

WORKING PAPER 299

The Backstage of Civil Society: Protagonisms, Networks, and Affinities Between Civil Organisations in São Paulo

Adrián Gurza Lavalle, Graziela Castello and Renata Mirandola Bichir
March 2008



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First published by the Institute of Development Studies in March 2008
© Institute of Development Studies 2008
ISBN 978 1 85864 679 0

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Typeset by Warwick Printing, Warwick UK. Printed by RPM Print & Design, Chichester UK
IDS is a charitable company limited by guarantee and registered in England (No. 877338).

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Summary

The extraordinary attention raised by civil society in the academic world and in national and international circuits of public policymakers has paradoxically contributed to overshadow civil organisations, their diversity, the logics of their actions, and the dynamics of their interaction with other actors. Thus in spite of such success – and, to a large degree, due to it – surprisingly little is known about the *modus operandi* of civil organisations. By penetrating the ‘backstage’ of civil society, this paper intends to bring up and understand issues that are not often addressed in literature as well as to advance in generating answers based on empirical knowledge. More precisely, applying network analysis to relational data from a survey conducted in the city of São Paulo, Brazil, in 2002, the following pages will address how do civil organisations work? That is, which are the distinct logics of action and internal interaction dynamics that organise the universe of those societal actors? In order to allow its systematic empirical treatment, the answering of such a question will be entirely relational and will be done through network analysis. This paper brings at least three interesting findings: firstly, there is a remarkable diffuse connectivity between São Paulo-based civil organisations; secondly, it is a highly hierarchised universe of actors where popular organisations, NGOs, and coordinating bodies occupy central positions, privileged by higher capability for action and choice, while clearly peripheral neighbourhood associations, community associations, and service non-profit organisations are dependent upon the former group and have limited options for action; thirdly, preferential links were found between certain types of organisations. Such links always follow the same direction: from peripheral organisations towards those with more reach and capability for action or, not surprisingly, from privileged organisations to other equally privileged ones.

Keywords: Civil society, network analysis, civil organisations, São Paulo.

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Acknowledgements

Preliminary versions of this paper were presented at ANPOCS 2003, Caxambu, Brazil, and at Centro de Estudos da Metrópole (CEM-CEBARP). We thank Vera Schattan Coelho and Zander Navarro – internal and external reviewers – for their generous comments. Translation by Roberto Cataldo. This paper is part of a larger cross-national study that is being undertaken in two cities of Latin America – São Paulo and México City – and three cities in India: Delhi, Bangalore, and Coimbatore. Other papers and documents related to this project can be found in 'Rights, Representation and the Poor: Comparing Large Developing Country Democracies – Brazil, Indian and Mexico'. For further information please visit: www.ids.ac.uk/gdr/cfs/research/Collective%20Actors.html

This paper is co-published by the Development Research Centre for the Future State and the Development Research Centre on Citizenship, Participation and Accountability, based at the Institute of Development Studies, UK.

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1 Introduction

The extraordinary attention raised by civil society in the academic world and in national and international circuits of public policymakers has paradoxically contributed to overshadow civil organisations, their diversity, the logics of their actions, and the dynamics of their interaction with other actors. In recent decades, numerous efforts were carried out to confer conceptual precision to the category of ‘civil society’, giving it a normative political status enabling it to play a key political role in a new project to ‘democratise democracy’.¹ For other reasons not always compatible with the purpose of substantially reforming democracy, several multilateral, government, and societal actors have also granted, along these years, a new status to the so-called civil society – now the unchallenged bearer of positive potentials for good governance and for local management of public policies (UNDP 2002; World Bank 2001, 1997). Regardless of the merits of such analytic efforts, they certainly have been successful when judged on their proliferation effects. The amount of academic literature focused on civil society is now almost immeasurable; funds transferred from Northern hemisphere-based multilateral organisations, governments, and funding agencies to southern NGOs increased at a fast pace;² not to mention, of course, participatory institutional innovations that, in Brazil and the world over, have encouraged the intervention of civil organisations in the design and implementation of public policies.³

However, in spite of such success – and, to a large degree, due to it – surprisingly little is known about the *modus operandi* of civil organisations. Highly stylised characterisations of a societal action sphere circumscribed by common unifying principles and by a clear distinction regarding the State and the market have nourished widespread consensual views about the potentialities of civil society – which, by the way, were not very sensitive to internal differences, conflicts, affinities, hierarchies, and modalities of connections that characterises different types of civil

-
- 1 Cohen and Arato (1992) have made the most systematic and comprehensive effort at theoretical reconstruction of the category of ‘civil society’ so as to restore its heuristic and practical potential for social change. In turn, scholars oriented to the qualitative improvement of democracy (‘democratisation of democracy’) share the centrality of the category of civil society in their works (Santos Boaventura 2002, 1998; Avritzer 2003; Fung and Wright 2003; Heller, forthcoming). The reconstruction of the category eventually gave it distinctive features that are irreconcilable with the families of arguments based on civil society that, after jusnaturalism, have incorporated it into the reflection on the relation between State and society (Gurza Lavalle 1999).
 - 2 Between 1970 and 1990, private and government contributions transferred through northern hemisphere NGOs to their southern counterparts increased significantly, from 1,000 to 7,200 million dollars. As a matter of fact, in the early 1990s, 13 per cent of official contributions from the north to the southern hemisphere were allocated through NGOs (PNUD 1993: 100 and 106).
 - 3 In the Participatory Budgeting processes of the cities of Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, Recife, São Paulo, and Santo André, for instance, over half of delegates elected during the first round of territorial and thematic assemblies are leaders of civil organisations rather than individual citizens on their own. Something similar occurs in the councils for public policy management (Houtzager *et al.* 2004), raising issues about the emergence of new forms of explicitly political representation amidst civil organisations (Gurza Lavalle *et al.* 2006a, 2006b).

