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**The future of social security in Brazil:
is there a way without solidarity?**

Introduction

Brazil's population is very diverse and marked by very long-term standards of inequality. As result, digital inclusion still challenges effectiveness of a public policies. In the past, though up providing access to new technologies should be enough to increase social inclusion, but as Covid pandemic reached the country, urging social security system to create distributive policies to fight hungry and unemployment, it became very clear that is no simple solution to urgent national risks in informational societies of underdeveloped countries.

Social security in Brazil has been neglected and suppressed by an increasing alignment with neoliberal interests, to the detriment of the late welfarist national understanding. Access to some benefits has been hindered by successive legal modification.

In the other hand, the necessity to create ways of provide attendance with social distance, accelerated deployment of new technologies that enabled access to social programs through data crossing, facial and digital recognition.

However, poor Brazilian population – goodwill's policies customer – due to low schooling and familiarity to technological tools, failed to access programs and formed endless lines in front of bank offices searching of redeeming amounts made available by the government.

As result, poor citizens were exposed to greater risks of contamination and faced grater difficulties to receive government emergencial income, increasing the already huge gap between economically active and vulnerable citizens.

Brazilian social security failed to protect because its vulnerable population has no ways of accessing new technologies and it's been used as instrument for suppression of constitutionally guaranteed state obligations.

It seems very clear that the use of new technology to provide access to public policies must be made in addition to a strong instrumentalization and training population on how to operate this, something unthinkable for highly developed countries with lower social inequality patterns.

For better observation of this particular case, which seems to reveal that new technologies can be instrument of exclusion in inequality society's, if poorly inserted in certain contexts, especially on public policies issues, it is important to analyses some social contexts.

Thus, from some structuring axes, the socio-political context, the social security prism, the first challenge to the global social security systems – Covid-19 and what it revealed, the social economic markers and the number of precarious workers, the virtual inclusion in Brazil, this paper search to explain what went so wrong to the point of presenting the reverse result of what was intended in Brazilian model of using technological instruments to protect vulnerable population.

The methodological path followed is also a timeline, in which the contexts from the structuring axes intertwine, allowing to understand structural failures to improve the use of technology in future policies.

From the analysis of official surveys that measure inequality and income in opposition to the requirements for emergency benefits to face the social risk of the pandemic, it was possible to verify that the virtual inclusion is still a challenge in countries that are still struggling to fight poverty and hunger as Brazil.

In a state struggling with severe budgetary restrictions for investments in this area, due to the issuance of a constitutional amendment that plastered investments for the sector, based on a beckian reading of contingency of modern risks, the study points to the need to resume investments in education and social promotion, under the risk that the technological instrumentalization of public policies ends up digging an even greater gap between the economically active and vulnerable population, increasing exclusion and creating a legion of subordinate citizens, without government protection.

The social political context

As the word faces your worst enemy in the twenty first century, COVID-19 pandemic, nations are trying to help they're citizens thru the difficulty. People were put to work home and, at the beginning, one thing seem to be very clear in our national reality: some workers can't adapt themselves to the new scenario. In Brazil, it became very clear real fast, revealing the urgency to rethink the Brazilian educational system, to adapt the very archaic model and incorporate new technologies.

Some sectors in which there is a concentration of individuals with longer schooling, such as the judiciary, which had been incorporating technology in routine for a long time, managed to properly adapt itself, after a brief interruption of services, existing in virtual environment, ensuring maintenance of jurisdictional activity.

On the other hand, pandemic revealed an enormous contingent of workers unable of adapt to adverse situations. They're mostly under educated citizens, product of public education deterioration, schooling dropout, facing great difficulty in maintaining their jobs and guaranteeing income. To the members of this working class, manual workers and in non-intellectualized activities, technology represents an additional obstacle.

By this time, it is still uncertain to predict when and if things will be back from pre pandemic times in the work system, and if it will be.

Since the end of the second half of the twenty century, in the late 80's, it is expected that labor will evolve to two very distinct kinds of work.

