

SOCIAL NETWORKS IN THE POWER RELATIONSHIP OF PENSION REFORM

Roque Pereira da Silva¹

Abstract: This work was developed with the aim of demonstrating the power of power networks, expressed by parliamentarians regarding the main pension reforms carried out in Brazil from the 1988 Constitution to that referred to in Constitutional Amendment Project No. 06/2019. The research was based on the descriptive evaluative method, also using data collection and, from these, information was generated and represented by means of tree-type networks, in such a way as to demonstrate, through the votes cast by Federal Deputies in support or rejection of the texts forwarded by the respective heads of the central executive branch. With the study carried out, it was obtained results related to the conceptualization of social security, as an instrument for promoting equity of retirees and pensioners with workers who are active; the withdrawal of social achievements from workers established in the constitution; the network of power exercised by the heads (all) of power executive, since the Government of Fernando Henrique, together with parliamentarians to approve the dismantling of the social security and now, with the Bolsonaro government, to dismantle the legal framework of Social Security Social. In conclusion, it must be said that there has always been an interest on the part of the heads of the Executive Branch to unprotect social rights, taking away rights that have been achieved and already guaranteed in the greater legal system of the nation, transferring such resources to other allocations and payment of debts built up in functions of poor management in the past and present.

Keywords: Pensions. Social Security. Networks. State. Parliamentarians

SOCIAL NETWORKS IN THE SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM'S POWER RELATIONSHIP

Abstract: This paper was designed to demonstrate the power of power networks, manifested by parliamentarians in relation to the main social security reforms, carried out in Brazil from the 1988 Constitution until the one referred to in the Constitutional Amendment no. 06/2019. The investigation was based on the descriptive evaluative method, also using data collection and, from these, information was generated through tree-type networks, in such a way as to be evident, through the votes cast by the central Federal Deputies in support or rejection of texts forwarded by the respective executive branch's heads. The study obtained results related to the social security concept, an instrument to promote equity of retirees and pensioners with workers who are working; the withdrawal of workers' social achievements established in the constitution; the power network exercised by the executive branch chiefs (all), government, from the Fernando Henrique, to parliamentarians to approve the social

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security breakdown and now, with the Bolsonaro government, to the social security legal breakdown. In conclusion, it has always been the interest of the executive branch head to protect rights, social withdrawing rights won and already guaranteed in the nation's larger legal system, transferring these resources to other appropriations and repaying debts built on misbehavior conducting past and present management.

Key words: Welfare. Social Security. Networks. State. Parliamentarians

1 Introduction

This is an academic-scientific work related to Social Security in Brazil, member of Social Security under the terms recommended by the Federal Constitution of 1988, its changes in the last three decades as well as the proposal that is being processed in National Congress.

The study deals with the issue of social security financing, defined in art.

194 of the Federal Constitution (CF), whose insertion into the constitutional text resulted from the will of the 1988 constituents who established the legal framework for Social Security, Health and Social Assistance, through a solidarity system applied especially to social security.

The work was carried out having as a basic premise the changes related to negative support for workers who, after years of work, contribute to the production of goods and services, using their physical and psychological strength, in their daily lives your working life. It is known that the strength of the employee's work contributes, adds value, added to everything that is produced in a society.

Given the contextualization, the starting question is the following: The worker Brazilian has been adequately recognized by the state and the community holder of capital, regarding the protection of the dignity of their life after exhausting their physical strengths and capacity to produce goods and services for the benefit of employers and of society as a whole?

Other questions were formulated to prepare the research, such as:

The State has been concerned with the right to life and dignity of the working class, through the provision and protection of the appropriated and collected resources of the social security?

The choice of the topic is justified by the fact that social security is a protection instrument to the worker when he runs out of strength, when he gets old or becomes ill and is no longer able to work.

The theme is relevant from both a scientific and social point of view, as it provides content legal and social protection of human dignity and at the same time enables the realization of this ideal, allowing workers to retirees are assured of the resources necessary to survive.