organisations. Complete streams of sociologically rich issues thus remained in the ‘backstage’ of civil society – an area biographically governed by actors themselves, rarely seen by outside eyes. Here the idea of ‘civil society’ refers only to that general perspective existing in literature, with clear echoes in international communities of policymakers, but never to the empirical actors studied. For the latter, the more neutral, less stylised and less normatively overloaded term ‘civil organisations’ is used.⁴

By penetrating the ‘backstage’, this paper intends to bring up and understand issues that are not often addressed, as well as to advance in generating answers based on empirical knowledge.⁵ More precisely, applying network analysis to relational data from a survey conducted in the city of São Paulo, Brazil, in 2002, the following pages will approach an issue that, despite its relevance, has received poor treatment in literature: how do civil organisations work? That is, which are the distinct logics of action and internal interaction dynamics that organise the universe of those societal actors? In order to allow its systematic empirical treatment, the answering of such a question will be entirely relational and will be done through network analysis.⁶

Network analysis is an established analytical strategy with a versatile methodological repertoire and with increasing resources, which allows for the empirical treatment of forms (structure) and logics (flows) of linking that drive the action of groups of players – whose number can vary from small groups to complex constellations. Network analysis thus differs from the most common – sometimes almost commonplace – use of the notion of ‘networks’ in the contemporary semantics of social sciences. In a flexible way, with loose limits and, essentially, with a metaphorical status, ‘networks’ have become frequent in social analysis. Between network analysis and the metaphorical uses of the notion of ‘networks’ there are differences in ‘gender’ and not only in ‘number’, just as the mechanics metaphor brilliantly applied at Leviathan is not an application of physical mechanics. Metaphors certainly play cognitive roles, although only as an intuitive suggestion of the spirit of ideas regarding what they intend to elucidate in the world.

Cognitive gains provided by the network analysis strategy speak for themselves. Firstly, there is a remarkable diffuse connectivity between São Paulo-based civil organisations. On the one hand, as expected due to the dimensions of the network and the sparse collective action of the sort of players under analysis, those organisations find themselves coordinated through a highly thin network of relationships; on the other hand, they make up a *single network*, which points out the potential of diffuse connectivity between a considerable number of entities.

4 Two normative components define the frontiers of civil society in literature, namely, self-restriction and autonomy of societal actors (see Cohen and Arato 1992; Olvera 2003a). In order to avoid misunderstandings, it should be noted that these pages do not sustain any general criticism to the role played by theory in the construction of knowledge; they only underscore the cognitive costs of certain normative and highly stylised theoretical formulations on the so-called civil society.

5 The findings presented in these pages are part of a wider research project (Houtzager *et al.* 2002) whose unabridged formulation as well as the publications resulting from it are available free of cost on the webpage of the project: ‘Rights, Representation and the Poor: Comparing Large Developing Country Democracies – Brazil, Indian and Mexico’. www.ids.ac.uk/gdr/cfs/research/Collective%20Actors.html

6 The Ucinet software was used (Borgatti *et al.* 2002).

Secondly, it is a highly hierarchised universe of actors where popular organisations, NGOs, and coordinating bodies occupy central positions, privileged by higher capability for action and choice, while clearly peripheral neighbourhood associations, community associations, and service non-profits organisations are dependent upon the former group and have limited options for action. Secondly, the kind of civil organisations that are better coordinated between themselves, that is, that use the construction of links among their peers as a strategy for action (NGOs with NGOs, for instance) are precisely those that also occupy privileged positions in the universe of civil organisations as a whole, which points out the connection between centrality and capability for action of each kind of civil organisation and their strategy for action towards its peers. Third finding: preferential links were found between certain types of organisations. Such links always follow the same direction: from peripheral organisations towards those with more reach and capability for action or, not surprisingly, from privileged organisations to other equally privileged ones.

However, entities might occupy privileged positions or have limited capacity for action for several reasons and while playing quite distinct roles. It is in that area that results are most valuable, since they allow relational characterisation of the workings of the civil organisations studied. Here only the main counterintuitive findings and the most relevant features of the workings of the central types of civil organisations are stressed in order to point out the gaps in the state of knowledge about the actors studied – gaps elucidated or ‘discovered’ from a relational perspective.

Two innovative features define this work in relation to knowledge accumulated due to academic production in the two last decades. As noted by Bebbington (2002) in an examination of the methodological biases that undermine knowledge construction about NGOs in Latin America, empirical analyses in this area usually not only privilege the actor itself as an instance of analysis, but often raise it to the status of main producer of knowledge about itself and the field where it is situated. In these pages, the approach is always relational, that is, it does not address attributes of the actor itself but rather of its interactions with other actors, and it does not intend to explain the functions of the player as such, but rather its roles regarding other players and the uses the latter make of the former. Thus elements of analysis to be explored qualify relation patterns. Furthermore, it is an inherent advantage of network analysis to allow structural interpretation of actors’ capabilities and actions, i.e. not based on self-understanding and (subjective) rationalisation of themselves but rather on their (objective) position within networks that crystallise and condition the logic and reach of their actions.

The findings presented are the product of a survey carried out in the city of São Paulo along six months of fieldwork in 2002. Selection criteria favoured active civil organisations, particularly those engaged with underprivileged segments of the population.⁷ Typology of actors and the knowledge established in literature about

7 The results presented in these pages are part of a wider research project (Houtzager *et al.* 2002). More detailed methodological information and other research results can be found in Houtzager *et al.* (2003); Houtzager *et al.* (2004); Gurza Lavalle *et al.* (2004b); Gurza Lavalle *et al.* (2006a; 2006b).

them will be approached in the following sections; afterwards, the strategy for network analysis applied here and the corresponding methodology will be explained. Sections preceding the final comment will present a brief synthesis of general results, followed by detailed examination and interpretation of the different modalities of protagonism inherent to the actors analysed. The paper closes with a brief final comment.

