - The Faculty of Philosophy, Letters and Human Sciences, the Institute of International Relations, the Law School, the School of Arts, Sciences and Humanities and the Institute of Mathematics and Statistics. Also participating will be lecturers and associated researchers from the University of Campinas – UNICAMP, and the Catholic University of São Paulo – PUC/SP. In addition, part of the activity of evaluation and interpretation of public perception of some specific public

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[1] NUPPs is the successor to the former Center for Higher Education Research – NUPES, which was created in 1989 and specialized in diagnosis and analysis of higher education policy, as well as the structure of public universities and their results. In 2004/2005, on the initiative of the president of its Governing Council, Professor Eunice Ribeiro Durham (FFLCH) and under the co-ordination of the Pro-rector of Research at that time, Professor Luiz Nunes, it became the present NUPPs, with an extended remit. For more information about research carried out by NUPES during its almost 20 years of activity, please consult the Reports of Activity presented to the Pro-rector of Research at USP in 1994 and 2002 and the bibliography produced during that period (Appendix 1).

policies – those relating to security and crime, for instance -, will be carried out in partnership with the Center for Studies of Violence – NEV, and it is planned for both to use the national survey databases of public opinion put together by both research centers over the last five years.

 What is proposed therefore is a continuation, from new base points, of the main research projects carried by NUPPs in the last five years, with its objectives based on discussion of the results of the following programs:

1. *"An Integrated System of Information about Higher Education – SIESP"*,

coordinated by Eunice R. Durham (FFLCH) and Adilson Simonis (IME) and carried out in partnership with the Institute Foundation of Economic research – FIPE of USP, financed by the Higher Education Secretary of the State of São Paulo;

2. *"Indicators of Science, technology and Innovation in São Paulo", coordinated by Eunice R. Durham (FFLCH)and Adilson Simonis (IME) and carried out in partnership with and financed by FAPESP;*

3. *"The view of the scientific community concerning the changes in science, technology and innovation policy introduced by the National Institute for Science and Technology", coordinated by Elizabeth Balbachevsky (FFLCH) and financed by the Center for Management and Strategic Studies – CGEE of the Federal Government.*

4. *"The future of the academic profession: Changes in Developing Nations", coordinated by Elizabeth Balbachevsky (FFLCH) with funding from the Fulbright Foundation;*

5. *"The educational system and public higher education policy", coordinated by Marta Lucchesi (NUPPs) with funding from FAPESP;*

6. *!The private sector in Brazilian higher education: innovation and the market", coordinated by Helena Sampaio (UNICAMP), financed by FAPESP;*

7. *"Democratic legitimacy and economic credibility", coordinated by Lourdes Sola, financed by FAPESP;*

8. *"Citizens' mistrust in democratic institutions in Brazil", coordinated by José Álvaro Moisés (FFLCH), financed by FAPESP and CNPq;*

9. *"The National Congress in the Context of Coalition Presidentialism", coordinated by José Álvaro Moisés (FFLCH), with funding from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and CNPq;*

10. *"The media and public support for democracy", coordinated by Nuno Mesquita Coimbra (FFLCH), with funding from FAPESP;*

11. *"Parties, political representation and gender in Brazil" coordinated by Teresa Sacchet (NUPPs), with funding from FAPESP;*

12. *"Campaign financing and electoral performance; winners and losers from a gender perspective",* coordinated by Teresa Sacchet (NUPPs) and Bruno Speck (UNICAMP) financed by CNPq;

13. *"A proposal for the analysis of the 2010 elections from a gender perspective",* coordinated by Teresa Sacchet (NUPPs) and Bruno Speck (UNICAMP), with financing from The Secretary of State for Women's Affairs of the Federal Government;

14. *" Determinants and crime control policies: agents, institutions and context",* coordinated by Leandro Piquet (IRI) with funding from National Secretary for Public Security;

15. *"Brazil and Norway: States of well-being and social responsibility compared in perspective",* coordinated by José Álvaro Moisés (FFLCH), financed by the Institute for Labor and Social Research - FAFO, of Norway.

The following text is organized thus: In the first part the general aims of the project are presented and discussed, emphasizing matters relating to the three public policy areas considered (education, security and crime, and cultural policy); the institutions of government and representation in relation to democratic governance; and the relations between civil society and political culture. In the second part their different dimensions are presented and areas which will form part of the empirical study together with reference to research methods and procedures. Finally, in the third part of the project we list what we hope to achieve over the three years of its duration. The research topics are presented in a generalized form and treated in a coordinated way throughout the text, as they are interwoven and the each is handled serves as a reference for the rest.

PART I

INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES OF THE PROJECT

Between 2011 and 2013, the period during which the project will be completed, Brazil will have lived for quarter of a century under its recent democratic regime. In the little more than 120 years of being a republic, this will be the second time the country has had a sustained period of democracy. The 2010 elections effectively showed that, for the sixth consecutive time, the two fundamental requisites of any democratic system of government, namely, popular participation and political competition (Dahl, 1967) are becoming firmly established as permanent components of the current political system in Brazil since the promulgation of the Constitution in 1988. But as has already been noted in respect of the process of democratization in other countries, including cases in which democracy is well-established (Diamond, 2002; Rose and Shin, 2001; Schedler and Sarsfield, 2004) the existence of free and fair elections, even when guaranteed by certain freedoms and despite its being a necessary precondition, is insufficient to ensure that other requirements and democratic principles -–such as the rule of law, universal access to civil, political, social and economic rights and the necessary monitoring and checking of those who are in power – are fully established. The establishment of relations between what people have voted for, public policy and the performance of democratic institutions does not necessarily follow a smooth or linear pattern in the course of democratization processes, which, since the middle of the 1970s, have shown themselves to be complex and unequal in a number of societies (Shin, 2005). It is not easy to build a robust democracy of quality and even in cases where a democratic system has been in place for a long time, unless it is protected and nurtured, democracy may deteriorate[2].

In a number of cases, different authors have made reference to the existence of a paradox or contradiction (Norris, 1999; Morlino, 2010; Moisés, 2010a;), which characterizes the recent, democratic experience in countries with quite distinct cultural and political traditions: while, on the one hand, acceptance of a democratic form of government as the ideal has become an almost universal consensus – with approval rates in many case exceeding two-thirds - on the other hand public evaluation of the actual performance of democratic institutions is increasingly negative and has become marked by political mistrust, cynicism, an unwillingness to engage with political parties and the emergence of unconventional forms of political participation (Dalton, 2002). This process does not necessarily mean rejection of democracy as such, but it does mean that people are increasingly skeptical of specific institutions, which are characterized by distortions or poor performance, operating to the public's eyes in a below par fashion which is unable to meet the expectations which their institutional mission and self-justifying rhetoric lead people to expect. (Offe,

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[2] An Economist Intelligence Unit report in 2010, which is recognized as an important source of reference, stated that between 2008 and 2010 the number of countries which are full democracies in the world declined from 30 to 26; the number of imperfect democracies went up from 50 to 53; authoritarian regimes increased from 51 to 55. Brazil's score fell from 7.38 to 7.12 on the scale and it fell from 41st to 47th place in the ranking of all countries included in the table (The Economist, www.eiu.com, accessed in Dec 2010).

1999; Warren, 1999). In the case of the newly formed democracies, Morlino speaks of these institutions becoming prematurely illegitimate, which although this would not compromise the short-term general legitimacy of the democratic form, could progressively sap public confidence that democracy is the best form of government and that it is the best way for citizens to confront and solve their collective problems (Morlino, 2010). In a similar way, Booth and Seligson (2006) have also shown that the effect of negative public perceptions has been to delegitimize the democratic form in several countries in Latin America.

This diagnostic harks back to the classic distinction made almost half a century ago by David Easton (1965) between diffuse and specific political support, and revives the discussion of this topic by Almond and Verba (1963). At the same time, however, it echoes the more recent arguments of Torcal and Montero (2006), according to whom the phenomena of political mistrust and disaffection involve an analytical distinction between the possibility of general political disengagement – which has in fact occurred very little in the newly formed democracies – and lack of confidence and dissatisfaction in the functioning of specific institutions [for a further discussion of this see Moisés et al. (2010b)]. This view of the problem bypasses the question of whether or not democracy exists in the countries under scrutiny, but it is relevant to the question of whether the new democracies have been able to bring sufficient quality to the concept. In this respect Diamond and Morlino (2005), among others, define the concept of quality in a democracy as the dynamic integration of principles, procedures and practical results. In other words, taken from the standpoint of quality of democracy approach, it is to be hoped that principles such as liberty and equality, would at the same time be guaranteed and extended by processes of participation, political representation and electoral competition – for which the existence of the rule of law is a vital precondition - and it is also to be assumed that principles and procedures can only fulfill their objectives if they are capable of creating public policies which can guarantee that citizen's rights are extended to all members of the political community and that the expectations of voters formed in the course of the democratic process are fully met. A democracy of quality, therefore, should ensure that principles and democratic procedures are not just empty promises, but that they have an effect on people's quality of life and the daily choices they are able to make (O'Donnell, Cullell and Iazetta, 2004; Lijphart, 1999).

This way of defining the central question of the research from the outset places the analytic focus on two associated phenomena, responsiveness and accountability. Responsiveness may be defined as a government's ability to act in response to the demands and expectations of its citizens with responsibility, efficiency and effectiveness and accountability refers to the procedures and mechanisms whereby voters and civil society can hold those in power responsible for their actions. In accordance to the approach of the quality of a democracy, these two concepts are analytically conjoint, since responsiveness involves a government being able to see what it is that its citizens want and public evaluation of such action will concentrate on the extent to which voters see their interests being followed. In each case the interrelationship between the performance of democratic institutions and the implementation of policies seen as socially necessary (in a given country and at a given time) plays a decisive role, which has the function of making effective the connection between voters' preferences as they are formed in the process of participation in civil society and the way in which political institutions operate to incorporate them into the political system, by responding with appropriate public policies. In this connection some authors have maintained that responsiveness is an analytical category which allows **political representation in action** to be observed and analyzed,

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which presupposes on the one hand that public services are guaranteed to individuals and groups represented by government bodies, the distribution of material goods and public benefits to citizens through the administration of public policy and its agents and the universalization and extension of symbolic goods which they create, reinforce the sense of loyalty and support by citizens for the political system can be observed and analyzed (Eulau and Karps, 1977); Powell 2005; Morlino, 2010) and on the other, the effective performance of representative institutions, parliament and political parties, in the sense of including in the system not only the preferences of the majority, but also of the different minorities which form part of a complex and unequal society's diverse reality. This question, originally considered by Mill (1864) in the 19th century, it is not only important in preventing the dictatorship of the majority, but as an effective means whereby the representative system can include minorities and their preferences within the political system (Alencar, 1868; Santos, 1991, Moisés, 2010b). These subjects define the principal objectives of the research herein proposed.

THE CASE OF BRAZIL

Over nearly 25 years in which it has been a democracy, Brazil has seen significant advances in the process of democratic consolidation. Examples of which are not merely that there has been a succession of regular, free and competitive elections – controlled by a an autonomous branch of the judiciary, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal – TSE – for the choice of governments and representative institutions, but also the relative harmony within which these institutions have functioned, despite the existence of some distortions and failures of function (as it will be mentioned shortly). Aside from which, the successive actions of different political persuasions have guaranteed, after decades of inefficient working and lack of control of public accounts, relative economic stability, thereby creating the necessary conditions for a double virtuous process: Firstly, the introduction of the Currency Plan, which put an end to the inflation which had acted as a mechanism of progressive taxation with effects mainly on the poor, and secondly the formation of macro-economic conditions which would allow a modest start to be made on the important process of reducing the income gap between separate social groups. As the use of Gini's index have shown, results so far have been small, but there have been results[3]. The principal effect of these policies has been to improve the social and economic condition of the groups aforementioned, which has brought about an increase in their spending power in recent years, and to some extent increased their political aspirations, but Brazilian society remains very unequal, with the majority of citizens having very limited access to basic public services – like health, education, housing, security and infrastructure. Although improvements in the minimum wage and improved employment prospects in recent years have meant a greater guarantee of basic social rights, the fact that different groups of the population are treated in different ways means that access to the structure of social rights remains patchy. For example there are differences in access to employment and wages paid to men and women are also

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[3] According to Gini's index inequality fell from 0,585 in July 1994 under the Currency Plan to 0.563 in 2002, the last year of the Cardoso government. It began the period of the Lula government at 0.554 and by 2009 it was at 0.518 – a fall attributed to the introduction of programs of redistribution of income, significant increases in the national minimum wage and social assistance through Continued Service Benefit (BPC) (Rocha, M. A., 2010, O Estado de São Paulo newspaper, 13/9/2010). See also "IPEA 46 years – Brazil over 4 decades", 2010).

not equal[4]. The situation is most socially unequal among African-Brazilians and other minority groups (Henriques, 2001), not to mention precarious urban integration and vulnerability faced by low income groups in areas of risk or violence, where there is insecurity and an almost complete lack of local authority (Leandro, 2009; Beato and Andrade, 2004)

The situation for education, poor access and lack of fundamental citizens' right is altogether analogous. Since the mid 1990s, however, indicators show that significant educational improvements have been made in the country: Illiteracy rates among those over 10, for example have fallen from 16.2% in 1992 to 8.9% in 2009. The average number of years in school has also gone up from 4.9 in 2002 to 7.4 in 2009 (www.inep.gov.br). But in 2009, fifteen years after the stabilization of the economy, 10% of Brazilians still have no access to education, 43% attended school for 7 years or less, in other words failed to complete high school, only 17% had between 8 and 10 years of formal education, or had an incomplete high school graduation and 30% had 11 years or more of education and completed high school, thus qualifying them to enter higher education. In short, more than half of Brazilians did not complete the primary level and there appears to be a major gap between completing primary school and going on to secondary education, which of course is an essential stage in continuing to higher education. This in part explains why between 2005 and 2008 the number of those completing secondary education was greater than those going on to higher education. This was 58% in 2005 and increased to 69% in 2008, but only one-third of those who could have gone on to higher education actually did so (INEP/MEC, Historical Series, www.inep/mec.br).

In general, therefore, we can see that over the last 25 years education policy has sought, on the hand, to improve its efficiency and practical outcomes and on the other, to do something about the said rate of exclusion. Practically all recent governments have set it as their priority to guarantee access to education, especially at the primary and secondary level and try to establish means so that it continues to improve. As a result we may identify two phenomena which derive there from. The first arises from the development of certain factors, for example the increase in the number of persons who are part of the educational system and the increase in the number of years of schooling, and the second relates to the generally held view that education is one of the principal means for reducing social inequality. Although such a view is not novel (see for example the educational plans of the 1920s to 50s or even the National Educational Plans drawn up by the military government), this analysis is today part of the program of almost all political parties and includes discussion with businesspeople, trade union leaders, researchers and public managers. Nevertheless, educational indicators still show that not enough is being done to meet the demands of society and create permanent changes. For this reason, it is a key area for an examination of democratic government's ability to meet the increasing expectations of citizens concerning their rights.

The situation in respect of public security and crime is no less worrying. Urban violence is one the major problems faced by Brazil. Between 1998 and 2004, 41,000 people were murdered in the State

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[4] According to the research "Women in the Metropolitan Employment Market" carried out by DIESSE in seven metropolitan capitals (Belo Horizonte, Brasilia, Porto Alegre, Recife, Salvador and São Paulo) there was no reduction in pay inequality between men and women in the job market in these areas. In 2007, despite a slight improvement in women's wages relative to men, the rate of pay of women in Recife, for example was 84.3% that of men, in Brasilia it was 74.6% (PED, Research into Employment and Unemployment, DIESSE, 2008).

of Rio de Janeiro and during the same period, 83,000 lost their lives in acts of violence in the State of São Paulo, the figures being respectively 16,000 and 9,000 in the States of Minas Gerais and Espirito Santo. In the whole country, there were 281,832 murders in the same six years, according to data from the Ministry of Health (Datasus, 2008), but although the most dramatic illustration, the problem is not restricted to violence that results in death. The number of women raped in 2001 in São Paulo was 20.2 per 100,000, in Rio de Janeiro 17.3, in Espiritu Santo 15.3 and in Minas Gerais 15.8. The picture is no less bleak for economic crime. 92.2 out of 10,000 cars were stolen in São Paulo in one year, 111.2 in Rio de Janeiro and 14.5 in Espirito Santo. There were about 490 robberies for every 100,000 inhabitants in São Paulo, 179 in Rio de Janeiro and almost 1,000 in Espiritu Santo. All these crimes have a profound impact on society and affect the lives of every citizen, but the problem has consequences which go beyond the mere human dimension - They have effects on the functioning of the structure of the political system as a whole (Hall and Taylor, 2003) and apart from their important human and social consequences, failure to control criminal activity and acts of violence affects the whole structure of the State, with implications for both its efficiency and effectiveness. For this reason we have made this the second area of public policy to be evaluated by this project[5].

The case of cultural policy is even more difficult to summarize, partly because, compared with other areas, public investment in the sector has been fairly limited[6] and partly because the sum of our knowledge in this area is insufficient and little is known about how effective and efficient policies that have been adopted in Brazil during the last three decades have been – some of which it itself may be a contributing factor in its relative fragility. If this is the case nationally, we know even less about what happens at the state and municipal level and it has been less studied in terms of the public policies on culture democratic governments have pursued, in spite of the emphasis given to it in the programs of various political parties and in the academic literature (Moisés and Sosnowski, 2001; 2002).

After state cultural bodies became much strongly organized between the 1930s and 60s (Miceli, 1984), the sector underwent a rapid series of transformations beginning in 1985, with the creation of The Ministry of Culture and the Sarney Law, which aimed to make it easier for the private sector to become involved and invest in culture in Brazil. But when the government of Collor de Mello came to power in 1990 and the role of the State became drastically reduced, the Ministry of Culture was reduced to a Presidential Secretary and public funding dried up. The situation improved somewhat between 1994 and 2002 during the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, when, as well reconstituting the Ministry of Culture, a number of funding mechanisms were modernized, for example the Rouanet Law (8.313/91) and the Audiovisual Law (8.685/93), which led to a revival in cultural activity, especially film and audiovisual production, which had virtually died a death with the disappearance of Embrafilme (Moisés and Botelho, 1997; MinC and IPEA, 2007). These changed continued under the government of Luiz Ignacio Lula da Silva, when state investment began to grow again, although, as some studies have pointed out, government policy became much more oriented towards cultural minorities (Rubim, 2008). A recent study by the Ministry of Culture itself and IPEA (2007, V2, p.159) revealed that only 53 of Brazilian municipalities have the usual cultural equipments

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[5] *Investment in culture, even under democratic governments, continues to represent less than 1% of the budget of the Union.*

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for social communication (libraries, museums, theaters, musical orchestras or bands, cinemas, am and FM radio, TV and Internet) all of which are either state capitals or capitals of metropolitan regions and 152 municipalities possess none of the above. Moreover, in spite of its role played in the 1990s in financing cultural productions (Moisés, 1998), the federal government took 8 years to put into effect the changes suggested by the Rouanet Law, despite requests from the cultural community and this process, even today remains incomplete. This situation, as described by IPEA justifies us in making cultural policy the third area to be covered by this project[7].

THE FOCUS OF THE RESEARCH

This picture suggested by these shortcomings in public policy allows us to identify two problems which affect the quality of outcomes produced by the democratic governance – and which will be therefore the main focus of this project. The first refers to obvious inadequacies in the performance of the State: whether in ensuring that all citizens have access to fundamental rights or whether in connection with way it deals with a situation in which important urban areas have been taken over by violence (Pinheiro, 2002) the Brazilian state has shown itself to be at best inefficient and at worst absent. The model of management and governance in which it puts into place public policies deemed to be socially necessary uses the resources at it disposal in an irrational way, various corrupt practices in every area of government go unpunished and its response to the demands of citizens/consumers for public services is inadequate. This analysis suggests that much needs to be done concerning what we know of the way the State functions and the way important public services are run. This evaluation needs to take account, on the one hand of the extent to which these services are planned, the social and political criteria on the base of which they are adopted and their effective results seen from the standpoint of efficiency and effectiveness. On the other hand account must be taken of how citizens view these actions, in other words, a practical evaluation by those who ought to be benefiting from these services. There is a connection here with the way the effects and results of public policy affect the way people regard the performance of the government and elected representatives, and thus what impact this has on perceptions of the relationship between political participation and responsiveness within the context of the ruling democracy. One of the hypotheses we need to test in this research is whether perceptions, either positive or negative of the performance of the State, by way of the public services they provide for people, affect the process of legitimization of these institutions and therefore the legitimacy of the democratic form of government itself (Morlino, 2010).