The research was carried out with the general objective of demonstrating the power networks resulting from of the demonstration of parliamentarians regarding the main reforms of Social Security, carried out in Brazil from the 1988 Constitution until the one referred to in the Project of Constitutional Amendment No. 06/2019.

The research was designed with the aim of achieving the following specific objectives: a) conceptualize social security as a form of social insurance and Social Security; b) highlight the reasons for the support of businesspeople and the government for the Pension Reform; c) Develop networks demonstrating institutional power blocs in the Chamber of Deputies for and against the reform, especially the one related to the imputed sacrifice by PEC 06/19 to the worker, regarding the length of service and the minimum age for enjoy the right to retire.

The work is exploratory in nature, as a preliminary study carried out with the purpose of better adapting the construction of knowledge [...] that is, a "study exploratory, which aims to understand the study variable as it is presented, its meaning and the context in which it is inserted" (PIOVESAN; TEMPORINI, p. 321, 1995).

2. Conceptualizing social security and social security

Social security is a social insurance policy that aims to ensure the subsistence for workers in the event of physical or mental incapacity and retirement or pensions to their dependents in accordance with the law. The resources obtained in the circumstances referred to in this paragraph is known as benefits, such rights are, in Brazil, guaranteed to people who make contributions to the National Institute of Social Security (INSS).

Providence means the condition of what is provident, what foresees or what seeks to avoid disorders, which protects workers, through the adoption of conjectures, aiming protect it. It means the ability to see the future in advance.

The term Previdência comes from the Latin *previdentia* which means “forecast or prevention”, originating from *praevenire*, also a Latin term (*prae* = before + *venire* = to come).

Social Security in Brazil has had its legal framework since the advent of the 1988 Federal Constitution, which created Social Security and its funding sources.

Social security means, in principle, the existence of a society that is supportive, egalitarian and fair. It is a sum of actions and policies social actions that aim to create a society that can help citizens and their families in case of old age, unemployment, illness or other vulnerabilities.

In the Brazilian legal system, there is, to this day, formally, although weakened, a social order, established by the Magna Carta ensuring this social solidarity.

Social security has undergone several changes, mainly regarding cuts in the sources of its financing, in the exemptions and unlinking of revenues.

In this sense (LOBATO; COSTA; RIZZOTTO, 2019, p. 01) they pronounce in the sense of what:

The 1988 Federal Constitution created an unprecedented chapter on the social order that aims to ensure well-being and social justice; and in it, social security, as an organizing concept of social protection, which includes health, social security and social assistance. Since then, many changes, already studied in the literature, have been made to this structure, unfortunately more restrictive than inclusive. In the case of social security, reforms have been undertaken by all governments since the Constitution, but the proposal made by the Jair Bolsonaro government is the most comprehensive, since it radically and profoundly changes what has been built since the 1930s. It is also the most unfair to Brazilians and the one that most increases risks to the most vulnerable groups of women and the elderly.

Thus, Social Security has been suffering withdrawals of part of its resources, having as responsible, government and parliamentary management, subject to approval by restrictive measures with the aim of, now, creating revenue waiver policies for benefit some productive sectors of society, now taking away part of the resources own of security and, particularly, of social security for payment of expenses others, including public debt that were not generated by workers.

In this scenario, the Brazilian State, through its rulers, has not given greater importance to the lives of men and women and comes step by step, government after government, dismantling, with constant pension reforms, the system of social protection, by subtracting workers' own and appropriate rights, intended to preserve a better quality of life and dignity, giving way to theses of the neoliberal attacks on the minimal state.

3. Reasons for business and government support for pension reform

There has always been a struggle between capital and labor. First, primitive man dominated man himself, his fellow men. Because of their power, they subjugated the most weak, took their properties and enslaved them.

In this vein, the Philosopher Thomas Hobbes, who lived between 1588 and 1697, said, in his work "The Leviathan", that before the war of men against all their similar, in the state in which man was a wolf to man himself, already existed in that time the need to form companies through a social contract.

