Recent Civil Society Networks in Brazil: strengthening democracy through social control and public engagement

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Abstract

Almost 20 years after the re-democratization process of Brazil, a new group of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) is emerging. These organizations are willing to strengthen democracy and the republican institutions of the country. But, little is known about these organizations. What are their causes? What are the justifications they use to develop legitimacy around their actions? Do they really foster the development of democracy, not only by what they say but also by their actions? Can they be considered a new group of organizations or do they fit into one of the established categories of civil society in Brazil? Interviews were held with nine organizations and networks and allocated in a previously developed framework, using the logics of the common worlds from Boltanski and Thévenot’s Economies of Worth. These questions were analyzed using content analysis. The results show that these organizations’ main characteristic is the prevalence of arguments from the Civic World, with subjects and objects from the civic world aiming for transformations in the civic world itself. As this differs from the other categories of CSOs, it is possible to consider the emergence of a new category of organizations in Brazilian civil society. By creating and appropriating the public governance spaces, promoting civic engagement and enhancing the quality of information and processes, these organizations can be considered as a relevant propeller of the rule of law.

Introduction

Civil Society Organizations in Brazil have historically taken on different roles. Andion (2007) configures the different groups of Civil Society Organizations in Brazil in 5 main categories, organized by similar characteristics, as follows: a) Historical organizations, b) Organizations connected to social movements; c) Organizations formed by technicians; d) Institutions related to private social investment; e) Charities/Welfare organizations.

The attributes used by these different categories to construct legitimacy were thoroughly analyzed by Krieger and Andion¹ (2014) in previous research. Under the light of the Economies of Worth, by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006), the mentioned authors performed content analysis of several interviews, perceiving the presence of the different logics of actions (called as “worlds” in the theory): a) Inspired; b) Domestic; c) of Fame; d) Civic; e) Market; f) Industrial and; g) by Projects. The research validated the four hypothesis: a) the social field in Brazil is composed of characteristics coming from the seven different worlds; b) disputes among the different

¹ Krieger and Andion carried out research involving 46 actors of the different CSOs categories. These actors were interviewed in 2010 and the information was used to connect the discourse of these actors to the framework developed by Boltanski and Thévenot. The research had the objective of discussing the process of legitimacy construction of these organizations. The research was published in 2014 and will serve as bases for this article which has continued the research with a different group of CSOs in Brazil.
logics of actions are not very explicit and there is a process of homogenization in the CSOs’ practices; c) the common worlds present in the field also build connections among themselves and some of these commitments generate wider repercussions and, finally, d) there are logics that isolate the existence of others, resulting in a predominance of the industrial logic.

When focusing on the category of organizations formed by technicians, the industrial and market logics become even more relevant, together they correspond to 59.11% of their discourse and the civic logic only to 20.20%. Andion emphasizes that “to these organizations, the political logic is subordinated to the technical logic” (2007, p.129).

Meanwhile, in the past five years, a new movement in Brazil has been formed by citizens who are also technicians – with the purpose of strengthening democracy through social control of public administration and civic engagement. The following organizations and networks together embrace more than 430 organizations in Brazil: The Brazilian Social Network for Fair, Democratic and Sustainable Cities, formed in 2008; the Movement to Combat Electoral Corruption, formed in 2007; the Brazilian Articulation Against Corruption and Impunity, formed in 2009; AMARRIBO Brazil and Institute of Inspection and Control Network, formed in 2003; the network of the Social Observatory of Brazil, formed in 2008, and the Political Action for Sustainability Network, formed in 2012;

What are the justifications these networks and organizations use to build their legitimacy? What are the causes that drive them? What are the strategies and tools that these CSOs use and value? What are their major criticisms of the field today? Could they be considered as a new category for CSOs in Brazil or are their characteristics similar to the organizations formed by technicians? The answers to these questions are necessary to expand knowledge about these institutions. The framework of Boltanski and Thévenot will help to comprehend their logics of action and how they build their own legitimacy, as well as making comparisons to the other CSOs categories.

Through interviews with the leaders of these networks and institutions, this article aims to broaden the knowledge about the action motivation of these institution/networks. By the relation of the interviews of these leaders with the logics of the Economies of Worth we will be able to comprehend the justifications being used to construct legitimacy.

**Economies of Worth and legitimacy**

Correlating the works of Atack (1999), Edwards (2000) and Suchman (1995) legitimacy is understood as “a generalized perception that an organization has the right to do and to become something in society, having its actions judged as appropriate within a normative system, based on justification for its political and social action” (Krieger and Andion 2014, p. 85). Thus, it is a social construct that can be categorized on several dimensions – synthetized by pragmatic (efficiency and results), moral (adhering to social norms and values) and cognitive dimension (building acceptance through a dialogical processes) (Suchman 1995; Atack 1999; Edwards 2000; Collingwood 2006).

As legitimacy is in fact an arrangement, an agreement, it cannot be given a priori. This fact leads the actors to justify and to criticize while engaged in different situations (Silber, 2003). In order to achieve an agreement, individuals must justify their actions, legitimizing the agreement and the situation. Legitimacy, therefore, is not provided by a rule or an authority, but it its build in society and by society and it is never perennial.