The resurgence of democracy in various parts of the world has been accompanied by a return to the debate about the relationship between representative political institutions and public policy. In spite of a considerable diversity of thematic and theoretical methodology, there is clearly a latent debate among social scientists who have been analyzing various policies in the process of democratic consolidation – a debate, which has drawn attention to the lack of studies which have incorporated in their analytic models sociological and cultural variables. But not all that is taking place in this debate has yet faced all the implications of the question, among which may be mentioned: the

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[7] *"… if cultural policy, broadly speaking, can be seen as a long term project with an incremental character, namely an accumulation of processes of institutional construction, with the invention, presence and renewed uptake of these same themes, it is also certain that different historical periods have faced these problems in their own particular way" (IPEA 46 years, Brazil over 4 decades, 2010, p.88 www.ipea.gov.br).*

rationality of the actions of social actors, macro or micro systemic approaches, the role of the bureaucracy and institutions and the structure and consistency of individual preferences. One particularly thorny question in fact refers specifically to the relation between social institutions and the individual.

The interaction between individuals and institutions has occupied a central position in research into public policy. It would not be too much to say, with Immergut (2006), that the subject has itself arisen within the context of an institutionalist perspective of social relationships. In this respect, Hall and Taylor (2007) have presented three distinct versions of social theories which seek to establish the causal mechanisms which link social institutions and individual behavior: i) historical institutionalism ii) rational institutionalism and iii) sociological institutionalism. Each of these theoretical models has different answers to two fundamental questions: how to establish what is the relationship between institution and behavior and how to explain the process through which institutions come into being or change.

The basic premise which underpins the three pillars of theoretic institutionalism is that individual behavior is determined, to a large extent, by the institutional design within which its agents have to operate. Sander (2006) offers a summary of the main points of historical institutionalism. According to the author, social institutions are seen as structural rules within which human interactions take place. These supra-individual structures are conditioned by the prior history of the institution itself, and therefore independent of individual preferences. For rational institutionalism, social institutions are rules of the social game or the structural outcome resultant from human interactions. The rational actors formulate the rules whereby social interactions are established endogenously. These rules are created to determine the limits wherein individual actors may follow their own interests (Shepsle, 2006), whereas in sociological institutionalism, institutions are unrelated to the rational actions of individuals, as in the two previous versions. According to this type of theory, political institutions respond to cultural and social contexts independently of the preferences of the individuals with whom they interact (Putnam 1994).

Within this general outline of references, it is worth noting that the debate about the importance of elements to values and ideas which will take account of the dynamic processes of change in public policy have grown in importance in current literature. As an example of this new trend, we quote, among others, Lieberman's article (2002), which aims to explain the change in policy by referring to the interaction of institutional variables with those relative to the cognitive dimension. This last dimension is central to a variety of analytic approaches to public policy which have been developed in the last twenty years (see, among others, Sabatier, 1988, Elster, 1989, Braun, 1998, Huber, 1997 and Skocpol, 1996, Ross, 1997, Messenger, 2005). Also the work of Hall and Jenson (Hall, 1989, 1990; Jenson, 1989) remains very relevant. These suggest that the relationship between institutions and policy choice can be understood by analyzing the paradigms which sustain public policy, which involve an intellectual construct linked to specific areas – a policy system – and that this construct presupposes a conjunction of ideas and perceptions shared by the relevant political actor sin the same areas (Hall, 1989, 1990; Jenson, 1989). This intellectual construct would consist of an interrelated conjunction of perceptions, attitudes, ideas and values which would enable the actors to define what would be the "correct" mode of identifying the problem—target of the policy , the strategic characteristics of its instruments and the hoped-for outcome. This paradigm would permit,

therefore, the construction of an imaginary map of the roles and positions of the relevant actors, as well as the "style" of policy to be adopted or, alternatively, the culture which would illumine its formulation and implementation. Thus, such a paradigm would be formed within a system of meanings and simultaneously institutional practices, which through the way they functioned, either would, or would not, deal with the problem to be dealt with. In other words, the paradigm of public policy would at the same time be a constituent element of the identity of the relevant actors – something connected to the world view that informed the action of each – and a combination of causal propositions which give sense to the alternatives of policy proposed in each area. The use of this approach in this project will hopefully advance awareness of these new angles, especially those which deal with the paradigms of public policy in force and the need for governments to be responsive in the current democratic period.

Moreover, in the recent Brazilian experience something interesting has been happening which needs to be evaluated: different areas of public policy have been coming together. In spite of the different political standpoints which have separated the two governments in the period 1995-2010, it has been possible to see a surprising continuity in the way problems have been addressed in and the way instruments of intervention have been devised in different areas, which has led to a strong line of continuity. The area in which this characteristic has been most striking is in macro-economic policy, but similar results – although in a different sense – can also be observed in other areas. Education and public security are other examples of convergence, which has led some analysts to coin the term "State politics" in contrast to the idea of "government politics". To evaluate to what extent processes of this nature may be occurring in different areas of public policy, to define its limits and understand which factors contribute to these outcomes is a question of major relevance for this study to tackle (Melo,2010; Soares, 2000; Schwartzman, 2000).

The project proposes therefore to use instruments of evaluation which can serve as a guide for governments when they are formulating and implementing public policy, in such a way that the democratic State may strengthen its authority and legitimacy and avoid conflict. To avoid getting into the sort of trouble mentioned previously it needs to formulate and implement public policies that are directed towards broadening the range of people's civil, social and cultural rights and improve the quality of public services it offers, in order to put itself in a better position not only to exercise its power concentration in facing up to new conflicts, but principally to resolve, without allowing them to recur longer term conflicts (Mann, 1993; Dagnino, 2004). In this context, the questions that need to be dealt with are *what to do* (actions), *where to get to* (targets) and *by what means* (action strategies) (Assumpção Rodrigues, 2010), so as not merely to turn around the negative situations described above but to allow the condition of citizen's agents in the process of democratic governance and the management of public policy to be recognized (O'Donnell et al., 2004).

INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

The second problem which arises from our previous diagnosis concerns the role of government institutions and political representation. The political culture which predominates in Brazil tends to overvalue the role played by the State executive and in part helps to explain why voters' confidence is placed almost exclusively in political personalities, whose charismatic character has shown itself attractive at the ballot box and who receive an almost unlimited remit to govern, without the need

for very much transparency, and whose connection with political parties is often tenuous. These types of politicians often pay insufficient respect to the sphere of action and autonomy of other forms of governmental power (O'Donnell, 2004; Lamounier, 1975, Moisés 2010c). This phenomenon certainly arises due to the prevalence of fundamental political values relative to the model of division of powers adopted by the country in the constitution of 1988, especially the role given to representative institutions (Santos, 2009). In effect the members of the constitutional assembly in 1987-88 decided to maintain the prerogatives granted to the President of the Republic by the authoritarian regime in 1964-85 regarding the right to initiate legislation. Following the example of former laws which were decreed rather than voted on, they gave the executive exclusive power to pass provisional measures which could have an immediate effect on the *status quo*. They confirmed the unilateral prerogative of presidents to introduce taxation legislation and a national budget and also broadened his competence in respect of the administrative organization of the State, decisions regarding the armed forces and foreign policy measures, such as international treaties. Put briefly, analysis has shown that Brazilian presidents can initiate legislation in specific area entirely independently and force the legislature to take it on. In so doing they avail themselves not only of constitutional prerogatives – by using emergency motions in the voting of matters they are especially concerned about or by implementing temporary measures which have the force of law – but also administrative procedures which concentrate the process of decision-making in the National Congress in the hands of legislative committees and the College of Leaders. Presidents can thus prevent possible parliamentary minorities from acting as veto-players to block or hinder their initiatives. Apart from the distribution of posts to parties which form its support base, the executive has the power to approve individual amendments put forward by members of parliament when the federal budget is approved (Abranches, 1988; Amorim Neto, 2006; Santos, 2003).

The advantages this entails, according to approaches which give weight to the role of the executive, have been emphasized in the literature, but the implications for the quality of democracy, especially the working of checks and balances (accountability), which parliament and political parties should exercise, require further research. In the face of very effective institutional incentives for elected members to follow the position of the government majority, it is doubtful whether there is any real opportunity for them to criticize or correct the executive's position, when it is necessary. Even authors like Figueiredo and Limongi (2003) admit that the system is very efficient in imposing restrictions on parliamentarians who wish to take specific legislative actions and this reduces institutional efficiency: "the National Congress tied its own hands," they say, when they accepted a form of institution which delegates both the initiative and the power to draw up an agenda to the executive. They maintain, however, that this does not mean that they have abdicated power, as members of parliament can still either approve or reject government initiatives, but the fact is that this has rarely happened during recent decades, and Congress has far more frequently adopted a reactive rather than proactive role. Furthermore proposal and initiatives by parliamentarians have been limited to a few distributional, local or symbolic policies, which are to a great extent incapable of altering the *status quo* or of introducing relevant measures. For this reason, in the words of another analyst, we are observing a process of "imprisonment or seizing-up" of parliament, in view of the contradiction observed between constitutional parameters – based on the doctrine of division of powers – and procedures adopted by parliament, which would compromise part of its autonomy and capacity to act (Santos,2003; Cintra, 2007).The executive's supremacy over parliament since

democratization has been so overwhelming that it, and not the National Congress, has become the major legislator in Brazil (Moisés, 2011).

The institution operates in conditions which have made the structure of Brazilian politics a very singular one with both institutional advantages and disadvantages from the point of view of its functioning. A major advantage described in the specialized literature – some of which, however, does not accept that this institutional form is actually singular[8]–refers to the result of the stable relations achieved between the executive and the legislature post democratization and in particular, the implications this has for governability which, taking into account the predominant approach in Brazilian political science, is seen primarily in terms of the interests of the executive. But the question of Congress's performance doesn't only refer to the executive's ability to ensure extended governability as a guarantee that the government's wishes and its projects are approved, but also the possibility of members of parliament exercising their representative function, including that of disagreeing, when necessary, with the executive's plans or withholding support when standing up for the rights of a minority when threatened by the majority. Governability is not in effect a one-sided feature of only one power, but entails the joint functioning of different government spheres of activity (Bovero, 2002).

The performance of the National Congress needs therefore to be re-examined, not only from the standpoint of low rate of production of legislation and public policy, as the results of the project "The Performance of the National Congress in the Context of Coalition Presidentialism" carried out by NUPPs between 2009 and 2010 demonstrated, but also the fact that thousands of parliamentary initiatives have neither made it to the floor of either chamber nor indeed beyond the desk of the leaders of the ruling coalition or political parties. Independent of what they may contain i.e. what public policies they wish to put forward – when they are blocked by majority decision of congress, these initiatives cease to fulfill their role of connecting the representative to those they represent, with enormous consequences for the image and evaluation of voters for their parliament.

For this reason, taking as our starting point what is already known about this subject, two alternative methods of holding the performance of the National Congress up to scrutiny will be considered as part of this project: On the one hand we will take a look at data on projects which did not succeed in becoming part of an official program and were not voted on the floor of the chamber. This may give us important clues about **the hidden representative function of parliamentarians,** which, because they never appeared, have ended up not being able to serve as a reference whereby citizens can judge parliamentary activity. On the other we will evaluate the so-called legislative decrees, which according to some analysts, may be becoming a kind of alternative by means of which the National Congress is trying to get round the limitations on its activity imposed by the prerogatives given to the executive as part of the 1988 constitution (Carneiro, 2009). Depending on the content of the legislative decrees it should be possible to detect alternative forms of parliamentary performance, which seek to get round the fact that the executive can control the decision-making agenda in parliament by taking advantage of the enormous powers granted to it in the 1988 Constitution. One has to wonder indeed whether this control of the executive does not in fact diminish parliament's representative performance *et pour cause* relegate it as an institution which can mediate the various

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[8] *Limongi (2006)*

conflicts derived from clashes of interests and preferences of citizens. This will be one of the objects of the present project.

The subject of political representation is not restricted, however to the performance of parliament. Political mistrust, which affects almost every Brazilian public institution, is particularly deep in the case of political parties, aside from parliament[9]. The specialized literature has analyzed the performance of parties based on their activity in two specific areas, decision-making and elections. While in the first case it is a matter of the role of parties as actors who share with governments the formulation and decisions to implement public policy – for which the legitimacy gained in elections is an essential condition of their capacity to negotiate decisions taken in the executive and parliamentary spheres – in the electoral arena parties compete for the support of voters with the aim of getting into power, but for this reason, they have to be recognized by them as effective links between the demands of civil society and the State as it is "by this mechanism (…) that the chain which links citizens to public decision-making arenas is forged" (Kinzo, 2004 p.25). In this sense, an identification between voters and parties is a fundamental prerequisite, but in recent Brazilian experience, we stumble across a limit caused by the effects of fragmentation which, by cramping the conditions in which they are formed, which Lamounier(2005) called structural fixing of the party system – a requirement of vertical accountability – has encouraged the migration or "flight" of politicians of minor parties to those who form the base of parliamentary support for governments. In this sense, party fragility has been encouraged by the actions of governments whose own supporting parties have not attained a majority in legislative elections and who, as happened in the case of the first administration of President Lula da Silva, formed a governing coalition even with parties whose ideology and program differed widely from that of the president. The problem, however, was not one solely of his government. Between 1983 and 1999 of a total of 2,329 federal deputies, either directly elected or substitutes, 686 (nearly 30%) changed their ticket. In 1994 more than 64% of deputies had changed party at least once (Nicolau, 1996, apud Rodrigues, 2002) and between 2003 and 2005, 237 MPs were induced to change party, which effectively nullified the significance of the vote given to them by their voters (Rodrigues, 2002; Lamounier, 2005). Even if we consider, as some authors do, that the majority of these switches occurred within supposedly similar ideological blocs, this trend weakens the connection between electors and the elected[10]. Nevertheless, as well as functioning as elements of aggregation and articulation of the interests and preferences of the voters, political parties claim to act as a link between civil society and the State. These functions of aggregation and articulation would in themselves not be sufficient, if they were not complemented by those of expression and representation of the contradictions and diversity which is a characteristic of complex and unequal societies such as Brazil's. This means that, by acting in parliament as guardians of this diversity and by ensuring that the demands and aspirations of both minorities and majorities are heard within the political system (Mill, 1964), parties should not be judged merely for their role as decision makers, as a guarantee that alliances or governmental coalitions will remain workable, but also as a means whereby society can express itself (Abranches, 1988; Santos, 2003;

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[9] Data gained from a national survey into " Citizen's Mistrust of Democratic Institutions" indicates that in 2006, more than 78% of those interviewed said they had little confidence in the National Congress and around 82% did not trust political parties (Moisés, 2010a).

[10] This situation may change, however, following a recent decision by the Electoral Court in 2008, namely that a vote is for a party not an individual, which may discourage "flight" to other parties. It will take several years, however, before the full effect of this change is felt.

Cintra, 2007). To this extent, both their performance in giving stability to the model of the political system the country has adopted and their ability to speak on behalf of different sections of society – as is the case in the political representation of women – will be the subject of study in the present project.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND POLITICAL CULTURE

The situation of recently formed democracies such as Brazil is not restricted to institutions and public policy. Civil society and the civic culture which informs it are also factors which are key elements in its complexity (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005); Rose, Mishler and Haerpfer, 1998). The concept of civil society, which had fallen into long years of desuetude after having been commonplace in the 18th and 19th centuries, was revived by political actors and analysts during the processes of political transition which have been occurring in the world since the 1970s. In such a context, the idea refers to a very disparate group of activists who were more or less united by having common relative goals, namely resistance to authoritarianism and the struggle for democracy. In a certain sense, as some authors have pointed out, the idea of civil society was reinvented in situations where politics had been thrown out or prevented from operating in a normal way, such as in parliament, in political parties, the media or on the streets and the forces that were working towards new forms of political participation, often facing repression and at great risk to the individuals involved, moved into the cultural and corporate arena, including communities linked to various religious beliefs (Delich, 1982; Moisés, 1986).

Without forming a single political platform, the differing experiences of civil and political organization benefited from a critical debate which, to some extent, was seeking to revive the values of the democratic tradition. When the motivating aim of these new forms of political organization was achieved with a change of regime, it at first appeared that civil society had been an ephemeral, short-lasting phenomenon that was destined to fade away in the new political dynamic, but far from it, it became an important element in the life of the new democracies, influences either for good or bad, how they began to face the challenge of settling in. In various recently democratized countries, civil society came to be seen as a force capable of producing something like a short circuit around public institutions considered inoperative, inefficient and corrupt, whether in the sense of improving them or of offering – by means of new institutional structures – a source of information and participation which could serve as a channel of expression for the interests and preferences of its citizens and thus a facilitating element in governments becoming more responsive.

A proper evaluation of the role of civil society in the recent waves of democratization need to take account of its role in the transitions, as has been pointed out in comparative political analysis (Linz and Stepan, 1996). The processes of political transition which arose after the mid 1970s can be divided into two major groups: those which were led and controlled by the former leaders of the authoritarian state and those who, with or without initiatives by these same leaders towards liberalization of the regime, are characterized by the revival or resurgence of civil society and as a consequence, mobilization of different social groups that supported democracy. The literature on democratic transitions has shown that, while in the first instance the changes tended to follow the path of rather limited liberalization (some civil liberties were revived but not necessarily full political rights), in the second instance when mobilization succeeded in having an influence on political

transformation, not only did the possibility of a return to authoritarianism seem less likely, but the process of democratization was strengthened and the definition of the new regime became less restricted to the model of electoral democracy (O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986; Reis and O'Donnell, 1988; Shin, 2005).

Although in different ways in Southeast and Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa, the prevailing view during the struggle against authoritarianism always saw civil society as being against the State, leaving aside partly the idea that the State is or should be synonymous with civil society (Locke, 1973; Mill 1964; Gramsci, 1970). In other words, even though it played an important role in mobilizing people against authoritarianism, the revival of civil society did not always succeed in avoiding the consequences of uncoupling the State from society. The reasons for this have formed part of the agenda of Brazilian social science. Whether previous democratic experience was too fragile to serve as an example or whether because the continuity or prevalence of a political culture was not (or is not yet) entirely democratic (Rose, Mischler and Munro, 2004; Linz and Stepan, 1996; Moisés, 1995; 2008), the role of organizations and movements in civil society is a vital subject for study when looking at the way democracy in Brazil has developed in the last 25 years.

Within the context of different political transitions, Brazil may be regarded as a kind of mixed case, i.e., one in which the initiatives of the authoritarian leaders had a great influence on the process of political change without preventing civil society from reorganizing itself and thus having an influence on the formation of a robust parliamentary and electoral opposition to the military government in power (Weffort, 1984; Lamounier, 2005; Sola e Paulani,1995). Following the example of other experience, the reorganization of the trade union movement, the emergence of urban and rural social movements and the rise of new political parties – some with strong social roots, like, for example the Brazilian Worker's Party – opened up the possibility that new forms of expression in response to the crisis of representation of the traditional political systems would signal in people's minds the emergence of a new political reality.

Comparative political analysis has shown that, while institutions were being reconstructed on the weak base inherited from authoritarianism, different social movements tended to develop an unequal pattern of political autonomy. While, for example, the Workers Central Union – CUT – stated that it intended to base itself on the institutional negotiating channels of the corporatist trade union structure handed down from the Vargas period, the Movement of Landless Workers – MST – affirmed its complete independence, although not ruling out the possibility of forming a partnership with the Federal Government (Mirza, 2006). By referring to this complex situation, some authors have called attention to the possibility of a return to the phenomenon of corporatism in recent democratic experience (Vianna,2002).