2 In pursuit of elusive actors

The study of civil organisations poses the challenge of developing characterisations able to organise in a coherent way the complexity and diversity inherent to those actors. The labels normally used to distinguish societal actors are objects of symbolic dispute to define the meaning to their actions. Therefore, interviewed organisations' assumption of a certain label follow a series of calculations about public self-representation intended to position themselves within specific fields of the world of civil organisations *vis-à-vis* certain interlocutors. In order to overcome such obstacles, civil organisations were not classified relying on their self-definitions, but rather on two kinds of objective criteria: the relationship with their beneficiaries and the profile of their usual activities. In the first case, (i) the group of beneficiaries embodies a relatively limited or unrestricted community (for instance, the residents of the neighbourhood or citizens, respectively), (ii) whose members are individuals, organisations, and collective actors, or segments of the population (iii) seen as members or partners, as target public, or the community. In the second case, each kind of association corresponds to (i) a distinctive strategy of action and (ii) exclusive combinations of activities oriented to demand and mobilisation, service provision, popular organisation, or intermediation between the government and beneficiaries.

By applying those criteria, it became possible to draw a typology for civil society actors, whose features became intuitively clear by the labels hereby used: NGOs, popular organisations, neighbourhood associations, community associations, service non-profits, coordinating bodies, and fora. For instance, NGOs usually work on behalf of beneficiaries defined in terms of a relatively unrestricted unity (i) composed by some sectors or segments of the population; (ii) seen not as members or partners but rather as their target public; (iii) for example, children who are victims of family violence. Their distinctive strategy of action is usually the public debate of problems (i) treated under a political semantics based on citizen and/or human rights – rights of the children and adolescents – therefore, they do not often define the profile of their activities based on the mobilisation of beneficiaries or on people's organisations; rather, they focus on distinct combinations of service provision intermediation between public authorities and society. (ii) Of course, the problem overcome by adopting formal parameters does not refer to the creation of new imaginative denominations or classifications but rather to the definition and introduction of objective criteria able to solve the problems inherent to self-classification.

The relationship between the typology and characterisations available in literature will be addressed in the next section. Table 2.1 systematises the typology, provides examples of civil organisations classified in each type, and presents other useful information. The sample follows criteria adopted to define, according to the

purposes of the research, the universe of interviewable civil organisations generated by the snowball technique (see Section 4 on analytical strategy). NGOs are found to have incomparably the highest weight of the sample (30 per cent). Service non-profits, coordinating bodies, and neighbourhood associations present similar numbers, slightly above 15 per cent of the sample. In turn, fora, community associations, and popular organisations are the least frequent type (between 5 per cent and 8 per cent).

Table 2.1 Typology of civil society actors

Category	Freq	%	Beneficiaries	Activities	Examples
NGOs	60	30	(i) Unrestricted unit (ii) Segment of the population (iii) Target public	(i) Public debate (ii) Demand; intermediation	Instituto Polis; Ação Educativa; Grupo Corsa
Popular organisations	11	5	(i) Unrestricted unit (ii) Segment of the population (iii) Members or community	(i) Protest (ii) Demand/ mobilisation; intermediation	MST; Movimento de Moradia do Centro; Unificação de Lutas de Cortiços
Neighbourhood associations	34	17	(i) Restricted unit (ii) Individuals (iii) Members or community	(i) Projection of local demands or mutual help (ii) Grassroots organisation; demand/ mobilisation; service provision	Soc. de Amigos de Vila Sabrina; Soc. Amigos de Vila Alpinas; União dos Moradores do Parque Bristol
Community associations	17	8	(i) Restricted unit (ii) Individuals (iii) Members	(i) Mutual help (ii) Service provision	Clubes de Mães Coração do Amor; Espaço Cultural São Mateus; Ass. de Deficientes Físicos de Sapopemba
Service non-profits	34	17	(i) Abstract restricted unit (ii) Individuals (iii) Target public	(i) Assistance defined according to vulnerabilities (ii) Service provision	Lar Altair Martins; Centro Social Leão XIII; Serviço Social Perseverança
Coordinating bodies	33	16	(i) Restricted unit (ii) Organisations and collective actors (iii) Members	(i) Connecting actors and social initiatives (ii) Demands/ mobilisation; intermediation; representation	Ass. Brasileira de ONGs (Abong); Fundação Abring; Rede Brasileira das Entidades Assistenciais Filantrópicas (Rebraf)
Fora	13	6	(i) Unrestricted unit (ii) Collective actors and organisations (iii) Members or community	(i) Public debate; connecting actors and social initiatives. (ii) Demands/ mobilisation; intermediation	Fórum Municipal de Saúde, Fórum DCA; Fórum Lixo e Cidadania da Cd. De SP

Since every typology leads to regrouping results as subsets, it should be asked whether groupings following other criteria would authorise readings such as the one presented in these pages. The reduction of cases (civil organisations) to clusters (typology) often follows two basic criteria: either there are good analytical reasons to choose a specific form of grouping or empirical analyses through cluster techniques showing consistent empirical patterns – whether or not they meet clearly formulated analytical expectations. In this case, the grouping meets both criteria. On the one hand, the typology of civil organisations constitutes a synthesis of knowledge accumulated about such a universe of actors, and streamlines the interlocution with players and scholars interested in the issues analysed here; on the other hand, empirical tests did not reveal other consistent forms of grouping.

