

Left and Right Matter: Political Parties and Brazilian Councilors' Values on Social Rights

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Abstract

We considered the debate on the ideological views and political parties and their potential impact on behaviors and values of parliamentarians. The article discusses the political values on social rights in relation to partisan and ideological position of city aldermen from Curitiba - Brazil.. The strategy for identifying and interpreting values were interviews and analysis based on the parameters of the Constitution of 1988 (legal rule) which lead to the universality and public provision. The results indicate ambiguities, but, in general, legislators whose parties are identified as center-right and right express greater coherence as to political guidance on social rights than center-left and left ones. The values of those council members express less subjective validation of the parameters of legal rules, especially when it comes to the rights to social assistance, food and nutritional security and income transfers.

Keywords: political values; social rights; political party; political ideology; city councilors

1. Introduction

This article¹ originated from research that addresses the compatibility of Curitiba City aldermen' values on social rights with the conceptions of CF88 that link to the universality and public provision. It also addresses the relationship between the ideological profile of the councilors and political party values. The choice to address the political values on social rights (such as, welfare, health, education, food security and nutrition, housing, social security and work) is justified because despite being among the fundamental rights, they do not have the same subjective validation of other Brazilian values assured by the Constitution - CF88, as is the case of civil and political rights (in general terms, freedom and political participation, for example).

It is therefore an investigation of political values on social rights which takes into account that its effectiveness is not limited to institutions, but goes through a culture of recognition that differs substantially from the notion of donation, bounty and favor, which traditionally seems to characterize the Brazilian political culture (SALES, 1994; CHAUI, 1994, Telles, 2000). The choice for the municipal parliament is justified by the fact that these legislators have a different insertion in the field of social and political rights. On the one hand, they have residual responsibilities in the area - considering the unique Brazilian social policy which stems from the Union and decentralizes to all municipalities. On the other, often, the council expands its operations through direct social care for the population, sometimes with recessed high sense of right and and a high sense of help.

That is, the requests from the population for the council include "drugs, hospital appointments, jobs, money to pay bills, bus fare, construction material, streamlining of processes in the administration, bus stop shelters and many other examples of demands that, strictly speaking, should not reach a member of the legislature, but should be provided and taken care of by public health policies, social assistance, social housing, among other policies, set up as a means of ensuring the rights of citizenship. The attendance of such requests by the council may lead to withdrawal of the notion of rights because on the one hand, " by attending to these requests councilors meet the expectations of voters as the politicians are the people lawfully in charge of performing the distribution of government largesse ..." and, on the other hand, this responds to the goal of some councilors which is "to catch the voters and secure their allegiance" (Lopez, 2004, p. 162). In addition, council members are part of the political elite in the legislature, which presumably would be the sector of the population with knowledge and special attention to legal rules, especially to the Federal Constitution.

Therefore, being a member of the legislature and having proximity to the population, often through social service in areas that are of social policies, makes researching the causes of political values of aldermen about politics and social rights strategic when the interest is to deal, more generally, with the subjective validation of laws on social rights.

Finally, the importance of focusing on the relationship between political values and ideology and political parties is due to the theoretical debate about their potential impact. Authors like Carreirão (2006), Zucco Jr. (2009) and Power & Zucco Jr (2009), for example, have investigated "the extent to which alleged ideological differences between the parties are effectively manifested in opinions and actions (electoral coalitions, government coalitions, public policies, etc.) of members from different parties." (Carreirão, 2006, p. 137)

The items in the article are divided into two blocks. In the first historical aspects of social legislation are reviewed, then the results of the research are presented focusing on the political guidelines of councilors with ideological profiles from centre, left and right parties on rights, social policies and social programs.

2. The social dimension of human rights and the Brazilian legislation

The "rules that declare, recognize, define, assign rights to man" (BOBBIO, 1992, p.77)² are historical phenomena that express and shape an era. Marshall (1967) developed a temporal sequence characterization about rights based on their incorporation into legislation in the core countries of European capitalism.

The first are the civil and political rights, with framework in the nineteenth century related to the individual and economic freedom and participation in the exercise of political power, followed by social rights, in the twentieth century concerning participation in the richness and social standards of life. In the second half of the twentieth century the last generations of rights related to the environment are added to the list, such as cultural diversity and identity. (BOBBIO, 1992; Arretche, 1995).

The general chronology of rights may lead to the mistaken idea that they occur in a cumulative pattern (no regressions, interruptions or disappearances), sequential, and similarly predictable and universal, which is contrary to historical observation. Moreover, the values and laws on rights are not universal, or, in some societies they are not considered or are considered at odds with their cultural background.