In the words of Mainwaring and Scully (1995), the Brazilian situation may be described as a transition from a weak political structure, but is in the process of developing institutions (Mirza, 2006). As part of this interpretation, it is to be hoped that institutional political systems will, by mirroring social movements keep some of their autonomy, and systems with more fragile political structures will also strengthen themselves by becoming more politically independent. In cases where political representation has become severely degraded, movements may arise which in practice take on the role of political parties. Contrary to other models, the small number of institutions within the political

system in Brazil has not produced any very independent or radical movements, except perhaps during and soon after the transition. We may conclude that in the case of Brazil political representation is relatively institutionalized, even though it is accompanied by a weak and fragmented party system. This analysis suggests that study of the role of civil society may benefit from the inclusion of other dimensions not yet explored in the literature about social movements.

It is also then this project's remit to look at some of these specifically Brazilian cases. In many countries a major player in civil society has been the NGO – professional and scientific organizations, philanthropic bodies, party foundations, trade unions, movements with links to the Church, cultural and sports clubs. These bodies represent, or set out to represent, specific groups in society – which have a wide range of interests and preferences, sometimes contradictory - and independently of what their effective social base may be, almost always seek to legitimize themselves by using political/cultural, moral and ethical arguments. These NGOs have created opportunities to channel the creative energy of social activists in favor of new forms of public organization which goes beyond traditional representation. It is not unusual for these bodies to carry out exercises of self-delegation, supposedly channels of alternative representation, but not always with an explicit mandate from the public they say they represent. Even so, the contribution made by these organizations has been recognized even by international organizations like the World Bank, IMF and United Nations – all of which have an interest in critically evaluating the role of the traditional nation state and encouraging the emergence of alternative initiatives (Sorj and Martucelli, 2008).

In the case of Brazil, however, the organization of a new civil society has acquired, in a number of relevant cases, a kind of official ring. The 1988 Constitution, under the influence of the actions of NGOs and social movements that had been struggling against authoritarianism, allowed new kinds of popular organizations to become incorporated in the structure of the Sate, some of which were related to decision-making on public policy and others to the process of monitoring how it is put into practice. According to its Constitution, Brazil continues to be a representative democracy, but also takes advantage of other instruments of direct social participation, such as plebiscites, referendums and legislative initiatives, as well as Public Policy Managing Councils (Health and Education etc). This allows new public management practices to emerge and be tried out. Also known as Deliberative Councils, Public Policy Councils or jointly managed public areas, these Management Councils play an essential role and are vital for the way public resources are transferred from the Union to states and municipalities (Perez, 2010).

Part of the political science literature has described these Management Councils as a parallel to the so-called Participative Budget (Avritzer, 2004), emphasizing that they were conceived of as ways to allow people and government to share decisions referent to public policy. According to writers such as Gohn (2003:7), "They are, at the beginning of this new millennium, the principal novelty in terms of public policy." Other analysts believe that they are less than perfect and in some senses are replacing representative democracy with another more deliberative form (Santos and Avritzer, 2002). Thus, in discussing the experience of the Participative Budget (OP) and the Councils, these writers argue that new forms of influencing citizens are emerging in the process of elaboration and implementation of public policy and these are seen, in some cases, as elements which may change the Brazilian political culture (Santos, 2006).

It must be pointed out, however, that the relationships between social movements, NGOs, the participative Budget and the Councils on the one hand and the political system on the other, are extremely complex and have been little explored in the specialized literature. Lavalle, Houtzager and Archaia (2006) noted that the emergence of participative areas, capable of directly influencing the form of public policy and regulating government action, has been encouraged by the new content of the 1988 Constitution, such as State reform and correlated policies of adjustment in the 1990s. The novelty of such practices may be seen in the removal of channels of joint interests from their tradition sphere – parliament and political parties – into the area controlled by the executive. They thus tend to reinforce the process of depletion of the functions of parliament, as may be seen from the debate over 'coalition presidentialism", especially in the increase in the power of the President of the Republic to set the agenda and initiate legislation (Moisés at al. 2011).While enquiring into which factors have favored participation in these new institutional arrangements in the city of São Paulo, the above-mentioned authors came to the following conclusion:

"Surprisingly the most influential factor in participation was found to be ties with traditional, political institutions. The results speak for themselves, ties to the Worker´s Party or to the Government via organizations which provide it with services – together with the fact of a player in civil society being a coordinator – are the best predictors of who was involved in all three types of area of participation." (Lavalle, Houtzager and Archaia (2004).

It would seem that there is a paradox that needs to be researched: i. the significant link between those who are involved in the new arrangements and the bodies of "co-ordinations" in the process reveal that "*some kind of grouping is occurring in society outside the party political system"*; ii. moreover, the influence of at least one party, the Worker´s Party, in forming the coordinating body of players in civil society and iii. the higher level of participation of those who have contacts with the government suggests a new and complex relationship between civil society and the State. For this reason, the authors quoted above warn against a "cognitive short-sightedness" which would result from too much emphasis in the literature on the autonomy of civil society and suggest that a re-arrangement of channels of participation and deliberation is going on. This is an important aspect for this project to consider as, to some extent, a tendency is emerging to "turn one's back on the legislature" and if this is so, a distinction between "ordinary individuals' participation" and "key players in civil society" is crucial. It is worth pointing out, as some writers have done, that empirical studies of participation should be complemented by taking a broader overall view, for example by including studies of political culture[11].

According to the tradition of these studies, the orientation of individuals in respect of the political system is a necessary (though insufficient) factor in its stability. In spite of the fact that these orientations may be long-lasting, since they originate in the primary socialization of individuals, this

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[11] In a recent study of political culture in the metropolitan region of São Paulo, Nunes, Sanchez and Chaya (2010) suggest that there is a discrepancy between the income of an individual as a factor in predicting participation, whether considering the population of the city as a whole or by looking at the subgroup formed by collective players in that civil society. In the first case there is a significant relationship between the two variables, which was not observed in the other group. The authors suggest the existence of a "political subculture", to use the terms of Almond and Verba (1963), which is specific to the social areas in which Councils, Participative Budgets and similar institutions operate.

does not mean that they do not change under the influence of generational transformations and/or processes of economic and social modernization; but the relationship of citizens to public institutions also affects the orientation of citizens towards democratic government. In this context, one of the key foci of analysis in the present project will be hybrid areas, created by the 1988 Constitution, between the State and society. The important question is now whether the experience created by the existence of these new institution organs is giving rise among the citizens involved to new perceptions concerning the right to participate and is changing the values and political culture they are part of.

Recent studies of Brazilian political culture have shown that, alongside processes of political change, people's perceptions have been changing in a way that involves a paradox: In recent decades, as a number of empirical studies have demonstrated, in spite of the recent and relative stability of Brazilian democracy and the continuance of public institutions, approximately two-thirds of Brazilians have no confidence in politicians, parliament, parties, the President of the Republic and bodies responsible for public services (Moisés, 1995; Meneguello, 2007; Moisés e Carneiro, 2008). This evidence has been reinforced by the publication of results of surveys carried out by academic institutions and international organizations like *World Values Survey* and *Corporación Latinobarometro*, among others. According to the data from these surveys citizens in Brazil and other Latin American countries, apart from not considering themselves satisfied with the functioning of the new democratic regimes, do not have any confidence in public institutions (Lagos, 1997; Norris, 1999).

But unlike the conclusions drawn by Almond and Verba (1963) in studies of countries where the democratic tradition is fragile, the way ordinary people in Brazil view democracy is showing itself to be more complex than in the past, including, at the same time, political values and the means of realizing them, which offer a potential basis of political support for those who wish to overcome the present distortions and institutional deficiencies. The result of research such as "Citizens' Mistrust of Democratic Institutions" carried out by NUPPs, show that those interviewed dissociate democracy as an ideal from its practical workings, which they saw from the functioning of its institutions. Moisés (1995; 2011) analyzed what ordinary people understood by the term "democracy" by analyzing the response to an open question included in questionnaires of various national surveys. According to him, a new pattern of political culture is emerging in the country, as not only is there a negative perception in respect of corruption, which is associated with the poor functioning of institutions, but voters also severely critical of political parties and parliament. One might think as a result of this that Brazilians' reasonably sophisticated view of democracy might serve as a basis for public pressure towards reforming representative institutions and public concern over corruption also indicates there is a demand for greater rigor and efficiency on the part of institutions tasked with holding politicians and governments responsible for dealing with these issues. For this reason, the meaning given to democracy by Brazilians seem to point to the formation of the basis of what Pippa Norris (1999), analyzing the situation in mature democracies, called **critical citizens**.

All the above mentioned hypotheses need to be put to empirical tests. Although the results of previous surveys have been fairly significant, comparative analysis has shown that conclusions about the role of political cultural in processes of democratization need to be based on consistent longitudinal analysis. To this end, as well as examining the changes which are taking place as a result

of the new mechanisms of political participation we have been describing above, this project proposes to carry out a new national survey concerning what the public think the role of democratic institutions should be, the three areas of public policy considered in this analysis and new trends in the way civil society is organized. The aim of this procedure will be to examine, in an integrated way, the influence not only of the functioning of democratic institutions but also of political values, which, in the tradition of Brazilian political culture, remain as points of reference towards attitudes, behavior and the opinion of Brazilian citizens.

PART II

MAIN SUBJECT AREAS OF THE STUDY

A - PUBLIC POLICY

1. *The impact of the democratic experience on public education policies*

The impact of the democratic experience on education policies

Recent literature is clear about the importance and relevance of the role of public policy on education in the democratic governance of a country. For considerable time the literature on education and development has accepted that education is one of the main tools at the State's disposal to intervene in the process of combating social inequality by creating a more level playing field as far as the future development of its citizens in society is concerned (for a closer view into this subject see, among others, McMahon, 2002 and Psacharopoulos, 1988). International literature also strongly emphasizes the role of education in the formation of citizenship. In this sense, education means access to the cognitive tools necessary for relevant political participation (Lipset, 1959, Lazarsfield et al. 1944, Converse, 1972, Dahl, 1967, Almond and Verba 1968 and Key, 1961). More recently there is a new literature on the association of education – and more specifically the broadening of higher education and the development of institutionalized environments of advanced research in the university sector – with processes that are crucial for the competitiveness of countries and their success in confronting the challenges of globalization (Porter, 1990; Geiger, 2004; Bonaccorsi, 2007; Bonaccorsi and Dario, 2007). Since the 1980s international literature has been pointing out what a vital factor this aspect is in understanding how the countries of SE Asia have become so economically dynamic and technologically developed.

Thus the questions that arise at the interface between educational policy and subject of democratic governance are multifarious. Their study requires the use of theories and competences from different areas and the simultaneous analysis from different perspectives. For this reason, our research into the interaction between democracy and educational policy should be concentrated on four main sub-areas: 1. 1.The impact of the consolidation of democratic practices on the production of public policy in the area; 2. The consolidation of the right to education as a product of the normative activity of the juridical system; 3.An evaluation of the consequences of the expansion of access to education on strengthening democratic values among citizens; 4. Production of an analytic model which will help us understand the complex process of differentiation which higher education and education in general have been subject, both locally and nationally.

The impact of the consolidation of democratic practices on the production of public policy in the area:

In recent Brazilian experience, in spite of the undeniable differences of the ideological and party political conditioning factors and the interests and specific expectations of the relevant groups involved, what is noticeable is that there is a convergence and continuity of policy around three axes

– access, financing and evaluation. This convergence has brought about a relative continuity in the orientation of educational policies, whose clearest and most obvious result is the development, since 1994 of its own special indicators, the increase in the number of people who are part of the educational system and the corresponding increase in the numbers of years spent in education.

The main purpose of this part of the research is precisely to understand how this convergence has been maintained, despite the obvious differences of program and ideology which have separated the last two governments. Our principal hypothesis is that an important explanation of this phenomenon can be found in the fact there has been a new general consensus in the way the main challenges are perceived in the area, that goes back to the 1990s and extends into the present[12]. For this reason this study adopts a historical institutionalism approach (Steinmo et al. 1992; Hall and Taylor, 1996) which will pay especial attention to the process of consolidation of new ideational matrices within the political field[13]. As a complement to this, the project also intends to investigate the extent to which the international agenda proposed by international organizations such as OECD and UNESCO, for example, have contributed to promoting convergence in the way problems are perceived by the main actors in the area.

To achieve this end, this study will combine a case study approach, whose aim is to map the changes in the perception of the policy problem in the last 25 years, with carrying out two surveys. The first survey will be carried out with a representative sample of the relevant elite to this policy area[14]; the second will be carried out with a representative sample of the general population. By comparing the data collected in both surveys we will be able to measure the centrality of different problems and perspectives in the public agenda on education and the degree of convergence in perceptions of the elite and the population about these issues.

The survey of the elite will take the form of a sample which combine institutional criterion with one of epistemological relevance (Hass, 1992). It will select individuals who occupy decision making positions within the institutions that are relevant in the area and also individuals whose intellectual activity is especially relevant for defining the parameters for the public debate on education. The

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[12] Recently conducted studies at NUPP certainly point in this direction. Data collected in a survey about the recent development of the academic profession in Brazil (FAPESP), show a significant convergence in the way Brazilian academics view questions relating to the governance of higher education institutions (Balbachevsky e Schwartzman, 2011). On the other hand research into the way the Brazilian academic community views policy towards science and innovation indicates that clear differences have been perceived. (Balbachevsky, 2011).

[13] The debate about the importance of relative elements and values which account for the dynamic processes of change in public policy has been gaining strength in contemporary literature, especially that which adopts an institutionalist standpoint. As an example of this new trend, we quote, among others, Lieberman's article (2002), which aims to explain the change in policy by referring to the interaction of institutional variables with those relative to the cognitive dimension. This latter dimension is also central to the various approaches in analyzing public policy developed in the last 20 years (see, among others, Sabatier, 1988; Elster, 1989; Braun, 1998; Rueschemeyer and Skocpol, 1996; Ross, 1997; and Messenger, 2005).

[14] In Brazil our reference to the study of the behavior of elites is the project "Strategic Elites and the Dilemmas of Development" coordinated by Maria Regina Soares de Lima and Zairo B. Cheibub, 1995). Another importance point of reference is the series of research coordinated by Bolívar Lamounier (1992) at IDESP between 1989 and 1991. A further relevant study is the one coordinated by Reis (2000), which focused chiefly on the social agenda and questions of poverty and inequality.

survey's goals are: 1. to map the most important fault lines observable in the elite; 2. To measure the degree of convergence/ and or divergence in relation to the problems, policies and instruments considered most relevant in the area and 3. Identify the issues where there are the greatest level of convergence with the country's domestic paradigm with the one prevailing in the main international institutions.

The survey as carried out among the general population closely follows in its form the survey made among the elite, which will enable us to evaluate the degree of support there is in the Brazilian society for the new paradigm that has been established in the area of educational policy and will contribute for the discussion of questions of responsibility whose relevance has been emphasized in the project's introduction.

The consolidation of the right to education as a product of the normative activity of the juridical system

In the Federal Constitution of 1988, the right to education was especially important among the raft of social rights by reason of its characteristics and its singular juridical character, and was defined in considerable detail and firmly guaranteed. It is a fundamental social right, an individual right and also a collective right. Its titulars and its passive subjects are simultaneously one thing and another. It contains obligations to do and not to do, both on the part of the titulars and passive subjects, which must continue and require different services, sometimes under reserve of the possible. Its juridical regime is, however, complex: it involves different powers and capacities of exercise, with the inherent subjection to the specific juridical regime[15] of fundamental rights (FC , art. *5º, §1º; art. 60, § 4º, IV),* although they involve material provisions which are dependent on financial resources.

Although the right to education is of fundamental importance for the consolidation of Brazilian democracy, the theory concerning the relation between Education and Law and the role of Law in making public policy effective is not yet well defined. In the last decade, theoretical debate about the right to education, both in the area of education and the law has led to a greater emphasis on the analysis of associated aspects – namely conditions of access, management and finance – than a structural approach, in which equity, quality and efficiency are valued as highly as the Constitution requires.

In fact, very little systematic research into juridical organization of Brazilian education has been carried by the legal system. In the juridical area there are no studies which would permit us to evaluate the impact of legislation on public policy in education; moreover, educational legislation is seen more as a branch of administrative right than as an area on its own, with its own structures and categories (Ranieri, 2000). In the area of education, studies have been showing that Law, in the education-society-state relationship, has been more often used as a means of formalization than as a rational instrument which could contribute to the attainment of educational targets (Cury, Horta and Favero, 1996). This situation has also made it easier for educational policy and practice to remain

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[15] This juridical regime, moreover, derives directly and principally from the Constitution and can be complemented by norms of administrative law, contrary to what is the case with other social rights, which are derived from basic administrative rights.

static under the control of Brazilian federalism, with deleterious effects for a more effective social participation.

Law is thus seen in its traditional liberal formulation (the juridical order is one in which the validity of norms is based on systematic, hierarchical structures, both logical and coherent, whose end is to promote safety and certainty) without guaranteeing, however, that these norms are functional. Neither is this approach conceived as a cultural expression which is derived from a particular society, that receives and sanctions material values from it and which, by fundamental right, act as juridical values which are secondary to the proper dynamic of the rule of law.

It is against this background that the subject of education as a right in a democratic, law-abbiding state acquires renewed political importance. It allows incursions into the territory of institutional processes designed to overcome differences and inequalities in the search for equity and equality under the law, by ensuring that the law is applied in specific cases, as well as into the challenges faced by the demands of modern Brazilian society. Bearing this in mind, it is worth remembering that the effectiveness of the right to education and its results benefit both the individual and society mutually.

The results of previous research[16] show that although as a rule in the juridical area, the right to education is not seen as a key feature of democracy. By ensuring its application through the jurisprudential process new ways are being established to strengthen the Democratic State of Law, by promoting the rights of citizens and encouraging popular involvement, which is especially important in a country where democratic institutions and the normative force of the constitution are not always seen by the average person in a favorable light. The conclusion is thus implicit that the mechanisms whereby the law protects social rights can be extremely effective in situations where public policy is derived directly from the Constitution.

It is also logical to conclude that by determining objectives, targets and priorities by reference to the Constitution, combined with a precise definition of competence, areas of responsibility and revenue of federal bodies, with provision for finance, medium term goals are achievable[17]. It is important to point out that as soon as they are juridically guaranteed, the norms of protection of social rights becomes firmly established. This means that, without the filter of efficiency provided by legislation, what it decides is in effect the same as obligations which are independently directly accessible to, and may be insisted on, by the individual in his/her private relations or with the State.

This being so, the main aim of this central part of the research will be to analyze promotional function[18] of Law in protecting and promoting the right to education. For this reason, studies of the

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[16] RANIERI, Nina – *A Democratic Law-based State is precondition for individuals to prepare themselves for citizenship by means of education*. This thesis was put forward as part of an application for a Chair at the Faculty of Law, University of São Paulo in November 2009.

[17] The situation is analogous to the right to healthcare, as in paragraph IV, art. 167 of the Federal Constitution, which includes public actions and services insofar as these are provided for by taxation, as in Constitutional Amendment no.42, 19.12.03).

[18] The study of the promotional function of Law, adopts the approach developed by Norberto Bobbio (1977). According to Bobbio, a promotional function is an action which the Law sets in motion by means of "positive

decisions of the Supreme Federal Tribunal and activity in the Legislature in proposing and passing laws concerning the right to education between 2000 and 2010 will form the central part of this study. We also aim to identify, in the period covered by the survey, how perception of the right to education translates in juridical terms as part of the "software" of a democracy. The decisions and votes cast by legislators, which reflect the degree of understanding by society of the guarantees and rights as laid down in the Constitution, offer a broad view of the development of how far the right to education has advanced, especially when we look at the discretionary powers of the legislators and public administrators in terms of public policy as required by the Constitution. As a corollary to this, they permit us to identify the juridical problems in implementing a program as envisaged in the Federal Constitution of 1988, in particular in the light of international agreements protecting the individual as embodied in the Brazilian Juridical System, although this is not the main focus of the investigation.

