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Reproduction and Perpetuation of Social Inequality in Brazil: A Study of Civil Society Organizations in Rio de Janeiro and Salvador

INTRODUCTION

Though the Brazilian government is working towards more democratic practices, the accepted exclusionary practices have left many Brazilian citizens championing their own causes. According to Avritzer (2000), “Brazilian society has new potential at the civic level, particularly the strong drive for autonomy and the emergence of democratic practices at the societal level” (61). These Brazilians, most of who occupy the lowest societal rank, have assumed responsibility to represent and fulfill the needs, not provided for by the Brazilian state, of many citizens. The Brazilian states does offer some social programs although many of these services are underfunded and inaccessible to much of the population as well as subpar to those services accessed by the included section of society. In addition to the material goods and services provided by citizens of social organizations, these active Brazilian citizens are calling for change in the Brazilian government and society. This move toward a more associative society has been a recent development within Brazilian society, which indicates that the citizenry is ready for the rest of Brazil to transition to more representative, equal and democratic practices and policies. The Brazilian state may not be willing or able to follow these organizations’ lead due to clientelism and ubiquitous hierarchical society. Thus the Brazilian

government is constantly reinforcing the vicious cycle of inequality among citizens, circumstance around which social organizations have developed to overcome.

Though social organizations have a recent history in Brazilian society, they are making progress towards their goals of provision of services and material goods as well as moving toward societal change. These civil society organizations have manifested themselves in forms of social movements, urban movements, participatory institutions, voluntary associations, and nongovernmental organizations. According to Hochstetler (2000), “In the ‘social apartheid’ that characterizes Brazil, the efforts social movements make to share and extend citizenship do make them, perhaps, incubators of new social and political relations” (169). Even though many of these groups are legitimate, working towards the improvement of life in Brazil, there are some illicit groups that wield much power within the Brazilian social and political spheres. In Brazil, especially in its metropolises, there has been an invasion of drug trafficking cartels that work as organizations, although they detract from the social good and hinder Brazil’s progress toward democratization. Even though there are factors working against Brazil’s democratization, I have found that socially active citizens in Rio de Janeiro and Salvador are guiding their cities and Brazil towards the goal of democracy. These organizations are acting as informal states in provision of goods and services with hope for social change.

HISTORY OF CIVIL SOCIETAL ORGANIZATIONS IN BRAZIL SOCIETAL INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Brazilian society, rooted in decades of accepted social inequality, has not lent itself well to a vibrant civil society until recently. Brazil’s society is based in relationship among citizens that do not reflect a horizontal society, rather a society based in a social

hierarchy. “Brazilian society was built on a lack of differentiation between public and private. Relations between individuals have been predominantly hierarchical and political mediators have assumed the role of connecting society and the state” (Avritzer 2000, 64). This hierarchy, which has perpetuated and is still visible today, reaches back to the colonial era. The hierarchical nature of Brazilian society hindered and still hinders the organization of citizens in search of a common good. The society has played a restrictive role in the amount and inclination towards a more associative attitude by the Brazilian government and its policies have impacted the citizens as well. Even though Brazil has this history of an individualistic, hierarchical society, citizens, since the emergence of democracy have come together to demand recourse for the effects of decades of inequality and social injustice.

GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Brazilian state has played a pivotal role in the strength of civil society and formation and participation in social organizations. “The development of the state and the persistence of oligarchical rule as reflected in formal political institutions and economic structures have cultivated a political culture in Brazil that places personal and particularistic relationships above programmatic and universalistic identities” (Montero 2005, 97). Even though Brazil experienced democracy preceding the military dictatorship, there was little mobilization and organization during this period. This lack of associative nature allowed for the fall of the Brazilian democratic state to the military dictatorship (Avritzer 2000, 66). The former military regime repressed much of the possible associative behavior among citizens, with the restriction of parties and contestation. “The bureaucratic-authoritarian regime deepened these erstwhile tendencies