However, the temporal sequence and the political regime in which legal norms are established matter to the political culture. Carvalho (2001) suggests that some characteristics of citizenship in Brazil could be explained by the fact that labor and social rights date back to periods of restriction of civil rights and political centralization, in other words, some social rights have been placed before or instead of civil and political rights (Arretche, 2010). The population in general and the Brazilian elites seem to share more than a notion of donation and grant left by the people in power and by the State rather than a democratic culture. (SALES, 1994; REIS, 2000; LIMA, Cheibub, 1996, MOSES, 2005). Ribeiro (2008, p. 67, 68) notes that the "protectful relationship between the provider and the subservient subjects", identified in the studies of Oliveira Viana, Gilberto Freyre and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda "tends to be constantly re-edited."

Overall, the articles on social rights in the Constitution of 1988 established a discontinuity with the historical trend, once they are in the opposite direction of these notions. First, because they differ from the previous standard that produced "different status among categories of citizens" via unequal allocation of rights, "according to the inclusion in the formal labor market, as well as social benefits linked to the contributions and workers' incomes." (Arretche, 1995, p. 595). The standard imposed by FC88 is redistributive, universal and with public-state guarantees (DRAIBE, 1993). Second, because social rights were included in the list of fundamental assurances as well as other rights assured in previous constitutions, such as freedom. With the condition of entrenchment clause of unpostponable and urgent nature, the discussion on the contractual and impersonal aspects and the legalization of social rights is brought up (PIOVESAN, VIEIRA, 2006).

The rights to education, housing, social assistance, health, welfare, work, for example, are contained in Title II (Fundamental Rights and Guarantees) and Title VIII of the social Order of the FC88 and in specific laws and regulations.

Despite the importance of these articles and social legislation "at least according to the new standards" that define "practical action for political actors" (Perissinotto, 2010, p. 13), one must question about "the likelihood that men [...] subjectively consider valid a certain order and direct it to their practical conduct (Weber, 1984, p. 251).

This quotation by Weber is about the importance of subjective guidelines on an object and it illustrates his seminal contribution to the theoretical development in the field of political culture.

When we talk about the political culture of a society, we refer to the political system cognitively, evaluatively and affectively internalised by the population. ... The political culture of a nation is the particular distribution of patterns of guidance on political objects among its members. ... Orientation refers to the internalised aspects of objects ... (ALMOND and VERBA, 1989, p. 13) (translation by the author)

In this article we incorporate the position of authors in the field such as Almond and Verba (1989), Putnam (2000), Inglehart (1988), Moses (2008) and Fuks, Perissinoto and Ribeiro (2003) on the cross-relationship between values and institutions (such as legal rules, legislations - constitutions and laws, for example), i.e. the values affect the format, performance and functioning of the institutions and the institutions are relevant factors in the formation of political values. However, the article deals with subjective guidelines, which means, the values of the municipal parliamentary members on social rights having the FC88 as a parameter.

3. Methodological aspects

The survey was conducted in Curitiba where we interviewed 35 of the 38 aldermen in management between the years of 2009-2012³. The plot of the semi-structured interview was organized in blocks of questions about political party linking and associations, knowledge on social legislation and on political values and about social rights. There were still control issues related to the educational profile, religion and income.

For this article some results from independent tests Yule's Q and Yule's Q correlation are presented, these are indicated for the analysis of categorical data. These tests require the clustering of cases in fourfold tables, the most suitable for research since the answers for the interview questions presented a high degree of dispersion among the alternatives. The discussion is guided by the parameters of constitutional articles on social rights that point to the universality and public provision.

4. Social, partisan and ideological profiles of the aldermen of Curitiba

More than 70% of the municipal members are between 30 and 64 years old and amongst these the majority (48.6%) is between 40 and 54 years old. More than half (62.9%) of parliamentarians interviewed had higher education or graduate studies, only one of them dropped out of high school and the rest have incomplete secondary education or incomplete higher education. The parliamentarians' household income, before taking up the posts, was congruent with the classified as medium or high class, and drillthrough showed that 28.6% of them had family income of more than 10 to 20 minimum wages (*sm*); 20.0% from 05 to 10 *sm*; 14.3% from 20 to 30 *sm* and; 5.8% more than 30 *sm*, which totals 68.7% with high income or close to high. These data demonstrate the belonging of the majority of the aldermen in the upper strata of income and education. The religion of the aldermen is distributed as follows: 74.3% claim to be Catholics; 11.4% evangelicals; 8.6% distributed among other denominations and 5.7% say they have no religious faith. Among the aldermen, 65.7% participate in some non-governmental organisation, councils of public policies, social movements, neighborhood associations or other forms of associativity.

The largest number of aldermen is affiliated to the PSDB - Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (40.0%) 8.6% to PT - Partido Trabalhista, 8.6% to DEM - Democratas, and 5.7% to PMDB - Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro.

The ideological profile⁴ of the parliamentary of the municipality of Curitiba is evidenced by their characterization as left, centre and right. Zucco Jr. (2009) represents this positioning as the following table (Table 1):

Table 1: Parties from Left to Right: 2009

Year												R ²	
2009	PSOL	PC	do B	PSB	PDT	PV	PPS	PMDB	PTB	PR	PP	DEM	0.8
				PT				PSDB					

Note: "Parties sharing the same position indicate the estimated differences among their positions were not significant to level 0.05."