To achieve these results, the study will continue to systematize and analyze decisions made by the SFT from 2000 to the present. It will also systematize and analyze legislation presented during the same period in the National Congress and analyze debates, conditions of approval, sanctions and vetoes. In terms of methodology, the survey will follow the parameters established by Tomasevski (2001), which identify the legal obligations set down to promote, protect and guarantee the right to education in the different member states of the UN.

Evaluation of the consequences of the process of expansion of access to education in strengthening the democratic values of the population

In view of the recent development in education in the country, the case of Brazil is particularly interesting for those who wish to observe the relationship between education and democratic behavior. In recent decades, school attendance has undergone spectacular growth and has reached previously unknown levels at a pace not matched anywhere else in the world (Castro, 2007; Menezes Jr. 2007). The average length of time spent at school has risen considerably (Barro and Lee, 2000) but this has had a negative effect on the quality of education, defined in terms of retention of knowledge and development of cognitive capacities (Schwartzman, 2005; Castro 2009). This general picture leads one to wonder what effect on Brazilian political behavior this higher level of schooling may have had.

As suggested above, the presupposition that an increased level of education will lead to a sustained increase in knowledge about politics, participation, tolerance and support for democracy has been described as the "prevailing view" among academics (Nie, Junn and Stehlik-Barry, 1996: 97/98). Education has been described as a "universal solvent" in attempting to explain the its impact over different facets of political behavior (Converse, 1972). Following this argument, an increased level of schooling has been described as an essential precondition for democratic society (Lipset, 1959: 79) and "probably the most important" factor in creating an interest in politics (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944:

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sanctions" (called "incentives") whose aim is to promote desirable social action.   This concept of the function of law is new. Its effects on the Modern state are also new, as traditionally juridical orders have been seen from the point of view of their traditional function, which is purely "protective" and "repressive" or even as a measure of "social control".

42), maintaining support for democracy (Dahl, 1967: 316), as a crucial determining element in civic culture, capable of producing higher political standards (Almond and Verba, 1968: 315) , as a factor whose expansion in society renders "very likely" increased participation and attention to politics (Converse 1972; 324) or even as a direct spur to participation (Key, 1961: 329). Neither is there any shortage of writers in today's world, who specifically recommend expanding education as the main means of increase participation and defending democracy in Brazil and other countries (Almeida, 2007; Booth and Seligson, 2006; Evans and Rose, 2007).

The question is even more relevant if we consider that the conventional view – which supposes a direct link between level of education and support for democracy – is not uncontroversial. There is much empirical evidence which contradicts this assumption. As long ago as the late 1970s, Brody (1978) talked about what he described as the "riddle of participation": Indicators of political activism in the USA have shown a decline compared with previous decades, despite a considerable increase in material and cognitive resources – especially education – in the population as a whole. Nie, Junn and Stehlik-Barry (1996) showed that various aspects of participation and attention to politics in North America had either remained static or declined during the period 1972-1994. Delli Carpini and Keeler (1996) observed that knowledge about politics had not increased in the USA in the decades between 1950 and 1990, despite an increase in average levels of education. In an analysis of 94 countries Acemoglu et al. (2004) demonstrated that in countries where there had been an increase in educational levels between 1970 and 1995 there had not been any corresponding movement towards greater democracy as defined by Freedom House. In Brazil, Schlegel (2010) gathered evidence that increased educational levels had actually led to some reduction in participation and support for democracy in recent years.

Faced with this picture, this study has two main objectives: first, to describe and discuss the paradigms of public policy which guide the actions of sectors of the elite in matters relating to education and democratic behavior. As a result of the findings of Reis (2000), will these sectors understand that the low level of education in Brazil is the main obstacle to the advancement of democracy? And what kind of civil skills do they want Brazilian schools to teach?

The second, to determine what is the reward for Brazilian education in terms of its citizens' democratic behavior and to compare it over the 25 years we have had of democracy. Are schools changing citizens politically today in the same way that they did at the end of the 1980s, soon after redemocratization?

For both objectives we will use the data from the surveys already mentioned – one with members of the elite and the other with the population at large. It is our intention to use quantitative methods in handling this database and, whenever possible, compare the data with that obtained from previous surveys, following the example of national surveys into Political Culture and Democratization carried out in the 1980s and 1990s by the Center for Studies in Contemporary Culture – CEDEC and USP, coordinated by Prof. José Álvaro Moisés (the data currently form part of the databank administered by NUPPS). A longitudinal comparison of the data will help to interpret how the experience of democracy has affected the relationship between education and democratic politics.

Production of an analytic model to understand the process of differentiation between technological and further education

Educational data in Brazil in the last 15 years suggest that there are distortions in the system, but at the same time show that the results of policies of access and inclusion have been positive. The most serious distortion occurs in the growing disparity between chronological age and educational achievement, which has accompanied broadening of access. In secondary education, a rate of attendance over 80% could indicate that many students are stuck at this level. It is also possible, however, that some adults have been returning to school to study and have been placed in these grades. In higher education, between 2008 and 2009 there has been little change in the level of enrolment, with a minimal growth of 0.7%[19]. This figure is not surprising, as growth in enrolment has been falling since the millennium[20]. On the other hand the percentage of students overall who attend higher education is around 20% which represents a considerable expansion. Furthermore, between 2002 and 2009 according to a study carried out by Popular Data Institute using data from PNAD (National Research for Home Sampling) of IBGE, classes C and D already account for 72.4% of university students.

This data is indicative of some contradictory elements in Brazilian education. One factor worth emphasizing is the relevance and dynamism of some of processes which have been taking place in higher education. This phenomenon is not unique to Brazil. They reflect international trends which have been the subject of intense debate in international literature. In fact, up until the 1980s, almost all the literature which was discussing the impact of education on development, tended to emphasize the importance of investment in basic education, arguing that investments in higher education produced declining returns. As a result of this consensus, the World Bank, for example, recommended that developing countries should concentrate their resources on primary education (Psacharopoulos, 1985, 1988). During the 1990s a new literature which dealt with social capital, innovation and development began to contest this argument (Gibbons 1998, World Bank, 1996; Porter 1990 for example). In this new literature it was asserted that the expansion of higher education was the best way for developing countries to move forward as it created bases from which new skills, knowledge and competencies could develop, which would be needed to increase global productivity in the international technological market (Lundvall, 2000; Archibugi and Lundvall, 2001).

However, here as in other countries, the increase in the gross attendance level at higher education shows that there have been significant changes in the profile of the student body, which have created significant pressure on the differentiation and diversification of higher education (Sampaio, 2000; Durham, 2005) Following this trend, we have witnessed the rise of new kinds of institutions (private institutions for the elite, private universities with open capital, national educational

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[19] For the first time since 1993 there has been a fall in the number of students enrolling at private universities (-1.1%). In the public sector growth was 6.1%, which was insufficient to compensate for the decline in the private sector (Inep/MEC, Higher Education Sensus, 2009).

[20] During the period 2000-2006, rates of growth in enrolment in higher education have been falling back, between 2000 and 2002 growth was 34.4%, between 2002 and 2004, 22.9% and in the two years 2004-2006 only 16.1%.

institutions who are part of an international network, public universities which offer less competitive courses in areas of low income) and academic organizations (universities, university centers, isolated professional schools, etc), all of which have caused the system to become very diversified and even more complex in terms of administrative models, institutional profiles, academic hierarchies, innovation and use of new learning technology, forms of management, governance and academic quality etc. This phenomenon is not restricted to Brazil and is the subject of a vast international literature (See among others, Birnbaum, 1983; Clark, 1998, 2004; Brunner, 1993; Meek et al, 1996, Teichler, 2007). Likewise, professional technical training (or vocational training as it is referred to in a good part of the international literature) has also grown in relevance and importance and a wide range of different types of institution have sprung up, depending on the particular circumstances of different countries (Bosch and Caret, 2010).

In the Brazilian experience, the expansion, diversification and differentiation of these levels of education has resulted in growing complexity in the decision-making area of policies relating to this sector. This complexity is not only the result of the processes described above, but also of the presence of the new competitive dynamics within it. If, on the one hand, we can observe an increased dynamism brought about by the expansion of the market logic present in undergraduate education as well as graduate and post-graduate courses[21], on the other, the increased autonomy of local bodies, spurred on by the expansion of new regional actors, have produced new problems and introduced new perspectives which challenge the traditional uniform and centralized format of higher education policy in Brazil.

 The main aim of this part of the research is to gather together and analyze data available in different sources about higher education in Brazil which will allow us to produce an analytic model which will enable us to take account of the increasing complexity of the processes outlined above and to establish how these processes challenge the policies of Brazilian higher education.

In order to attain this objective, this part of the research concentrates on three different, but complementary initiatives:

> 1.	An analysis of statistical series from INEP/MEC which refer to the system of higher education in the period 2000-2010, seeking to draw up a map of the changes through which higher education institutions in Brazil have been undergoing[22]. This analysis is complementary to an examination of the statistical base which describes the profile of students in higher education (ENAD, PNAD etc) in terms of their origin, ethnic, socio-economic background and the way they fit into the system, taking into account the following variables: course and type of institution (university, university centers and isolated schools), administrative and geographic region, and programs.

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[21] The introduction of market logic into the higher education system is an international phenomenon which has been extensively analyzed in the literature for a summary of this topic, see Teixeira et al. 2004.

[22] This analysis expands the results of the research "Private higher education in Brazil: its recent evolution and future challenges", directed by Prof. Helena Sampaio, with the support of FAPESP.

The results of this analysis will be accompanied by a series of in-depth interviews with: Representatives of the principal organizations in private higher education (ABMES, ABRUC, SEMESP etc), political representatives connected with higher education at federal and state level and representatives of student and teaching bodies.

2. A detailed investigation into the interaction between the different sectors in higher education which form part of the regional availability of higher education in the State of São Paulo, exploring competitive dynamics and the extent to which different sectors interact producing formal and informal networks of collaboration which connect these institutions and complement each other[23]. During this stage of the research, the State of São Paulo will be taken as reference, This Federal Unit was chosen because of the wide range of type of institutions present within it. In São Paulo there are, at the same time, a large number of municipal institutions, a considerable network of state universities with a strong institutional research profile, an expanding network of state technological education, a significant cidade private sector and a growing federal presence in both the technological and higher education sector. To answer these questions, the research will analyze both quantitative data, provided by CEE-SP and MEC/INEP, and qualitative data, mostly public documents published by federal, state, municipal and private institutions..

3. Finally, the concluding part of the research will concern itself with the question of technological education, taking as reference the model adopted by the so-called "S-System". The focus of the study will be on SESI/SENAI and SESC/SENAC, São Paulo, as these are the largest and most significant regional departments in the sector. The study will concentrate on describing the effect this form of hybrid institution has had on the process of consolidation of citizenship in Brazil[24]. At present there is no data available about the effect of qualification and education on workers' skills and on what happened to the workers after they had passed through the trainings. In exploring these questions, the study will contribute to a better understanding of the process of devolution of the system in terms of broadening social rights. An examination of the documents – including legal statements – in the S- System and statistics about its functioning, as well as in-depth interviews with system managers at various levels, will form part of the data collected for analysis.

The results of these studies will be drawn together to produce an up-to-date picture of education policy in the last 25 years, with special emphasis on the dynamics present in higher and technological education in Brazil, both nationally and regionally. The analysis will gain a wider perspective by

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[23] This part of the research complements and expands the analyses carried out by Prof. Martha Lucchesi: In the research will be the Municipal Higher Education Institutions in the State of São Paulo, supported by FAPESP.

[24] This study will augment the preliminary results of a survey carried out in 2008, whose focus was the relationship between Social responsibility and the State of Social Well-being in Brazil and Norway (research done in partner ship with the Institute for Labour and Social Research - FAFO (Oslo, Norway). The research demonstrated that, as it was administered and financed by the private sector, the S-System helped to establish a hybrid model of a State of Social Well-being which reinforces focalization (to the detriment of universalization).

comparing the results with others produced by similar studies abroad. In order to achieve this goal, we propose to include the participation of a group of international collaborators, who will be asked to conduct similar studies analyzing experiences of similar subjects in their own countries. These studies will be incorporated into the research's analysis. The activities of these international groups will culminate in an international seminar at USP. The seminar will seek to explore these same dynamics in the experience of countries in Latin America, especially Chile, Mexico and Brazil, the USA, selected European countries, in particular UK, Germany, Finland, the Netherlands and Portugal, as well as India and China. The contacts NUPPS has already established with centers of research in different countries concerned with the subject of higher education should ensure the viability of this part of the project[25].

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[25] Specialists and/or centers for research with which NUPPS already has contact and who will take part in the seminar are: Chile: Professor Andrés Bernasconi and Prof. J. Brunner. Argentina: Prof. Anna Fanelli and Prof. Jorge Balan. USA: Prof. Philip G. Altbach, Institute for International Higher Education, Boston Higher. Mexico: Prof. Manoel Gil Anton and Prof.. Rocio Grediara. UK: Prof. Heather Eggins, Society for Research into Higher Education. Netherlands: Prof. Ben Jongbloed, CHEPS, Twente University. Germany: Prof. Ulrich Teichler, ICHER University of Kassel. Finland: Prof. Seppo Hölta and HEG, Tampere University . Portugal: Prof. Pedro Teixeira and CIPES, University of Porto. India: Prof. Pawan Agarwal and Prof. Kawita Sharma. China: Prof. Ka Ho Mok (University of Hong-Kong*)* and Xu Xiaozhou, University of ZheJiang.

B- Public Security Policy: representative institutions, the urban context and individuals

Research shows that the endemic proportion of the crime patterns is related to the economic difficulties of a significant part of the Brazilian population. (Olsen and Castro, Carvalho and Young, 2004) In addition to this, the presence of high crime rates is one of the reasons for internal social inequalities in many cities (Cano and Santos, 2001), likewise it is a factor in increasing social equalities which exist between Brazilian municipalities (Oliveira, 2009). The unequal distribution of public resources is strongly associated with this pattern of crime in urban areas (Marques, Gonçalves and Saraiva, 2005). This is truest when speaking of the young and may cause irreparable social and economic losses (Andrade and Lisboa, 2000). These factors are directly linked to the functioning of other social institutions. Nevertheless, aside from their social and human consequences, the failure to control criminal activity and acts of violence has a direct impact on the structure of the state (Hall and Taylor, 2003).

However, despite the deleterious social and political effects of this phenomenon, there has been little research into public security policies (Beato, 1999). This may be for the following reasons: i) ideological difficulty which intellectuals have in researching institutions which are responsible for controlling individual behavior; ii) an association of the police force with the non-democratic regime which ruled Brazil in the recent past (1964-1985); iii) unlawful and illegal behavior by the police even after the return to democracy; iv) social and racial selectivity by the police in carrying out illegal acts; v) the fact that some regard matters of public security as part of the question of Civil and Human Rights; and vi) researchers' unwillingness to enter into more technical discussions of methods of dealing with public security and control of criminal activity and violence.

The main subjects covered in work dealing with institutions which combat crime and violence are: i) the introduction of community policing, which has changed the thrust of traditional policing (Muniz and co-workers, 1997 and Mesquita, 1998); ii) criticism of traditional policing methods (Bretas, 1997); iii) theoretical and cognitive aspects of public security policy (Beato, 1999); and iv) situations where there has been abuse of human rights (Caldeira, 1999).

These studies contain many criticisms of policing methods used in Brazil, noting principally their unsuitability for the model of a democratic society. However, they have not put forward new theories which would assist the development of new public security policies.

Sometimes a narrow view of public security is taken, which involves only the police, whereas there are many other players in the equation, such as the community, the political, prison and judicial systems, and the media, all of which have an important part to play. There are many other problems too and all of the above has been a hindrance to any group of researchers willing to undertake research into this area.

The great majority of studies have dealt with the subject either as an example of the low quality of the Brazilian system of government or as the result of our social and cultural history. In short, there

has been very little discussion of the influence of the institutional and political framework in the quality of public service provided by the State in the control of crime.

It is proposed that the scope of institutional theory in putting forward a more complex approach to the role which political institutions play in formulating public policy should be broadened to include state action taken to control the actions of anti-social individuals.

In the context, we should be looking for answers to the following theoretical questions: What effect do representative institutions have on the formulation of public security policy? What is the importance of socio-urban structures on the quality of provision of public policy for controlling the actions of anti-social individuals? What does the general public think of public security policy?

In order to evaluate the impact of different approaches to public security policy in the context of crime and violence, we will look at the process whereby laws are formed and the way these policies are put into effect. All bodies below the national level, but principally, though not exclusively, the Brazilian states have constitutional autonomy when it comes to forming policies to deal with crime and violence. Their degree of efficiency and effectiveness varies considerably if we take into account recent criminal patterns in Brazil. Some states have succeeded in reducing crime figures significantly whereas others have seen an increase. One of the aims of this research is to discover what the political and institutional variables are which determine the success or otherwise of public policy.

The investigation will take place whilst trying to give sufficient weight to a considerable peculiarity in the public security system. Recent research has shown that a significant factor in the quality of public policy is the social and urban context within which it operates (Sampson, Morenoff and Gannon-Rowley, 2002). In other words, rather than just casual variables in the quality of service provided by the state, levels of social capital and the social organization of the population are key factors in determining what sort of policies are put into place and how far they reach. It is a further aim of this study to investigate the appropriateness of this theoretical premise.

Finally, public perception of the quality of systems of security is not only influenced by the quality of the service that the State provides, it is also a strong predictor of what form it takes (Reisig and Parks, 2000). The three specific objectives are directly correlated to the theoretic questions dealt with by the project as a whole: the responsiveness and accountability of the Brazilian political system as laid down in the 1988 Constitution. In other words, it is within the remit of this part of the project to investigate the degree of responsiveness in the system of public security and what impact vertical and horizontal accountability has on the quality of it functioning. To this end, our research proposes to construct a theoretical model which integrates different forms of institutionalism.

The theoretical model will be tested in a sample of cases in Brazil. Its geographical scope will cover four Brazilian states: São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and Espírito Santo. Both quantitative and qualitative information will be collected from all democratic governments in these sub-national units going back to the 1980s. These sample form will allow us to organize information about different public and institutional policy projects and their socio-urban contexts.

Quantitative data, which will support the project's process of empirical investigation, will be combined with that from both state and non-state organizations. Alongside the in-depth interviews

with those responsible for public security, they will constitute a source of primary project data. Partnership with the Center for Studies into Violence (NEV) will allow us to have access to a series of surveys on how the Brazilian population sees the public security system.

Qualitative data will be transformed into indicators of institutional prototypes of the system of public security and incorporated into regression models of structural equations, which will be the main analytic strategy for handling the empirical evidence in the study.

Discussion

One of the matters that requires attention is the lack of institutionalist literature on the subject of public security. Specialist literature indicates three distinct versions of social theories which seek to establish the causal mechanisms which link social institutions and individual behavior: i) historical institutionalism ii) rational institutionalism and iii) sociological institutionalism. Secondly, Hall and Taylor (2003) state that the premises of institutions under discussion use radically different methodological options and are exhaustive theoretical systems with almost no point of contact between them. Part of the reason for this is what Gorski (2004) has described as monotypic strategies of empirical verification of theoretical models. According to that author, Social Sciences tend to adopt methodological strategies in which proof of the central hypothesis implies the logical impossibility of other theoretical models. In this sense, even multi-varied theoretical models do not provide for a cross-theoretical approach when analyzed by traditional techniques of empirical research, as is the case with logical positivism. Variables added to multi-varied theoretical analyses are simply mediating factors which serve to control the exogenous dimensions of theories and do not construct alternative theories.

Giere (1997) proposes a redefinition of classical strategies which would allow hypotheses to be verified by means of simultaneous tests by a variety of theoretical models. According to this author, social theories should be confronted with cognitive maps of reality. That way, they would not be either true or false, but just more or less contingent with the social facts. The author is of the opinion that social researchers have not devoted sufficient attention to understanding the methodology of internal structures which are the basic components of groups of theoretical models.