The first one, patronized, attached to old pillars that is the company in which the worker are switched on the place where labor happens, profession and the wage work.¹

The second one was very close to what we know today as the precarious workers, the apps workers, known in Brazil as *trabalhadores uberizados*, something like "uberized workers" in a free translate of the terminology.

In modern capitalized world, the second group is expected to grow and swallow the first, because the flexibility of the pillars which sustained the work was also evaluating at technology evolution's rhythm.

This, don't have traditional guarantees as work environment protection, salary, health care, access to pensions and take themselves the risk of the economic activities.

¹ U. Beck, *Sociedade de Risco. Rumo a uma outra modernidade*, trad. S. Nascimento, Editora 34, São Paulo 2010, p. 206.

Our social context hasn't prepared workers to adapt to the rapidly increasing technological developments that operate mutations in the protective fabric and exposing protective weaknesses and economic vulnerabilities.

Un addition, since 2016, we have experienced a constant decrease of registered workers and consequent increase of informal workers and "entrepreneurs".² It's necessary to clarify that what Brazilian data calls entrepreneurs is a very large group that reunites low-income workers who receive their wages as if they're a company (pejotizados) and small and micro entrepreneurs with annual incomes not exceeding R\$ 81.000,00³ (USD 15.055,00) maximum in 2020.

Brazil couldn't deal with the old unemployment problem, so started to consider full employment this precary situations and threat as full protected workers, citizens in potential vulnerability situation and who, in any negative fluctuation in economic indexes, will need state intervention to maintain their subsistence.

So, when official research pointed to very high rates on unemployment⁴ – 11,9% by the end of 2019 – we are referring to unsuitable workers, people without ability to work, who need capacitation and couldn't adapt to technological transformation ongoing in labor work. This people, for lack of a better policy, make up a large contingent of served by social assistance program, which distributes income to the vulnerable population considered unable to work.

In addition to this mass, all other low-income workers are added, outside norms of labor protection and which have guarantees against unemployment. In general, it is possible to stablish that this social group have low levels of education, great difficulties adapting to incorporate new technologies into everyday life.

In the same way, especially after 2016, year in which new forms of exercise of paid activity were regulated with less guarantees, there was a migration from the group of protected workers to the group of precarious workers.⁵

Beck believes the unemployment problem could be fixed by the decrease rates of births, which could provide some stability in Europe.⁶

² See: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE), *Síntese de Indicadores Sociais: uma análise das condições de vida da população brasileira*, 2020, Rio de Janeiro 2020, <https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/visualizacao/livros/liv101760.pdf>, p. 22 [accessed: 21.01.2021].

³ R\$ 81.000,00 equals USD 15.055,76 in 21/01/2021.

⁴ On: <http://www.cadernosdedereitoactual.es/ojs/index.php/cadernos> [accessed: 2.01.2020].

⁵ In regard, it's worth to mention the creation of the intermittent work contract, which regulated the workday without guaranteeing minimum hours, resulting in a drop in incomes.

⁶ U. Beck, *Sociedade de Risco...*, op. cit., p. 207.

But in inequality's countries, it's not so simple. Brazil also experiences a decrease in the number of births; however, the age pyramid inversion has resulted in an actuarial problem for the social security system, which is structured in intergenerational solidarity and in the simple non-capitalized distribution system.⁷ Government reacts with large changes in constitutional text that broke with the welfarist tradition and inaugurated rules that aim to decrease the participation of the State, relativizing rights, reducing and limiting investments in social rights, creating a state of unconstitutional affairs.

That's the social political contexts when COVID-19 pandemic hit Brazil.

The social security context

Brazilian's social security system is based in solidarism and the whole society participation in the funding form. The collection base is broad, ranging from social contributions to taxes levied on contests of forecasts and sale of assets captured by the courts and arising from criminal actions, such as drug trafficking.

In these terms, for the sustainability of this simple share social security system, with the exception only of what concerns social security, of a contributory nature and only accessible to its list of beneficiaries and dependents, it is extremely important to maintain constant economic and social development, increase in full employment, or at least, voluntary affiliation of precarious workers to the social security system through social inclusion programs.

The Federal Constitution of 1988, had incorporated in its text the fundamental social rights, being thus labor and social security that should be regulated through the intervention of the State, along the lines of that Welfare State outlined in the first half of the 20th century by William Beveridge.