3 Literature and characterisations

The gaps in knowledge about the internal dynamics of the universe of civil organisations did not go unnoticed even to those that most decisively contributed to nourishing ‘emphatic conceptions of civil society’ – in the words of Sergio Costa⁸ – rather, more lucid scholars within such conceptions reacted, not without oddness, against the simplifying and Manichaeist excesses over the category of civil society as well as underscored the analytical ambiguities that their own conceptual redefinition had left unanswered.⁹ Andrew Arato (1994: 21) for example, only two years after his influential work with Jean Cohen,¹⁰ pointed out the blurring effects of the category ‘civil society’ on the variety of groups and movements it includes. And more: he incisively reconfirmed what his bold theoretical update of the category ‘civil society’ had profusely constructed through hundreds of pages, namely, ‘... the unit of civil society is obvious only when it is considered from a normative perspective’ (Arato 1994: 21; see Cohen and Arato 1992: 395–475).¹¹

Therefore, it does not surprise that in Brazil one of the few distinctions sustained by that literature to ‘unpack’ societal actors aimed not at the introduction of any

8 They are actors in the international theoretical debate that in the 1990s believed in the strengthening of civil society as ‘a normative node of a radical democratic project’, as a ‘political-emancipatory desideratum’ (Costa 1997b: 9). The authors are well known for their work and their influence: Andrew Arato, Jean Cohen, Charles Taylor, John Keane, Michel Walzer.

9 Michael Walzer, for instance, in his renowned essay *The Civil Society Argument*, thought he should explain to their colleagues in argument: ‘Nonetheless, I want to warn against the antipolitical tendencies that commonly accompany the celebration of civil society. The network of associations incorporates, but it cannot dispense with, the agencies of state power...’ (1998: 304). Arato (1994: 25) made a similar warning about the ‘... disastrous trend to depreciate the parliament and partisan competition’.

10 It is, of course, *Social Theory and Civil Society*, published in 1992.

11 In fact, the debate for the respecification of the ‘correct’ understanding of the category of civil society, typical of the 1990s, was established in terms of the superiority of the new concept for its ability to collect and elucidate civil society’s normative component (see Avritzer 1994: 271–308). For a critical assessment about the cycle in which emphatically normative understandings of civil society were enthroned and then abandoned, see Gurza Lavallo (2003).

principles of distinction within civil society, but rather at definitively separating it from interest groups. That is to say: civil society actors – by definition concerned, according to such perspective, about matters that are relevant for society as a whole – would be, in essence, different from actors oriented to the advocacy of their own interests.¹² After all, the new emancipatory project embodied in the theoretical reconstruction of the ‘civil society’ category defines itself in terms that intend to avoid its assimilation by the old liberal pluralism of democratic theory. Literature has recently devoted itself in Brazil (Dagnino *et al.* 2006) – and the world over (Olvera 2003b; Encarnación 2006) – to introducing the notion of heterogeneity of civil society as a reaction to the unifying and virtuous logic ascribed to ‘civil society’, conceived in opposition to a world of political institutions (State) that is equally unified or, more precisely, monolithic.

Certainly, the knowledge about the actual repertoire of actions performed by civil organisations finds itself, in Brazil and in the world, beyond the distinctions proposed by highly stylised perspectives or by the abstract proposition of heterogeneity as a relevant analytical dimension. In effect, local assimilations of the international theoretical debate have eventually given way to multiplication of anomalies and insufficiencies in several national contexts. That would be the case, for instance, in India and other South Asian countries marked by a range of societal actors that is highly diverse but not post-materialist or secular neither post-conventional (Tandon and Mohanty 2003; Oommen 2004), to mention some of the features used in Habermasian-inspired characterisations of civil society. This is the case as well of several Latin American countries with longstanding traditions of informal collective action or with strong moral conservatism, which hardly fit the institutionalised and modern profile often ascribed to civil society (Houtzager *et al.* 2004; Olvera 2003a; Avritzer *et al.* 2004). Or yet in Brazil, whose strong innovation in participatory experiences for design and supervision of public policies demanded remaking the terms of the debate in order to think the relationship between the State and civil society (Dagnino 2002; Teixeira 2002; Perissinoto 2004).

However, in Brazil the knowledge about civil organisations is markedly unequal, as literature has paid uneven attention to those actors due to their relevance according to some understandings of social change. In the second half of the 1970s and along the following decade, social movements played a prominent role in academic and political agendas, losing their centrality to the category of civil society in the 1990s – especially NGOs. At the other extreme, and seemingly due to prejudice, non-profit associations have never been the object of study or strong reflection within the academic milieu. Therefore, the characterisation of types of civil organisations in the next paragraphs reflects with higher or lower fidelity the state of literature; however, in these pages, the different types of civil organisations are conceived without any prior hierarchy and their differentiation in terms of protagonism or centrality within the universe of civil organisations will be, strictly speaking, an empirical result of the analysis.

12 For a defence of the distinction between interest groups and civil society, see the works of Costa (1997a: 127; 1994: 42–8); for an analysis dedicated to fundament the relation between civil society and general interest at the theory level, see Cohen and Arato (1992: 395–475).

The gap between the typology and the consensual views existing in the literature is smaller in the case of the actors that have received more attention, such as NGOs. Even though the label 'non-government organisation', derived from international cooperation organisations, has been currently used as a generic term for civil organisations in international literature, in Brazil it corresponds strictly to entities known in Anglo-Saxon literature as advocacy NGOs – dedicated to publicly express or present third-party demands or needs. While they were originally conceived as advisors to social movements, averse to any protagonism of their own, there is wide consensus in national literature regarding NGOs having become the most prominent actors in the 1990s collective action scene.¹³ There is also consensus regarding certain recurrent features in their characterisation, namely, a discourse built within the semantic of rights and deepening democracy, thematic orientation, actions directed to publicising problems, and coordination with other actors through network action; in other words, '... strong vocation for action in the field of politics, mobilisation of public opinion, lobby, advocacy at the public space of diffuse interests ... that kind of action presupposes the development of NGO's ability to establish interaction, forms of communication and cooperation [so as to play] their traditional role of social multi-mediators' (Landim 1996: xiv).¹⁴ The definition of whom NGOs work for is less consensual in literature. Even if that role of mediation able to transit 'between romantic places of traditional communities and the enlightened territories of citizenship' (Fernandes 1994: 76) or their known origin as support entities to popular movements is accepted,¹⁵ it seems inevitable to recognise that 'such mediation role is unilateral' (Fernandes 1994: 78). Understanding the beneficiaries of the work of those organisations in terms of target-public, despite partially controversial, points precisely to that unilateral condition.¹⁶