by attempting to depoliticize civil society through co-optation, corporatism, and outright repression” (Montero 2005, 95). This repression of citizen participation impeded the formation of civil societal organizations, which allowed the government to control the citizens with no possibility for redress. For many years, Brazil was without a public space for democratic participation. Brazil has a relatively short history of an active civil society, due to the existence of the twenty-year reign of the military that eliminated venues for participation in the government. The military dictatorship was instituted to aid in elimination of the corruption and clientelism that is pervasive in the political and social sphere in Brazil. The military regime failed to fulfill their goal of eradication of clientelism, thus it played an influential role in the success and formation of civil societal organizations.

CLIENTELISM’S INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Brazilian society and political arena are closely connected under the auspices of the rampant clientelism that exists. The Brazilian society is based upon informal relationships existing in a hierarchical organization. “The most complex organizations in Brazil can be reduced to the existence of certain core personal networks. The glue that holds these networks together is a set of informal understandings... is the clientelist networks” (Montero 2005, 97). Clientelism widely affects the social and political arena in Brazil. The clientelistic relationships allow for the poor to have a place in the political sector, to gain inclusion through an unequal relationship among the actors (Montero 2005, 97). The formation of associations has worked toward reducing the clientelism that exists among many members of society. “Voluntary associations and new social movements... renovated the Brazilian political space...they challenged the tradition of

clientelistic political intermediation” (Avritzer 2000, 66). Even though these clientelistic networks are common in Brazil as means to gain inclusion in politics there have been strides to gaining more horizontal organization among citizen social actors.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

As the military government’s regime neared its demise the citizens began to push toward re-democratization. This push toward re-democratization was lead by members of civil society organizations such as social movements, nongovernmental organizations, and voluntary associations who joined together to form Brazil’s *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Hochstetler 2008, 33). These citizens called not only the transition to democracy but for social change. These actors hoped for increased rights, justice and equality among Brazilian citizens and their actions influenced the future creation of the Brazilian Constitution of 1988 (Paoli and Telles 1998, 64). Even though this relationship between political parties and civil society organizations existed, it has created a contentious relationship among groups and they now serve different purposes with different objectives. “These movements brought a deepened conception of rights and citizenship to public debate and the political sphere, incorporating demands for equity and justice in the social and cultural dimensions that affect identities, existence and way of life (Paoli and Telles 1998, 68). Many of these social movements that originated during the transition from the military regime have evolved into civil society organizations, and thus have assumed a more permanent role in society. This formation of civil society organizations from social movements has “continued to play a key role in deepening democratic citizenship and enforcing accountability” (Montero 2005, 112, Avritzer 2000). These social movements that have transformed into civil society

organizations include urban movements, non-governmental organizations, popular organizations, and participatory institutions. Though all constitute groups with the objective to gain material or non-material goods from the government all play different roles within Brazilian political society.

URBAN MOVEMENTS

The urban movements that developed during Brazil's transition to democracy proved to be influential in the formation of civil society organizations and the increase of political participation, at the municipal level. "Urban social movements not only broke with the existing tradition of heteronomous action, they also became sources of policy innovation and formal political innovation through their capacity to propose new political and administrative bodies" (Avritzer 2002, 95). These urban social movements erupted across Brazil, as the country was decentralized and a discrepancy in revenue distribution was apparent. These urban movements mainly appeared in the *favelas*^a, where many Brazilians settled after migrating from the Northeast in an effort to improve their financial situations. Thus with this flood of migrants, the newly instated mayors needed to address the issue of providing acceptable housing and services for this indigent population inhabiting these precarious squatter settlements.