The social security issue in Brazil is the major cause of legal disputes in all instances of Justice and it is umbilically linked to the achievement of an ideal of full employment that some theorists already predicted to be overcome even in the 1980s⁸, since the flexibility and precariousness labor relations was already underway in much of the world and it was a matter of (little) time that it also spread here.

The wide financing network is what ensures that we have free public health care accessible to everyone on national soil and also what guarantees the population exposed to the situation of long-term vulnerability – which has been

⁷ Ministério da Fazenda, *Envelhecimento da população e seguridade social*, Brasília 2018, p. 8, <http://sa.previdencia.gov.br/site/2018/06/colprev37.pdf> [accessed: 4.06.2020].

⁸ U. Beck, *Sociedade de Risco...*, op. cit., p. 205.

agreed to measure in two years here – a minimum income capable of guaranteeing subsistence.

Thus, it also incorporated the commitments assumed in international treaties, establishing its position in the world.⁹

The public policies to be developed by the State to bring about this state of social welfare pursued in national lands, gained the constitutional text, the basic principles being located in the fundamental guarantees and their organization throughout our long constitutional text, in the chapter on Security Social, Economic and Social Order, Social Security and sparse infra-constitutional legislation.

The intricate legal tangle, sometimes conflicting, that created several zones of opacity and exclusion, which segregate the beneficiaries of the social security system into first- and second-class citizens, the first to be protected and the second not to.

When the first measures to support the population, whose income was suppressed by the restrictions on circulation, necessary to combat COVID-19, were announced, the Brazilian social security implanted an access system through data crossing, facial and digital recognition to request aid through mobile applications, tablets and virtual platforms.

As soon as the platforms were on, it became evident that as the public administration would make its service available exclusively remotely, disadvantaged citizens (those with the greatest need) would not have access to benefits. They were excluded. People in severe deprivations as people who live in streets, in areas not covered by connections services were simply ignored.

This is because the right to connection is not a homogeneous right in Brazil, it is only accessible to those who can pay for it. The community use of the internet is also carried out in person, whether in libraries, service stations or something similar.

This has not discouraged the public administration from adopting a progressive restructuring of the public service which, in some modalities, such as social security, is only accessible through the internet or telephone.

In fact, it is noticeable that the denial of access and the creation of what we call “social security limbo” has been used for the benefit of the public administration, as a way to lower the costs of social assistance in Brazil.

In a clear demonstration of this, in November 2019, there was a broad reform in the part of the Brazilian Constitution that deals with social security, through the approval of Constitutional Amendment 103/2019.

⁹ M.A. Serau JR., *Seguridade Social e Direitos Fundamentais*, 4ª ed. revista, ampliada e atualizada, Juruá Editora, Curitiba 2020 [e-book].

In this way, all benefits required before the social security agency, whose policyholders had implemented access conditions as of November 12, 2019 should follow the new rules, however the social security platform only adapted to the new rules in April 2020.¹⁰ In this *vacacio temporis*, no benefit subject to the new rules was granted whatsoever.

Another factor that remained evident is the educational deficit of the population that qualified to receive the benefit, since for many Brazilian citizens, the registration rules were incomprehensible.

The worst factor, the one that the Brazilian Social Security did not count on, was the number of people who registered to receive the benefit called emergency aid, which consisted of an income of about 120 dollars a month for, in principle, three months.

More than 101 million people registered to request the payment of the benefit¹¹ and the processing capacity of the orders fell far short of people's needs.

Brazil has a population of about 209 million people, which means that around half believed they were in a poverty situation, or at list incapable to manage his own maintenance.

This is because the requirements for access to the benefit were outlined to serve the vulnerable population with a *per capita* income of half the minimum wage or total family income of up to about 3 minimum wages.

Thus, the result of the schizophrenic social security policy adopted which places one foot in neoliberalism and the other in welfarist state, coupled with the increasingly accentuated number of precarious workers, as seen in first topic, produced a nation of poor people.

Relaxation of employment protection rules, developed since 2016, the increase of info proletarians - those who exercise their activities through applications- generated an unprotected working class with low-incomes.