Source: ZUCCO JR (2009, p. 5)

Therefore, the Municipal Chamber of Curitiba there are the following Parties considered by the literature in the Left field: PT, PSB, PDT, PV, PPS; in the Right field: DEM, PP, PRP PSC, PSL and; in the Centre field: PMDB, PSDB.

The statistical tests chosen to work data are the independence and correspondence Q of Yule, which require fourfold table. For this reason the parties of the House of Aldermen of Curitiba were grouped in Right and Center-Right-21 (60) - in Left and Center-Left -14 (40), as shown in table 2. In table 2 the parties considered Left and Center-Left are highlighted.

A possible criterion for the classification of right and left is the concern with equality (BOBBIO, 1995; SINGER, 2000). From this point of view the parliamentarians were interrogated about social hierarchies and social inequality (tables 2 and 3). Most councilors (65.7%) agree with the statement that without well-defined hierarchies no social order is sustained and 28.6% disagree. Those who do not know or have not replied are positioned in the Left parties (table 2 and 3).

Table 2 – Values of aldermen (according to political affiliation) on social, economic and political hierarchies

Parties	Without well defined social hierarchies no order is sustainable							
	Disagree		Agree		Do not know or did not answer		TOTAL	
	Totally or partially		Totally or partially					
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
DEM	0	0	3	100,0	0	0	3	100,0
PDT	0	0	3	100,0	0	0	3	100,0
PMDB	1	50,0	1	50,0	0	0	2	100,0
PP	0	0	1	100,0	0	0	1	100,0
PPS	0	0	2	100,0	0	0	2	100,0
PRP	0	0	1	100,0	0	0	1	100,0
PSB	0	0	2	66,6	1	33,0	3	100,0
PSC	1	100,0	0	0	0	0	1	100,0
PSDB	5	35,7	9	64,3	0	0	14	100,0
PSL	0	0	1	100,0	0	0	1	100,0
PT	3	100,0	0	0	0	0	3	100,0
PV	0	0	0	0	1	100,0	1	100,0
TOTAL	10	28,6	23	65,7	2	5,7	35	100,0

The percentage of Aldermen that express values with low coherence in relation to the criterion of equality surpasses the number of those affiliated to parties of the Right and Center-Right (table 3).

Table 3 – Values of aldermen of the Right and Centre-Right or Left and Centre-Left parties related to social, economic and political hierarchies

Without well defined social hierarchies no order is sustainable	Party					
	Right and centre-right		Left and centre-left		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Agree Totally or partially	15	71,4	8	57,1	23	65,7
Disagree Totally or partially	6	28,6	4	28,6	10	28,6
Do not know or did not answer	0	0	2	14,3	2	5,7
Total	21	100,0	14	100,0	35	100,0

Tests of independency Q of Yule and of correlation Q of Yule

It was found that there is statistical dependence among variables in the following sense: the city aldermen from right-wing and center-right parties tend to agree with the hierarchies (delta 0.012) and there are less aldermen from the leftist and the center-left parties that agree with them than the expected, if the two variables were independent (Table 4). This result and Yule's Q correlation test (0.11), however, indicate low correlation between the variables (Meireles, 2001), ie, there is a 11.0% higher chance of finding right and centre-right –wing aldermen who agree with the importance of social hierarchies.

However, when it comes to values on the persistence of inequality of social positions, the correlation is higher. Aldermen from the right and centre-right political parties tend to agree with a concept of inequality of social position (Delta 0.052). The result of the correlation test of Yule Q (0.43) shows average correlation between variables, because there is a 43.0% higher chance of finding right and centre-right aldermen that agree that a society is better when everyone knows their place. However, on the other hand, it is possible to check that the position of "equality" is not a majority in the Left-wing group, which split on this item (7 agree and 7 disagree). (Table 4)

Table 4– Values of aldermen from right and centre-right parties or left and centre-left parties about maintaining inequality of social positions.

The best society is the one in which every member knows his/her position	Left and Centre-Left		Right and Centre-Right		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Agree totally or partially	7	31,8	15	68,1	22	100,0
Disagree totally or partially	7	53,8	6	46,1	13	100,0
TOTAL	14	40,0	21	60,0	35	100,0

Another way to gauge the ideological profile of the municipal parliament takes into account positions in relation to State interference in the economy. Zucco (2009), for example, based on research that defines the profile of the electorate from divisions as State intervention in the economy, used this variable to verify the profile of parliamentarians.

The interview dealt with this criterion in an indirect way of asking about primary responsibility of the state and conservative, liberal or socializing trends (social democracy and socialism). The frequencies below follow the previous standard. Likewise ambiguity also appeared: some left parties prioritize the maintenance of order or some individual freedoms and the right and centre-right parties choose the social welfare as a priority state responsibility (Table 5).