The second category in the typology – popular organisations – corresponds partly to those actors that, from the 1970s on and above all in the 1980s, started to be labelled and conceived within theoretical frames developed around the concept of 'social movements'. Despite the most influential theoretical orientations in the literature on social movements,¹⁷ the concept is ambiguous: it has been equally

13 For example: '... and in the 1990s NGOs gained much more importance than social movements themselves' (Gohn 2003: 22; see also, Paz 2005: 8–11).

14 As characterised by Maria do Carmo Carvalho (1998: 87–8), NGOs are governed by the principle of solidarity, by multiple advocacy and empowerment actions, and they strongly determine the public agenda. The importance of the networks or the characterisation of NGOs' work based on the notion of networks is constant in literature (Fernandes 1994: 128–31; Scherer-Warren 1996).

15 There still are those who describe the relation between NGOs and their beneficiaries in terms that seem more appropriate to the 1970s and 1980s: '... for the most part working with discriminated against or marginalised popular groups...' (Gohn in Coelho 2000: xv). Also: until a few years ago and by the priorities of funding agencies '... the *raison d'être* of several NGOs was associated to their alliance with popular organisations' (Casanovas and Chacón 2000: 63–7). See the work of Landim (2002) for a remarkable reconstruction of the genesis of NGOs as advising and support entities in the 1970s, and their thematic diversification and organisational thickening as subnetworks, which would have led those entities – in a tortuous process – to assume the NGO identity and to gradually disengage from their rooting and non-differentiation from popular actors (Landim 1998).

16 It is also possible to find descriptions of the benefits of NGOs' work similar to assistance, typical of non-profits (see Coelho 2000: 60).

used to define specific empirical actors, usually able to challenge the State – e.g. *Movimento dos Sem-Terra* (MST), *Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens* (MAB) – and in the analytical unification of sparse sets of individual and collective initiatives in synchronisation over time according to meaning affinities based on specific issues – e.g. feminist movement, black movement, housing movement, health movement. The universe of actors defined here as popular organisations corresponds to the first definition. With rare exceptions (e.g. Feltran 2005; Mendonça 2002; Marteleto *et al.* 2002), social movements mysteriously disappear from Brazilian literature after the early 1990s, to a larger degree due to the end of the transition cycle and the resulting stabilisation and institutionalisation of politics and social protest, but also due to a change in the analytical categories used – now converted to the heuristic reference of civil society and/or NGOs (Gurza Lavalle *et al.* 2004a; Sobottka 2002). The wave of disenchanting balances in the late 1980s, which pointed to demobilisation and co-optation of social movements, as well as authors' naiveté and optimism, seems to have foretold some sort of abandonment of the concept.¹⁸ In fact, in spite of assessments about the cognitively deleterious effects of the 'cyclothymic' relationship between academic thinking and collective action (Götz 1995), still today there are often assessments that reassert the weakening of movements and the general de-politicisation of collective action – now focused on demands related to mere material survival or punctual demands – blaming such scenario on the corrosive effects of structural adjustment (e.g. Casanovas and Chacón 2000: 63–7; Rucht 2002).¹⁹ In any case, some capacity for collective action focused on a highly spontaneous protagonism due to the need for non-bureaucratic, non-corporative mobilisation, as well as on the construction of new identities, has been and still is conferred to social movements – identities that usually cannot be absorbed within the universe of traditional interest representation institutions.

Widely known and until recently non-controversial, service non-profits carry out basically service provisioning and direct assistance to the public they work for. Their distinctive features are consensual in literature, where they usually appear under combinations with distinct emphases on four recurrent elements: Christian ethos, assistance-like service provision, serving the most vulnerable segments of the population, and funding by the private sector – often through business foundations (Carvalho 1998: 87; Landim 2002). As heirs of the secular philanthropic tradition to face social issues, service non-profits were at the origin of the first formulas of social security systems adopted in Brazil and Latin America (Fleury 1994), and have

17 There were three major streams in international literature on social movements: structuralist approaches that privilege popular urban movement (Castells 1979; Borja 1981; Singer and Brant 1980); post-structuralist approaches centred on processes of identity construction of the so-called new social movements (Evers *et al.* 1984; Melucci 1989; Touraine 1983; Sader 1988); and the strategic approaches of the Anglo-Saxon debate which looked into the abilities and dilemmas of resource mobilisation (Klandermans and Tarrow 1988). For a balance of the three perspectives, see Gohn (1997). The two first approaches became dominant in Brazil, sometimes as innovative combinations that were highly rich in sociological terms (see Sader 1988).

18 See, for instance, the balances developed by Cardoso (1994: 81–90), Cunha, (1993: 134–35), and Nunes (1987: 92–4).

19 According to Gohn (2003: 13–32), for instance, in the 1990s there were no processes of mass mobilisation; there was punctual mobilisation within the logic of citizen participation rather than popular collective activism.

also defined an important share of the repertoire of associative options available in the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth century, orbiting around the Catholic Church (Avritzer 1997). The more traditional profile of philanthropic entities is consensual, although characterised in a substantial part of literature under the suspicion of a pre-modern and conservative halo. However, Brazil's recent history would have driven controversial displacements towards some sort of 'NGOisation' of service non-profits, leading them to progressively abandon their charity-like and apolitical tonic towards more politicisation and publicising of their work and their demands, as well as the adoption of discourses referenced on rights and citizenship (Landim 2002: 32–6 and 1998; Coelho 2000: 64; Paz 2005: 18–19).