Deregulation of this type of activity encourages the evasion of social contributions from individual taxpayers, which would not happen if the employment relationship were recognized, since the retention of contributions would become mandatory. This policy results, was the spread of distrust and the judicialization of social rights which increased 140%.¹² It's captured the CNJ – Conselho Nacional de Justiça- attention, because since 2011, INSS –

¹⁰ A.P. Branco, *Simulador do INSS volta a funcionar e adaptado à reforma da Previdência*, 3.04.2020, <https://agora.folha.uol.com.br/grana/2020/04/simulador-do-inss-volta-a-funcionar-e-adaptado-a-reforma-da-previdencia.shtml>– [accessed: 4.06.2020].

¹¹ See: CAIXA, <https://caixanoticias.caixa.gov.br/noticia/20795/auxilio-emergencial-clique-aqui-para-ver-os-ultimos-numeros>– [accessed: 4.06.2020].

¹² L. Otoni, *Debate aborda dados preliminares sobre judicialização da Previdência*, 30.04.2020, CNJ, <https://www.cnj.jus.br/debate-aborda-dados-preliminares-sobre-judicializacao-da-previdencia> [accessed: 6.06.2020].

Instituto Nacional do Seguro Social- is the major litigant of all Brazilian justice system.¹³

A study conducted by França¹⁴ demonstrated this and warned of the malign effects that the suppression of social security benefits would cause in the national economy. Not to mention the creation of an almost insoluble problem for social security to fix: the poorest regions of the country, depends too much of social security money. In 70% of Brazilian cities, the largest source of income comes from the benefits of social security.¹⁵

Some Brazilian cities would become unfeasible if the money injected by social security stopped flowing. So, it became commonplace in Brazil, therefore, to suppress the protection of social security, driven by the reproduction of the neoliberal discourse translated in a violent way against the population that these expenses could potentially break the country.¹⁶

To 1988 until 2015, it seems possible to coexist some welfare and neoliberalism practices, because the State had a visible commitment to the eradication of poverty and the distribution of incomes by programs like “Bolsa Família”, “Benefício de Prestação Continuada” among others, that have established standards of service to the poorest population, providing minimum income to the vulnerable people.

But as of 2015, with the start of the mass review and cancellation of assistance and social security benefits, the Brazilian paradox of defending a social welfare model and in the economy a neoliberal model, destabilized both, vulnerable people and economy.

The virtual environment was used, in addition to standardizing restrictions to access, excluding the most marginal people, final recipients of income distribution programs.

¹³ L. de Carvalho, *INSS lidera número de litígios na Justiça*, 31.03.2011, CNJ, <https://www.cnj.jus.br/inss-lidera-numero-de-litigios-na-justica> [accessed: 6.06.2020].

¹⁴ A.S. de França, *A Previdência Social e a Economia dos Municípios*, 7ª ed., ANFIP 2019, https://www.anfip.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/2019-Economia-dos-municipios%CC%81pios_b.pdf [accessed: 4.06.2020].

¹⁵ *Municípios também serão afetados com reforma da Previdência*, 7.02.2018, Sindicato dos Bancários, <https://spbancarios.com.br/02/2018/municipios-tambem-serao-afetados-com-reforma-da-previdencia> [accessed: 6.06.2020].

¹⁶ L. Mello, *Discurso de Ódio Neoliberal: o feitiço do malfare state*, [in:] *O “Estado de Mal-Estar Social” brasileiro*, org. J.R.C. Costa, M.A. Serau Jr, H. Cury Soares, prefácio de R. Antunes, IEPREV, Belo Horizonte 2020, p. 69.

*The first global risk to the social security system at the XXI century:
What came up?*

The Covid-19 pandemic arrived in Brazil in the middle of this social security chaos, with newly structured programs at the federal level, as well as state programs in full restructuring – Brazil is a Federative Republic and each federated state enjoys autonomy to regulate related issues to the welfare of its employees – including rules related to the costing and actuarial balance of the entire system.

Generally, the modifications occurred to suppress access and benefits values, as we seen before in this paper.