Whatever the object of the research, the majority of investigations in the Social Sciences assume that the internal structures of theories, as well as hypotheses and premises, are formal components which have substantive content which does not form part of the epistemological area in which they were conceived. The origin of the analytical inefficiency of competing ideas in closely-related theoretical bodies, according to Giere, is to be found in the lack of attention by researchers to the ontological dimension of the relationship between them. According to the author, hypotheses and premises are cognitive entities which are subject to reification with a theoretical group. In brief, Giere proposes that theoretical groups should be mapped horizontally and that their basic internal structures should be ordered radially. Each group of technical model's structural premises should be placed at the center of methodological discussion and the hypotheses derived from those premises should have to face the test of empirical evidence from them to proven valid. Alternative premises should be added to the central nucleus until a map is formed that coincides with social reality.

This strategy would allow social theories to become more comprehensive and avoid the adoption of monotypic approaches to the relationship between theories. Giere's proposal to apply methodological cognitivism to institutional theory would bring significant gains. Shepsle (2006) believes that to integrate theory and methodology in the various institutionalist approaches would strengthen the features they have in common and thereby enable them to broaden their joint scope.

A typical example of such an attempt was made by Kreps (1997) while trying to establish the causal connections which determine interactions between macro-structural incentives and individual motivation. According to this writer, the rationale of the players depends on pre-existent individual values. The principal intellectual challenge of his work has been to model these interactions. Although Kreps's studies represented an advance, the author who made the most positive effort to integrate theoretical models was Thornberry (1987).

He is critical of social theories which direct their attention to one-directional structural causes of individual behavior in examining the dynamic relationships which occur in society. Instead he proposes a reformulation of the theoretical framework of the discipline, changing it from an analysis of structural variables or rational variables to the interaction between them. Thornberry's theoretical model assumes the existence of a recursiveness inherent in social processes, which works against the establishment of causal relationships. We should instead try to discover at what points social dimensions interact and not, as has been traditionally the case, try to establish the meaning of causal relationships. The main problem with Thornberry's interactional model is that it is not very firmly rooted. There are a lot of loose ends in its theoretical construction, which render the analysis somewhat fragile, quite the opposite of what happened in the case of Krebs.

Where this project is different is that it tries to establish on a solid footing a model which takes account of all the complexities that exist in the relationship between social institutions and individual behavior. The basic premise of the model proposed is that interactions between individual motivation, institutional design and ecological profile determine the quality of public security policy.

Building from the theoretical discussion we have formulated the following exploratory group of hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Individual behavior when criminal or violent is the result of an interaction between the return expected by individuals engaged in criminal or violent activity, the design of public security policy, in the form of extrinsic incentives to individuals' wishes, the socio-economic level of a geographical area, which may limit the opportunities for individuals to realize their wishes and the ecological profile of a social area, in which individuals establish their social relationships and institutions and individuals interact.

Hypothesis 2: The design of public policy is determined by the interaction between the ecological profile of a location, in which the policy is set, the socio-economic pattern of the geographic area, the characteristics of political institutions within which public policy is formulated and the previous expectations of the population.

Hypothesis 3: The evaluation of public security is directly influenced by the social/ environmental context of those who make it. Locations with high levels of crime and violence determine how people

view the way law is enforced independently of the design quality of public policy, the socio-economic characteristics of individuals and the State and their ecological profile.

These research hypotheses will be tested by means of a combination of methodologies which seek to contend with the several dimensions of the problem. Data from the National Survey of Home Sampling will be collected to measure the socio-economic dynamics of a district, level of employment, education, quality of life and ecological profile of an urban area. Historical research and interviews with those involved in the public security system will provide the basis for constructing objective indicators of the institutional design of public security systems and the relationship between those designs and other public policy systems (such as education, health, politics and the prison system). Criminal data will be collected alongside the state security systems which form the research sample. As we are aware of the problems inherent in dealing with this type of data, the DATASUS database will be used as a means of crosschecking the validity and reliability of criminal statistics on homicide. National databanks of public opinion will be constructed jointly in partnership with the Center for Studies into Violence/ NEV. This organization will also ensure that we have access to research already carried out by NEV in the last five years. Opinion polls associated with research already carried out by NUPPs, such as research into the patterns of crime in São Paulo (financed by the World Bank) and influenced by public security policies for the control of crime and violence in Rio de Janeiro (financed by the Brava foundation and Rio de Janeiro City Hall) will provide the primary data for understanding how the population at large regards public security policies.

C -Public Cultural Policy

Unlike education, whose importance to the public is widely recognized in Brazil, attention to culture has not received the same attention and the Brazilian political elite has not come to the same consensus about it. This is due to the fact that, despite the state having been active in the area of culture since the arrival of the Portuguese court in 1808 in the country, public cultural policy has not normally received the same systematic and continuous treatment as that given to health, security and education. The experience of recent democratic governments has been in effect that one of the main characteristics of the sector is that the continual arguments about resources and institutional structures that would ensure at least a minimal development of projects and programs are as a rule thought by administrators to be unpredictable and temporary.

Brazil is nevertheless a country of wide cultural diversity. The many different kinds of cultural manifestations which are the fundamental legacy of its roots in the past and their wide range of influences – deriving from the different ethnic groups which have made up the country since its foundation - have been part of the process of formation of the Brazilian nation state at all its most important moments. Brazilian culture, which is wide-ranging and has a large capacity for integration, is thus an important characteristic of a society is always looking for ways to express itself and construct its own identity. In this context, an important element of the recent democratic experience is the stimulus given by different governments to the process of identity building without imposing criteria that are excessively rigid. In an open society which is in a continual process of change as is the case in Brazil, the process of constructing identity has a very important role to play in broadening the

freedoms and equality which are necessary for the country to continue to advance, (Weffort and Souza, 1998).

This cultural diversity has been described and understood in different ways in Brazil. In describing different perceptions of "culture", Botelho (2001) made a distinction between culture on the daily level and what takes a more organized form, calling these two cultural dimensions "anthropological" and "sociological". In the first case the culture is produced by the social action of individuals, who elaborate and configure modes of thinking and feeling, construct values, shape identities and differences and establish routines. The sociological dimension itself, according to the author, refers to a diverse complex between professional, institutional, political and economic demands which if they are to happen, depend on institutions which stimulate the production, circulation and consumption of symbolic goods.

She also maintains that cultural policy on its own cannot affect everyday life and that in Brazil it has not seen sufficient articulation in the necessary spheres for it to have acquired effective policies. Comparing Brazilian cultural policy with that of the USA and France, Botelho affirms that in Brazil two types of basic investment for policies to work do not exist: the first of these, which she calls " strategy from the point of view of demand", the responsibility of those themselves interested in the policies, arises out of the organization and effective activity of society, by means of which what citizens are doing causes public authorities to become involved as a response to concrete questions; how the second investment operates, which is related to the cultural sector within the government apparatus, is less easy to define.

As it can be seen, the conceptual demarcation of what cultural policy is, is not obvious in itself, since it does not deal with linear demands or objective problems, which arise in a "natural" way and which clearly define their own limits in relation to other policies such as education, communication, urban policies, etc. For this reason it is essential to understand what these characteristics of cultural policy are, especially as it is very difficult to define clearly what "culture" is, especially as a reference in relation to what the exact limits of public policy are. It has to be noted the problems of defining these characteristics have not hindered finding solutions to the various current problems, nor have they impeded the formulation and implementation of government action in this area.

In this way, various ideologies and objectives in the public area have been living side by side, which have been united by thin lines which delineate the semantic field which is present in the word "culture", but are not yet sufficient to unify and articulate coherent programs of intervention and cultural management, with the result that many government actions have been fragmentary and sometimes contradictory (IPEA, 2007). Even against this background, cultural policy has a relevant role to play in fundamental areas such as preserving the nation's patrimony, arts education and dissemination and the economy.

All of this justifies including cultural policy within the research remit of this project. This is all the more relevant when we consider that, despite its importance, we know very little about how effective cultural policy is, a fact which tends to reinforce its relatively ephemeral nature and there have been very few studies which have taken a critical look at the way government gets involved in the area of management at either the federal, state or municipal level. If we analyze a study done by

Rubim (2007), which drew up a current bibliography of public policy towards culture in Brazil, it can be seen that reflections on these policies have been mainly historiographical, theoretical and normative, if not exclusively ideological.

Furthermore, some preliminary study initiatives indicate that there is still much to do in this field. A study commissioned from IPEA by the Ministry of Culture in the first decade of this century was effectively quite critical of cultural policy programs in the country. The IPEA study revealed that in 10 years (1995-2005) the direct federal administration had spent R$1,830,000 on cultural activities, 43.7% of total public resources earmarked for culture during the period. Meanwhile the indirect administration had spent R$2,300,000,000 (55.1% of the total).

Part of the resources made available by the Government came with tax incentives for cultural activities (tax exemptions). This practice, however, favored major urban centers like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, who, of the total amount of resources granted in 2003 (R$ 1.784.096.871), had 54.2% spent on projects involving artists from these two states (IPEA, 2007). This came in addition to the centralization of public cultural hardware in the same region, which acted to the detriment of municipalities in more far-flung areas of Brazil (IBID).

Even more important than this, however, is the fact that only 53 of all Brazilian municipalities possess all the traditional cultural, audiovisual and communications equipment (libraries, museums, theaters, orchestras and bands, cinema, AM and FM radio, TV and internet) all of these 53 are either state capitals or metropolitan regions, while 152 municipalities have none of the above.

Studies into the economics of culture have also shown that in 1992 5.1% of the population was formally employed in culture, which by 2001 had increased to 5.8%. Much of the economic activity therein, however, remains informal. Of all jobs in the cultural area in 1992, 31.9% were informal and this had increased to 38.7% in 2001 (1.6 million jobs) (IBID).

These preliminary observations, although fairly incomplete are sufficient to indicate that there are important questions which, from an administrative and objective standpoint, need to be answered concerning public cultural policy. What is the purpose of activity in the field of culture? How is its provision structured? And how do people gain access? What kind of policies are there? What kind of public is being addressed? And how much money is involved? Are there any ways of either internally, through the executive, or externally (legislatively or popularly) controlling how public policy is put into effect? How do people who benefit from those services regard them? And what model of management is being used to administer and put into effect cultural policies?

In order to find answers to these questions, the project adopts as its central strategy a comparison between the form of management of cultural policies adopted in the state of São Paulo and the background of models of cultural activity current at the federal level. From an institutional point of view, the strategy represents an extension of the research project now being developed at NUPPs, which is based on an agreement with the Secretary of State for Culture that it should evaluate the model of Social Organizations in São Paulo state. From the educational point of view, the aim is to increase the amount of knowledge available concerning cultural management at a level below the national - if information about the federal level during the democratic period is scarce (Moisés and

Sosnowski, 2001), imagine how little there is about states and municipalities. In addition, emphasis on the situation in São Paulo is justified because of the specific way culture is managed there, which allows us to evaluate innovations which could possibly be replicated in other places or at the federal level as part of a process of "policy learning".

The way the subject is handled at federal level has already been the subject of other studies and we will only supply a brief summary here. In the decades in which the State has been active in this area, there has been a wide range of efforts to set up public institutions to administer cultural policy in Brazil. The 1930s was a particularly important period, during which the National Cultural Council, the Historic Patrimony and National Artistic Service, the National Theater service, the National Book Institute, the Service for Broadcast Education and the National Institute for Educational Cinema were all established. Between the 1930s and the 60s there was great concern for the historic patrimony. In the decades between 1970 and 1990 a definition of a National Policy for Culture was created, through the National Cultural Council, an important stage in which was the formation in 1985 of the Ministry of Culture. During the government of Collor de Mello, however, the Ministry of Culture was reduced to a Secretariat of the President of the Republic and was not brought back until the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, when its financial mechanisms were strengthened and laws governing tax incentives were introduced (the Rouanet laws, nº 8.313/91 and Audiovisual, nº 8.685/93). During the two Lula governments channels whereby cultural minorities could express themselves were strengthened and the recognition of diversity became a guiding principle of the Ministry of Culture. (Miceli, 1984; Moisés and Botelho, 1997; Minc and IPEA, 2007; Rubim, 2007).

In the case of São Paulo, the main innovation has been the adoption of a mixed model, which includes a part played by social organizations (OS). Since 2005 the state of São Paulo has been using mixed management model for cultural policy. It has been governed by Law no. 846, which legislates for Social Organizations. These OSs concern themselves as much with the area of health and of culture, by means of special control mechanisms which govern their activities, as its functioning structure. The policies followed by Social Organizations are formulated by the State by means of *Management Contracts,* drawn up between the government and private organizations. It is possible for the same Social organization to have various Management Contracts and thus offer special public policies in the sector. A survey carried out in 2009 showed that the government of the state of São Paulo was involved with 18 Social Organizations at that time, with whom it was partner in the area of public cultural policy and it was running 24 Management Contracts (GESP/SEFAZ, 2009)[26].

Some studies on a management model based on Social Organizations consider that the way policies are put into effect is more efficient from the point of view of public spending (Ibanez, 2001; Carneiro JR, 2002; Guimarães, 2003, Pahim, 2009[27]. There is insufficient information to respond adequately to some important questions concerning responsiveness and accountability. For example, what rules are in place that govern the way OSs work in the state of São Paulo? Who is involved in them? Are the same personnel always involved on Management Councils of Cultural OSs? Which NGOs were designated Cultural OSs in São Paulo, and by what criteria were they chosen? What means are in

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[26] Data published on the Treasury website of the state of São Paulo contains information about the administration of the Secretary of State for Culture in São Paulo.

[27] All studies quoted deal with the management of policies in the field of health. At the moment there do not appear to be any studies on the area of cultural policy in the state of São Paulo.

place to oversee the functioning of OSs? Is there any correspondence between the government program as promulgated during electoral campaigns, actions undertaken by parties or coalitions which were voted on and the expectations of citizens in relation to cultural policies? How to both users and non-users evaluate state cultural policy?

This research will suggest that a public policy management model based on Social and Cultural Organizations has made the latter more efficient in terms of the way they handle budgets but has made it more difficult for them to be held accountable either vertically or horizontally by the government on these matters. From the point of view of democratic quality, this is a vital question. This a central feature of this section of the investigation and forms part of the core thrust of the project.

This research is novel in that it aims to analyze the role of the different results of OSs, not only from the standpoint of the efficiency and effectiveness of their economic model, but also from the point of view of the new relationship between State and civil society which implantation of this model seeks to achieve.

In practical terms, these are the questions we will be looking into:

- Has the ad hoc and top down management model of OSs made it more difficult to establish democratic means of control of the management of public cultural policies in the state of São Paulo?

- Does the effectiveness of meeting established targets laid down in *management contracts* between OSs and the government vary according to the strength of political will of its Deliberative Councils?

- Has the OS management model made it more difficult for governments internally to control cultural activities in São Paulo state?

- Has the OS management model made it more difficult for society to oversee cultural activities in São Paulo state?

- Does the OS management model, although it may have brought about greater efficiency in terms of public spending, allow citizens' expectations of policy in this area and the provision of public services to be taken into consideration?

Empirical data produced in this section of the project will have two main thrusts: specific groups of questions in a national survey, as previously described, about how the public in São Paulo and Brazil view the way culture is managed; analysis of the activities of Social Organizations in the state of São Paulo and in-depth interviews with those responsible for the running and management of public policy in São Paulo.

Institutions and Political Representation

The aim of this section is to evaluate the performance of Brazilian representative institutions to the quality of democracy. This evaluation has three analytical dimensions.

1- The performance of the National Congress in its specific function of legislating.

2- The fairness of representation, taken as an indicator of the quality of democracy the participation of women in political the legislature.

3- The effect of democratic models (consensual and majority) in supporting democratic institutions, especially political parties.

These three analytical dimensions will allow the quality of representation to be evaluated in a perspective that integrates the functioning of "coalitional presidentialism", the recruitment of women and the gender composition of political legislatures, and the existing link between those representing and those represented in the Brazilian National Congress and in political parties. The literature has dealt with these questions in separate forms: through institutionalist studies about the production of legislation, which have been concerned mainly with the question of governability and division of powers; through studies based on the critique of structures of inequality, which have an impact on political representation; and finally, through research into political culture, especially in relation to popular support for political institutions.

This section aims to construct a theoretical approach which will integrate the functioning and representativeness of the Brazilian legislature and the trust placed in it by citizens. It will also answer questions about its performance in terms of accountability and responsiveness. Its principal motivation will derive from the theory that stresses the demand for the quality in the functioning of institutions (Morlino, 2010). Its general hypothesis is that the Brazilian political system, under the aegis of "coalitional presidentialism", has striven for political stability at the expense of debate and the production of alternatives to the policies put forward by the executive. In this sense, not only has the legislative sphere abandoned its own agenda and passively accepted the one imposed on it, to quote Santos (2003), it has also insulated itself from the demands of voters, whose faith in parliament and political parties has been lost. "*Because parliamentary action is so limited, especially in terms of its horizontal accountability, the entire system has become less and less transparent and beyond the reach of citizens´ critical evaluation*" (Moisés, 2010)

The National Congress has been described as an institution in crisis. The criticism, which has been wide-ranging, goes beyond party fault lines, specific social groups and theoretical postures and ideologies. The population at large has little confidence in it overall, in the same way that it also mistrusts political parties (Latinobarometer, Moisés). There is a relative consensus among academics in the field that the functioning of the legislature, especially the institutions set up by the Constitution of 1988, has helped make the country more governable but at the cost of parliamentary action (Amorim,2006, Figueiredo and Limogi; Santos), and has weakened its function in the division of powers. Its agenda is imposed by the executive, which has become the country's principal legislator, and its ability to provide checks and balances to the government has been prejudiced by the majority coalition led by the President of the Republic.

At the same time, the Judiciary, especially the Supreme Federal Court (STF), has acquired greater legislative power by interpreting the Constitution in a concentrated form, thus competing with Congress representative function by including in its proceedings public audiences with members of civil society (Vieira, 1999; Vianna, Carvalho, Melo and Burgos, Taylor, 2007). The resulting picture is one of an institution under pressure from other powers in the Republic, which have gained strength from the Constitution, with the consequence that its most important functions, namely politically to represent society by bringing collective concerns to the fore in debates and public decisions, as well as acting in the role of holding government to account for its actions, have been compromised. In short, "*There has been a substantial loss of "political space" to the Legislature*." (Cardozo, 2009).

The current debate about the role of the Legislature in the Brazilian political system (Amorim Neto and Fabiano Santos, 2003) suggests that the overriding need for parliamentary support for the government coalition limits its ability to properly fulfill its functions. According to Figueiredo and Limongi (….)"the National Congress tied its own hands," when it accepted a form of institution which delegates both the initiative and the power to draw up an agenda to the executive. In this scenario, deputies have become more reactive and less pro-active and have restricted their proposals to a few areas of distributional, local and regional policy – all which are incapable of affecting the social and economic status of the country. On the other hand, some of the literature holds that the formation of a government majority in parliament has sometimes been achieved by means of patronage and distribution of favors, such as offering posts, advantages and sinecures. In sum, the diagnosis is of a parliament "bound and gagged", which is a clear contradiction to the constitutional parameters and procedures that should be present in the Brazilian system.

Members of the Congress, nonetheless, legislate. Between 1995 and 2010 federal deputies put forward no fewer than 25,208 proposed acts of legislation, and senators proposed 6,279, totaling 31,487 or around 1,968 per year. Data are from the General Secretary of the Chamber of Deputies (Folha de São Paulo newspaper; 20/12/2010, A12). As the National Congress approves on average 33 acts of legislation a year (Nunes, 2010) it can be seen that the overwhelming majority of this proposed legislation fails. It is reasonable to suppose that a considerable part of this mountain of projects concerns matters which representatives have a personal stake in.

Three questions arise out of this diagnostic sketch, which are central to this section of the investigation. They are detailed below.

1- The performance of the National Congress in its specific function of producing legislation.
The first question concerns institutional restrictions imposed on the actions of both Legislative Houses in respect of their most basic roles, namely to put forward and debate laws and exercise control over other powers, especially the executive. This is an area which has been extensively covered in the specialized literature since the pioneering work of Wanderley Guilherme dos Santos on the pre-1964 period (Crisis and Punishment, Santos 1981) and the debate initiated by Amorim (2006), followed by Limongi and Figueiredo (1999) and which quite a number of political scientists have been engaged in. The debate has been concentrated mainly around the conflict between two central concerns, representation and governability, both in the light of knowledge of the pre-1964 experience. It is centered on the thesis that the combination of presidentialism, multi-party representation by weak political parties, proportional representation and the relationship between powers that all have a veto will result in a weak presidency. Such constitutional ingredients would seem favorable to the emergence of political radicalism and possible paralysis of the decision making process.