For Boltanski and Thévenot (2006), in each need of justification or criticism, the subject is being tested to handle disagreements in relation to their arguments and
practices. The justifications and the structures around them (objects, subjects, tests, etc.) are utilized to construct legitimacy in the field. According to the Economies of Worth, these justifications used by individuals to validate their actions and gain legitimacy come from commonplaces or higher common principles. They are inserted in polities called cities that will be transformed into logics of action (common worlds) by the addition of practical categories.

These 7 polities, that do not hold the intention of forming an exhaustive list, are described by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) in On Justifications – Economies of Worth and Boltanski and Chiapello (2009) in The new spirit of capitalism:
a) Inspired City is based on Saint Augustine’s City of God and its higher common principle is the inspiration itself, the subjects are the saints or the artists who receive and live the inspiration by holiness, creativity, artistic senses and they can only do so by releasing themselves from other ties (family, money);
b) Domestic City is based on Bossuet’s Politics drawn from the very words of the Holy Scripture and it remarks to the respect and authority a father has over his son, combining tradition and proximity. The ancestor must provide protection and support and, in return, receive loyalty;
c) City of Fame is based on Hobbes’ Leviathan and the public opinion is the higher common principle, as the greatness may only come from the opinion of others. To achieve the superior state, the individuals must be willing to publicize their lives;
d) Based on Rousseau’s Social Contract, the Civic City expresses the collective, the general will, which are pursuit by the common will to participate and achieve rights. Individuals must transcend immediate interests to fight for a higher cause;
e) Market City is inspired by Adam Smith’s The wealth of nations and its superiority is found by those individuals willing to take risks and compete to achieve the highest results and profits. To achieve this, individuals must let go personal and emotional ties;
f) The Industrial City is based on Saint-Simon’s De la physiologie sociale and the greatness belongs to individuals who function very well and perform with efficiency, achieving a reliable production. Risks, therefore, are not welcome;
g) The City by Projects has its highest common principle based on projects and on the proliferation of connections and networks. The greatness is with individuals who are flexible, engaged and adaptable, with the role of connecting individuals from different worlds.

Different individuals, members of a group, organization or field, refer to different principles in different situations. For example, while at home the individual tends to use justifications from the domestic city, at work this same individual will be possibly more respected if he/she uses words/objects/worthiness arguments from the industrial city. It is relevant to notice that the justifications of an action, an agreement or a dispute are not formed only by discourse, and, therefore, cannot be separated from action. The agreement among people involves the encounter of common principles, which are manifested through multiple items of evidence, especially in objects and symbols that provide a member with legitimacy and worth.

By the addition of these everyday life items, Boltanski and Thévenot create the passage of the cities/polities into the common worlds or logics, elaborating a framework of analysis. This framework allows differentiating actions that are consistent with the higher common principles from circumstantial actions. In previous work, Krieger and Andion (2014, p. 93) present this framework (Table 1) on the terms and words regularly used to discuss CSOs legitimacy, which enabled content analysis:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Table 1</strong> Analytical framework: Economies of Worth and CSOs legitimacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inspired world</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher common principle - principle of coordinat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of worthine ss - the way in which the various</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of subjects - Subjects qualified by their state of worth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of objects - things that materialis m the greatness of the people involved in a situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model test - peak moment in a situation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In summary, the common principles embody different common worlds that are triggered by people’s actions/symbols/subjects/arguments and put to the test in everyday situations.

It is possible to relate the three dimension of legitimacy to the common worlds: the pragmatic is inserted in the industrial, market and fame logics (to inform stakeholders about activities, finances and results – in a cost benefit manner); the moral is related to the domestic and industrial worlds (to be aligned to social rules and patterns gaining respect by adequacy and status quo); and the cognitive to the inspiration, civic, and world by projects (shared accountability and governance, dialogue, building new social patterns through new symbols). While the presence of these common words enables the construct of specific dimensions of legitimacy, their presence may also disrupt an established order.

It is usual to face the encounter of different common worlds in the same situation – i.e. the individual who is considered for a job in a CSO due to his/her professional and academic experiences and of the other who is considered for the same position because he/she has personal ties to the team and beneficiaries, being more connected to the cause. The meeting of these different logics can raise both conflicts and bridges/connections. When there are no agreements about the magnitudes in question, the established order of worthiness is challenged, the objectivity of the situation is put in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of evidence – the modality of know ledge appropriated to the world</th>
<th>Intuition, symbols, sign, myths, analogy, images</th>
<th>Role modeling, prejudice</th>
<th>Success, to be well known</th>
<th>Legal forms, the law, legal rules, constitution</th>
<th>Money, benefit, results, income, profit</th>
<th>Measure, proven results</th>
<th>Ties, activities and projects, social networks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State of deficien cy and the decline of the polity - demonstrates the fall of the world, deficiency state characterized by self-satisfaction</td>
<td>Follow habits, no freedom of action, promotes entry into the system. The temptatio n to descend to earth, paralysis, habits and routines, external signs, reproducti on, lack of originality</td>
<td>Lack of hierarchy, not looking good morals, preaching too much freedom. Lack of inhibition, impoliteness, indiscreet , gossip, arranging confusion, disorderly, vulgar, jealousy, betrayal</td>
<td>Without visibility and recognition, indifferenc e and banality, unknown, hidden, indifferent, ordinary, forgotten, strange image, damaged, vanished, lost</td>
<td>Not representativ e of the common will, without representatio n, without methods of mobilizing, division, minority, private, isolated, individualism, self-serving, diversion, subgroups, irregular, annulled, removed</td>
<td>No cyst, hated, enslavement to money, confusion between people and things</td>
<td>Inefficient, unproductive, non-optimal, idle, foolish, in a state of nerves, unreliable, instrumental action, treat people as things</td>
<td>Not engagable, unadaptable, does not inspire confidenc e, authoritari an, rigid, intolerant, motionless, local, rooted. Closi ng the network, corruption, privilege, patronage, mafias.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
check or the tests used to verify the situation come from a different logic, conflicts may arise. The individuals, nevertheless, can always choose whether or not to raise these conflicts – they are offered the possibility to open or close their eyes to the situation and either denounce it or engage in it.