To worsen, the already chaotic scenario, the social security system has a queue of requests to be examined that exceeds two million¹⁷ digital requests and does not have the capacity to process in a timely manner, which leads to two obvious problems: a) a large number of beneficiaries it does not get access in an acceptable time, remaining outside the protection; b) frustrated, the beneficiaries seek justice to claim what the social security agency should have provided.

Fifty-five million people asked for emergency assistance, for an overloaded virtual system with an unacceptable delay. After processing the major part of the demands, some serious misunderstandings came up. For reason still not explained, the virtual data crossing has often failed, allocating emergency resources to a part of the population that wasn't in the need.

The most important one, military workers received the emergencial benefit without even request it. They don't have paychecks interrupted and don't fit the legal hypothesis for granting. Till now it's uncertain how it happened.

The defense ministry informed that more than seventy-three thousand military workers¹⁸ irregularly received the benefit. The same happened with aleatory people, including the son of a very well-known and wealthy anchorman and a Brazilian billionaire entrepreneur. The Federal Audit Office- TCU determined the irregular pay had to be returned, without, however, determining the way of return or when it had to be done.

It's clear, in the most challenging moment for the Brazilian's XXI century social security system, everything went wrong. The principle of distributivity, which guides the target of public policies, was not observed. Since 2019, when

¹⁷ *Entenda o motivo das filas para a concessão de benefícios do INSS*, 14.03.2020, CNN Brasil, <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/nacional/2020/03/14/entenda-o-motivo-das-filas-para-a-concessao-de-beneficios-do-inss-> [accessed: 6.06.2020].

¹⁸ *Bolsonaro diz que militares que receberam auxílio emergencial serão punidos*, 14.05.2020, UOL, <https://economia.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2020/05/14/bolsonaro-diz-que-militares-que-receberam-auxilio-emergencial-serao-punidos.htm> [accessed: 6.06.2020].

the virtual platform needed to be restructured, many difficulties presented themselves.

Incomprehensible applications, difficult data processing, access barriers, prevented resources from being used more efficiently, fraud and errors. So, the most needed were excluded by this disastrous scenario of bad management of public resources.

In a nation of poor, precarious workers, needy people who didn't have access to emergency benefits, it was very difficult to achieve adherence to the purposes of the Ministry of Health, to prevent as much as possible, circulation of people. Hungry and fearful for their incomes people, cannot afford to remain in seclusion.

It costs so many lives, and now¹⁹ we faced more than 426.000 losses.

The strategy of seclusion and financial support to the population is not well regarded by the Federal Government, much more inclined to the neoliberal proposal, to protect the market at any cost, even human lives.

So, in the exponential growth of the number of lost lives in the pandemic, federal governments, state governments, city halls are all trying to reopen shops, fabrics, restaurants, school as nothing happens. By the way, the question of the population of the favelas is unique, since it is about fulfilling social distancing in small super habited rooms.

In order to meet the demand for benefits whose requirement is to carry out prior medical examination, the INSS²⁰ made it possible to advance the benefit for a period of 3 months due to temporary incapacity in the amount of a minimum wage maximum, in 2020. It made possible by 13.982/2020 law prediction, but this law prevents full access to the insured's right for its benefits.

To be clear, disability benefits are due to social security policyholders, who contribute in an equivalent manner to their income and are only limited to the contributory ceiling. The ceiling is far for the minimum wage.

To take an example, the salaries of health professionals working at the front line of COVID-19 are much higher than the minimum wage.

Thus, if these professionals become contaminated, their families will receive a much lower income than they would be entitled to, if medical expertise was not suspended. Social distancing brought a problem that is difficult to solve for social security.

In practice, the social security system, its laws and forms of access have acted inefficiently and inadequately.

¹⁹ Till May, 12, 2021, 426.000 people died.

²⁰ Instituto Nacional do Seguro Social (INSS) – federal autarchy that manages payments of social security benefits.

A mixed protection model solidarity vs individuality

In view of the above, the implementation of an individualized and capitalized model encounters a serious obstacle in the solidarist conception of the Brazilian social security organization, as well as it would be impossible, given the average standard of the Brazilian population, unable to financially organize the provisioning of their old age without the help of the State.