Table 5 – Aldermen's choices (by political affiliation) about priority of State responsibility

Parties	Main State Responsibility							
	Maintenance of the order		Respect individual liberties		Ensure social welfare		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
DEM	3	100,0	0	0	0	0	3	100,0
PDT	2	66,7	1	33,3	0	0	3	100,0
PMDB	0	0	0	0	2	100,0	2	100,0
PP	0	0	0	0	1	100,0	1	100,0
PPS	1	50,0	1	50,0	0	0	2	100,0
PRP	0	0	0	0	1	100,0	1	100,0
PSB	2	66,7	0	0	0	0	3*	100,0
PSC	0	0	1	100,0	0	0	1	100,0
PSDB	4	28,6	5	35,7	4	28,6	14*	100,0
PSL	0	0	0	0	1	100,0	1	100,0
PT	0	0	0	0	3	100,0	3	100,0
PV	0	0	1	100,0	0	0	1	100,0
TOTAL	12	34,3	09	25,7	12	34,3	35*	100,0

*Null Response: PSB-01; PSDB-01

To deepen this point, the alternatives "maintain the order" and "respect individual liberties" were combined. This happened, on the one hand, because it is more common than the position of parties divided between these alternatives (except for the case of the PSDB), and secondly, to isolate the option "to ensure social welfare," attuned to social rights. Thus, 60% chose to keep the order or respect individual liberty and 34.3% to ensure social welfare (Table 6).

Table 6 – Values of councilors of right and centre-right parties or left and centre-left parties in relation to primary State responsibility

Primary State responsibility	Party					
	Right and centre-right		Left and centre-left		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Maintain the order or respect individual liberties	13	61,9	8	57,1	21	60,0
Ensure social welfare	7	33,3	5	35,7	12	34,3
Do not know or did not answer	1	4,8	1	4,8	2	5,7
Total	21	100,0	14	100,0	35	100,0

The tests indicated that there is a 7.4% higher chance of finding right and centre-right aldermen with a preference for the alternative of maintaining the order and respect for individual liberties (test correlation (0,074), which means, the variables party and state responsibility have very low dependency.

Anyway, the tests with the variables social hierarchy and social position inequality point to an ideological profile between liberal and conservative for the aldermen in the Chamber of Councilors.

5. Political values on social rights

The aldermen of Curitiba were encouraged to choose which among the listed items they would consider as social rights. Health, education and social security were the most chosen, food security and nutrition, social services and income transfers had the lowest percentages (Table 7).

Table 7. Areas recognized as social rights by the aldermen of Curitiba (2009-2012)

Rights	Yes		No		NR		RN		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Health	33	94,3	0	0	0	0	2	5,7	35	100,0
Education	32	91,4	1	2,9	0	0	2	5,7	35	100,0
Social Security	32	91,4	1	2,9	0	0	2	5,7	35	100,0
Work	31	88,8	2	5,7	0	0	2	5,7	35	100,0
Housing	30	85,7	3	8,6	0	0	2	5,7	35	100,0
Segurança alimentar	28	80,0	5	14,3	0	0	2	5,7	35	100,0
Social service	27	77,1	6	17,1	0	0	2	5,7	35	100,0
Income Transfer	16	45,7	17	48,6	0	0	2	5,7	35	100,0

NR – No response

RN – Null Response

The response of the aldermen relevant to the history of social rights and Brazilian political culture characterized more by favour and donation than by the notion of rights, such as mentioned by Telles (2000) and Sales (1994), for example.

In the late nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century the core of social legislation were the health, welfare, education, labor (labor laws governing wages, working conditions and relationships) and assistance (at the time understood less as a right and more as support for the ones impoverished and unable to work). During the twentieth and the twenty first century, there were included in the list of social rights, or at least on the public agenda, leisure, income transfers (variations in basic income with a sense of universal, guaranteed minimum income in order to compensate or prioritize low-income people), social assistance, work as a social wealth and food security and nutrition, for example. (DRAIBE, 1989, CASTRO et al, 2009). The inclusion of these issues in legislation and social policy in Brazil meant a shift in the pattern of our institutional model of state welfare by mid-1980, that was meritocratic, and on aspects of corporate patronage. Currently, legislation and social policy point toward a more universalistic combined direction, but with traditional elements of that pattern. (DRAIBE, 1993, FIORI, 1997). The reach and impact of this inflection on the social fabric, particularly in economics and political culture aspects are discussed by authors such as Oliveira (2003), Neri (2007, 2011), Medeiros et al (2007) and Castro et al (2009).

There is a statistical relationship between party ideological profile, and the identification of rights under the constitutional articles and social legislation (Delta, 0.21). In this correlation there is 17% higher chance of an alderman from the right and centre-right not to identify one or more areas (health, education, social service, food and nutrition security, income transfers, housing, labor and social security) as a social right. (Table 8)

Table 8 – Social areas identified by aldermen (left and centre-left and right and centre-right) as social rights

It is social right (list presented)	Left and Centre-left		Right and Centre-right		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
No (exclude one or more areas of rights)	6	35,3	11	64,7	17	100,0
Yes – all rights	7	43,8	9	56,3	16	100,0
Total	13	39,4	20	60,0	33	100,0

Almost half of them (48.6%) do not consider income transfer a social right, 17.1% of them exclude rights to social assistance from the group and 14.3% do so for food and nutrition security (Table 8). These social rights are included in the most recent Brazilian legal norms and, in the case of income transfer, with less subjective validation, as discussed earlier; there is more detailed data about it.