It has been part of the tradition of Brazilian political science to focus on Congress. During the 1970s and 80s a series of studies looked at legislation passed during that period in order to find an institutional explanation for the 1964 crisis (Souza, 1976; Lima Junior, 1981; Carvalho, 1981; Santos, 1981). Initially this was an attempt to explain voters' growing disenchantment during the period, which was accompanied by the fragmentation and breakup of political parties. Parliamentary activity tended to become less consistent as "conservative" parties, which failed to form stable coalitions, became weaker, thus eroding the executive's political base. All this resulted in the decision making process becoming paralyzed. For Souza, the process would have responded to a strengthening of the party structure as it was changing in response to social change (the movement towards

cities, greater capitalism etc.) At the same time the State needed strengthening, in particular its administrative institutions. Another line of enquiry looked into the link between proportional representation and party fragmentation. In such a context, there arose, for the first time, the suggestion that proportional representation resulted in fragmentation, which in turn led to *the rise of a process of political/ ideological radicalization*, which brought with it government instability (Santos, 1981:260). It should be noted here that fragmentation ceases to be a problem in itself if the political system possesses mechanisms whereby a number of parties of different persuasions can become united. Like these studies, this project will also broaden the use of use important empirical methodologies : for example there will be analysis of the ways deputies have voted (see below).

We also take note of the criticisms directed at the presidential system by Linz (1990), in which the dual legitimacy of the President and of Congress, both deriving from the same source, the electoral system, although in different forms, will produce political radicalization and a confrontation between the two authorities. Mainwaring (1993), following suggestions by Shugart and Carey (1992), however, produced a synthesis of the two debates and pointed towards the negative consequences for political stability if there was a combined presidential and multipartite system. Among the many contributions to the discussion, some studies have shown that it is problematic to presuppose that presidential systems are more stable and that there is an inverse relationship between the number of effective parties and the longevity of a democracy (Cheibub, 2002); Chasquetti, 2003). It must be emphasized, however, that since then the debate has been marked by concern for governability and democratic stability, associated with demands for political reforms in a wide range of areas: The electoral system and the system of government; party rules like the "threshold clause" and party loyalty, a rebalancing of the division of powers [28]. As is frequently the case, however, debate has tended to oversimplify the relevant problems, leaving some more or less excluded. For example the question of the quality of a political system's functioning has been left aside in favor of its ability to produce stable government. Even Abranches (1988), who coined the term "coalition presidentialism", had fewer doubts about stability than the chance of governments being able to put together a coherent agenda which would accord with the Brazilian political model.

Figueiredo and Limongi, in an important series of empirical studies, demonstrated the fallacy of arguments which tended to assert that political stability was incompatible with presidential party pluralism in post-1988 Brazil. "*Coalition presidentialism is not such a big deal." The Brazilian political system makes decisions using much the same sort of logic as other political systems"* (Limongi, 2006:256). The problems of decision making

paralysis were to have been dealt with by the 1988 Constitution picking up a number of "leftovers" from its forerunner of 1967, mainly in terms of the executive's exclusive prerogative to initiate legislation and the ability to rule by presidential decree, by means of "provisional measures", both of which gave the executive great power to set the agenda. On the other hand, legislative activity was set on a new path following substantive changes in the Order of the Chamber and the senate, which strengthened the role of political parties. The result has been that Brazilian presidents have many institutional resources which enable them to govern, as long as they are willing to do so through coalitions in Congress and can guarantee the political loyalty of disciplined and cohesive parties in the legislature by providing government incentives. The core of the answer to questions about the stability of multi-party presidential government in Brazil, however, goes back to the choices of institution made at the time the Constitution was drawn up in 1988 and those relevant to the way the legislature functions, whose virtues were designed to resolve the difficulties inherent in previous democratic governments . According to Santos' (1981) original thesis, the danger of political radicalization will have been removed by providing control and co-ordination mechanisms of political parties in the Congress, namely the power to control the agenda and patronage. More recently authors have broadedened their conclusions by re-evaluating the role of parliamentary groupings in the formation of governments. A presidential agenda would therefore be the result of interaction between the Executive and the Legislature and the parties forming a coalition would carry out noy only executive functions in terms of ministerial composition but in the day-today business of the Congress (Figueiredo and Limongi, 2008). However, these conclusions, though well founded, fail to explain why Brazilian society continues to be dissatisfied with the legislature, including the deputies who are members of it.

The paper "Crisis in the Congress" by the Institute of Advanced Studies of São Paulo University (2009), which includes articles by specialists and parliamentarians, brings together some aspects important in this project. According to a number of analyses, the effect of the "crisis" is upon the concept of political representation itself, not merely parliament as an institution. It has caused a gulf to emerge between politicians and society, which Nogueira (2009) thinks may even cause a complete rupture or split. "Society is beginning to think it can carry on without an active political system." It is not surprising therefore that research into political culture is finding that a significant number of people prefer democracy without political parties or even parliament. At any rate there is a general feeling that parliamentary activity is irrelevant. There is no shortage of those who say that the "real politics" takes place outside Congress, whose principal concern seems to be to protect the interests of the "political class", at the cost of other minor interests. It is particularly significant that even some

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[28] A summary of the different reformist lines may be found in Avritzer and Anastasia (2006).

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elected members share this view (see statements made for the paper in *Advanced Studies* and Folha de São Paulo newspaper, 3/04/2010, A10).

It is intended that this project should be a continuation and amplification of that undertaken by NUPPs between 2009 and 2010, "The National Congress in the context of Coalition Presidentialism", the product of which was discussed at a national seminar held in partnership with the Institute for Advanced Studies – IEA and the publication of an online book soon to be available on the NUPPs website and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, which gave its financial support to the project.

The specific aim of this section is to carry out research into the National Congress through an empirical analysis of its last four complete legislative sessions (1995-2010), considering its functions in respect of its control of other authorities, especially the executive and the extent to which it remains properly representative. The central issue is to enquire into the connection between how Congress acts and how this parliamentary action is seen by those it represents. It is a question therefore of enquiring how effective representative institutions are and comparing this with how responsible and responsive parliament is. The following questions will act as guides to this part of the project:

i. given that many parliamentary initiatives never see the light of day, what is the thinking behind the way they are drawn up?

ii. what consensus-forming mechanisms exist to support initiatives by disenfranchised individuals?

iii. what is the role of political parties in drawing up and supporting these initiatives? Is this legislative production subject to party discipline?

iv. to what extent does "coalition presidentialism" inhibit parliament's ability to debate and articulate individual initiatives?

These questions will be looked into through study of proposed parliamentary legislation; the nominal voting of both federal, legislative Houses ; legislative decrees and the functioning of permanent commissions. We also intend to analyze parliament's performance in relation to external policy and security. To this end

i. the database of nominal voting in the Chamber of Deputies and the research "The National Congress in the context of coalition presidentialism will be complemented by information on parliamentary initiatives which have not been voted on and data about legislative decrees;

ii. a series of interviews with deputies, parliamentary assessors and legislative technicians will be held

iii. a map will be made of the functioning and performance of permanent commissions of both Houses of Congress, by means of interviews and an examination of existing statistics.

iv. a subgroup of projected legislation which is submitted regularly will be drawn up, according to the subjects that they deal with as described in the press, so that a comparison may be made with what generally happens in the case of projected legislature which does proceed to a vote.

2 - The fairness of representation, taken as an indicator of the quality of democracy the participation of women in the political legislature.

This second question refers to legislative recruitment and representation. A key aspect in the development of contemporary political systems is its degree of inclusiveness, that is, the extent to which political rights are guaranteed to all citizens. Modern democratic theory is unanimous in granting this aspect a primary role. However, the question of basic political rights is twofold, involving both the right to vote and the right to run as candidate. Although this is not a straightforward debate, the extension of the suffrage has allowed us to observe situations in which it has become less easy for "oligarchies" to monopolize representation. Analytically it is necessary to distinguish between an extension of the right to vote and the composition of bodies of political representatives and public administrators. Thus, for a state to be described as democratic it would first need to show that the great majority are able to exercise their right to vote without fear or favor, and then that the proportions of those elected was truly representative of the diversity of its electorate. In his book "Who governs?" Dahl (1961) investigated this situation empirically. He has shown in it that the democratic belief that single individuals can have an influence on political life only applies if the representative system is functioning properly. Elections, in particular those which have a representative nature, alter the social makeup of political elites, but widening democracy implies in providing conditions for the political representation of different social sectors.

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Even if social stratification and the class system have gradually loosened their hold on restrictions to individual access to positions of responsibility and power, there will still be some sectors of society that will find difficulty in being represented. Women have been among the last sectors of society to gain full political rights and, even in some of the most advanced democracies, the rate at which they have achieved representative status has been far below that which their numbers in the population would merit. Lijphart (2003) has considered the rate of women´s representation in parliament as an indicator of the quality of a democracy. Judged by such a yardstick, women in Brazil lag behind the rest of the world with only 8.8% in the national legislative chamber, as opposed to a world average of 19.4%. In Latin America Brazil's position is next to last. There are many factors to explain this situation, in particular cultural and socio-economic, and institutional ones (Matland, 2003; Sacchet, 2008). Although there are no real barriers in Brazil to prevent women from standing for election or being elected, on the contrary, current quotas legislation is supposed to encourage a greater numbers of female candidates, in reality however, few women are selected by political parties and even fewer succeed electorally. The question of more women being encouraged to stand for election, being selected by political parties, and having conditions of winning elections is a key issue as far as quality of democracy is concerned, and will give the lead to a deepening of the study and empirical research already being done by NUPPs for Teresa Sacchet,.

This part of the research has two main objectives: The first is to establish how candidates are recruited and selected by the main Brazilian political parties, and to what extent this done by more or less inclusive means. Also, is there a relation between the level of inclusion in the decision making process and the number of women chosen by the parties? In the relation to this aim there are two main questions:

How is recruitment and selection of party candidates carried out? To what extent are members and party leaders involved in the process? Does the party's internal level of democracy have an effect on the likelihood of women being chosen as candidates? How much difference is there between the parties studied?

The second objective is to understand the part played by the political parties in the candidate's campaign. Our research will analyze how parties act in relation to the candidatures of both men and women and what effect this has, focusing specifically on electoral financing. How is party support for candidates established? How are political and financial resources distributed by parties between men and women? Are the parties any different in this respect? If so, what causes the difference?

The main source for this study will be data from the Superior Electoral Tribunals including: i. the number of women selected as candidates and the number elected since 1994; ii. the distribution of financial resources between male and female candidates in two national and two municipal proportional elections since 2004. Data will be selected from the eight largest parties represented in the Chamber of Deputies; iii. Interviews with party leaders about how candidates are selected.

3 - The effect of democratic models (consensual and majority) in supporting democratic institutions, especially political parties.

Last but not least, there is the question of popular legitimization of institutions. Research in to political culture has reiterated the low level of confidence among Brazilians in democratic institutions (Moisés, 2005; Moisés e Carneiro, 2008), especially political parties and the National Congress. Data from the Latinobarometer in 2002 have shown that no fewer than 41% of citizens believe that democracy could function without political parties; 38% even believe that a national legislature is not necessary. These are extremely low levels of confidence, even when compared to other Latin American countries, where the level is considerably lower than in the "older" democracies. Thus, if we look at their performance, "*the evolution of many kinds of western industrialized democracies continues to be uncertain in the short term*" (Lagos, 2005). In fact support for political parties has been declining worldwide, even in the cases of established democracies (Dalton, 1999; Dalton and Wattenberg, 2002; Dalton and Weldon, 2007), as well as the level of trust in representative institutions (Norris, 1999). The literature also associates the phenomenon to the emergence of post-materialist values in economically more developed societies, which may not be properly represented in the traditional channels of political debate. But even though this new tendency might affect the confidence of Brazilians to some extent, there is a huge gulf between Brazil and established democracies. In the latter, the trend is for forms of participation to come into being, whereas here mistrust is associated with cynicism and lack of interest in politics (Moisés, 2008). What the data is revealing is that there extensive layers of society, which under certain conditions, might support outsider leaders or anti-system movements, which would destabilize democratic institutions.

As we have already seen, the stability of Brazilian institutions would depend on radical movements failing to emerge, in other words, a low level of party polarization. If the party system became fragmented and had only shallow roots in society, even if stable coalitions did form under specific institutional conditions, this might not be enough of a guarantee in highly polarized situations (Nunes, 2010). In effect, in a democracy parties would not only have to channel the demands of their own supporters, but to a certain extent, hold them in check. For

this reason, in a fragile party system citizens might not be fully informed by parties of how they operated this function. Part of the recent literature (Anderson and Lo Tiempo, 2002; Norris, 1999) has suggested an indicator which might serve as a proxy for measuring how polarized a given system was becoming. The difference might be measured between the satisfaction and confidence in institutions of the "winners" and "losers" in general elections, Respectively the electors who had voted for a winning candidate as opposed to those who had chosen one who was defeated. It would be expected that these "winners" would show higher levels of support for institutions, but the difference between the two groups might be less if the "losers" felt their voice could still be heard after an election. This study approach has not yet been tried in Brazil and this project proposes to attempt it.

As well as voters' behavior and its effect on support for institutions and elected authorities, the literature has also concerned itself with understanding how the manner in which an institution is organized affects the way it is seen and what values and attitudes citizens have towards it (Anderson and Guilory, 1997; Norris 1999). General where an attempt is made to maximize consensus and increase the number of "winners" in a political system, higher levels of confidence tend to produced than when they simply take care of the majority. Equally federalism, which provides a greater number of arenas and the system of proportional representation, which gives a voice to minorities, tend to increase levels of confidence. Comparative studies have generally supported the thesis that consensual democracies have a more balanced evaluative distribution between these two groups of electors. We need to have a better understanding, however, of what effect these factors have on the stability of Brazilian democracy and this indicates the need for further comparative study of these questions, which we in this project intend to do.

In this present study we intend to compare the institutional dimension with that of political culture. In particular it is proposed to analyze how perceptions of representative political institutions are affected by the current democratic model in the country. In the view of Norris (1999) consensual institutional models have a direct effect on the way voters view their own political institutions. Following this approach, our research will evaluate what effect a consensual model has in increasing the number of "winners" in a political system and test what influence it has on support for representative institutions.

Of the representative political institutions studied emphasis will be placed on political parties because of the central role they have traditionally had in fulfilling this function and channeling political demands since the early stages of democracy in the 19th century (Sartori, 1976). Although many studies have produced evidence from around the globe of the weakening of political parties in relation to previous decades, it would be quite

wrong to say their function within democratic systems of governments was beginning to decline. In this sense, knowledge of the pattern of support for political parties in Brazil, taken here as a proxy of support for representative political institutions in general, will show light on an important aspect of the way representative democracy works here. Two hypotheses will be tested:

1. If we consider groups of electors as individuals, it is to be assumed that the "winners" i.e. those who voted for and support parties which form the winning coalition and who support the President) will tend to show more support for representative institutions than the "losers".
2. Considering the effect of institutions on individual behavior, in a dynamic system it would be expected that there would be differences between levels of support for representative institutions in democracies where there was a consensual approach, as opposed to those who simply took care of the majority. It is to be supposed that consensual models would produce lower levels of support for representative institutions than majority models.

The main source of data to test Hypothesis 1 will be from research databases drawn up in Brazil, especially that carried out by NUPPs in 2006, "Citizen's mistrust in Democratic Institutions" and those performed by José Álvaro Moisés between 1989 and 1993. For the comparative study of models of democracy the following sources will be used: i. the four most recent results of the "World Values Survey" (2005 to 2008); ii. the eight versions of the "Latinobarometer" in 16 Latin American countries from 1996 to 2004); iii. data from "America's Barometer (undertaken between 2004 and 2008 in 20 countries throughout the continent).

CIVIL SOCIETY AND POLITICAL CULTURE

Since the middle of the 1980s Brazil has been undergoing profound structural changes associated with the processes of democratization, consolidation and strengthening of the democratic system of government in the country. In this context new ways are needed of analyzing the State's actions in relation, on the one hand, to formulation and implementation of public policy, and on the other, to its interaction with civil society.

A number of studies have pointed to the fact that Brazilian political culture has changed due mainly to four factors: i) the struggle against the political and legal constraints imposed on political activity during the period of dictatorship, linked with State intervention into bodies of civil society, which drew attention to the virtues of democracy; ii) during the period of dictatorship the political elite

devised a semi-competitive political system, in which elections were held periodically, which caused considerable dissidence between society and the regime; iii) the start of political liberalization coincided with both internal and external economic crises (1972-73) which increased dissatisfaction among social groups, especially the business community; and iv) almost four decades of social and economic modernization have altered the macro morphology of Brazilian society, increasing the division of work, concentrating the population in metropolitan areas, increasing its significance and creating the basis of intense socio-political mobilization (Moisés, 1995).

The 1988 Brazilian Constitution created new norms for the relationship between the State and society, raising questions of participation and decentralization in a number of areas of social policy, for example social security, education, housing, urban planning, transport and health. This new institutional configuration opened up the debate about whether administrative decentralization and popular participation would play an important role in the search for greater government accountability and responsiveness.

The implementation of new participatory governance institutions created areas indirectly linked to the state in the processes of formulation and management of public policy. Insofar as these areas are decision-making areas, which go beyond the control of public activities which is their legitimate concern, participation in these forums can have an influence on those who are involved with them, since processes of decision-making and participation involve an attempt to establish a discursive consensus between the different individuals and groups who are part of the debate (Abers, 2001; Romão Netto, 2006). Thus it is that elements which make up the social order are built out of shared meanings, enabling the standpoint and opinion of those involved to change (Habermas, 1987; 1995). It is reasonable to suppose the that these processes are favorable to the individuals involved in them changing the political culture, in the sense that they will become more tolerant of differences, more trusting of institutions, democratic processes and people in general, and therefore will contribute to the formation of governments that are more responsive and accountable.

Then the aim of this thematic area is to investigate the output created by these para-governmental entities, as well as the political culture of Brazilians in relation to the various ways they perceive, participate and are included in important aspects of national life, such as government, public authorities and, most of all, democratic institutions [29].

Almond and Verba (1963) studied people's political orientation together with their attitude towards the political system and its institutions and how the political system is cognitively internalized and learnt in terms of their feelings and evaluations. The political culture of any nation therefore may be observed by means of models of political orientation of all the persons in a given country. In the tradition of studies of political culture, what is significant is whether individuals' evaluative

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[29] For the purposes of this project by "democratic institutions" should be understood not only citizens' own political communities to which they belong, but also the National Congress and local parliaments, political parties, organs of executive power such as the Presidency of the Republic and ministries, agencies of social service (schools, police, public health etc), the Supreme Federal Court and other courts and so forth.

orientations are congruent with the structure of the political regime in power or not, something which develops as part of the process of primary socialization, but can change with people's political experience and thus have an influence on the political regime.

Studies about the relationship between values and democracy have shown that the political culture approach does not minimize necessarily or ignore the role played by institutions which involve popular participation in the process of formulation of citizens' orientations and beliefs in respect of the world of politics. Although individuals' cultural orientations are long-lasting, this does not mean they cannot change, whether by their own capacity to do so and/or by processes of economic modernization, or through the way citizens relate to public institutions which have an influence on their relationships with the democratic form of government (Inglehart e Welzel, 2005).

For this reason, citizens' relationships with public institutions in post-1988 Brazilian Constitution need to be carefully studied, as this Constitution has created hybrid areas in the space between the State and society, namely extra-parliamentary arenas whose purpose is to help people formulate and oversee public policy, an example of this being the Management Councils. Together with the experience of Participative Budgets (OPs), new forms of democratization are being considered in the public sphere, which may offer the possibility of citizens participating in the formulation of public policy (Santos, 2003). The creation of these arenas is the result of mobilization of social movements and the Sate opening up to the presence of citizens, who since resisting the military regime have been demanding that greater attention be paid to their basic wishes and desire to participate in government decisions.