Neighbourhood associations' activities are related to specific urban demands according to a principle of territorial identity and therefore work in and for the community. In the literature of the 1980s, they were conceived with a reference on social movements, specifically as neighbourhood movements (Singer and Brant 1980: 83–107) aligned within the field of popular movements (Fernandes 1994: 45–6); that is, distinct, in terms of their socioeconomic origin, from the so-called neighbourhood friends' associations or the middle-class residents' associations, which also underwent processes of opening and politicisation of their activities in the context of struggles for transition (Boschi 1987; Singer and Brant 1980: 85–93). Self-construction, implementation of day-care centres and basic health units, illegal occupation and legalisation of land plots, increase and improvement of public transportation as well as a range of demands related to basic urban infrastructure, used to define and still define, although at a less dramatic level, the agenda of demands of neighbourhood associations, driven by mobilisation and pressure by the population on government decision-making bodies. Analytically established as movements by the predominant approach in the 1980s, neighbourhood associations lost their centrality in the academic debate in the following decade, since their highly materialistic or distributive demands, their low visibility, and their minimal capabilities to fight for the public agenda became inadequate to the normative demands of the new civil society that defined the debate in the 1990s (Gurza Lavalle 2003).

For similar reasons, community associations were not the object of analysis from the perspective of the new civil society either. More: for its extremely diverse and localised character, they were not even listed among actors privileged by case studies in the literature about social movements. There is, of course, a notable exception in literature, namely, the Catholic Church's grassroots communities (known as *comunidades eclesiais de base*, the CEBs); however, the withdrawal of the Church's social intervention after the late 1980s caused a strong loss of protagonism by CEBs (Doimo 1995). Still now, part of community associations – notably the Youth Centres (*Centros da Juventude*, the CJs), elderly groups or cultural groups – keep a direct or indirect connection with parish and pastoral work of the Catholic Church (Doimo 2004).²⁰

20 The expansion of non-traditional evangelical denominations must have produced changes in the field of existing community organisations, as well as in their repertoire of issues and actions. Even though there are studies about the role played by Evangelic churches in politics (Coradini 2001) and in the formation of political values of their followers (Fernandes *et al.* 1998; Montero *et al.* 1997), their effects in community associative life seem to have not deserved the same attention by sociologists and anthropologists of religion.

In very general terms, community associations respond to the old concept of mutualistic or mutual-help societies (Fernandes 1994). Their members are at once beneficiaries and agents or actors of the work carried out by the entity; they constitute a community or find themselves part of a larger community whose logic might or might not be territorial. Though not very often, it is possible to find more specific characterisations in literature that go beyond mutualism: micro-territoriality or micro-location associated to primary communicative spaces, low visibility, and voluntary work (Carvalho 1998: 86–7).

Even though the entities labelled as coordinating bodies in the typology play a new role in the scenario of institutionalised collective action, they have not deserved attention in literature or, more precisely, they are usually labelled as NGOs – and to a lesser degree as popular organisations – and, as such, are treated indiscriminately under those signatures.²¹ NGOs' effort to create networks and coordination spaces is widely recognised (e.g. Casanovas and Chacón 2000: 69–74; Scherer-Warren 1996); however, coordinating bodies significantly differ from NGOs in relevant aspects for analyses concerned with understanding the dynamics and patterns of interaction that order the universe of civil organisations. That is because they are funded by other entities in order to articulate and coordinate their actions, to build common agendas and increase their capacity of aggregating interests to be represented before public authorities and other social actors. In other words, coordinating bodies might be classified as third-tier civil organisations, that is, distinct both from those established under the sign of the identification between beneficiaries and funders, managers or workers of the associations – first-tier civil organisations such as neighbourhood or community associations – and from those established to benefit third parties defined as people or segments of the population – and thus, second-tier civil organisations such as service non-profits and NGOs. Therefore, coordinating bodies such as the Brazilian Association of NGOs (*Associação Brasileira de Organizações Não-governamentais*, ABONG), whose work is oriented towards other entities, are a remarkable product of a successful strategy of institutional construction that reflects the thickening and differentiation of the universe of civil organisations.

The fora are part of the same logic of coordination of action and aggregation of interests of coordinating bodies, working directly with civil society organisations grouped by thematic affinity. However, they differ by acting more properly as spaces for meeting and periodical coordination. Two considerations allow classifying the fora related to the elderly, pathologies, Aids, housing, and others collected in the sample as civil organisations: first, despite their periodic character, they are institutionalised enough to prevent their functioning from becoming sporadic;

21 Just as a large part of coordinating bodies are seen as NGOs, some could be considered as popular organisations; however, the action of those entities in the coordination and representation of interests of other civil organisations, rather than being oriented to direct mobilisation of segments of the population, validates such distinction. Emblematically, all coordinating bodies of social movements included in the sample analysed here were born after the context of transition: *Central de Movimentos Populares* (founded in 1993), *Fórum dos Mutirões de São Paulo* (1992), *União dos Movimentos de Moradia* (1987), and *Associação dos Movimentos de Moradia da Região Sul* (1994).

second, they are an important piece in the institutional construction of civil organisations themselves – specially adequate for developing and sustaining the work in thematic networks.²² Even though the participatory budget and mandatory councils for public policies are by far the participatory institutional arrangements privileged in literature, the fora played a relevant role in defining and coordinating the priorities of the councils. However, with few exceptions (e.g. Reis and Freire 2002) they have not been studied in their own right either.