When engaged in a situation that involves different logics, individuals can connect objects from these logics and form a collective worth. This collective worth is always fragile, because at any time the individuals involved in the situation can evoke the reasons for conflicts. But when the connection forms a collective term, it becomes stronger – but not eternal. Thus, the justification process and therefore legitimacy are always temporary.

**Different logics of civil society in Brazil**

In Brazil, Civil Society Organizations’ main role continues to be related to social assistance. However, throughout history Brazilian CSOs have performed different roles and in the past decades they have accomplished even more in fostering social innovation, advocacy and interfering in the agenda of public policies (Andion 2007). Currently, in Brazil, there are 290,692 CSOs (IBGE 2012), hiring 1,7 million people, representing more than 1.5% of the GDP (Johns Hopkins 1999). Of these organizations, 67.8% were created after 1990. The re-democratization of the country, the detachment from the assistentialist standard, the proximity of corporate actors and the institutionalization of the field characterizes the complexity of the public space in which the CSOs act.

Historically, Brazilian civil society has been composed by different logics. Key aspects of the current characteristics of Brazilian civil society date back to the colonial origins of the Brazilian state, substantiated on the plantation system and a close relationship with the Catholic Church (Landim 1993; Andion 2007). From the discovery of Brazil to the early twentieth century, the mobilization of the civil sphere has strong ties with the religious sphere, assuming the character of philanthropy and charity to the poor - which continues to influence until the present day. This trait of the church in connection with a sense of welfare is part of the logic of the *domestic world*, in which the superiors (church) are responsible for the inferiors (in this case, poor people). The hierarchical superiority is connected to its benevolence.

At the same time, there were movements fighting for specific rights against an existing system, such as the abolitionist movement, and the first movements influenced by the left ideologies were created. Civil society had an anti-state position, being defined by opposition to the prevailing order. This indicates a strong relationship between these movements and the *civic world* with its prominence of collective and general will. The human capacity to seek common good in such moments is based on political aspiration of civil rights and participation. This happens through collective action and the mobilization of individuals to renounce particular interests and to transcend in the fight for a cause.

From 1930 to 1956, the Federal Government, led by Getúlio Vargas, attempted to establish the Brazilian welfare state. For this, institutional foundations of a democracy, along the lines of the Fordist societies, were established, setting labor rights, a system of public education and universal suffrage. Civil society was seen as an arm of the government toward the implementation of social policies (still in a paternalist model) and citizens, often reduced to workers, could be supported by the government or the church (Andion 2007).

During this period, the slight improvement to the *civic world* in civil society came from the rural populations movements (Santos 1989). There were riots in different
locations of the country and the fostering of mobilization of actors through integration initiatives. However, the major role of civil society was closely linked to a *domestic logic* of a provider state.

The period of military dictatorship in Brazil, from 1964 to 1985, was characterized by the intensification of the protection of the state in civil matters through hierarchical structures and centralized management (Andion 2007). Initiatives that did not belong to the governmental apparatus were considered illegal.

Dagnino (2002) analyzes that from the 1970's there was a strong resurgence of civil society organizations and some authors believe it is only now that the existence of an organized civil society in Brazil can be reported (Avritzer1994), whereas previously it was characterized by lack of autonomy from the State. There was an emergence of social movements defined by Scherer-Warren and Krischke (1987) as collective organizations that fought against traditional politics. Although it was a period of military dictatorship, the emergence of a foundation of a Brazilian civil society can be observed, characterized by a plurality of ideals and practices, the multiplicity of collective identities, by self-mobilization and self-creation of groups and networks (Andion and Serva 2004).

The legitimacy of CSOs, at this point, was connected to new social movements, especially in contrast to the State. It was also allied to the Catholic Church, which had a great impact on the movements with the Liberation Theology and the Christian Base Communities. “The Christian Base Communities formed a social base for the emergence of political leaders, social movements, and various popular organizations” (Landim 1993, p.7). It incorporates the aspiration of civil rights, political participation and, again, transcending the individual and fighting for a cause as in the *civic world*: one of the main goals of the movements and popular organizations at the time was "building an alternative project of democracy" (Teixeira 2003, p.40).

In 1985, the dictatorship came to an end and with the adoption of a new Federal Constitution in 1988, rights that were previously denied were recognized and new mechanisms to promote the decentralization of government action were designed. Due to the decentralization of government action, greater powers were granted to municipalities (Serva and Andion 2004), promoting the participation of the civil sphere. The democratization had great impact on the institutionalization of civil society, through the creation of specific legislation, and on professionalization, especially due to the involvement of private enterprises with the civil sphere.