The mayors of these cities that experienced urban invasion, were determined, as the previous military dictatorship was, to tackle this problem of urban poverty by transplanting these marginalized citizens to the periphery of the city. Though many people were relocated to the outskirts, many rejected the relocation because the new

^a *Favela* is the generic Portuguese term for a shanty- town and *favelados* are those Brazilians who reside in these areas. These words will be treated as English words and only italicized in their first occurrence.

location presented worse conditions than their current location of residence, the favelas. “Even where some of the urban poor accepted resettlement, new conflicts emerged because most of the areas they were sent to were poorly served by transportation systems and public sanitation barely existed; many places were not even connected to water mains or power lines” (Avritzer 2002, 93). Even though the efforts to reduce crime and provide less precarious housing for Brazilian urban dwellers was not entirely successful, this urban movements reformed municipal politics and initiated the formation other movements, neighborhood associations, and NGOs.

NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATIONS

Although the neighborhood associations are not new in Brazil, they grew directly as a response to the relocation efforts attempted by the municipal governments. The neighborhood associations, in the South, Southeast and Northeast, were created in response to the interaction among the formation of illegal cities and already established legal cities (Avritzer 2009, 142). These neighborhood associations worked originally to ensure rights of the Brazilian citizens inhabiting the favelas in Brazil’s major cities, including Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. According to Avritzer (2002), “In Brazil there was a huge increase in the number of neighborhood associations. In Rio de Janeiro, 166 neighborhood associations were created between 1979 and 1981, more than the total number of associations created in the entire previous democratic period” (93). Though there was an explosion of neighborhood associations with democratization, these groups experienced a change from their previous existence.

Following what the urban movements worked to accomplish, the neighborhood associations acted autonomously to serve demands on the municipal government. “In the

20 years of authoritarian rule that began in 1964, AMs (*associações de moradores*)^c worked to protect favelas from removal and provided government services in large areas” (Arias 2004, 2). Through post democratization and the institution of free elections, clientelism entered the equation of the neighborhood associations’ relationships with politicians. This clientelistic relationship between the neighborhood associations and local politicians has interfered and lessened the accountability of the leaders, though improved some social services. Additionally the clientelist ties allowed for the drug traffickers to enter the relationship among neighborhood associations and politicians, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Even though the neighborhood associations have lost some credibility due to the clientelist relationships, they still play an important role in Brazilian urban politics. These neighborhood associations provide a political space for participation by many Brazilian citizens. Neighborhood associations give the previously excluded members of society, due to socioeconomic status, an opportunity to participate and demand material and non-material rights from the municipal government. These demands mostly include infrastructural improvements including paving roads, installing electricity, school improvement, and the provision of health care. According to Goirand (2003), “The neighborhood associations express their demands not in terms of universal principles but with the aim of making up for a lack of rights—of filling a void—or coping with an emergency” (26). Though the government meets some of these citizens’ demands, the improvements have been insufficient to meet the favelados’ needs thus instigating other actors to assume responsibility to provide for the less fortunate. Social movements, along

^c AMs (*associações de moradores*) is Portuguese for residents’ associations.

with neighborhood associations have worked simultaneously with non-governmental organizations because non-governmental organizations have more resources (Hochstetler 2000, 179). Though, many times this responsibility falls on the members of the neighborhood associations, other actors such as non-governmental organizations have stepped into this arena in the provision of material goods and services.

NGOs

Non-governmental organizations formed as a result of the powerful urban movements that occurred in Brazil during the fall of the military dictatorship. These non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were developed to increase social and political rights among Brazilian citizens. These groups are conducted in the private sector and normally do not interfere with government action; however, many NGOs have taken upon themselves to fulfill public duties (Hochstetler 2000, 178). These groups have similar objectives to those of the social movements from which they originated, but these groups are “longer-term and institutionalized entities with established and enduring leadership systems, financial and logistical functions, and a core set of ideological or otherwise normative principles that are used to sustain them” (Montero 2005, 100). Instead of focusing solely on relocation of urban dwellers like the urban movements, these non-governmental organizations focused and currently focus on a portion of the rights Brazilians are now entitled to under democratic control. Many of these NGOs focus on securing goods and services for the less fortunate sector of the population, for which the government fails to provide. However, there are divergent beliefs about the integration of these NGOs into greater society and indicates that many exclude the poor population from participation (Reiter 2009, 90). Many of the non-governmental

organizations not only work to increase social and political rights but also to protect rights, work as political intermediaries, and garner non-material and material goods from the Brazilian government. They are enabled to do this because NGOs hold a special place between the state and the people.