In effect the 1988 Constitution in its provision for Health (Article 198) and Social Security (Article 204) does allow for ordinary citizens to participate in the formulation and control of public policy. Popular participation on Councils is also envisaged in federal laws operative in specific areas: namely the Administrative Law on Social Security (LOAS, Law nº 8.742, of 7/12/93) and the Law permitting community participation in the management of the Health Service (SUS) (Law nº 8.142, of 28/12/90)[30]. Other institutions are also called Councils, but they differ from Management Councils in not being deliberative. For example the Program Council has an executive function linked to government programs. This is also the case with the Tutelary Councils, whose role is to consider the violation of the rights of children and adolescents by responsible bodies. There are also the Councils of Notables, which are made up exclusively of specialists who can advise the government when called upon to do so and Subject Councils, who formulate proposals for public policy but have no power of decision. Included in this last type of Council are Municipal Councils for Womens' Rights, Tourism, Defense of the Consumer and others. There are also other discussion arenas for public policy, such as Participative Budgets and thematic Forums (Perez, 2010).

In analyzing co-managed institutions we have laid emphasis on theories which defend the right of citizens and civil society to participate in public decision making as a means whereby participative democracy may be strengthened. This would allow groups who have found it difficult to enter the decision making process to express themselves and influence public decisions. In order to exercise

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[30] The aforementioned Management Councils for Public Policy are also known as Deliberative Councils, Councils of rights, Sector Councils, Areas for Discussion, and Participatory Governance Institutions. Their main feature is to deliberate about public policy.

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control of government action, the Management Councils should also be able to educate citizens about ways to get involved in the complex structures of democratic government as a whole (Tatagiba, 2002; Labra; Aubyn de Figueiredo, 2002; Gohn, 2003; Santos Junior *et al.*, 2004; Romão Netto, 2006).

The structure of councils presupposes that both civil society and representatives of the State will be able to participate on an equal footing which, from a pluralistic point of view, implies that in general all players involved will have the opportunity to discuss and/or be consulted about the directives and criteria of respective policies. Consequently, political results will involve mediating between different expectations, including the desire of public administrators and their bureaucracy, which to some extent are representatives of the people, to fight for resources which by very definition are often scarce. These dynamics of conflict and negotiation, associated with the involvement of many different areas of society, is fundamental for democracy as a guarantee that its plurality and freedom will be respected (Dahl, 1956; 1971).

Next to the rule of law, the guarantee of civil and political rights and the good functioning of mechanisms of vertical and horizontal accountability – which are responsible for assuring the concerning conditions for the quality of democracy (Diamond and Morlino, 2005) -, democratic institutions have a vital role, as it is through them that citizens' interests, preferences and aspirations can be transformed into public policy. For this to come into effect, their confidence in the norms, mechanisms and institutional procedures which are relate to their equality before the law and their right to transform demands into public policy, is essential (Warren, 1999).

With this in mind, NUPPs recently carried out a broad survey of citizens' mistrust in democratic institutions[31]. Considered as a phenomenon which depends on the social and political context and takes into account the risks which arise from expectations created by the behavior of whoever is involved in the interaction, confidence was the key focus of the research. This would be the result of, among other things, the institutional norms and dispositions by means of which fundamental responsibilities are respected by governments, parties and State bureaucracies. If these institutions fall prematurely into disrepute, as people no longer trust them either in the way they function or the results they achieve (Moisés, 2010), even though this would not necessarily compromise the short term legitimacy of the democratic form of government, it might progressively erode citizens' confidence in democracy as the best way to deal with collective problems and difficulties (Morlino, 2010).

The results of this survey show that Brazil faces a paradox. Although normative support for democracy is growing, there is widespread and considerable mistrust of democratic institutions among almost all sections of society. All main public institutions are affected, including parliament and political parties (Moisés, 2010). This phenomenon needs to be better understood, especially the effect of citizens' attitudes, opinions and intersubjective opinions in relation to the current democratic system in Brazil, as well as their evaluation of the output of the current political system, including data from previous years, which correspond to the initial and subsequent phases of

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[31] This survey was the result of a Project on the subject by FAPESP, entitled. "Citizen's Mistrust in Democratic Institutions". For its findings see MOISÉS, J.A. (edt) Democracy and Confidence: Why do citizens mistrust public institutions? São Paulo, EDUSP. 2010.

democratic consolidation. These need to be compared with current public perceptions, in other words from the period in which governments of different political persuasions began to hold sway, although, as pointed out in the introduction to this project, there has actually been some continuity and convergence of public policy between governments.

To this end, and jointly with other areas of research, specific questions will also be asked in the area of civil society and political culture in the national survey of public opinion which will be carried out as part of this project. We will also evaluate Management Councils, specifically the case of the Tutelary Council of São Paulo, with the aim of discovering who participates in this body; what rules does it follow; who influences the organization; is there a political relationship with formal democratic representative bodies such as political parties or federal deputies; is there any conflict between state and civil members, and if so, what are they and how are they handled; and is the Council effective in dealing with citizens' expectations?

The survey's independent variables will involve questions about how citizens view the ability of democratic institutions to solve social problems which they regard as urgent, for example: i) guarantee of access of individuals and groups represented by government bodies to fundamental public services; ii) the ability to distribute material goods and public benefits to citizens; iii) how widely are symbolic goods which sustain the political system available; iv) the performance of representative institutions, such as political parties, Congress and those with independent representation such as Councils (McDonough, Moisés e Shin, 1992; Moisés, 1995; Fuchs, 1995)[32]. Methodological procedures will involve different but complementary stages: On the one hand, an elaboration of causal models of the quality of democracy based on variables recently used in international research, such as the *Latinobarometer,* of the *World Values Survey,* of LAPOP, and NUPPs/USP, on the other, in-depth interviews with the political elite and unelected representatives who are players in some of the hybrid areas between the Sate and civil society in Brazil. There will be descriptive statistical analyses (coefficients of association, comparison of averages etc) and an OLS regression model will be constructed for continuous data, logistical regression models for dummy variables and multivariate regression models for more complex data. More consistent longitudinal analyses will be performed as it is proposed to compare the results of this research with others already mentioned from the 1980s and the 1990s (Moisés 1995; 2008; 2010).

PART III

PROPOSED PROJECT PRODUCTS

It is planned that the present research project will produce, in its different areas, fifty-seven (57) products related to the general aim of disseminating knowledge and broadening the terms of

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[32] Bodies indirectly linked to the State in Brazil are not necessarily the product of an electoral process, for which reason they have sometimes been referred to as "non-electoral representation" (Castiglione; Warren, 2006), "self-authorizing representation" (Houtzager; Castello, 2006) or "presumptive representation" (Lavalle; Houtzager; Castello, 2006).

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intellectual debate among Brazilian and international specialists – and the public at large – about how the democratic system of government in Brazil has performed during its twenty five years. Here follows a more detailed list of products and their objectives:

- **To make a contribution to changing the current level of methodological production and the substance of knowledge** in Brazilian Social Sciences, thereby giving force to the new approaches made by USP in this area.**;**
- **To strengthen the role played by NUPPs in the international research field** by forming partnerships and holding international events (seminars), producing books and articles in both Brazilian and international publications and revamping the organization website.
- **To strengthen the position of NUPPs as a source for consultation and reference** concerning major research topics by making a database available to both academics and the general public, which would facilitate new research and approaches which could contribute to an improvement in the performance of those responsible for formulating and implementing public policy in Brazil, as well as those responsible for government and parliamentary bodies and relations between the State and civil society.

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FIGURE 1 – PRODUCTS OF SUBJECT AREAS AND AREAS OF RESEARCH

Product Area	Public policies			Institutions	Society and Political Culture	Joint products	Total
	Education	Security/Crime	Cultural policy				
Article*	6	2	2	10	3	-	22
Book	3	2	1	3	1	-	10
National seminar /workshop	-	1	1	3	1	-	6
International seminar	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
Databases	2	2	1	1		1	7
Educational video	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Public policy forum				-	-	3	3
Restructuring of the NUPPs website				-		1	1
Total	12	8	6	18	6	7	57

* To be published in indexed magazines, both nationally and internationally.

BRIEF DESCRIPTION

A. PUBLIC POLICY

1. EDUCATION

Initiatives in the area involve the organization of a specific **Database** containing the results of the survey with sector elites and broadening and consolidating the **Database** on higher education which already exists in the Center (see the initial information concerning the project).

An international seminar aimed at encouraging discussion and production of material in the field of international debate.

2. SECURITY AND CRIME

Articles - Two articles: one will be concerned with aspects of methodology; the other substantive based on the empirical data.

Book – One will be dedicated to analysis of the survey results and the other will offer a comparative overview of questions of crime and public security in the light of the experience of other Latin American countries.

Databases – Two will be created: one will use the results of the survey of the general public, the other will contain information about specific initiatives in public policy in the field, at both federal and state level, in recent years.

3. CULTURAL POLICY

Articles – Two articles will present results in the area, based on the gathering of empirical results. They will also contain a description of how efficient and effective cultural policy is nationally (financial and management models, a summary of resources allocated, the number of assets and cultural services on offer and geographical distribution of policies throughout Brazil), as well as evaluations of the management model of cultural policy within the ambit of Social Organizations in the state of São Paulo (the accountability of state cultural policy based on the management models of Social Organizations).

Book – The book will present the results of the analysis carried out among the general public about their perception of cultural policy in Brazil and an evaluation of cultural policies in the state of São Paulo, specifically the management model in areas covered by Social Organizations.

National workshop - the aim will be to bring those responsible for managing cultural policy in Brazil and researchers in the area closer together and thereby encourage debate about how cultural policy is managed in Brazil. It is hoped that the event will result in proposals for the flow, processing and organization of data which would result in improvements in the way policies are managed in the area and generate new information about the policy model used in São Paulo and Brazil. This workshop will be organized in partnership with Secretary for Culture of São Paulo state and the Institute for Advanced Studies of the University of São Paulo.

An International Seminar – this will be concerned with recent movements in cultural policies and seek to compare a variety of management and financial models, especially, those administered directly (as for example in the French model), hybrid models which involve both the State an civil society (such as in Brazil and the United Kingdom), and private finance models (as in USA). This will also be organized in partnership with same aforementioned bodies.

Database – this will be created using information about finance, provision of cultural services and assets and management models. The database, which may be used for research activities, will be available to students, researchers, and professionals in the field, as well as serving as a basis for new research and for teaching purposes on graduate and post-graduate courses. It is also envisaged that it would be available to those embarking on scientific research and those on master's and doctoral scholarships.

2. INSTITUTIONS OF REPRESENTATION

Articles – There will be six articles which will present the results of the survey in the following areas: the production of legislation by federal deputies; the quality of representation observed in legislative projects which do not proceed to a formal vote; initiatives of deputies in the areas of public society and control of crime and external policy; recruitment of members to the National Congress, especially the number of women present and analysis of support for institutions of political

representation in Brazil. These articles will be translated into English and submitted to foreign periodicals, fully indexed, with the aim of raising NUPPs' international profile, broadening its contacts and making its research activities better known abroad. Other articles will refer to the first phase of research into the performance of the National Congress, carried out with support from the Konrad Adenauer Institute between 2009 and 2010 and will be published in a special edition of the **Studies Review**, published by that organization. These articles will be summaries of work to be published in an e-book with survey results (see below).

Books:
An e-book about the first phase of the research "The National Congress in the context of Coalitional Presidentialism", carried out between 2009 and 2010, with the support of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, to be made available in the first quarter of 2010 on the Foundation site, together with the sites of the Institute for Advanced Studies, University of São Paulo and NUPPs.
Book on the Performance of the National Congress – a descriptive and analytic publication on the results of the latest stage of research on the National Congress in the context of Coalitional Presidentialism.

Book on consensual democracy in Brazil. This will bring together the results of the research into the subject, including contributions by invited researchers (through the national and international seminars).

National seminars:
(1) on the results of the first phase of research "The National Congress in the context of Coalitional Presidentialism" (carried out between 2009 and 2010) to take place in June 2011 in the Chamber of Deputies, with support from the Center for Education (CEFOR) of the same House and with participation from deputies, journalists and researchers.
(2) on the performance of the National Congress with aims of presenting and discussing the results of the new phase of research (see above) with specialists and invited deputies;
(3) on an analysis of the quality of democracy in Brazil from the point of view of the relationship between political parties and the National Congress with the aim of presenting general research results.

An International Seminar with the aim of presenting overall research results for debate by overseas researchers and/or authors of complementary texts.

A Database with the aim of complementing the NUPPs database drawn up in the previous research phase, concerning nominal voting in the National Congress between 1995 and 2006. The existing information will be supplemented by that relating to legislative projects brought before the legislature but which did not proceed to a formal vote during the last four parliamentary sessions. This database will be available to the academic community on the organization's site.

3. CIVIL SOCIETY AND POLITICAL CULTURE

Articles - Three articles will be produced: The first will discuss the main results of the survey into political culture in Brazil, based on comparison with other Latin American countries and other regions

of the world which have recently been passing through processes of democratization, especially people's perception of how democracy and democratic institutions are functioning [the databases for reference and comparison will be those of the Latinobarometer Consortium and Latin American Public Opinion – LAPOP – of Vanderbilt University, USA and World Values Survey, as well as those of the Brazilian Electoral Survey – ESEB (2002, 2006 and 2010), coordinated by Prof. Rachel Meneguello, Unicamp]. The second will cover the design and institutional performance of the Tutelary Council of São Paulo and the likelihood of changes in Brazilian political culture resulting from members of the public being involved in joint areas of management with state employees. The third will contain an evaluation of the output and institutional design of the Tutelary Council of the state of São Paulo.

Book – The results of analysis of the survey carried out with the general public on their perception of Brazilian democracy and its institutions will be presented.

A national workshop will bring together researchers, members of jointly managed bodies and public policy administrators, with the aim of discussing the success of such jointly managed enterprises in Brazil. It is hoped that suggestions will emerge for ways in which such democratic institutions in the state of São Paulo and Brazil could be improved.

An international seminar will take place with the aim of broadening discussion about areas of joint management in other countries and the implications for both democracy nationally and for the political culture of individuals who are involved with them. International researchers will be invited to broaden the base of comparison of the results of the survey carried out as part of this project with other databases such as Latinobarometer, World Values Survey, Eurobarometer and others.

A Database will be put together with information obtained from the research into dimensions of Brazilian political culture, resulting from a national survey which is to be carried out (see the next item), which will complement data derived from research into Brazilian political culture, directed and produced by Prof. José Álvaro Moisés in 1989, 1990, 1993 and 1996 (as part of the current phase these four databases may be consulted on the NUPPs site and are expected to be available to the public in March 2011). This latest database and the others will be available to researchers for use in new investigations and as teaching material on graduate and post-graduate courses.

4. JOINT PRODUCTS (these cover all the different areas of the research)

Database with results of a national survey (about 80 questions, to be taken in early 2012) and which will deal with all areas of project research.

National Forum on Public Policy – this initiative is planned to be a continuation of the external and permanent seminars held by NUPPs. During this phase (2011-2013) the forum will seek to establish a dialog between studies to be carried out in the three main public policy fields – education, security and crime and cultural policy – and the principal players involved in its formulation and implementation at federal, state and municipal level. In each of these three areas of public policy, the Forum's principal aim will be to discuss and find answers to three types of questions: *What should be done* (actions), *where should we be going* (targets) and *how* (action strategy). It is planned for the Forum to take place throughout the research period and each meeting will last one day.

Participants: Formulators and managers of educational policy, crime and security and cultural policy during the period 1988-2013 and Brazilian and foreign specialists in the three areas.

An international seminar on "Democratic Governance, Citizenship and Equal Rights." *The aim -* To discuss the results of a critical overview of 25 years of democracy in Brazil as seen from different perspectives and using different approaches; as well as Brazilian subject specialists, researchers like Leonardo Morlino, Larry Diamond, Guillermo O´Donnell, Arendt Lijphart, Frances Hagopian, Doh Shin, Mitchell Seligson and others will be invited, who in recent decades have published theoretical and empirical studies about the quality of democracy in various parts of the world. *Format:* it is planned to take place over 3 days and include 8 major areas for discussion. *Participants:* Politicians who have taken part in the process of democratic consolidation, members of organizations from civil society, Brazilian and international intellectuals who have concerned themselves with the subject and are reference for the study in the area.

The NUPPs Website – will undergo substantial restructuring to make its content more accessible and facilitate and broaden contact between national and international researchers and the organization's research team. To this end, one of the main aims will be to restructure it technically so that the Database created by project can be easily included, as well as audiovisual material derived from the general and specific project seminars, for example the National Forum on Public Policy.

Educational Video on Civic Culture: In view of evidence that the influence of education on the formation of civic values among the population continues to diminish (Schlegel, 2011), part of the project will be to make an educational video about the rights of citizens as set out in the 1988 Constitution and the way they relate to the functional structure of the Brazilian political system (Executive, Legislature and Judiciary). It is planned for it to be shown to high school students in the Greater São Paulo area and will involve an experimental initiative designed to test the effect of this particular kind of educational communication on the views and beliefs held by young Brazilians between the ages of 14 and 18. With this purpose in mind, a control group will be monitored, before, during and after its showing. After it has been used as research material it will be made more widely available to high schools generally.