With the return of basic democratic institutions, it was clear that the social movements and organizations that emerged during the dictatorship had heterogeneous socio-political perspectives (Dagnino 2002). In this period, the creation of CSOs in Brazil faced a *boom*: 67% of the current CSOs were created after the 1990s, and the majority of these have as purpose the promotion of development and protection of rights and interests of citizens. There was significant emphasis on building a new citizenship, pointing towards a more egalitarian society, "including individuals to participate effectively in the management of society" (Dagnino 2002, p.10), which represents a fortification in the *civic world*.

Due to an increased competition for resources, to the entry of corporate actors in the social field and to increasing doubt and to the criticisms regarding the impact of these organizations, it is possible to visualize an increase of the logic of the *market* (results and competition) and of *industries* (methodology and professionalization) in the civilian sphere. The rationale of the *world of projects* is also valued at this moment of civil society in Brazil. It is believed that mobilization is stronger when it is organized through networks and linkages. Still, it is important to note that the logics that
previously existed continue to exist, mainly through the paternalist logic of the domestic world and the legitimacy that comes from the bond with the Catholic Church.

As above mentioned, according to Andion, the social field of Brazil is currently formed by five different categories organized by similar characteristics:

a) Historical organizations: that provide support and advice to social movements;

b) Organizations connected to new social movements: in which the connection of these organizations to the social movements (feminist, youth, racial, environmental) is so tight that there is no separation between the movements and the organizations;

c) Organizations formed by technicians: usually created by technicians, they aim at responding to a specific issue (it can be social, cultural, economic or environmental) and working to solve this issue by focusing on professionalization and articulation with several fields (government, market, academic). Most of these organizations correspond to the third sector ideology and “the political logic is subordinated to the technical logic” (Andion 2007, p.129).

d) Institutions related to private social investment: a category that started in the 1980s and is mainly represented by GIFE (Group of Institutes, Foundations and Companies) and Ethos Institute for Social Responsibility. It represents the engagement of the private sector with social issues.

e) Charities/Welfare organizations: these organizations follow the tradition of providing assistance to the poor and those excluded from society. In recent years these organizations underwent a politicization process and started to work with advocacy.

The research conducted by Krieger and Andion (2014), with the objective of understanding how these different categories comprehend and build their own legitimacy, showed that the industrial logic is overshadowing the other common worlds present in the field. The interviews for this previous research were conducted to connect the above categories (plus professors and consultants) to the framework of Boltanski and Thévenot and were held with 46 CSOs and actors from the South Region of Brazil. A content analysis method was used for the research. The frequency of relevant words can be seen in table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>World of Inspiration</th>
<th>Domestic World</th>
<th>World of Fame</th>
<th>Civic World</th>
<th>Market World</th>
<th>Industrial World</th>
<th>World by Projects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Org. related to Social Movements</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1398</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropy Organizations</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>1.97%</td>
<td>0.73%</td>
<td>53.94%</td>
<td>3.94%</td>
<td>29.36%</td>
<td>9.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formed by technicians</td>
<td>2.01%</td>
<td>25.28%</td>
<td>1.63%</td>
<td>22.22%</td>
<td>5.66%</td>
<td>38.20%</td>
<td>4.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Social Investment</td>
<td>137%</td>
<td>188%</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>1574</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultants and Professors</td>
<td>4.25%</td>
<td>5.83%</td>
<td>1.71%</td>
<td>20.29%</td>
<td>10.27%</td>
<td>48.84%</td>
<td>8.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>437%</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1170</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>1862</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Content analysis results
The results verified that 42.01% of the relevant words belonged to the industrial world; 29.11% to the civic world; 10.10% to the domestic world; 8.57% to the world of projects; 7.58% to the marked world; 1.42% to the world of fame and 1.12% to the world of inspiration, demonstrating that the industrial logic is overshadowing the other justifications for the field.

Focusing on CSOs formed by technicians (which is the group where the recent networks acting on politics may be inserted), table 3 presents its word frequency:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3</th>
<th>Organizations formed by technicians frequency analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>World of Inspiratio...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Common Principle</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of Worthiness</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Subjects</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Objects</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms of Evidence</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Test Models</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deficiency State</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The technical organizations interviewed acted on different issues: employability and economic insertion, promotion of voluntary action and entrepreneurship and provision of services in social, environmental and educational areas. Their discourse is mostly related to the civic and industrial logic, with the predominance in industrial logic.

The higher common principle and the worthiness state are related to the civic, inspiration and industrial logics. But their base of action is mostly related to the industrial logic. With this, they aim to make social changes through the use of technical instruments and industrial logic, with objects such as performance, methodology and evaluation.

Through the analysis of their discourse it is possible to see the encounter of the two worlds. From one side, the civic world predominates on superior values and principles and the industrial world is strongly present in the practice, demonstrated by the list of objects, subjects, forms of evidence, model tests and deficiency states. However, no conflict seems to exist between these two worlds. In other words, the presence of worthiness of distinct worlds in test legitimacy situations doesn’t seem to be
seen by the actors as a problem, therefore, there is no evident dispute, disagreement or critics. The same results were seen in the charities category.