NGOs play an important role as civil society organizations in Brazil due to two major factors, revenue and government alliances. NGOs often are instituted by international funding agencies and receive constant funds to continue their mission. Though non-governmental organizations normally receive money from private entities, the government has also contributed to the revenue of these organizations. “Brazil’s nongovernmental organizations have received major funding from international sources: \$400 million went annually to 5,500 Brazilian nongovernmental organizations in the mid 1990s” (Friedman and Hochstetler 2002, 29). With this additional funding the NGOs are able to continue to represent the excluded members of society and play a connecting role between the grassroots organizations and the government. According to Scott Mainwaring (1989) “these movements are likely to continue acting as the ‘conscience’ of the society, placing on the agenda issues of socio-economic justice, rights for the popular classes and minority groups, and popular participation” (197). Due to this close relationship, the government might be tempted to have the non-governmental organization overstep its bounds and fulfill the role of the state (Hochstetler 2000, 180). Additionally, this alliance among NGOs and government actors allows for clientelism to enter the relationship. This addition of clientelism to the support of the NGOs by government actors would detract from the democratic nature of the NGOs that work to gain political and social rights for the excluded members of society. Even though the

non-governmental organizations have the opportunity to participate in clientelistic relationships, there are many who do not receive monies from the government thus evading the possibility entirely. Following this democratizing period, the state viewed the relationships of the government actors with NGOs and instituted participatory institutions to give the citizens acting on behalf of neighborhood associations and social movements more say in how public policy was conducted at a local level.

PARTICIPATORY INSTITUTIONS

As these civil society organizations proliferated throughout Brazil, the state noticed their prominence and responded to them. “A change associative pattern gave rise to new claim for rights and urban services and allowed the state to join in participatory arrangements, a mode of social action called participatory publics...”(Avritzer 2009, 12). The state connected with these civil society organizations to better address the needs of the citizens and respond to their demand for social and political change. These new institutions, allying the state with the civil society organizations allows for less appearance of the clientelistic tendencies that have often entered the political sphere. These participatory institutions that were created allowed for the citizens of municipalities to contribute to the government through direct representation. This representation of neighborhood groups in municipal government allowed for the revenue to be allocated in a manner benefiting the needs of the residents. The initiation of participatory institutions in some Brazilian cities gave access to citizens formerly without many tangible rights or access to public goods. According to Wampler (2004), “These institutions are designed to overcome numerous social and political problems, such as low levels of accountability, inefficiencies in social service provisions, and corruption, all

of which hamper efforts to improve the quality of democratic governance” (74). As participatory institutions developed, they instituted participatory budgeting, which allowed a collaborative relationship between the neighborhood representatives and municipal government to determine revenue spending. These participatory budgeting institutions have forced the municipal governments to become more accountable for the revenue spent and have provided more public goods for the populace.

PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING

Participatory budgeting began as a part of the participatory institutions that developed in response to the activated civil society organizations and their necessity for inclusion in municipal political action. “During democratization, the issue of a better access of the poor population to urban services was on the top of the agenda of the civil society and political society actors. Participatory budgeting would emerge to address this issue” (Avritzer 2009, 88). In addition to better access for the poor to public services, the community gained inclusion in the decision-making regarding public spending. Due to community involvement concerning the distribution of revenue, participatory budgeting helped to reduce the presence of clientelism between community actors and politicians for access to public goods. Participatory budgeting has been implemented in many cities across Brazil, utilizing a bottom up design, which allowed participation of members of civil society organizations with less government control. According to Wampler (2004), “From the standpoint of societal accountability, it is clear that through PB [participatory budgeting], citizens can engage in meaningful deliberation and negotiation. This allows the citizen to pressure their government to implement changes in public policies” (90). Participatory budgeting has, in the past, focused on public works projects though it has