Thus, peasant society, the bourgeoisie and industrial society emerged. In all they the holder of capital (land, money, machines and other production goods) always exploited workers, sometimes forcing them to provide forced labor, later, with low wages, sometimes without proper health care for old age, etc.

This struggle between capital and labor is ancient throughout the world and has been the great reason for class struggles, that is, the holders of capital goods when producing goods and services, because they had power, did not value them, as they still do not value them today adequately, the worker, alienates society, inducing it not to see the importance and the participation of the labor factor in the value added to the goods and services that drive the economy.

It was at this step that, in Brazil, the Federal Constitution of 1988, named by Ulisses Guimarães, when promulgating it, as a citizen constitution, created social security, by through Art. 194, consisting of Social Security, Health and Social Assistance, the result of a great national discussion and in parliament (Chamber of Deputies and Senate), representing, respectively, the will of the people and the States of the Federation to

to establish a Social Security that represents social justice and respect for dignity human.

To finance social security, the constitution created a source of financing, quadripartite nature, involving the worker, the company, the state and society. The worker, with his contribution, around 8%, 9% of his remuneration, retained in the payroll; the Employer with 20% of the employee's remuneration;

Society with taxation related to the Contribution for Social Security Financing Social (COFINS) and the Social Integration Program (PIS), with rates, generally, of 7.65% and 1.65%, respectively, including on imports and the State with the taxation related to the Social Contribution on Net Income (CSLL), a tax that is levied on the net profit of companies, that is, after it deducts all its costs, expenses, including Board fees (*Pró-labore*); with PIS/PASEP resources and with the winnings from game and lottery predictions.

It is worth mentioning that, today, the CF guarantees all these resources for Social Security, which is enough to finance it, so much so that the Government since Itamar Franco has been withdrawing 20% of this resource for other expenses from the Social Emergency Fund (FSE), which underwent some changes with the name of Fiscal Stabilization Fund (FEF) and, currently, it is known as the Union Revenue Disconnection (DRU), extended in 2007 (EC 56/2007), among others, up to the last amendment (PEC 31/2016) which, once approved, allowed the continued unlinking of revenues, increasing the percentage to 30% and determined its application to the States and Municipalities. Bolsonaro's government wants to deconstitutionalize Social Security. In the case of Social Security takes away a right from workers, achieved through many struggles. With the Constitutional Amendment Project, No. 06, (PEC 06/2019), already approved by Chamber of Deputies and in progress in the Senate, requires the government to withdraw rights workers' social security and, in 10 years, create a cash flow of approximately one trillion reais, and 4.5 trillion in 20 years, through the withdrawal of part of the pensions and pensions, increasing the minimum retirement age and other restrictions on workers' rights. In other words, it wants to cut part of the pensions and pensions for widows, widowers and dependents and benefit entrepreneurs in a way general and, mainly, international financial capital.

With the approval of PEC/06/2019, the government intends to establish a system of capitalization to replace the social security system with solidarity (worker, company, society and government). With the capitalization system, desired by the current government, led by Minister Paulo Guedes, the pension system will only be made up of by the contribution of workers, that is, savings to be managed by public and private banks.

If the reform is approved, companies will be exempted from contributing 20% on the sheet. This is why businessmen are in favor of reform. Imagine the gains that large commercial and television companies, industries and, mainly banks?

Another consequence of the Reform is that the government would no longer finance social security and taxes that are currently collected for this purpose, by constitutional provision, would no longer be compose the Social Security financing basket. Thus, the government would use of these taxes for other expenses.

If the reform is approved, social security will then only have the financing related to the worker's contribution, a type of savings compulsory, which would be handed over to the banks that would manage such resources your pleasure. No one guarantees, including the state, the return of this collection under form of retirement, since who would manage the amounts withheld from employees would be the banks that would apply such resources in the financial market. In other words, employees will be left to their own devices, without support from employer, state and society, companies would become richer, the State would not would contribute more to social security and the amounts that society pays today to finance Social Security would be passed on to the Government to spend on whatever it wanted. This is a sad observation.