**Recent civil society networks in Brazil**

At first, the re-democratization of Brazil led CSOs to focus on different areas of action, such as minority rights, environmental regulations and assistance. These movements and organizations were usually detached from the State – either by the assumption that they represented a confrontation to the established government, in a dichotomist view, or by the new liberalist approach assuming that innovation, efficiency and effectiveness only occurred outside the government sphere.

After almost two decades, new CSOs focusing on strengthening democracy, through social control of public administration and civic engagement, became more numerous and acquired a more relevant role in Brazil. These organizations explore the approach of expanded political participation, with the idea that “a strong civil society requires an active State” (Andion 2007, p.38). Contentiousness and conflicts acquire a central role, in the permanent and continuous process of materialization of popular sovereignty, comprehending democratization as a process (Avritzer and Costa 2009).

Six relevant networks that work towards improving Brazilian political processes embrace more than 430 organizations spread nationwide. They are:

a) **Brazilian Social Network for Fair, Democratic and Sustainable Cities:** This network gathers 34 social movements, local networks and associations that aim at social transformation through occurrence in public policies. The local institutions and national network have the objective of “developing social control of the State, based on creating instruments for monitoring the public powers, such as technical indicators, perception research, added to institutional changes that allow transparency and total access to public information” (Pereira 2012, p.2) The mission of the network is “to articulate, in a co-responsible manner, the efforts of movements, networks and local initiatives to develop fair and sustainable cities and territories, having participative democracy as an essential value” (Rede Social Brasileira Por Cidades Justas Democráticas e Sustentáveis 2013, p.2)

The network was launched during a meeting held in Belo Horizonte, in 2008, leveraging on the experience of institutions like Bogotá Como Vamos, that had already 10 years of experience, and Nossa São Paulo, that “pledges social justice and sustainability for the second largest city in the world and emphasizes social accountability as the key component of its mission” (Fiabane et al. 2014, p.820).

The Sustainable Cities Program brings together every organization in the network, offering politicians and public managers a complete agenda for urban sustainability, a set of indicators and a database of good practices.

b) **Movement to Combat Electoral Corruption:** this national movement has the objective of improving the Brazilian electoral system. It is integrated by 50 entities from different fields (such as social movements, CSOs, religious organizations and professional associations). It is driven by a national directive committee and more than 300 local committees composed by voluntaries, spread in every region of the country.

The movement was responsible for mobilizing Brazilian society in order to approve the only two anticorruption citizen initiative laws in Brazil: the law against vote buying (1988) and the “clean record” law (2010) (with the collection of more than 1.3 million signatures), which intended to improve the profile of Brazilian candidates, strengthening criteria for ineligibility and establishing that citizens must have a clean criminal record to become candidates. Brazil’s Public Ministry counted 233 thousand politicians that became ineligible for the next 8 years of government. The movement
also counts more than 200 State and local “clean record” laws for commissioned positions.

Currently, the movement is working towards a full reform of the Brazilian Political System, another popular initiative. The origins of the movement date back to 1996, with the Fraternity Campaign entitled “Fraternity and Politicians” and in 1997 the project “Combating Electoral Corruption” was launched. In 2007 the national committee of the movement was legally created. The movement has 3 action axes: Supervision, with the objective of assuring the enforcement of the laws above mentioned; Education of citizens regarding better voting and; Monitoring Brazilian Parliament and public budgeting (social control).

c) The network formed by AMARRIBO (Associated Friends of Ribeirão Bonito) Brazil and the Institute for Inspection and Control Network was launched in 2003. AMARRIBO was founded in 1999, being the main organization responsible for the repeal of two mayors and five city counselors in the city of Ribeirão Bonito. In 2011 it became AMARRIBO Brazil, assuming a national impact as the national representative of Transparency International and in 2012 held the International Anticorruption Conference in Brasilia. The Institute for Inspection and Control was created in 2005 by professionals from the governmental inspection and control areas.

The network between the two organizations comprises more than 200 organizations. Its mission is to promote transparency, probity, integrity and good management of public resources, transforming citizens into change agents for a more just, ethical and democratic society.

Both organizations promote lectures and convoys to the cities of the CSOs that form the network, and during these periods the organizations have meetings with local government, the press, CSOs and the society. Also, AMARRIBO-IFC are putting efforts to enforce the Access to Information Law, enabling CSOs to follow the implementation of the law locally. Also, they distribute copies of the book *The combat of corruption in Brazilians City Halls*, and more than 150 thousand copies have been distributed.

d) The Social Observatory of Brazil is a network of organizations that leveraged on the experience of local observatories with the experience of monitoring public bidding and contracting. The Brazilian network was launched in 2008 with the objective of spreading the methodology and strengthening the organizations throughout the country. Currently, there are local social observatories in more than 80 cities, in 15 Brazilian States.

The Social Observatories developed and make use of a methodology for monitoring public purchases at local level, from the time the bid is announced until the delivery of the product or service by the contracted company. It is estimated that approximately 300 million of Brazilian Reals is saved for public treasury each year.

Also, the Social Observatories act in fiscal education, the insertion of micro and small local companies in bidding processes in order to increase concurrence and develop public management indicators.

e) Brazilian Articulation Against Corruption and Impunity (ABRACCI) was launched in 2009 during the World Social Forum in Belem with the objective of contributing to the development of a no corruption and no impunity culture in Brazil, through the incentive and articulation of institutions and initiatives aiming for a fairer, more democratic and solidary society.