6. Data on the income transfer program and ideological party profile

The breakdown of figures on the right to income transfer is justified because it can provide suggestions for discussion of other social rights.

This area of rights concentrates the lowest percentage of recognition among lawmakers of Curitiba and it is also the most disliked area throughout the history of social citizenship since its proto-forms in the sixteenth century and social policy in the nineteenth century, whose welfare measures aimed at impoverished layers due to its temporary character and limited so as not to compete with the acceptance of work. In apparent contradiction with the low recognition, 88.5% of the councilors is in favor of income transfer programs even when the alternative for the answer mentioned, invariably, that it could compromise the efficiency of the state. The need to meet social needs or the idea of activation of the local economy is supported by 71.4% and 17.1% of the aldermen, respectively (Table 9).

Table 9 – Opinion of Curitiba aldermen (2009 - 12) about politics and programs of income transfer

Politics and programs of income transfer	Frequency	Proportion	Percentage
In general they push the economic inefficiency of the State and must be avoided	4	0,11	11,4
They are necessary to accomodate social needs, even if they push the economic inefficiency of the State	25	0,7	71,4
They are necessary because they activate the local economy, even if they push the economic inefficiency of the State	6	0,17	17,1
TOTAL	35	1,0	100,0

However, 65.8% disagreed completely or in part to having income transfer programs incorporated in social legislation, which is consistent with the results of not recognizing the area as a right and indicates the tendency to accept such actions when they are characterized as donation and not as a right of citizenship, which meets the arguments of Kings (1995) on the culture of benevolent responsibility of the Brazilian elites (table 10).

Table 10. Notion of aldermen of Curitiba (2009-12) on income transfer programs and legislation

Registration in programs of income transfer in legislation as a right of citizenship	Frequency	Proportion	Percentage
Disagree totally	15	0,42	42,9
Disagree partially	8	0,22	22,9
Agree partially	5	0,14	14,3
Agree totally	7	0,2	20,0
TOTAL	35	1,0	100,0

It was observed that there is a statistical relationship between being a councilor of right and centre - right wing ideological profile and tending to disagree that income transfer programs are included as citizenship rights (delta 0.035). The correlation test indicates that there is a 30% higher chance of finding right and centre-right parliamentarians that disagree totally or partially with this inclusion (Table 11).

Table 11 - Values of the councilors (party profile) on registration of the Income Transfer Programs in the legislation as a right of citizenship

Registration in programs of income transfer in legislation as a right of citizenship	Left and Centre-Left		Right and Centre-Right		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Disagree totally or partially	8	34,8	15	65,2	23	100,0
Agree totally or partially	6	50	6	50	12	100,0
Total	14	40	21	60	35	100,0

In order to understand these values according to the ideological profile, it was worked with the variables independently of political parties and state responsibility and the variable dependent on social programs - a disincentive for work

7. Relationship between political values on social programs and ideological party profile

A justification for the non-acceptance by parliamentarians that income transfer programs are registered in the legislation as a right of citizenship is related to the fact that 65.7% of parliamentarians consider that social programs (in general) may discourage people for work.

In the interview, including the presentation of the colloquial form, it was mentioned the risk of beneficiaries "leaning on the State" as commonly spread by popular culture (table 12).

Table 12. Values of aldermen of Curitiba (2009-12) (by party affiliation) on social programs and work

Parties	Beneficiaries of social programs tend not to work ("lean on the State for resources")							
	Disagree Totally or partially		Agree Totally or partially		Did not know or did not answer		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
EM	1	33,3	2	67,7	0	0	3	100,0
PDT	1	33,3	2	66,7	0	0	3	100,0
PMDB	2	100,0	0	0	0	0	2	100,0
PP	0	0	1	100,0	0	0	1	100,0
PPS	0	0	2	100,0	0	0	2	100,0
PRP	0	0	1	100,0	0	0	1	100,0
PSB	1	33,3	2	66,7	0	0	3	100,0
PSC	0	0	1	100,0	0	0	1	100,0
PSDB	4	28,6	10	71,4	0	0	14	100,0
PSL	0	0	1	100,0	0	0	1	100,0
PT	2	66,7	1	33,3	0	0	3	100,0
PV	0	0	0	0	1	100,0	1	100,0
TOTAL	11	31,43	23	65,7	1	2,9	35	100,0

Half of the councilors of the left or centre-left parties and 76.1% of the right and centre-right agree that beneficiaries of social programs tend not to want to work in the sense that they rely on the state, which demonstrates that the latter show greater consistency between the expected ideological profile (related to party affiliation) and values of the councilors (Table 13).