It is clear that, in addition to individual entrepreneurs, banks and the mainstream media are all committed to dismantling the constitutional framework and legal basis that supports the current Social Security system adopted in Brazil, since they will have at their disposal favor the exemption of their respective payrolls and they no longer pay the employer's contribution, and, consequently, will further promote the lack of protection of the future (retirements) of its workers who contribute with work, sweat and all sorts of sacrifices, all in exchange for more profits.

We see, unfortunately, the clash of powerful men against those who have nothing, except be their workforce, that the brutal inequality between men continues to be in present equal to what it was in the past and that Hobeas' thought was not lost in the time, that is, man continues to be "a wolf to his own man".

4. Networks of correlation of powers related to social security

The term "networks" comes from the Latin "*retis*" which means, in the terms taught by Benelli (2016), the intertwining of the threads that formed the fabrics. According to the cited author (p. 270) more recently:

The term has had its concept expanded and has come to be adopted in various segments, including the economy, technology and administration, in the same innovative perspective that also uses the concepts of "synergy", "resilience" and "flexibility", just to name a few of the most successful ones. In this way, organizational systems capable of bringing together individuals and institutions around similar causes, in a democratic and participatory manner, have come to be understood as networks. Forming a network, therefore, implies a commitment to jointly carrying out concrete actions, transcending geographical, hierarchical, social or political boundaries.

Along this path, and specifically with regard to pension reform, links are formed between parliamentarians, some aligned with the government proposal and others not, forming true networks, whose actions specifically support or not the guiding theses of the reform.

It is believed that the actions, the ties around the theses are constituted, if solidify due to the alignment of parliamentarians with the ideologies of some who defend more rights for workers and their dependents, defined in the form of law, to ensure them more peace of mind in old age and illness, and others who defend plus the states, following the example of liberal theses of constituting a minimal state, as if the state did not have greater responsibility to provide greater assistance to workers and better distribute the *res publica*, in a more equitable way.

Thus, networks are formed, as shown in figure 1, of the tree type, in which the following are verified: trends, in the case of this work, related to social security, represented by parliamentarians in favor of maintaining workers' achievements, according to the established in the constitutional text and those who were against the maintenance of some rights, that is, in favor of the withdrawal of labor rights, some thinking

are helping the country to get out of a crisis sung and decanted by the government, or by ideological issues of defense of capital, mainly international financial capital.

Figure 1: Tree-like figure

Source: FIGUEIREDO, Carlos Eduardo de Senna. *In Business Administration Journal*.

When talking about pension reform in countries with democratic regimes, such as In the case of Brazil, difficulties are often expected in the approval process due to the unpopularity that the measures provoke. Parliamentarians are always afraid to support them because they lose votes in their electoral bases. In these cases, cases, tree-type networks², consisting of a vertex that corresponds to the head of the executive power that, when forwarding the reform proposal, is formed in parliament edges directed at the parliamentarians who defend the proposal and those who reject.

It is important to emphasize that, as this is an important matter and of broad social interest, to reform the social security system, an Amendment Project is necessary Constitutional, whose approval only occurs with 60% of votes, that is, a majority of 3/5, in two rounds in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

When the process takes hold, there is a real battle of ideas and ideologies, of parliamentarians and the government, most of the time wanting to increase revenue and dismantle rights acquired by the mass of private workers and civil servants public. The Head of the Executive Branch, requesting support from his base (Parliamentarians of the same political party or party bloc) and parliamentarians from other parties.

This is how social security, and especially Social Security, have been over time, since after its definition in the constitutional text, target of questioning of the managers who assumed the central power of the country, since the Government of Itamar Franco the resources destined to Social Security and, by

²Tree-type networks mean the existence of a topology that describes the modus faciendi of the interconnections of a node (hub) to other nodes, in such a way as to make connections and enable transmissions.