ABRACCI was the major counterpart of civil society during the realization of the Social Control Conferences throughout Brazil in 2012, which involved more than 150 thousand citizens (the main responsible for the Social Control Conferences was the
Comptroller General of Brazil). It is run through a general plenary, a connection committee, an executive secretary and several working groups that are developed according to the strategic axes of action.

f) The Political Action for Sustainability Network was formed in 2012 and its objective is to strengthen and improve democracy and republican institutions by forming political leaders that will turn Brazil into a more prosperous, solidary, democratic, sustainable and fairer country. The network is open to every party and to different ideologies.

Differently from the other networks, this one embraces individuals that are willing to contribute to the political transformation of the country. These individuals are organized in three different groups: civic entrepreneurs, young leaders and political leaders. Together they connect more than 270 citizens.

The emergence of these organizations and networks represent the coproduction of public good in its political perspective – fostering participation and leveraging emancipation through the engagement in networks of learning and practice, performing an active role on the political life of the community. The limitations of governments and the incapacity of utilizing the citizens as participants are propellants of a public sphere that is willing to strengthen the State and its ties to the population (Schommer et al. 2011).

The complexity of public problems in current society demands multiple expertise in a space characterized by communication, articulation and networks between public and private agents, involving the citizens in the development of innovative solutions. These organizations create what Schommer et al. (2011) call windows of opportunities, which allow of problems, resources and actors to be found. Yet, there is still very little research regarding what could be considered a very new category of Brazilian civil society.

Method

This is a qualitative research which interprets the meanings and intentions of the actors and it contains exploratory and descriptive aspects. It can be considered explanatory due to the aim to explain the action and justifications of the studied actors (Godoi et al. 2006). This study was designed using the methodology of content analysis, which is defined as “a set of techniques for analysis of communications that uses systematic and objective procedures to describe the content of messages” (Bardin 2010, p.40).

Content analysis was carried out in its three phases: 1) Pre-analysis, when the hypothesis of the study and survey of the actors were developed through literature review, which gave rise to the application of a qualitative questionnaire; 2) Exploration of the material, which occurred through the allocation of the transcribed interviews within the different categories of the analytical framework, and finally 3) Result treatment, which involved counting the frequency of words on the analytical framework, the allocation of these words in the context of analysis, the comparison with the analytical framework and results of previous research, which led to the conclusions of this article.

The research universe was developed during the pre-analysis and 9 different actors were interviewed, belonging to four of the main networks acting in the country, which are presented in Table 4:

Table 4   Networks interviewed
This strategy assumes the previous existence of a theory on which the researcher develops a model of the phenomenon or situation under study and then checks if there is true correspondence between the theoretical construction and observable situation. The quality of the developed analytical framework is paramount, because the analysis grid becomes not only a classification tool but also the lens that allows interpretation of the content (Laville and Dionne 1996).

**Results and Analysis**

The interviewed organizations and networks have a strong relation to the civic world, with the total of 54.29% relevant words connected to this logic. Table 5 shows the frequency of relevant words mentioned during the interviews inserted in the analytical framework.

**Table 5 Frequency analysis of networks and institutions that aim at strengthening democracy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inspired World</th>
<th>Domestic World</th>
<th>World of Fame</th>
<th>Civic World</th>
<th>Market World</th>
<th>Industrial World</th>
<th>World by Projects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher Common Principle</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.17%</td>
<td>2.11%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>70.42%</td>
<td>3.05%</td>
<td>21.60%</td>
<td>1.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of Worthiness</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.57%</td>
<td>1.18%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>46.46%</td>
<td>0.79%</td>
<td>38.19%</td>
<td>11.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Subjects</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.70%</td>
<td>2.13%</td>
<td>1.06%</td>
<td>47.96%</td>
<td>9.57%</td>
<td>19.15%</td>
<td>6.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Objects</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.35%</td>
<td>0.60%</td>
<td>3.60%</td>
<td>51.95%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>34.53%</td>
<td>7.66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms of Evidence</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.41%</td>
<td>0.47%</td>
<td>4.69%</td>
<td>61.50%</td>
<td>1.41%</td>
<td>27.23%</td>
<td>3.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Test Models</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.05%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5.41%</td>
<td>37.84%</td>
<td>5.41%</td>
<td>35.14%</td>
<td>12.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deficiency State</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.92%</td>
<td>4.71%</td>
<td>1.18%</td>
<td>43.14%</td>
<td>6.27%</td>
<td>36.08%</td>
<td>4.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.27%</td>
<td>1.56%</td>
<td>2.12%</td>
<td>54.29%</td>
<td>2.47%</td>
<td>31.38%</td>
<td>5.90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The higher common principle is the convention used to establish equivalence and to generalize the forms of association. To answer questions such as “What is the cause of your organization/network? What do you want to transform in society? Why is it a strong cause? What is its relevance for the country?”, the interviewed associations and networks used terms represented in the majority by the civic logic (70.42%). Words like “democracy, citizen, justice, legislation, participative, public, and anti-corruption” are commonly used by these organizations: “Our objective is the development of democracy, especially through the leading role of citizens”, “We noticed that it is necessary to promote initiatives that can develop the values of sustainable development, ethics and participative democracy” and “We intend to transform Brazil in a more solidary and fairer country, through effective participation of society in public management, monitoring public expenditures and the political-administrative system”.