4 Relational analysis as an analytical strategy

The analysis of social networks presupposes the importance of relationships as elements that structure social life, crediting them with several consequences in terms of possibilities and restrictions for the actions of individuals and collective actors. Relations established between people and entities are the unit of analysis, rather than individuals and organisations themselves or their attributes. As an analytical strategy, it is at an intermediary cognitive level, bringing perspective changes in the understanding of both the macro and micro levels (Emirbayer 1997). At the macro level (e.g. society/civil society), interpretations focused on autonomous ‘spheres’ or ‘systems’, internally organised, and self-sustainable are avoided; however, focus goes to the multiple networks of social interaction that make up that level, overlaid in a complex way. At the micro level (e.g. individuals/civil organisations), actors are not seen as previously constituted and well defined entities; on the contrary, it is said that the making of actors themselves and their capabilities takes place through complex interactions. It is important to point out that, essentially, social network analysis is neither a theory nor a set of complex statistical techniques; rather, it is an analytical strategy that can be used under distinct conceptual and theoretical perspectives.

Approaching the roles played by the distinct kinds of civil organisations, their internal dynamics, and their preferential links through social network analysis is analytically interesting and innovative, since that methodology – not widely known in Brazil²³ – allows the examination of the workings of those entities without the need to assume a series of premises regarding the roles they play and without a previous delimitation of structures and hierarchies that order their interrelations. In other words, network analysis allows building empirical analytical distinctions, identifying common logics that, rather than being imputed as a theoretically derived sense of unity, express *patterns of reciprocal interaction* driven by the actual roles played in them by distinct types of civil organisations. As the logic common to a group of organisations is part of their patterns of interaction, it is not derived directly from

22 Therefore, they are mostly spaces organised by civil organisations and not what Cornwall and Coelho (2007) call ‘participatory sphere’.

23 Marques (2000, 2003) was a pioneer in the field and his works are the most relevant reference for successful application of network analysis to the field of public policies.

the actor's self-perception; rather, its perceptions and behaviour are explained by its structural position in the network itself. More precisely, even though the survey of links of each actor interviewed depends, in this case, on the other actors it cites, its position in the network as a whole is the result of a long chain of referrals made of direct and indirect references, that is, independent of its will or perception.

By analysing the relations established between the distinct types of civil organisations, as well as observing the regularities in those interactions, structural interaction patterns are detected that are present in the configuration of the universe of those actors, in some sort of 'a posteriori structuralism'²⁴ – a *posteriori* since the structure of relations is obtained through empirical work.²⁵ Relations of several kinds, established along time, often fortuitously, unintentionally, contribute to the construction of thick networks that are constantly changed by the actors and also restrict their possibility of action. It is the regularity of those patterns of relating and interacting that forms the structure of a given network. Therefore, one of the main advantages of network analysis used here is the possibility to detect the positions and roles played by the distinct kinds of civil organisations in a structural – not metaphorical – sense.

By and large, a central actor within a given network is the one that, after a considerable number of relations, gets to exert a high influence over the others and make them somehow dependent, controlling several possibilities of flows (the content that runs through the network) and enjoying higher number of options to make choices within its universe of relations (Hanneman 2001). While choices are associated with capability for action or agency, flows relate to material and immaterial goods of highly variable nature, depending on the actors included in the analysis; for instance, money, goods, or things in the former case, and information, influences, or affection in the latter. Furthermore, central actors occupy strategic places within the network, and so it is important to consider not only direct links with other actors, but also indirect ones (Wasserman and Faust 1994). Centrality within a network emerges as a consequence of the patterns of relations established between actors and therefore is not an attribute or a 'possession' of actors themselves.²⁶ In sum, the notion of centrality is associated with the notions of choice between the several possible alternatives and autonomy – little or no dependence – regarding the connections established with specific actors.

By transferring those definitions to the universe of civil organisations, it is possible to say that a central actor: has a thick web of relationships within that universe; has strong capacity to coordinate its action with other civil organisations, as well as of connecting and aggregating interests; works as a symbolic reference within certain constellations of actors; and not rarely generates dependence in less central or more peripheral civil organisations, due to the fact that relations established with them are imbalanced or asymmetrical in terms of relational repertoire and

24 Tilly, 'Prisoners of the State' in *Historical Sociology* No. 133 (1992), cited in Marques (2000).

25 Differently from 'classic' structuralist analyses that had structures as their analytical assumptions (Marques 2005).

26 As underscored by Scott (1992), the centrality of an actor cannot be determined in isolation, without considering the centrality of all other actors to which it is connected.

therefore, of power resources. It is structural asymmetry in relational terms, that is, of inequality of resources inherent to the positions occupied in the network of central and peripheral civil organisations, which represents an important contribution by network analysis to allow operationalising concepts present in the sociological tradition in more abstract analytical levels – influence, dependence, power, etc (Emirbayer 1997). Peripheral actors in the universe of civil organisations, in turn, occupy specific niches; they tend to develop a highly focused action and are strongly dependent on the relations they establish with the other actors – especially the most central ones – in order to reach other places in the network so as to have access to information, funding sources, to influence political decision making, etc. In sum, also in this case, the ways civil organisations place themselves in a larger universe of relations shape their possibilities for action, since linking patterns established by each type of civil organisations with the others and among themselves build complex networks that at once open possibilities for interaction and restrain alternatives.

Even though central positions are associated to certain structural advantages, a civil organisation may be central for several reasons, for instance, it keeps a considerable number of relations with other entities because it seeks those entities, or it keeps those relations, but it is sought after. The reasons related to the relative position of an actor in the network neither exist nor can be interpreted in isolation: firstly, because their combination generates new centrality effects – the balance, for a civil organisation, between seeking and being sought, to mention only one possible combination; secondly, because the centrality of an actor is a particular composite of those possible combinations. Network analysis allows the identification of distinct forms of centrality, elucidating the specific roles played by each type of civil organisation in the network. Because of that, measures tested were intended to cover several kinds of centrality of the actors, being always analysed together – never by themselves – so as to build a complex characterisation of the embeddedness of the distinct types of civil organisations within the network.