also addressed education and health care. Although participatory budgeting has enjoyed much success in a handful of cities, in some cities where it was implemented it was not as successful due to the flexibility of the civil society organizations. Prior to the existence of participatory budgeting in Brazil, many citizens would never venture to request public goods and services unless through clientelistic relationships with a politician. Citizens do not only collaborate with the government through participatory institutions to gain goods and services, they also participate in community groups and networks that play important societal roles.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Though some major cities in Brazil have implemented participatory institutions and budgeting, there are many communities that lack this avenue to democratic participation. Many citizens have little or no access to public goods and services. Wheeler asserts that many citizens who live in favelas have little or no access to public services and goods such as education, health care, housing, and other urban services (2003, 41). Additionally, there are many communities located in the periphery of metropolises that are neglected by the major municipality because they are unseen, therefore sometimes forgotten. These community groups, along with NGOs, functioning in Brazil's favelas play another role, which is to reduce the amount of services provided by drug traffickers. This is done by offering similar services, thus reducing the residents' dependence on the traffickers (Arias 2004, 15). Due to this neglect, many citizens residing in communities in the periphery or precarious areas of major cities have to look to community groups, rely upon themselves or go without. According to Goirand (2003), "Fueled by poverty, this process is the result of the disqualification suffered by the poor,

the unfair deprivation of material and cultural goods, and especially the indignity of the situation of the most deprived of the big cities” (25). With this necessity to demand rights upon the government or provide services for the community; associations, community groups and trust networks formed to represent a collective good of those poor citizens residing in the periphery or precarious urban communities. In addition to demanding that the government fulfill rights, these groups maintain a goal to gain not only equal citizen rights but also human dignity. Although these groups demand rights from the local governments, some members have become disillusioned citizens due to the lack of response and recognition of their needs. This disillusionment sometimes induces a rejection of their role as Brazilian citizens and an acceptance of their exclusion from the society due to socioeconomic status.

Community organizations in Brazil focus on providing goods and services, which their citizens have little or no access to outside of the community. These groups have a community mindset rather than an all-encompassing goal to gain more rights and inclusion for the poor citizens of Brazil. “This civic spirit is limited to the neighborhood community itself, and it occurs among families and residents, among citizens or Brazilians” (Goirand 2003, 35). Community members and groups “have redefined democratic practices in terms of their own values and beliefs, moving away from the national discourse of individual rights-based democratic practices. Instead they focus on practices that ensure the survival and well-being of their own families and communities” (Wheeler 2003, 37). The joining of residents within a community allows the members to focus on needs of their community; however these residents are less inclined to participate in society outside this microcosm. These citizens exchange inclusion and

acceptance in their popular community for exclusion from the greater society. Due to the mentality held by many *favelados* that they do not possess citizen rights, community organizations often institute their own rules, standards of conduct, and system of conflict resolution therefore formulating a state within the Brazilian state (Goirand 2003, 28). Thus in response to the Brazilian state's lack of attention and recognition of the rights of these citizens residing in popular communities they have formed informal states to provide inclusion and belonging for its citizens.

Community organization members see participation in improvement projects in their community as important and as their personal action as citizens because they rarely see government take an interest in community improvement outside the periods of political campaigning. These citizens form trust networks with their fellow community members and form community solidarity based on survival. These community organizations are often formed to address problems in the community. These community organizations offer programs for members of the community, children and adults alike, as well as programs to improve the overall appearance of the community. "In some communities, these institutions offer support and school reinforcement, introduction to sports and work through professionalization, artistic activities and leisure complementing schoolchildren's schedules" (Oliveira 1993, 39)^b. NGOs, along with community organizations, provide programs for community members. Additionally, these community organizations provide outlets for leisure, which may seem scarce due to these citizens' socioeconomic situations. The programs for children are motivated to offer positive options for to draw children away from entering the burgeoning illicit economy

^b Note: This quotation was translated from its original Portuguese. This and further translations of text in Portuguese are my own translations.

often based in these lower class communities. Even though these community organizations exist to aid community members with realizing basic needs and offering programs to children, other less savory organizations such as drug trafficking organizations have entered this socio-political sphere.