As a result, social security has been suffering diversions to pay expenses other items, mainly for payment of debts generated by management.

In this sense, those holding management power, the Presidents of the Republic in all the administrations forwarded a proposal for a constitutional amendment, either in the sense of using Social Security resources to cover other expenses outside of social security, such as as the Social Emergency Fund (FSE), in the government of Itamar Franco, later the Fiscal Stabilization Fund (FEF) and Union Revenue Unbundling (DRU), extended in 2007 (EC 56/2007) and 2016 (PEC 31/2016), rising from 20% to 30%.

In addition to the unlinking of the union's revenues, notably those relating to the diversion of resources were presented proposals for Constitutional Amendment in order to make Social Security reforms in the governments of Fernando Henrique, Lula, Temer and Bolsonaro. This paper discusses some aspects of the reforms submitted to Congress in mandates of Presidents Fernando Henrique, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and Jair Bolsonaro.

It is worth noting here that from what we have heard, through reports of domain public, that for such measures to have resonance in Congress there was always the so-called exchange of "favors", that is, the Executive making concessions, through positions, release of parliamentary amendments and other concessions.

In the government of Fernando Henrique, the Reform proposed by PEC 33/95 and approved was based on increasing the minimum retirement age, which was 50 years old and has become 53 years old.

In this sense Candido (s/d) pronounces:

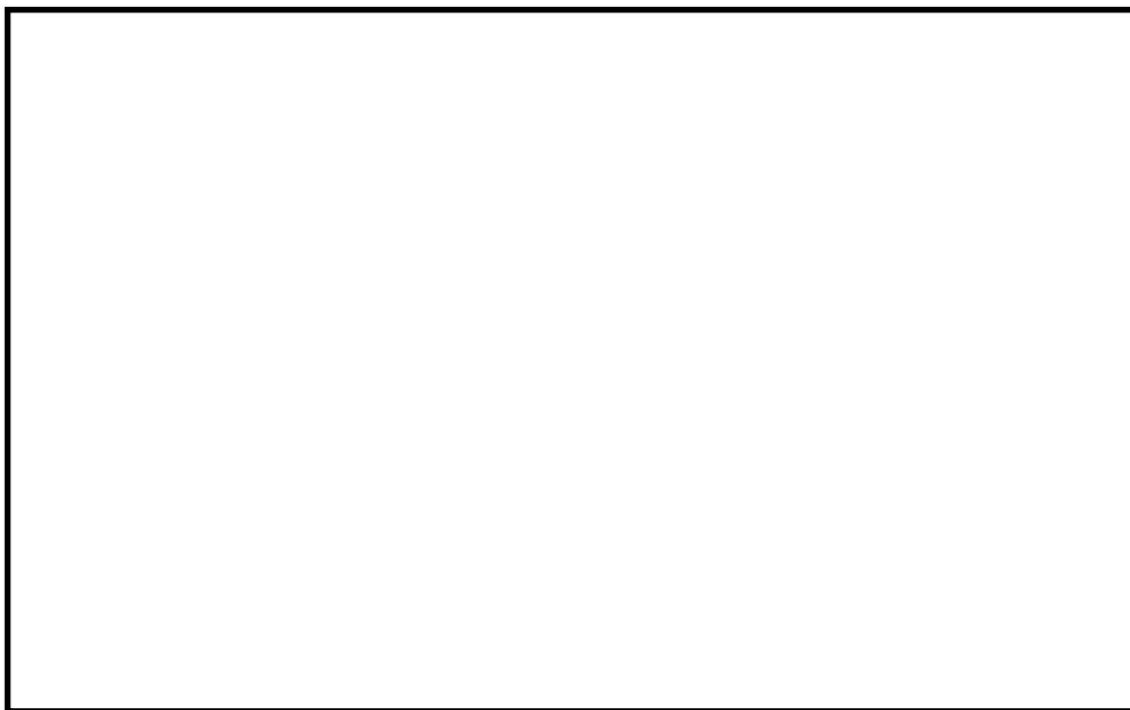
The main attacks were the replacement of retirement based on length of service with retirement based on contribution time (30 years for women and 35 for men) and the establishment of an age limit for full retirement for public servants – 53 years for men and 48 for women. In addition, the minimum retirement age for private sector workers was increased – 60 years for men and 55 for women.