As far as Social Security is concerned, we can divide its organization into two main basic groups, the General Social Security Regime and the Public Servants Social Security Regime. In addition, with completely different rules, the Armed Forces Military Pension Regime.

The General Social Security Regime is provided for in articles 201 and following of the Federal Constitution of 1988, it is expected to cover risk situations against motherhood, pregnant women, workers in situations of unemployment, old age, death, incapacity for work.

Public policies were also designed to guarantee income for people with disabilities and incarcerated family members, in these cases, if they are in a situation of financial vulnerability.

As a rule, it is the Regime in which workers from the Private Initiative and Public Employees governed by the labor legislation.

The Public Servants Social Security Regime, foreseen in article 40 of the 1.988 Federal Constitution, structured currently, in a very similar way to the General Regime, after undergoing several changes that sought to assimilate the social security treatment between the regimes.

This Social Security Regime is applicable to public servants, who exercise public services in the Direct Administration, autarchies and public foundations, through bonds in public offices, paid by public coffers and organized hierarchically in the structure of a federation unit.²¹

In both regimes, if the insured parties so wish, they can expressly adhere to a Supplementary Pension plan, through a closed supplementary pension entity or an open supplementary pension entity, which legal limits provided for in article 202 of the Constitution. This article, rules their functioning, in what concerns contributions and counterparts.

Generally speaking, there is a minimum floor for income substitutive benefits of around one minimum wage and a maximum limit of slightly less than the equivalent of five minimum wages.

²¹ M. Barroso Lima Brito de Campos, *Manual dos Servidores Públicos: Administrativo e Previdenciário*, Lujur, São Paulo 2020, p. 23.

Depending on the income that the insured person receives when he is on active duty and pouring contributions into the system, for example, if he perceives an income higher than the maximum amount of the General Social Security System, it is important that he adhere to some type of supplementary pension normally offered in the country or take itself control of investments, which could allow an inactivity income, compatible with the period in activity.

Furthermore, in some modalities, there is a counterpart, as in the case of complementary social security for public servants. In others, such as those offered by open private pension entities, there are none.

In this model, regulated by the market, the insured is at the mercy of the oscillations of a complex, and often incomprehensible, economic system.

Currently, there is subsistence in Brazil with regard to the Mandatory Social Security Regime, the one with compulsory membership, the RGPS (from general workers) and the RPPS (from public servants), as well as the non-mandatory Complementary Regimes.

Constitutional Amendment n. 3 of 2019 altered the constitutional text that is extremely worrying in what concerns the Social Security of Public Servants.

It changed the wording of articles 40, 140 and its paragraphs, increasing the minimum mandatory contribution rate to 14%, with the possibility of a staggered reduction of up to 6.5% for servants who receive amounts of up to the equivalent of the minimum wage and an increase up to 8% for those who earn more than R \$ 39,000.00 (thirty-nine thousand reais), which is equivalent to slightly more than 37 minimum wages.

The 4th paragraph 9th article of Constitutional Amendment 103/2019 now establishes the obligation for the State and Municipal Regimes to apply these same rates of incidence, unless such regime does not have an actuarial deficit, which in Brazil is rare, since, in the past, these regimes were not concerned with the collection and granted benefits without an unprecedented source of funding, whose reflexes still provoke negative results, given that pensions have been converted into pensions that favored beneficiaries for life.

It also instituted the possibility of incurring an extraordinary contribution, to be regulated, which makes participation in the Supplementary Schemes, those that will guarantee parity with the earnings of active civil servants, a disadvantageous option, the greater the contributory capacity of the insured under the proper regime.

Insured persons with greater contributory capacity, are those who have more schooling and greater capacity to plan their investments in order to guarantee a more secure and prosperous future.

Given that Brazilian social security is anchored in an intergenerational pact, the excesses committed by the administrators of the past, who even foresaw benefits without a cost source, absurdly burdened the taxpayers of the present, even though the contribution on inactive employees has been established Constitutional Amendment 41/2003.