ILLEGITIMATE ORGANIZATIONS

Along with the formation of civil society organizations in Brazil illegitimate organizations, mainly drug trafficking mafias, have also developed. Drug trafficking in Brazil's metropolises poses threats to the democratization that the formation of civil society organizations has worked to achieve. The invasion of drug trafficking rings in Brazil has afforded the state less control; the citizens less protection and ultimately the citizens suffer more exclusion. The citizens suffer more exclusion because the state has less access to the precarious communities, many resident associations have fallen to drug mafia control, and the drug traffickers have formed informal states.

The civil society organizations worked to form alliances and relationships with political actors to realize needs of the poor populations, however the existence of the drug trafficking organizations have detracted from this progress. According to Wheeler, "There has been an accompanying informalisation of political activity, as drug-related violence has further eroded the link between poor communities and formal democratic mechanisms" (2003, 36). Drug traffickers inhabit and control many of Rio de Janeiro's and other large metropolises' precarious communities. Due to the prevalence of the drug trafficking rings in Brazil's favelas and other popular communities, it makes it difficult for the state to intervene to provide services to the population of the communities.

Upon the invasion of the drug mafias in Brazil's favelas, many of these illegitimate organizations have occupied the resident associations that once fought for retention of their land and provision of social and material goods. These neighborhood associations, for the most part, no longer play an intermediary role between the government and the residents. "Narcotics trafficking broke the already fragile political links between government and the poor" (Resende de Carvalho 1998, 31; Arias 2004, 3). Now the drug traffickers play an intermediary role, along with the resident associations, between the citizens and the politicians, though this relationship between politicians and drug traffickers is based in clientelistic exchanges.

These clientelistic exchanges between politicians and drug traffickers have furthered regressed progress toward democratization. This regression has allowed some politicians to circumvent democratic campaign techniques and address only the concerns of their individual clients. "Politicians, seeing the AMs' [resident associations] growing fragility, worked more directly with the traffickers to secure votes... Many bureaucrats, police, and politicians take kickbacks or otherwise work with traffickers to accomplish personal objectives" (Arias 2004, 1-2). Often the favelados will receive attention from the politicians only during campaign periods or when the drug traffickers place a demand upon them. These clientelistic relationships allow the traffickers to wield much power and it enables them the ability to act outside the law.

Brazilian drug traffickers, due to this ability to act outside of the law, have created informal states that function along side the formal state. "This is nowhere clearer than in Rio de Janeiro's favelas (shantytowns), where years of neglect and broken promises have caused the Brazilian state to appear to lose control of these communities to gangs of

highly organized drug traffickers who enforce order, provide social services, and adjudicate disputes” (Arias 2004, 1). This lack of control of the drug traffickers by the Brazilian government poses threats to the residents of the favelas in that there is a dearth of legitimate policing to regulate the residents and drug traffickers. This is detrimental to many favelados because crime and violence runs rampant in the favelas, which endangers lives and interrupts the daily activities of the residents (Wheeler 2003, 40). This lack of ability to provide protection to the favelados due to drug traffickers’ autonomous control of the favelas, further excludes these Brazilians from reaping public services accessible to those residing outside many favelas.

Within the parallel power the drug traffickers wield, they also play other roles normally assumed by the formal state such as the provider of public services inaccessible to many favelados. Many drug trafficking rings provide goods and services for the residents of the communities in exchange for alliance. According to Arias, “To build their legitimacy, these criminals provide social and economic assistance to residents” (2004, 10). These illegal organizations moved into these favelas because the state has failed to address the needs of the many inhabitants who have little or no access to public goods and services. Due to government neglect, the traffickers’ control has contributed to this neglect because there is now a barrier between the society outside, government and those who reside within. Thus the existence of drug traffickers results in less access to government provisions and a reduction in citizen rights for the favelados. Though not all favelados utilize services or support the drug traffickers they are, however, still subjected to the violence and rules the traffickers produce.