The proposal was forwarded to the Chamber of Deputies at the end of 1993 and to be approved went through two phases, the first regarding changes in the text of the Constitution, with the change in the pension schemes for workers of the initiative private and public sector.

The measures contained in the previous paragraph only came into effect at the end of 1998, through EC nº 20/98 and in the following stage it was implemented through measures provisional measures and extensive complementary legislation.

It was discussed at the time that the Pension Reform was necessary in order to contribute to the reduction of the public deficit, which was essential for stabilization and which would generate trust among international organizations (ITO *ET ALL*, 2016).

Figure 2: Deputies who voted for and against the Pension Reform, in the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso.



Source: Gazeta online

Fernando Henrique's government to approve its reform, of 500 deputies who voted in plenary, had blocks of government Deputies, 345 and had as Opponents a total of 152 deputies and 3 abstentions.

With the data referenced in figure 2, the representativeness is summarized as follows:
network.

It was in this reform that the social security factor was created, enabling workers retire before the age of 30, as long as you had contributed in the same period period. The value of the retirement became proportional, that is, whoever had

Those who worked for a short period of time began to receive lower benefits than they used to receive before the reform (MUNDO ECONÔMICO, 2019).

Figure 3: List of Deputies who voted in plenary for and against the Reform of Social Security (Management of President FHC).