All of these changes, especially those made under the Public Servants Regimes in the basic and complementary plans, have driven policyholders to look for individual capitalization alternatives, as confidence in the State's ability to manage funds has also been shaken and also federation states and municipalities.

Likewise, the growth of the info proletariat, treated in item 1.0 of this article, encourages the abstention from adhering to the contributory system, overburdening the non-contributory assistance system.

The future of the social security in Brazil: an equal minimal pension?

The scenario of uncertainties was maximized by the greatest social contingency of the 21st century, which accelerated flexibilities in the world of work and overburdened the social security system worldwide.

In a world marked by social risk and unpredictability about the future, how can we establish a social security program that is actuarially balanced, solid and inspires confidence among its policyholders?

The questioning becomes even more pertinent in contrast with the social effects of the approach to neoliberalism, such as the increase in inequality, especially in Latin American countries, where we operate.

State intervention was necessary, exposing a widely publicized fallacy that the market would regulate everything and that the Brazilian State should emancipate individuals from social security systems, by adopting a capitalized system, as opposed to simple distribution.

In a recent study released by the IBGE-Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, based on data collected in 2018, there was an increase in social inequality in the country.

The data revealed that 1% of the richest population in the country concentrated an average monthly income of R\$ 27,744 against R\$ 820 reais, which was the average of 50% of the population, considered less favored.

It is important to note that the earnings of the richest are almost 34 times greater than those perceived by half the population. The disparity affected the Gini index – an indicator that reflects distribution, concentration and

economic inequality – in a harmful way. This index showed falls from 2012 (0.508) to 2015 (0.494), when it increased again in 2018.²²

In the time gap between 2016 and 2020, it is already possible to verify that the adoption of the alignment of social security policies with neoliberal interests did not produce satisfactory effects, except for the absolute minority that concentrates the highest income in the country, but they are independent of services and social public policies.

In the other classes, there was a reduction in income, suppression of social protection that broke out in a legion of vulnerable workers, dependent on social assistance policies, as happened with the social contingency of COVID-19.

In these socio-political circumstances, the importance of restructuring the welfare state became evident, especially because, in a system designed similar to the Brazilian one, its success and balance is linked to the efficiency of economic development and income distribution.

Furthermore, it requires another strategy direction, articulated with the political commitment to strengthen the social protection of the class that lives off work, although within the limits of capital. It goes through economic and political options in tackling public debt, adhering to the public debt hearing proposal, adhering to the debt audit proposal and reducing the interest rate on debt securities. From a structural point of view, fundamental economic growth associated with social development, strengthening State intervention and prioritizing Jobs generation's and income. On the public fund, establish a public budget with social control and tax policy with fair taxation of large estates and large fortunes. In short, to expand, and not to reduce, the social security / social security policy, policies capable of reducing inequalities and not only combating absolute poverty.²³

²² *PNAD Contínua 2018: 10% da população concentram 43,1% da massa de rendimentos do país*, 16.10.2019, Agência IBGE, <https://agenciadenoticias.ibge.gov.br/agencia-sala-de-imprensa/2013-agencia-de-noticias/releases/25700-pnad-continua-2018-10-da-populacao-concentram-43-1-da-massa-de-rendimentos-do-pais> [accessed: 5.04.2021].

²³ E.O. Severiano, *Tendências e Impasses na seguridade social e o Futuro da Previdência no Brasil Contemporâneo*, “Revista de Políticas Públicas” 2016, Vol. 20, no 2, p. 288. Free Translation from original: “Outrossim, exige outra direção de estratégias artivuldas com o compromisso político de fortalecer a proteção social da classe que vive do trabalho, embora, nos limites do capital. Passa por opções econômicas e políticas no enfrentamento da dívida pública, aderindo à proposta de audiência da dívida pública, aderindo à proposta de auditoria da dívida e redução da taxa de juros dos títulos da dívida. Do ponto de vista estrutural, fundamental crescimento econômico associado ao desenvolvimento social, fortalecendo a intervenção do Estado e priorizando a geração de emprego e renda. Sobre o fundo público, estabelecer um orçamento público com controle social e política tributária com justa taxação dos latifúndios e grandes fortunas. Em suma, ampliar, e não, reduzir, a polítia de seguridade social/previdência, políticas com capacidade para reduzir desigualdades e não somente combate à pobreza absoluta”.