Table 13. Values of Curitiba city councilors (2009-12) from the right and center-right or left and center-left political on social programs and work

Beneficiaries of social programs tend not to want to work ("lean on the State for resources")	Party					
	Right and centre-right		Left and centre-left		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Agree totally or partially	16	76,1	7	50,0	23	65,7
Disagree totally or partially	5	23,8	6	42,9	11	31,4
Do not know or did not answer	0	0	1	7,1	1	2,9
Total	21	100,0	14	100,0	35	100,0

Aldermen of the right and centre-right parties tend to agree with the statement that social programs can discourage work (delta 0.053) and there are less aldermen from the Left and centre-left parties which agree that social programs lead to not wanting to work than it was expected in case the two variables were independent. The strength of the correlation is moderate, indicating there is a 46.6% higher chance of finding that the right and centre-right councilors tend to agree that beneficiaries of social programs "lean on the state for resources."

Interestingly, when the independent variable is the notion of responsibility of the state aldermen the strength of the correlation is higher. Half of the council members that claim the state's primary responsibility is to ensure the well-being agree that social programs may discourage work and for 76.2% of council members who choose to maintain order and respect individual freedoms share this agreement (Table 14). Again the values of all the more conservative council members and liberals have less ambiguity.

Table 14. Conceptions of Curitiba city councilors (2009-12) on state responsibility and social programs

Beneficiaries of social programs tend to not want to work trabalhar (“rely on the State”)	Main responsibility of the State					
	Maintain social welfare		Maintain the order and respect individual liberties		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Agree Totally or partially	6	50,0	16	76,2	22	62,97
Disagree totally or partially	6	50,0	4	19,0	10	28,6
Do not know or did not answer	0	0	1	4,8	1	2,7
Total	12	100,0	21	100,0	35*	100,0

*Null Responses: 2

There is statistical dependence between variables, and council members that believe the main responsibility of the state is to maintain order and respect individual liberties tend to agree that social programs may discourage work (delta 0.07) and fewer councilors choose the alternative to ensure the well being, they agree with the statement on social programs and work other than expected in case the two variables were independent. The result of the correlation test indicates that there is a 62% higher chance of finding more councilors with conservative and liberal views on the state (maintaining the order and respect individual liberties as main responsibilities) who agree that beneficiaries of social programs tend not to want to work.

In summary, the majority of council members dismissed income transfer as a universal right; they disagreed with its inclusion as a right in legislation, but agreed that income transfer programs are needed to meet social needs. Most of them also agreed that beneficiaries of social programs tend not to want to work. There a relation of statistical dependence between these values and party affiliation of aldermen, and also between values and views on the state in the sense that right and centre- right aldermen and conservative and liberal views on the state tend to manifest these values, although they are also present, among others. The correlation test showed that to explain the values on social programs, the ideological party profile is a less strong variable (medium strength correlation) compared to the responsibility of the state variable, interpreted as conservative or liberal, social democratic and socialist (stronger correlation).

8. Political values in relation to the design of the FC88

The compatibility or incompatibility between the social legislation and values of the municipal parliament on universality and duty of the State was assessed through questions related to the audience and implementation responsibility on social policy. Almost all the aldermen considered as universal education policies (97.1%) and health (85.7%) (Demonstrating compliance with the legislation), and part of them admitted that policies of social assistance (51.4 %) and food security and nutrition (68.6%) would be for the entire population. The income transfer focused on specific groups was the alternative chosen by 57.1% (in accordance with Brazilian legislation, similar to minimum wage changes in BPC and Bolsa Família) and the universal income transfer option was of 40.0%. Roughly speaking, the values of most council members follow the historical pattern of political culture and the legal warranties in Brazil (Table 15).

Table 15. The audience of social policies according to the council of Curitiba - 2009-12

Target audience and sectors of social policy	All population		Specific social groups		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Health	30	85,7	5	14,3	35	100,0
Education	34	97,1	1	2,9	35	100,0
Social Service	18	51,4	17	48,6	35	100,0
Social Security	27	77,1	8	22,9	35	100,0
Housing	24	68,6	11	31,4	35	100,0
Work	30	85,7	5	14,3	35	100,0
Nutrition and Food Security	24	68,6	11	31,4	35	100,0
Income transfer	14	40,0	20	57,1	34*	97,1

*NS

Also for all areas of rights the majority of the council members considered that the responsibility to implement policies and programs is primarily, though not exclusively, of the state (Table 18). The areas of social security, food security and nutrition and income transfer have the largest number of alternative options for allocating sole responsibility on the state.

Highlighting the case that has served a more detailed discussion, we see that despite the 17 councilors that did not identify income transfer as a social right and 23 of them do not accept its inclusion in legislation, only 05 consider that primarily or exclusively the civil society would be responsible for social policies and programs in this area (Table 16). It is possible that these data confirm a greater acceptance of government policies to be implemented in this area, as a means of helping and with no guaranteed continuity, instead of having policies related to social legislation that, regardless of governmental willpower, require compliance by governments.