The worthiness state is the way by which several states are ranked in a particular logic, the most valuable subjects ensure the superior common principle and contribute to the coordination of the different actors involved. The majority of terms used to answer questions such as “What are the reasons that make you proud to work at this organization? What are the characteristics of a role model Civil Society Organization? Which CSOs do you consider to be current role models?” are related to the civic logic, but there is a high percentage of the industrial logic as well. The terms used to represent the civic world are “cause, leaders, political, movement, transparency” and to represent the industrial world are “improvement, control, competencies, manage, professionalization, technique and capacity”.

The worthiness state also brings relevant terms related to the world by projects, such as “alliances, articulation, partners, relations and connections”.

The list of subjects represents all the actors that are part of a specific world, who will be qualified by their worthiness. The terms used to answer questions such as “Who are the 3 people that first come to your mind when thinking about civil society in Brazil? Why do you remember them? What are their main characteristics?” are spread among all seven logics, so there are terms that represent every world, such as “inspired and passionate” (inspired), “charisma” (domestic), “well-known” (fame), “combat and revolutionary” (civic) “entrepreneur” (market), “capacity” (industrial) and “network and articulation” (by projects). Most of the terms are related to the civic logic (47.96%).

The list of objects are the specific objects that represent a world, they materialize the greatness of the persons involved in a logic of action. The majority of the words used to represent the list of objects can be referenced for the bridge between the civic (51.95%) and the industrial (34.53%) worlds. The terms “board, assembly, cities, citizens, committees, debates, deliberation, affiliated, governance, members, mobilization, participation, representatives, city councilors” and “administrative, capacity, strategy, structure, executive, planning, format, results and objects” are used to answer the questions “How does the organization/network work? What is the system in place for decision making? What are the instruments that the organization/network uses for impact?”.

The test models are moments where the whole situation is put into a test and the individuals need to use justifications. For the Economies of Worth, the tests are considered to be peak moments in a situation. The terms used to answer the questions “What are the moments you believe your organization is being tested and what are the moments created by the organization itself to prove the validity of its actions?” correspond in the majority to the civic world (61.50%), followed in relevance to the industrial world (27.23%). Examples of the terms used to represent the civic world are
“meeting, board, conference, affiliation, members” and to represent the industrial world are “capacity, management, accountants, patterns and procedures”. Even if less represented, the logics of the world of fame and of the world by projects are also relevant for this category, with 4.69% and 3.29% respectively. The organizations feel they are being tested when the government invites members of their executive board to take commissioned positions, when the media challenges the movement with false news about their directors, when they need to mobilize support from society and other organizations and when they are being criticized by politicians. The tests these organizations submit themselves to are releasing public reports, responding to the media or publicizing notes, when giving interviews on radio stations, participating or promoting seminars and public dialogues, general assemblies, board meetings and fostering partnership with other institutions.

The form of evidence is the most appropriated modality of knowledge for the specific world. When asked “When the organization holds meetings with the boards or with different stakeholders, what do they want to know? What do you present to them as evidence of your work?”, the terms of the answers almost equally referred to the civic (37.84%) and industrial (35.14%) worlds. The third most represented logic is of the world by projects (12.16%). The questions usually asked and information presented at board meetings comprehended: “the impact of the work on society and on government and the repercussion within the media and social networks”, “if the performance of the network is being effective” and “if the results are temporary or perennial”.

The deficiency state, which represents the decline of the logic, the fall of the common world, is mostly represented by terms from the civic world (43.14%). The second most represented logic is the industrial world (36.08%). The organizations and networks were asked: What causes frustration while working at the organization? What are the current criticisms you have for the social field in Brazil? Has the organization ever denied working with another CSO and what were the reasons for this? The answers were related to achievements not being visible in the short term, the frustration of seeing the connivance of officials with illegal situations, organizations chaired by charismatic leaders who act according to their personal interests, organizations that do not thrive for transparency and efficiency and individuals or organizations that have partisan affiliation or biding.

In general, most terms in all of the categories belong to civic logic (54.29%), demonstrating alignment between the cause of the organization and its everyday activities. Compared to the logic of the organizations run by technicians, as was previously researched by Krieger and Andion (2014), the importance of civic logic is much more apparent and it is not conditioned upon the logic of the industrial world. An aspect that emphasizes this alignment is that the tests to which organizations and networks working to strengthen democracy are subject, belong mostly to the civic logic. (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006).

The search for resources does not happen uncritically, since resources are not pursued in every possible way – the organizations and networks do not subject themselves to resources from misaligned sources to ensure the survival of the organization. Tensions are more apparent and accepting resources from partisan institutions, for example, would trigger a process of questioning of their institutional legitimacy.

The interviewed institutions appear to denounce the critics that rise when the civic and domestic worlds and the civic and industrial worlds meet. The bridge historically built between civic and domestic worlds in Brazilian politics provokes several
criticisms: a) Paternalism and authoritarianism in political action, instead of fostering empowerment; b) Individualism, nepotism and personalization of the relations, instead of raising a collective and impersonal perspective; c) Corruption and the predominance of personal ties and interests in public matters (resources and information), which will also diminish the world by projects.