The pandemic situation highlighted the importance of progressive social rights in times of crisis. Its slowdown in Brazil is reflecting on the State's capacity to limit this social risk and the effect on the population.

Brazilian State faces an important budget constraint in order to offer the population the necessary income to face the moment of paralysis and restriction of movement and economic activity.

It would be natural, therefore, to accept the collaboration of other nations, however, Brazil is in the midst of a diplomatic chaos that isolated it worldwide.

It aggravates our crisis, since international cooperation seems to be fundamental to face this social risk.

Harari²⁴ points out that there is no way to contain pandemic risk without restricting the movement of people, without quarantines. But the paralysis of cities, affects the local economies very strongly. Security in international cooperation is what would motivate the adoption of restrictive measures in a timely manner to avoid excessive mortality.

In post-modernity, collaboration between nations proved to be an effective instrument for the realization of social well-being. This is because world economies depend on human displacement across the globe, so isolationism is not a viable alternative. For this reason, it must be thought that the international collaboration model should not be limited to acute moments of social crises, but an international model of social welfare state can be built and structured.

Returning to Ulrich Beck, on March 20, 1998, he published a column in the *New Statesman* newspaper, the *Cosmopolitan Manifesto*. In the controversial text for the time, he predicted the rise of an individualistic society and pointed out that the only way of survival of a secular society, in the face of the global market, would be through the promotion of the feeling of belonging and cosmopolitan cohesion.

Based on a central idea of political freedom, postmodernity, marked by the side effects of social risks, would be more viable in a cosmopolitan conception of what he calls "global community" and "global governance".

According to its conception, the risks of modernity, environmental ones, health ones, and social justice issues would only be amenable to solution in a common international political agenda, since they would not fit into a domestic solution.

When Beck published his *Cosmopolitan Manifesto*, the *Communist Manifesto* celebrated 150 of those in existence. Beck ended in a playful tone: - Citizens of the world, unite!

²⁴ Y.N. Harari, *Na Batalha Contra o Coronavírus, Faltam líderes à humanidade*, trad. O. Leal, Companhia das Letras, 2020, p. 7.

He had already predicted the inevitable impact of neoliberalism on jobs, social security and had warned that the risks of the future of uncertainty and citizens anxious for freedom would only be possible through international collaboration.

It wasn't such a thing anymore to unite people, unless citizenship. The future of social security, therefore, should not escape the rule.

Concluding remarks

The post-modern context of our society revealed, as Ulrich Beck had predicted, a future of uncertainty, unpredictability, more flexible working relationships and an increase in social inequalities.

The greatest social risk of the 21st century has materialized globally, in the form of the COVID-19 pandemic, which required restrictive measures of freedom and the paralysis of economic activities.

At this time, social security systems were challenged and the State was faced with the need for intervention to guarantee the safety and well-being of its citizens.

The Brazilian model of social security had been under intense attack, simultaneously to a serious economic and political crisis that has been intensifying towards an authoritarian and ineffective model, unable to efficiently process even the emergency requirements presented.

The set of critical factors led Brazil to international isolation, at a time when the solution to face the risk situation points to the need for international collaboration.

It is necessary to rethink the social issue from the perspective of cosmopolitanism. There are no national solutions to global risks.

The future of Social Security is based on a unique basic model, outlined and maintained by international collaboration and co-participative financing.

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Abstract**The future of social security in Brazil: is there a way without solidarity?**

Brazilian Social Security System is based in intergeneracional solidarity. It means that today's taxpayers maintain active pensions and need future taxpayers to sustain future pensions. There is no individual investment account and the actuarial health of the system depends on economic and populational growth to maintain itself. Economic crisis, socio-political context, gave rise to successive reforms intended to hinder access and reduce the amount of paid benefits. When the pandemic hit Brazil, and workers needed to activate social security to guarantee income in the face of non-essential activities block, they found a bleak scenario in a dismantled protective system.

Key words: social security, solidarity, pandemic, Brazil