Table 16. Responsibility of implementing social policies and programs according to the council of Curitiba - 2009-12

Areas	Responsibility of implementing social policies and programs											
	Only the State		Only civil society		Both Specially State		Both Specially Civil Society		NR		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	n	%	N	%	N	%
Health	10	28,6	0	0	23	65,7	1	2,9	1	2,9	35	100,0
Education	8	22,9	0	0	22	62,9	4	11,4	1	2,9	35	100,0
Social Service	7	20,0	0	0	22	62,9	4	11,4	2	5,7	35	100,0
Social Security	12	34,3	0	0	20	57,1	2	5,7	1	2,9	35	100,0
Housing	10	28,6	0	0	23	65,7	1	2,9	1	2,9	35	100,0
Work	5	14,3	0	0	20	57,1	9	25,7	1	2,9	35	100,0
Nutrition and Food Security	11	31,4	0	0	19	54,3	4	11,4	1	2,9	35	100,0
Income transfer	11	31,4	1	2,9	17	48,6	4	11,4	2	5,7	35	100,0

The FC 1988 and social legislation determine the jurisdiction of the state, public provision and private sector complementarity in the implementation of social policies. Placed all areas together, 80.0% of the councilors show consistency with this guidance, 5.7% think that the responsibility rests solely on the State and 8.6% on both, but mainly on civil society (Table 17).

Table 17. Values of Curitiba city council (2009-12) (by party affiliation) regarding the responsibility for implementing social policies and programs

Parties	Responsibility for implementing social policies and programs									
	Only the State		Only Civil Society		Both		TOTAL			
	N	%	N	%	Mainly State N	Mainly Civil Society %	N	%	N	%
DEM	0	0	0	0	3	100,0	0	0	3	100,0
PDT	1	33,3	0	0	2	66,7	0	0	3	100,0
PMDB	0	0	0	0	2	100,0	0	0	2	100,0
PP	0	0	0	0	1	100,0	0	0	1	100,0
PPS	1	50,0	0	0	1	50,0	0	0	2	100,0
PRP	0	0	0	0	1	100,0	0	0	1	100,0
PSB	0	0	0	0	3	100,0	0	0	3	100,0
PSC	0	0	0	0	1	100,0	0	0	1	100,0
PSDB	0	0	0	0	11	78,6	3	21,4	14	100,0
PSL	1	100,0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100,0
PT	1	33,3	0	0	2	66,7	0	0	3	100,0
PV	0	0	0	0	1	100,0	0	0	1	100,0
TOTAL	2	5,7	0	0	28	80,0	3	8,6	35	100,0

It is not necessary to make the test for independence, for 80.0% of the cases in one category indicate that the variable party is independent of the variable responsibility with policies and social programs, ie, there is no relationship between them. In other words, being right and centre-right or left and centre-left is indifferent when it comes to political orientation as to whether the responsibility to implement policies and social programs is mainly but not exclusively of the state or not. This data resembles the findings of the research results of Zucco Jr. (2009, p. 18) about the preferences of parliamentaries on the ideal economy model. The author argues that

Although the right has remained fairly stable in its association with the market model, the left has moved significantly from a predominant preference for state models to the acceptance of models of balance between public and private sectors.

The results show that the compatibility between values of universality of the municipal parliament or not depend on the area of social legislation, being more compatible for education and health and less for social care and food security and nutrition. Most council members expressed political values on the duty of the State consistent with the constitutional articles and social legislation.

9. Final Thoughts

In the City of Curitiba the majority of the council members from 2009-2012 have liberal ideological and conservative profiles. This was measured by party affiliation, but mainly because of the values on the social hierarchy, inequality of social positions, state responsibility, as well as on one of the highlighted areas of social rights - the transfer of income.

It was shown that to explain the values of the councilors on social programs, the variable that is the responsibility of the state (maintaining the order, respect for individual liberties and ensuring well-being) is stronger than the variable party affiliation. Finding that, at first glance is going along the reflections of Carreirão (2006, p. 159) on whether the "left-right continuum as a framework for analysis" is losing "part of its power to predict the behavior of parties and their members".

However, considering the data and statistical tests performed in this research, they suggest that the answer to this question is that left and right wings are still an important reference, or in the words of Power and Zucco (2009), the consideration of the ideological positions has a predictive potential. That is, the data and testing suggests that the ideological partisan profile is important in understanding and predicting the values of the municipal parliament on social rights.

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¹ Previous versions of this research have been presented in Portuguese at the VII Encontro da ABCP – Associação Brasileira de Ciência Política and were published in the *Journal Civitas*, 2012.

² In this sense, this item in the chapter considers rights exclusively those assured by the legislation.