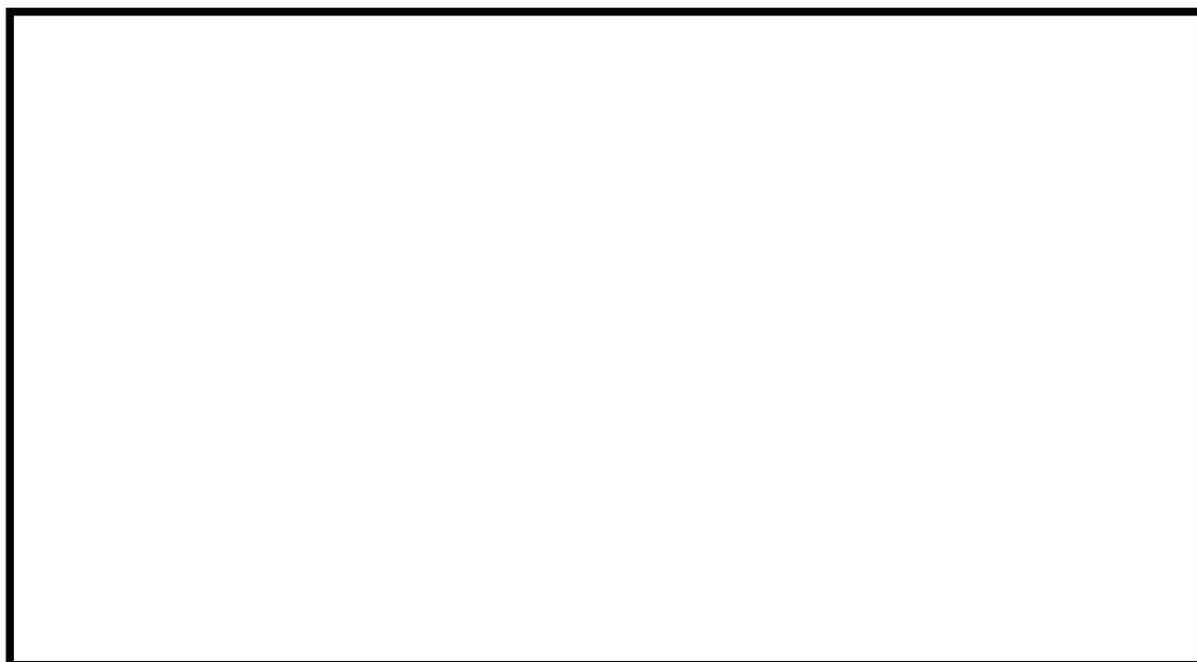
Source: Prepared by the Author

During the administration of Luiz Inácio da Silva, the PEC was sent to the National Congress No. 40/2003, which was processed and approved by Congress in a very short space of time becoming the EC N^o 41/2003. It is worth noting that, in this reform, the parliamentarians from President Lula's Party who had been staunchly opposed to the Project President Fernando Henrique, in a true gesture of regression, took positions distanced from the flags of resistance to the dismantling of social security, giving way to neoliberal policies, the deregulation of labor relations and programs of greater return on capital.

This reform approved the minimum retirement age of 60 years for men, 55 for women, with 35 and 30 years of service, respectively, 20 years of public service, 10 years of career and 5 years in the last position. With the advent of EC No. 41/2003, public service retirees began to contribute to social security. This was a hard blow from the Lula government, to the social security system social security protection.

According to Gomes (2003), “of the 486 parliamentarians who participated in the vote on the EC 41/2003, 358 voted in favor, while 126 were against. There were 9 abstentions. The text was then sent to the Senate for consideration in two rounds.”

Figure 4: List of Deputies who voted in plenary for and against the Reform of Social Security (President Lula's Administration)



Source: Prepared by the Author

In the current Bolsonaro government, the power relationship is analyzed, that is, the currents of Chamber of Deputies (CCJ), who voted for and against the admissibility of the PEC 06/2019. The network is composed of the following nodes: 1 – Presidency of the Republic; 2 – Chamber of Deputies; 3 – Constitution and Justice Committee (CCJ); 4 – Deputies who voted against Admissibility; 5 – abstention; 6 – Deputies who voted in favor and 7 – Voted YES, with modification.

This network, therefore, refers to the power relationship existing in the Chamber of Deputies, relating to the Deputies who make up the CCJ and who voted on the admissibility or not of the PEC 06/2019, few against the reform and others in support of Minister Paulo's theses Guedes, responsible for drafting the Reform, since the President says publicly, including to the press, which understands nothing about economics. This network is composed of the following nodes: 1 – Presidency of the Republic; 2 – Chamber of Deputies; 3

– Constitution and Justice Committee (CCJ); 4 – Deputies who voted against the Admissibility; 5 – abstention; 6 – Deputies who voted in favor and 7 – Voted YES, with modification.

Taking the data in Table 1, the following parameters are taken into account: possibilities of votes on the Pension Reform, related to EC 006/2019, in the CCJ: Yes, No, Abstention and Yes with Modification.

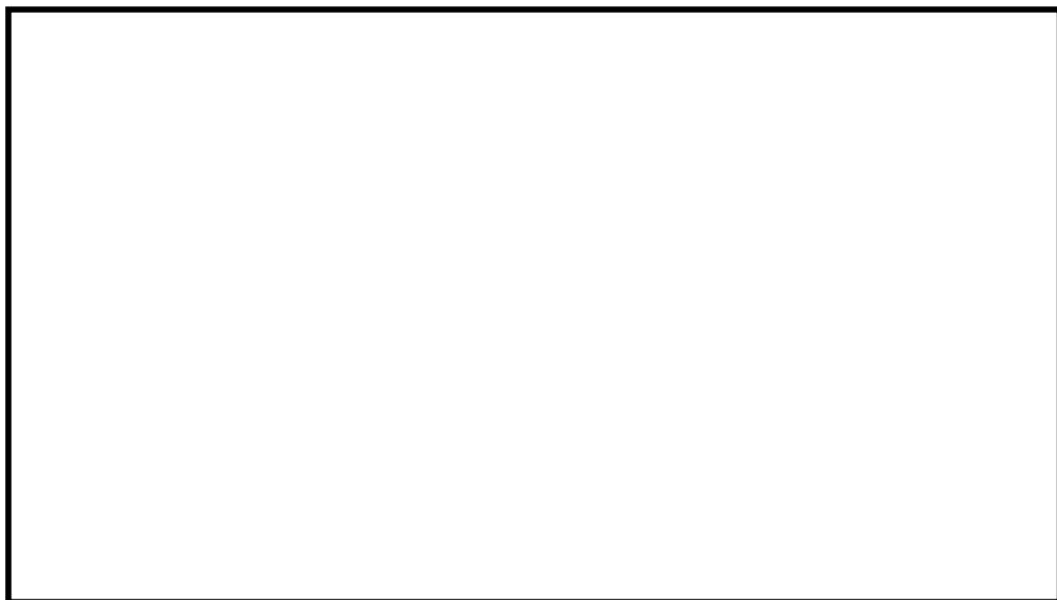
Table 1: Deputies who voted for the admissibility of PEC 06/2016