INTRODUCTION TO EVIDENCE FROM FIELDWORK

These civil society organizations are often located in or address the citizens who reside in favelas of Rio de Janeiro or Salvador's lower income communities because often, the needs of these citizens are ignored. If these civil society organizations are not located in the favelas, many function on behalf of the favela residents. Many of these citizens who reside in lower income areas, fail to reap the basic benefits of Brazilian citizenship or as residents of Rio de Janeiro and Salvador. This section of society has been depoliticized because there are so few returns on their citizenship, they fail to demand rights from the government. Many of Rio de Janeiro's and Salvador's poor citizens wait until the government bestows rights upon the citizens, which allows the government to be selective regarding the rights these citizens can access.

In order to reverse this cycle of accepting a lesser citizenship from the government, civil society organizations form to either provide services that the government fails to provide or work to compel the government to recognize the lower class' citizenship. Active community members, international activists and philanthropists among others, create and fund these organizations that address deficiencies, problems, and educate the greater community.

EVIDENCE FROM RIO DE JANEIRO

While in Rio de Janeiro, a majority of the interviews I conducted provided information regarding educational opportunities for lower-income and marginalized children as well as adults. This provision of education accompanies the public education the children receive as well as provides additional material not covered in school curriculum. These organizations provide after- school programs for older children and

daycare for younger children. The after- school programs included providing help for students who are struggling with required schoolwork, sexual education, courses in citizenship and ethics, anti-drug and violence education. Many of these organizations offer instruction in leisure activities such as dance, music and art because many of these children lack opportunities to participate in courses outside normal curriculum. The main driving ambition for many of these community organizations that are focusing on children's education is to prevent them from becoming involved with drug trafficking and crime. These organizations not only focus on children who live in these precarious areas, but also adult community members.

The focus on adult education by some of the community organizations is to instill upon these adults the ability to actively improve their livelihoods. Some groups offer classes in arts and crafts to uneducated women to teach them job skills in order to provide them with the ability to augment their incomes. Some of the respondents' organizations offer education regarding citizens and human rights, which are often overlooked in these areas of high crime and little government attention. For the older students, some groups provide a preparatory course for the university entrance exams, which inhibit many poor prospective university students. Other groups focus on education and serve the communities' elderly population with classes in health education, group therapy and activities. Even though education is the main focus of these community groups, they also provide other services.

The respondents from these civil society organizations indicate they often provide assistance to some of the lesser fortunate families in the communities. This additional assistance includes basic provisions utilized by a family such as food, cleaning and

hygiene products, clothes, toys and books. Even though many of these families are in need of these items, the civil society organizations are unable to provide these basics for everyone due to the lack of government assistance and the waxing and waning private funding.

A majority of these civil society organizations operate solely on donations. Many of the respondents indicate that the members, themselves, contribute to fund activities and programs for the children of the communities and sometimes receive donations from private enterprises or international funding agencies. Some of the adult education programs operate on funds earned from the sale of their arts and crafts. Often the donations from private funds dwindle and the organization leaders must depend on the members or themselves to keep the organizations functioning. Although a majority of these civil society organizations are self-funded or receive private monies to continue providing services, some groups have received governmental support.

Some of the groups in this study receive funding from the state or municipal government of Rio de Janeiro. These groups mainly receive subsidies to help students attend daycare, however the other groups remain unfunded due to the difficulty of gaining government support. The government requires much documentation for applications to receive public money, which inhibits many leaders without higher education and the means to hire attorneys to complete the paperwork. The government is receiving help from these civil society organizations in service provision without contributing to the costs.

EVIDENCE FROM SALVADOR

While conducting research in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil I found that many organization offer similar services to the community but there is also more diversification of services. Additionally, many of the civil society organization are not located in the communities who access the services. These organizations provide services including: education, rights of community residents, as well as groups representing rights of selected groups of citizens.