FIGURE 2 – TIMELINE OF EVENTS

Events / period	2011		2012		2013	
	1st half of the year	2nd half of the year	1st half of the year	2nd half of the year	1st half of the year	2nd half of the year
National Forum on Public Policy (Education, Security and Cultural Policy)	X	X	X	X	X	X
1st National Seminar - Institutions	X					
2nd National Seminar - Institutions					X	
National Seminar – Security and Crime		X				
National Seminar – Cultural Policy				X		
National Seminar – Civil Society and Civic Culture			X			
International Seminar - Education		X				
International Seminar – Security and Crime				X		
International Seminar – Cultural Policy					X	
International Seminar - Institutions					X	
International Seminar - General						X

BUDGET ((See also attachment in Excel))

"BRAZIL, 25 YEARS OF DEMOCRACY – SOCIETY, RIGHTS, INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC POLICIES" EDUCATION												
Project Area		Activity	Activity specification	Nature of expense	Measuremen	Unit Cost		Product Quantity	Investment			
									Total Costl		Carried over (R$)	**Total USP**
Educational Policy	1	Book production	1.1 External author payment	Current	unit	R$	3.400,00	8	R$ 27.200,00	R$ -		**R$ 27.200,00**
Educational Policy	1	Book production	1.2 Proofreading	Current	unit	R$	1.500,00	6	R$ 9.000,00	R$ -		**R$ 9.000,00**
Educational Policy	1	Book production	1.3 Translation	Current	page	R$	30,00	90	R$ 2.700,00	R$ -		**R$ 2.700,00**
Educational Policy	2	Publishing international book	2.1 Proofreading and editing	Current	unit	R$	5.000,00	3	R$ 15.000,00	R$ -		**R$ 15.000,00**
Educational Policy	3	International Seminar	3.1 Organization of event	Current	unit	R$	25.000,00	1	R$ 25.000,00	R$ -		**R$ 25.000,00**
Educational Policy	4	Survey of educational elite	4.1 Sample design	Current	unit	R$	3.000,00	1	R$ 3.000,00	R$ -		**R$ 3.000,00**
Educational Policy	4	Survey of educational elite	4.2 Field coordination	Current	unit	R$	5.000,00	1	R$ 5.000,00	R$ -		**R$ 5.000,00**
Educational Policy	4	Survey of educational elite	4.3 Questionnaire application	Current	unit	R$	150,00	200	R$ 30.000,00	R$ -		**R$ 30.000,00**
Educational Policy	5	ESBr databank	5.1 DB interfaces development	Current	hours	R$	200,00	100	R$ 20.000,00	R$ -		**R$ 20.000,00**
Educational Policy	5	ESBr databank	5.2 Alimentação/manutenção do BD	Current	hours	R$	100,00	100	R$ 10.000,00	R$ -		**R$ 10.000,00**
Educational Policy	6	Survey of higher education	6.1 FAPESP Survey	Current	unit	R$	104.647,30	1	R$ 104.647,30	R$ 104.647,30		**R$ -**
Educational Policy	7	Survey of private higher education in Brazil	7.1 FAPESP Survey	Current	unit	R$	28.191,00	1	R$ 28.191,00	R$ 28.191,00		**R$ -**
Educational Policy	8	Survey of CT&I policies ***	8.1 CGEE Survey	Current	unit	R$	16.700,00	1	R$ 16.700,00	R$ 16.700,00		**R$ -**
Educational Policy	9	Travel	9.1 Air tickets **	Current	%		15,00%	1	R$ 22.035,00	R$ -		**R$ 22.035,00**
Educational Policy	9	Daily expensese	9.2 Daily expenses	Current	%		5,00%	1	R$ 11.217,37	R$ -		**R$ 11.217,37**
TOTAL Geral (Total USP + Total Contrapartidas)									R$ 329.690,67	R$ 149.538,30		**R$ 180.152,37**

* Survey financed by FAPESP, coordinated by Prof. Dr. Elizabeth Balbachevsky
** Survey financed by FAPESP, coordinated by Prof. Dr.Helena Maria Santa'Ana Sampaio
*** Survey financed by Centro de Gestão e Estudos Estratégicos de Brasília (Center of Management and Strategic Studies of Brasilia), coordinated by Prof. Dr. Elizabeth Balbachesvsky

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Project Area		Activity		Activity Specification	Nature of expense	Measurement	Unit cost		Product quantity	Investment				Total USP	
										Total Cost		Carried Over (R$)			
Security Policy	1	Production of scientific article	1.2	Proofreading	Current	Unit	R$	1.500,00	3	R$	4.500,00	R$	-	R$	4.500,00
Security Policy	1	Production of scientific article	1.3	Translation	Current	page	R$	30,00	180	R$	5.400,00	R$	-	R$	5.400,00
Security Policy	2	Production of books	2.2	Payment of external author	Current	unit	R$	3.400,00	6	R$	20.400,00	R$	-	R$	20.400,00
Security Policy	2	Production of books	2.3	Proofreading and editing	Current	unit	R$	5.000,00	2	R$	10.000,00	R$	-	R$	10.000,00
Security Policy	2	Production of books	2.4	Translation	Current	page	R$	30,00	300	R$	9.000,00	R$	-	R$	9.000,00
Security Policy	3	National workshop	3.1	Organization of event	Current	unit	R$	15.000,00	1	R$	24.000,00	R$	-	R$	24.000,00
Security Policy	4	International seminar	4.1	Organization of event	Current	unit	R$	25.000,00	1	R$	25.000,00	R$	-	R$	25.000,00
Security Policy	5	Survey of elite*	5.1	Opinion survey	Current	questionnaire	R$	150,00	312	R$	46.800,00	R$	23.000,00	R$	23.800,00
Security Policy	6	Databank organization	6.1	Public policy databank	Current	unit	R$	30.000,00	1	R$	30.000,00	R$	25.000,00	R$	5.000,00
Security Policy	7	Purchase of software	7.1	Statistical software	Current	license	R$	5.100,00	4	R$	20.400,00	R$	-	R$	20.400,00
Security Policy	8	Air tickets	8.1	Air tickets	Current	%	15,00%		1	R$	29.922,60			R$	29.922,60
Democratic Institutions	8	Daily expenses	8.2	Daily expenses	Current	%	5,00%		1	R$	9.974,20	R$		R$	9.974,20
Great TOTAL (USP Total + Carrie over Total)										R$	235.396,80	R$	48.000,00	R$	187.396,80

"BRAZIL, 25 YEARS OF DEMOCRACY – SOCIETY, RIGHTS, INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC POLICIES" - SECURITY

* Including carried over by World Bank for the Project "Crime decrease in São Paulo"

"BRAZIL, 25 YEARS OF DEMOCRACY – SOCIETY, RIGHTS, INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC POLICIES" - CULTURAL

Project area		Activity		Activity Specification	Nature of expense	Measuremen	Unit cost		Product quantity	Investimento				Total USP	
										Custo Total		Contrapartida (R$)			
Cultural policy	1	Production of scientific article	1.1	Translation	Current	page	R$	30,00	60	R$	1.800,00	R$	-	R$	1.800,00
Cultural policy	2	Book production	2.1	Payment of external author	Current	unit	R$	3.400,00	3	R$	10.200,00	R$	-	R$	10.200,00
Cultural policy	2	Book production	2.2	Proofreading and editing	Current	unit	R$	5.000,00	1	R$	5.000,00	R$	-	R$	5.000,00
Cultural policy	3	National workshop	3.1	Event production	Current	unit	R$	15.000,00	1	R$	15.000,00	R$	-	R$	15.000,00
Cultural policy	4	International seminar	4.1	Event production	Current	unit	R$	25.000,00	1	R$	25.000,00	R$	-	R$	25.000,00
Cultural policy	5	Field survey	5.1	Collation of documents	Current	hours	R$	25,00	400	R$	10.000,00	R$	-	R$	10.000,00
Cultural policy	5	Field survey	5.2	Organization of documents	Current	hours	R$	25,00	200	R$	5.000,00	R$	-	R$	5.000,00
Cultural policy	5	Field survey	5.3	Collation of national data	Current	hours	R$	25,00	200	R$	5.000,00	R$	-	R$	5.000,00
Cultural policy	5	Field survey	5.4	Organization of databank	Current	hours	R$	25,00	120	R$	3.000,00	R$	-	R$	3.000,00
Cultural policy	5	Field survey	5.5	Enterviews of managers	Current	unit	R$	150,00	20	R$	3.000,00	R$	-	R$	3.000,00
Cultural policy	5	Field survey	5.6	Transcription of interviews	Current	unit	R$	150,00	40	R$	6.000,00	R$	-	R$	6.000,00
Cultural policy	6	Media survey	6.1	Collation of media information	Current	hours	R$	25,00	120	R$	3.000,00	R$	-	R$	3.000,00
Cultural policy	6	Media survey	6.2	Organization of Nvivo databank	Current	hours	R$	25,00	60	R$	1.500,00	R$	-	R$	1.500,00
Cultural policy	7	Social Organization surveys	7.1	SEC Agreement *	Current	unit	R$	79.848,00	1	R$	79.848,00	R$	79.848,00	R$	-
Cultural policy	8	Travel	8.1	Air tickets	Current	%	15,00%		1	R$	14.025,00	R$	-	R$	14.025,00
Cultural policy	8	Travel	8.2	Daily expenses	Current	%	5,00%		1	R$	4.675,00	R$	-	R$	4.675,00
Great TOTAL (USP Total + Carried over Total)										R$	192.048,00	R$	79.848,00	R$	112.200,00

* Agreement proposed by the Head of The São Paulo University, to be approved by the Culture Secretariat of the State of São Paulo

Project area	Activity		Activity Specification		Nature of expense	Measurement	Unit cost	Product quantity	Investimento Total Cost	Investment Carried over	Total USP
"BRAZIL, 25 YEARS OF DEMOCRACY – SOCIETY, RIGHTS, INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC POLICIES" - INSTITUTIONS										
Democratic Institutions	1	Book production	1.1	Payment of external author	Current	unit	R$ 3.400,00	6	R$ 20.400,00	R$ -	R$ 20.400,00
Democratic Institutions	1	Book production	1.2	Proofreading and editing	Current	unit	R$ 5.000,00	2	R$ 10.000,00	R$ -	R$ 10.000,00
Democratic Institutions	2	International seminar	2.1	Organization	Current	unit	R$ 25.000,00	1	R$ 25.000,00	R$ -	R$ 25.000,00
Democratic Institutions	3	National seminar	3.1	Organization	Currente	unit	R$ 15.000,00	2	R$ 30.000,00	R$ -	R$ 30.000,00
Democratic Institutions	4	Congress composition databank	4.1	Interviews	Corrente	unit	R$ 150,00	40	R$ 6.000,00	R$ -	R$ 6.000,00
Democratic Institutions	4	Congress composition databank	4.2	Coordination, collation and organization of data	Corrente	unit	R$ 4.000,00	1	R$ 4.000,00	R$ -	R$ 4.000,00
Democratic Institutions	4	Congress composition databank	4.3	Databank organization and updating	Current	unit	R$ 5.000,00	1	R$ 5.000,00	R$ -	R$ 5.000,00
Democratic Institutions	5	Transcription of audio	5.1	Services by third parties	Current	hour	R$ 150,00	50	R$ 7.500,00	R$ -	R$ 7.500,00
Democratic Institutions	6	Purchase of databank ¤	6.1	Right of use	Current	unit	R$ 13.400,00	1	R$ 13.400,00	R$ -	R$ 13.400,00
Democratic Institutions	7	Bank of Parliamentary Initiatives	7.1	Bank organization	Current	hour	R$ 25,00	40	R$ 1.000,00	R$ -	R$ 1.000,00
Democratic Institutions	7	Bank of Parliamentary Initiatives	7.2	Coordination of collation	Current	unit	R$ 0,25	26000	R$ 6.500,00	R$ -	R$ 6.500,00
Democratic Institutions	7	Bank of Parliamentary Initiatives	7.3	Codification and transcription of parliamentary initiatives	Current	unit	R$ 3,00	26000	R$ 78.000,00	R$ -	R$ 78.000,00
Democratic Institutions	7	Bank of Parliamentary Initiatives	7.4	Consultancy for statistical modeling	Current	hour	R$ 100,00	50	R$ 5.000,00	R$ -	R$ 5.000,00
Democratic Institutions	8	National Congress Survey *	8.1	e-book	Current	unit	R$ 3.000,00	1	R$ 3.000,00	R$ 3.000,00	R$ -
Democratic Institutions	8	National Congress Survey *	8.2	Konrad Adenauer Notes	Current	unit	R$ 8.800,00	1000	R$ 8.800,00	R$ 8.800,00	R$ -
Democratic Institutions	8	National Congress Survey *	8.3	Survey Seminar	Current	unit	R$ 7.000,00	1	R$ 7.000,00	R$ 7.000,00	R$ -
Democratic Institutions	8	National Congress Survey *	8.4	Survey expenses	Current	unit	R$ 20.000,00	1	R$ 20.000,00	R$ 20.000,00	R$ -
Democratic Institutions	9	Electoral financing survey***	9.1	Survey	Current	unit	R$ 36.391,00	1	R$ 36.391,00	R$ 36.391,00	R$ -
Democratic Institutions	10	Survey of women's participation in elections ****	10.1	Survey	Current	unit	R$ 30.000,00	1	R$ 30.000,00	R$ 30.000,00	R$ -
Democratic Institutions	11	Survey of Political Repres, Gender, Ethnicity *****	11.1	Survey	Current	unit	R$ 78.114,00	1	R$ 78.114,00	R$ 78.114,00	R$ -
Democratic Institutions	12	Survey of political legitimacy and economical credibility ******	12.1	Survey	Current/Capital	unit	R$ 104.307,02	1	R$ 104.307,02	R$ 104.307,02	R$ -
Democratic Institutions	13	Travel	13.1	Airtickets	Current	%	15,00%	1	R$ 31.770,00	R$ -	R$ 31.770,00
Democratic Institutions	13	Travel	13.2	Daily expenses	Current	%	5,00%	1	R$ 10.590,00	R$ -	R$ 10.590,00
Great TOTAL (USP Total + Carried Over Total)									R$ 511.372,02	R$ 287.612,02	R$ 254.160,00

* Coordinated by Prof. Dr. José Álvaro Moisés, with financing by Konrad Adenauer Foundation
*** Survey coordinated by Prof. Dr. Teresa Sacchet, with financing by CNPq and Special Secretariat of Policies for Women
**** Survey coordinated by Prof. Dr. Teresa Sacchet, with financing by Consórcio Bertha Lutz
***** Survey coordinated by Prof. Dr. Teresa Sacchet, with financing by the UN Fund for The Development of Women - UNIFEM
****** Survey coordinated by Prof. Dr. Lourdes Sola, with financing by FAPESP (technical corporate reserve through PRP/USP)
¤ Latinobarometro, LAPOP, America's Barometer

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Project Area		Activity		Activity Specification	Nature of expenses	Measuremer	Unit Cost	Product Quantity	Investment		
									Total Cost	Carried Over R$	Total USP
Civil Society	1	Book production	1.1	Payment of external author	Current	unit	R$ 3.400,00	3	R$ 10.200,00	R$ -	R$ 10.200,00
Civil Society	1	Production of scientific articles	1.2	Translation	Current	page	R$ 30,00	60	R$ 1.800,00	R$ -	R$ 1.800,00
Civil Society	2	Book production	2.1	Proofreading and editing	Current	unit	R$ 5.000,00	1	R$ 5.000,00	R$ -	R$ 5.000,00
Civil Society	3	National workshop	3.1	Event production	Current	unit	R$ 15.000,00	1	R$ 15.000,00	R$ -	R$ 15.000,00
Civil Society	4	International seminar	4.1	Event production	Current	unit	R$ 25.000,00	1	R$ 25.000,00	R$ -	R$ 25.000,00
Civil Society	5	Field survey	5.1	Document collation	Current	hours	R$ 25,00	120	R$ 3.000,00	R$ -	R$ 3.000,00
Civil Society	5	Field survey	5.2	Document organization	Current	hours	R$ 25,00	80	R$ 2.000,00	R$ -	R$ 2.000,00
Civil Society	5	Field survey	5.3	Collation of national data	Current	hours	R$ 25,00	120	R$ 3.000,00	R$ -	R$ 3.000,00
Civil Society	5	Field survey	5.4	Databank organization	Current	hours	R$ 25,00	120	R$ 3.000,00	R$ -	R$ 3.000,00
Civil Society	5	Field survey	5.5	Interview/Ethnography	Current	hours	R$ 120,00	160	R$ 19.200,00	R$ -	R$ 19.200,00
Civil Society	5	Field survey	5.6	transcription of interviews	Current	unit	R$ 150,00	15	R$ 2.250,00	R$ -	R$ 2.250,00
Civil Society	7	Travel	7.1	Air tickets	Current	%	15,00%	1	R$ 13.417,50	R$ -	R$ 13.417,50
Civil Society	7	Travel	7.2	Daily expenses	Current	%	5,00%	1	R$ 4.472,50	R$ -	R$ 4.472,50
TOTAL Geral (Total USP + Total Contrapartidas)									R$ 107.340,00	R$ -	R$ 107.340,00

Project Area		Activity		Activity Specification	Nature of expense	Measuremer	Unit cost	Product quantity	Investment		
									Total Cost	Carried Over R$	Total USP
Expenses common to all areas	1	National mass survey	1.1	Company hiring	Current	unit	R$ 250.000,00	1	R$ 250.000,00	R$ -	R$ 250.000,00
Expenses common to all areas	2	Restructuring NUPPs' site	2.1	Hiring Webdesigner	Current	unit	R$ 5.000,00	1	R$ 5.000,00	R$ -	R$ 5.000,00
Expenses common to all areas	2	Restructuring NUPPs' site	2.2	Third party services	Current	page	R$ 5.000,00	1	R$ 5.000,00	R$ -	R$ 5.000,00
Expenses common to all areas	3	Holding of Forum	3.1	General Organization	Current	unite	R$ 1.000,00	9	R$ 9.000,00	R$ -	R$ 9.000,00
Expenses common to all areas	3	Holding of Forum	3.2	Consumer goods	Current	unit	R$ 500,00	9	R$ 4.500,00	R$ -	R$ 4.500,00
Expenses common to all areas	3	Holding of Forum	3.3	Support	Current	unit	R$ 600,00	9	R$ 5.400,00	R$ -	R$ 5.400,00
Expenses common to all areas	4	Holding of International Seminar	4.1	General Organization	Current	unit	R$ 50.000,00	1	R$ 50.000,00	R$ -	R$ 50.000,00
Expenses common to all areas	5	Acquisition of survey material	5.1	Desktop Computers	Capital	unit	R$ 3.000,00	2	R$ 6.000,00	R$ -	R$ 6.000,00
Expenses common to all areas	5	Acquisition of survey material	5.2	Netbook for field survey	Capital	unit	R$ 1.996,00	4	R$ 7.984,00	R$ -	R$ 7.984,00
Expenses common to all areas	5	Acquisition of survey material	5.3	Digital recorder	Capital	unit	R$ 200,00	4	R$ 800,00	R$ -	R$ 800,00
Expenses common to all areas	5	Acquisition of survey material	5.4	e-book	Capital	unit	R$ 2.000,00	1	R$ 2.000,00	R$ -	R$ 2.000,00
Expenses common to all areas	6	Acquisition of bibliography*	6.1	printed books	Capital	unit	R$ 150,00	100	R$ 15.000,00	R$ -	R$ 15.000,00
Expenses common to all areas	7	Production of Educational Video	7.1	Hiring of a Studio	Current	unit	R$ 90.000,00	1	R$ 90.000,00	R$ -	R$ 90.000,00
Expenses common to all areas	8	Travel	8.1	Air tickets	Current	%	10,00%	1	R$ 45.068,40	R$ -	R$ 45.068,40
Expenses common to all areas	8	Travel	8.2	Daily expenses	Current	%	5,00%	1	R$ 12.287,62	R$ -	R$ 12.287,62
Grand TOTAL (USP Total + Carried Over Total)									R$ 508.040,02	R$ -	R$ 508.040,02

* Average costs of acquiring national and international books

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"BRASIL, 25 YEARS OF DEMOCRACY – SOCIETY, RIGHTS, INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC POLICIES"

Category	Carried over		Total USP		General TOTAL	
Educational policy	R$	149.538,30	**R$**	**180.152,37**	R$	329.690,67
Security Policy	R$	48.000,00	**R$**	**187.396,80**	R$	235.396,80
Cultural Policy	R$	79.848,00	**R$**	**112.200,00**	R$	192.048,00
Democratic Institutions	R$	287.612,02	**R$**	**254.160,00**	R$	511.372,02
Civil Society	R$	-	**R$**	**107.340,00**	R$	107.340,00
Common Areas	R$	-	**R$**	**508.040,02**	R$	508.040,02
TOTAL	R$	564.998,32	**R$**	**1.349.289,19**	R$	1.914.287,51

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APPENDIX 1

The NUPES co-edited and published the following books

- <u>Políticas Comparadas de Educación Superior en América Latina</u> (1993). Balán, J., Brunner, J. J., Cox, C., Kent, R., Klein, L., Lúcio, R., Schwartzman, S., Serrano, M. e Courard, H. (Eds.) Santiago, Chile: FLACSO.

- <u>Los temas críticos de la educación superior en América Latina: Estudios comparativos</u> (1996). Kent, R. (org.), México, Fondo de Cultura Económica. (172 pp).

- <u>Professores: Formação e Profissão</u> (1996). Menezes, L. C. (org.) NUPES/USP. Campinas: Editora Autores Associados, (456 pp.)

- <u>Formação Continuada de Professores de Ciências: ano âmbito Ibero-Americano</u> (1996). Menezes, L. C. (org.) NUPES/USP. Campinas: Editora Autores Associados, (170 pp.)

- <u>Los temas críticos de la educación superior en América Latina: Los años 90. Expansión privada, evaluación y posgrado</u> (1997). Kent, R. (org.), México, Fondo de Cultura Económica. (216 pp).

- <u>Formação de Professores: A experiência Internacional sob o olhar brasileiro</u> (1998).Goergen, P. e Saviani, D. (orgs.) NUPES/USP. Campinas: Editora Autores Associados, (297 pp.)

- <u>O Ensino Superior no Brasil: o setor</u> privado (2000). Sampaio, H.., Hucitec/Fapesp, (392 pp.)

- <u>O ensino superior em transformação</u> (2002). Durham, E. R.. e Sampaio, H. (orgs.) NUPES/USP, (168 pp.)

PAPERS

There are 125 copies of the series "*Documento de Trabalho*", see http://www.usp.br/nupps/livros.html
and 05 copies of the new series called " *Cadernos NUPPs* " to be inserted in the new NUPPs website.

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