DEPUTIES IN FAVOR OF REFORM	DEPUTIES AGAINST REFORM	INDEXES
	18	29.5%
43		70.5%
TOTAL	61	100%

Source: Prepared by the author adapted from the publication in GAZETA ONLINE.

It turns out that this pension reform proposal is the most perverse of all times and is configured in a network, in the form of a tree, in the configuration of figure 4 drawn below.

Figure 4: Network of Federal Deputies who voted on the Pension Reform (PEC 006/2019), in Constitution and Justice Committee (CCJ)



	President of the Republic		In favor of commodification
	President of the Chamber		Abstention
	Committee on Justice and C		NO – Vote Against the Reform
	YES - Votes in Favor		

Source: Prepared by the author

5. Methodological procedures

The research was based on the descriptive evaluative method. As for the objectives, exploratory nature, with a theoretical vision, of a documentary nature, having raised data regarding the legislative process, particularly with regard to demonstrations by Federal Deputies in votes in the National Congress. There was no allusions to the Senate votes due to the fact that this analysis would be impaired, since that at the time of preparation of this investigation, the proposed amendment was still was being processed in the Chamber of Deputies.

Thus, the data collection instrument was used in the research and from this data was generated information represented through tree-type networks in such a way as to demonstrate, through the votes cast by Federal Deputies in support or against rejection of the texts forwarded by the respective heads of the central executive branch. The data relating to voting in the Chamber of Deputies was taken into account the fact that this segment represents the people and did not yet have parameters to evaluate the representation of the Senate for or against the reform, since it had not yet the vote took place.

6. Final considerations

In preparing this work, a brief review of the definition of Social Security was made.

Social and social security, its composition and sources of financing.

The text highlighted the interest of the heads of the Executive Branch in conducting the lack of protection for the weaker party in the employer *versus* employee or government relationship and civil servant. The issue of likely beneficiaries was also addressed

related to the results to be approved by the reforms, notably the businessmen and the financial system.

It was found that each ruler who takes command of the Planalto Palace has effectively moved efforts to undermine workers' rights, in especially, with regard to social and social security aspects, increasing the contributions and imposing burdens and delaying deadlines for workers conquer the sacred right of retirement.

They were constructed, with data relating to the votes of Federal Deputies, elected for the exercises of the governments of Fernando Henrique, Luiz Inácio da Silva and Jair Bolsonaro, once again demonstrating the strength that each of these rulers imposed on the pension reform and, in short, the models that each one promoted in the process of dismantling the Social Security System, as recommended by the Constitution Citizen of 1988.

Given the scenario outlined above, it can be seen that the Brazilian parliament's support and rejection of pension reforms, led by the Executive Branch, in all implementation occasions, were built based on the pressure exerted by respective Presidents who managed to approve the texts, through concessions of release of budgetary funds, parliamentary interests and other concessions, thus configuring the exchange of favors, without taking into account the system of preventing support for the life, health and old age of workers.

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