Criticisms are also raised when having a situation composed by the civic and industrial worlds, these include: a) Excessive bureaucratization hindering participation and openness to the plurality of civil society; b) The search for efficiency placing the rise of collective knowledge in the background.

They also appear to be willing to sediment the compromises between these worlds. The connection of the domestic with the civic world will gender “good sense” in the application of the “cold and impersonal rules” and foster conciliation. This compromise will also be responsible for the civil rights – the political sphere operating at the private sphere.

The bridge between the civic and the industrial world is responsible for the consolidation of contemporary society according to Durkheim: “The collectivity has to ensure its presence in the form of ‘institutions’ that can provide instruments for establishing relations with others” (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006, p. 289). The connection between these logics enables the existence of the rule of law – government institutions and bureaucracy fostering public good; establish effective methods for mobilization and deliver public services. Compound terms in use by these organizations that demonstrate the solidity of the connections built between these two logics are “social control/monitoring of public administration” and “participative public planning and budgeting” based on “social indicators”.

These results, of the predominance of the civic world with the right alliance to the industrial logic, entail that these institutions are seeking to implement the New Public Service (Denhardt and Denhardt 2003), leaving behind the Old Public Administration and the New Public Management. For the New Public Service, “citizenship is concerned with the individual’s capacity to influence the political system; it implies active involvement in political life” and “public interest is the result of a dialogue about shared values” (Denhardt and Denhardt 2003, p. 27). The role of government is to serve the citizens (not clients or consumers), developing shared values and leadership through dialogue, with the support of collaborative structures that foster participation and strive for public good.

Therefore, these organizations and networks use their discourse in relation to the three legitimacy dimensions – pragmatic, moral and cognitive. Nonetheless, the abundance of terms coming from the civic logic leads to the predomination of the cognitive dimension. The cognitive dimension, based on comprehensibility, focuses on the dialogue with society in order to attain the general perception that the organization/network can act on society – in a communicative process. This dialogue involves disrupting established orders and constructing new agreements, in a continuous process of conflicts and justifications – comprehending that the public sphere is also a political arena.

These organizations, despite being formed by technicians, do not hold technicality as their main characteristic. Therefore, they should not be grouped together with the organizations formed by technicians in Brazilian civil society. Their profile presents more similarities with the organizations connected with social movements (which also have aligned justifications belonging to the civic logic), but instead of creating space for a specific issue (gender, racial, environmental, etc.) they aim at creating public governance spaces in general, strengthening democracy as a whole. Also, these
organizations and networks do not see themselves in an opposing situation of the State, but as organizations walking alongside the government in order to exercise the righteous rule of law. So, these are evidences that show that this group of organizations and networks may be considered as a new category of CSOs emerging in Brazil.

Conclusions

It is remarkable that these networks and institutions have the highest percent of relevant words in the civic logic (54.29%). The frequency of words that belong to the civic world is the highest among every other category of previously researched CSOs. Another relevant factor is that these organizations prefer to “open their eyes” and to denounce the presence of other logics in the situations where the civic logic should predominate. They recognize the role of the conflict for legitimacy, contributing to the awareness that individuals have about their own worthiness and deficiencies, having to justify themselves when involved in test situations.

Even if formed by technicians, their main characteristic is the use of objects from the civic world to impact the civic world itself and its relation to the other logics of action. The test models (peak moments in a given situation) are also part of this logic and existing conflicts are denounced. Thus, it is possible to consider the emergence of a new category of organizations in Brazilian civil society.

These institutions constantly need to justify their action and validate their work, seeking acceptance from society and transforming/educating society in the process, which demonstrates that they are on their way to cognitive legitimacy (Suchman 2005; Krieger and Andion 2014). To pursue cognitive legitimacy, the institutions must justify their values and cause for society and establish new moral and cultural patterns, in a continuous and transformational process. For Gramsci (1978), the cultural and social revolution is imperative to overturn entrenched ideas and values.

Returning to the relations of civil society with the government, Anheier and List (2005) describe the public sphere as a broad and diverse field where the relations amongst different actors happen, influencing, and being influenced by, the State. The cognitive legitimacy, therefore, comprehends that the public sphere is a field of constant conflict and construction, strengthening democracy.

According to Habermas (1985), political legitimacy is constructed during the communicative process, establishing the connection between the Life-World and the political system (Costa and Avritzer 2009) through dialogue, reflection and deliberation processes (Schommer et al. 2011). Current democratic efforts aim at expanding the communicative rationality for decision making processes, assuring institutionalized spaces for deliberation (Costa and Avritzer 2009).

The constitution of these organizations and networks represents high intensity citizenship (Braig and Huffschmid 2009). By appropriating the public governance spaces, by promoting civic engagement and enhancing the quality of information and processes, these organizations and networks are not only considered to be a corrective instance of the rule of law, but also its main promoter and impeller.

References


Braial (2010). Lei Complementar n. 135 de 04 de junho de 2010. Altera a Lei Complementar n. 64, de 18 de maio de 1990, que estabelece, de acordo com o 9°. Do art. 14 da Constituição Federal, casos de inelegibilidade, prazos de cessação e determina outras providências, para incluir hipóteses de inelegibilidade que visam a proteger a probidade administrativa e a moralidade no exercício do mandato.