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⁶ In Michael and Machado (2007), left-wing parties: PT, PCB, PC do B, PCO, PDT, HSP, PMN, PPS, PSB, and PV PSTU; centre: PMDB and PSDB; right: PFL, PL, PPB and PTB, and PAN, TMP, PRN, PRONE, PRTB, PSC, PSD, CSDP, PSL, PSN, PST, PT B and PTN. In Carreirão (2006), right: PP (PPB, PPR; PDS), PFL; PRN; PDC, PL, PTB, PSC, PSP, PRP, PSL, PSD and PRONE; centre: PMDB and PSDB, left: PT; PDT ; PPS; PCdoB, PSB, PV; PSTU; PCO and PMN.

7. The ideological profile of the PMDB is different depending on the location and period of analysis (BRAGA, 2006). In Paraná, the PMDB can be aligned to the Center along the left-wing parties, which is corroborated by Souza Perissinotto and Braunert (2006) and Perissinotto, Codato, Fuks and Braga (2007). Therefore, to differentiate the parties of the Centre, the PMDB will be classified as center-left and the PSDB as centre-right.

8. The tests were conducted despite one of the houses of the table have value less than 05. Although not recommended, I believe the results provide useful indication for discussion in conjunction with other data displayed. This justifies that tests are carried out provided that it takes into account this warning and the debate focused on the set of data.
9. Despite the low correlation, the result of consistent pairs (0.110) (pair formed by the aldermen of right-wing parties and the centre right who agree with the hierarchies and aldermen from the left and the centre-left parties who disagree) is stronger than the result of inconsistent (0.088) pairs (i.e. Councillors from left and centre-left parties who agree and aldermen of right-wing parties and the centre right who disagree).
10. The test demonstrated proximity between the result for the consistent pairs (0.12) (pair formed by the aldermen of right-wing parties and the centre right who prefer the option to maintain the order or freedom as main responsibilities of the State and by the parliamentary parties of the left and centre-left who choose alternatively to ensure welfare) and the result for the inconsistent pairs (0.10) (aldermen of parties from the left and centre-left who prefer order or freedom and right-wing parties and centre-right who choose welfare).
11. On the test of independence Q of Yule the values from the expected frequency and the frequency observed were close. Assuming the statistical dependency, although very low, this would have the following meaning: aldermen from right-wing and centre-right parties tend to choose the alternatives maintain order or respect the freedom (delta $e-0.009$ 0.009) and there are fewer aldermen from the parties of the left and centre-left who choose this alternative than expected, if the two variables are independent (delta -0.009 0.009 and) (see shaded area of the table 4).
12. The liberal ideal has as central axis "the principles of freedom and individual responsibility" (MAGALHÃES, 2001, p. 570). It is notes on Hayek (1981) that it is specifically about economic freedom and free market (in reference to a spontaneous order), political freedom in the main sense of limitation of government power and limitation of spheres of intervention of government policies and also private domain protection of individuals linked to the institution of private property. The core of conservative ideals, in turn, is the suspicion of the intentions and actions in favour of changes which do not "respect the order" and the approval of incorporating changes according to a kind of accommodation flow. The risk of change intended for social cohesion (disruptive effect) and their possible unintended effects (perverse effects) justified the conservative orientation. It is highlighted by Oakeshout (1981) that, in the context of political power, this provision would be closer to the reformist, and far from the progressivist.
13. Currently in Brazil the two main income transfer programs - Benefício de Prestação Continuada (BPC) and the Bolsa Família program (GMP) – can also be classified as a form of guaranteed minimum income. The fundamental difference between them, beyond the target audience and specific elements, is that while the BPC is inscribed around the constitutional guarantees (with relevant legislation and public policy), the PBF is a program of the Government.
14. I prefer to use the term social policy in the singular, which emphasizes a public policy that encompasses various sectors (specific social policies), such as education, social assistance, health, etc. (DRAIBE, 1993).
15. Meritocratic due to the selectivity criterion to participate in the system, in part, dependent on the ability to contribute, position in the labour market and wages (insufficiency or income forecast for the case of assistive programs). Particular because of conditional eligibility factors, which leads to the fragmentation of different policies for specific social groups. In this context, the social expenditure is regressive, based on the employee's contribution and the residual public spending, with the aggravating factor in the fact that public spending is financed by a regressive tax system that becomes more expensive for formal workers. Ingratating due to the use of political and social programs as a political resource of the Government, parliamentarians and political parties. Corporate due to the weight of articulation between the State and corporations of workers and employers in the direction and delimitation of the scope of social policy.
16. The result of consistent pairs (0.083) – City Council s from right-wing and the centre right parties who agree that social programs desestimulate for work and left-wing parties and the center-left who disagree – is stronger than the result of inconsistent pairs (0.060) – councilmen from leftist and the center-left parties who agree and right and center-right who disagree.
17. The result of consistent pairs (0.188) (the pair formed by Councillors who choose the alternatives maintain order or respect individual freedoms as the primary responsibility of the State, those who agree that social programs are do not stimulate work and for those that choose to ensure well-being) is stronger than the result of inconsistent pairs (0.047) (aldermen opting for the alternative guarantee social welfare as the main responsibility of the State and those who choose the State should maintain order and freedom).