Much like in Rio de Janeiro, many of the civil society organizations have a basis in education for either children or adults. Some of these groups offer courses in remedial schoolwork that accompanies the public school curriculum. Education is also provided to children in other forms, such as dance, art and music course, with hopes of diverting their attention away from involvement in drug trafficking. In addition, to these courses for children, some organizations offer adult courses in English as a second Language, computers, tailoring, and education for those adults who failed to complete their preparatory education. Not only do many organizations focus on education but also resident rights for those who live in lower-income communities.

One of the older types of civil society organization formed in Salvador, and other cities in Brazil includes resident associations. These associations formed due to government actions to relocate illegal squatters inhabiting city hills and precarious areas to the periphery of the city. The drug traffickers who rule the communities in Rio de Janeiro have infiltrated many of these associations. However, in Salvador the residents themselves have retained the control of these associations. These associations represent the residents of the lower income communities and endeavor to bring the basics of life to

their precarious locations. These basics of life include running water, electricity, sewer, garbage collection, postal service and street paving. Due to the fact that most of these communities originated as squatter settlements, the city fails to acknowledge the communities exist therefore does not provide any of the social goods and services the rest of the city's residents may receive. Some of these resident associations also offer courses for adults and children as well to teach leisure activities, with the goal of keeping the children away from illegal activities and educating the adults to help with that objective. These associations also provide basic necessities for the less fortunate members of the community to help even the poorest residents live with some form of dignity. Overall, these resident associations maintain the objective of gaining inclusion into the rest of society, whereas now the government and the society fail to acknowledge their existence.

Other civil society organizations in Salvador have the objective of representing and educating certain sectors of society. In addition to representing these different sectors of society, these civil society organizations work to spread political consciousness and lessen racism and discrimination of marginalized groups. Due to the high Afro-Brazilian population in Salvador there is often a focus within these civil society organizations on African culture. Additionally, there are groups representing social movements associated with racial sectors of society such as the Black and Rastafarian movements. In addition, there are organizations addressing the elderly population in lower income communities to elevate their self-esteem and provide activities for them to participate in society. Much like the resident associations, these groups are pursuing inclusion in the greater society through education and political participation.

Another similarity that Salvador shares with Rio de Janeiro's civil society organizations is that of insufficient funding. Many of these groups fail to secure support from the state or municipal government of Bahia and Salvador. A majority of the groups are created and maintained with donations of the community members and support from private enterprises and international funding agencies. Although some organizations receive public funds, these are often insufficient. In addition, accessing public funds involves much paperwork and numerous appearances before committees in order to gain support of the government. Many groups cannot meet these requirements, thus they fail to receive public funds.

CONCLUSION

Although, Brazil lacked the active civil society due to the societal structure, formerly repressive regime and rampant clientelism, a transformation occurred during the military regime's decline. Today, organizational behavior is evident in Brazil. Both legitimate and illegitimate groups exist and most function to serve the popular communities. During the final years of the military dictatorship, as the regime slowly returned power to the people, associations formed to provide services for members and demand social and political reform and accountability. Brazilian citizens occupied the public space that opened during democratization, with the organization of voluntary associations and social movements (Avritzer 2002, 81). Groups such as community associations, professional associations, and social movements were created to access material and social benefits from the Brazilian state that was unavailable during the military dictatorship. Participatory institutions and budgeting provide a solution to maintaining transparency in the revenue distribution of the government; however

clientelism hinders this step towards democratization. Many civil society organizations, including NGOs and community organizations, work to combat drug trafficking networks, by providing similar goods and services as the traffickers offer in order to gain residents' alliance. Though there has been an explosion of civil society organizations in Brazil, there are many citizens without access to basic public goods and services, who continue to rely upon self-provision to meet basic needs. Though state response continues to be inadequate, these civil society organizations still strive for positive government reaction so the citizens can live a life of dignity.

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