Several analytical tools are available within the methodology of network analysis. Most results presented here express *centrality measures*,²⁷ used to underscore the relative position of each actor, identifying clearly central and peripheral positions within the universe of civil organisations. Generally speaking, seven measures were employed in the analysis. We sought to identify both the civil society organisations that work as references or enjoy ‘prestige’ within the larger set of organisations, being often cited (number of *links received* – *indegree*) and those characterised by citing several partners (number of *links sent* – *outdegree*).²⁸ We also analysed the relationship between types of civil organisations and their capabilities for

27 For a conceptual discussion about the measures of centrality and cohesion usually used in the analyses of social networks, see Hanneman (2001).

28 Both measures point out the directionality of links, that is, they allow an analytical distinction of relations where being cited or citing others does not have the same value or importance. Due to several analytical interests, we chose to distinguish the origin and the destination of links. Only in the case of some measures, for technical reasons, relations present in the network have been considered symmetrically. Those cases are underlined along the text. Since not all organisations cited were interviewed, some did not have the opportunity to cite other entities, creating some bias in some measures of centrality that we attempted to minimise.

intermediation (betweenness) and coordination of distinct subnetworks – capabilities that allow, from the point of view of the intermediary, brokering several entities. Another form of characterisation of centrality consisted in the observation of civil organisations that are relatively close to one another – *closeness* that can be translated into capabilities for action and coordination.²⁹ We also examined the asymmetry of relations existing between civil organisations, assessing the dependence produced by certain entities over others or the power of a given entity. The analysis also sought to distinguish organisations that send more links from those that are predominantly receptors of links, presenting distinct types of influence. Last, it also sought to point out the organisations with higher access to information within the network, that is, to the control of certain preferential flows between the set of relations available.

Of more modest use in this analysis, some *cohesion measures* were employed in order to determine the way actors and their distances within a network are structured, approaching aspects such as network size, network density, distances existing between each of the actors (*geodesic distance*) and the number of actors that can be reached within the network (*reachability*).³⁰ As will be shown, networks of each type of civil organisation have very specific characteristics in terms of cohesiveness and general structure, whose consideration allows a better understanding of the centrality of those organisations and the roles they play. Besides, graphic representations of the networks – *sociograms*³¹ – were also used both to introduce more qualitative contributions into the analysis and to help understand the results through specially elucidating visual representations.

Considering the statistical complexity of some measures used, the choice was to present simplified results, reporting only the ranking observed between civil organisations regarding their centrality. Technical labels of the measures were also simplified. It is important to underscore that the structural patterns of civil organisations' embeddedness in the network were built after integrated analysis of all measures generated rather than based on isolated measures, since they lack any meaning when considered independently. It must be said that values presented are relative, that is, their parameter is comparative and resides in the distinct internal values of the networks analysed, not corresponding to any absolute or external value.

29 For an examination of closeness as a 'structural advantage', see the work of Hanneman (2001: 65).

30 The size of the network corresponds to the total number of actors and might significantly limit the capacity to build and maintain links, that is, the possible interactions. Density corresponds to the proportion of really existing links among the total of possible links, and the larger the networks is, the less thick it tends to be. Besides, according to Hanneman (2001), low-density networks tend to have little power – power tends to be diluted among the distinct actors. Distances are important to characterise the network as a whole. The shortest distance possible between two actors is called *geodesic distance*.

31 In the sociograms, each point represents one civil organisation and lines represent relations existing between those organisations. As it will be seen, sociograms are particularly intuitive and do not require major interpretations for their visual understanding: arrows indicate directions of those relations (actors that cite or 'launch' relations and actors that are cited or receive relations); however, it must be said that the length of lines and the visual representations of the actor's position in the drawing are 'arbitrary', that is, they do not represent any 'distance' between those actors, only the presence or absence of relations.

All relational information necessary for the network analysis presented here was obtained through interviews conducted with 202 civil organisations, in a research carried out in the city of São Paulo, Brazil, in 2002.³² Those interviews generated a total of 741 distinct actors cited and 1,293 direct relations surveyed. Since every entity interviewed was able to cite up to five relations in order of importance or the closest ones for distinct types of civil organisations, the networks examined in these pages represent the thickest web of relations existing between São Paulo-based organisations researched – rather than the total links existing. Each direct relation exponentially increments the number of indirect relations and therefore there are a total of 549,081 possible relations. The universe of entities researched was not previously defined, but rather empirically, based on snowball technique – often used in social network analysis (Scott 1992) – that is, on chain-referrals provided by the actors interviewed after 16 entry points. That technique is also highly recommended to track down ‘hidden population’ and/or rare characteristics in the population as a whole (Atkinson and Flint 2003; Goodman 1961; Sudman and Kalton 1986) and proved extremely effective in relation to the more common alternatives for the study of civil organisations, namely, case studies and the use of lists of associations available.³³

5 Patterns of relationship between civil organisations

This section presents a synthesis of the main results regarding the patterns of relations between civil organisations. The interpretation of the patterns found will be made in the next section. Relations were examined after three analytical standpoints. In the first case, in order to distinguish the roles played by different types of civil organisations, the focus is on the relation between each type and the universe of organisations as a whole; in the second, only the internal links among entities of each type of civil organisations (for example, NGOs to NGOs) are carefully examined, as if it were about to thoroughly examine subfields characterised by distinct relational logics. Finally, new sub-networks are defined over the more frequent inter-relations between distinct types of entities, clearly showing affinities underpinning the relations of central actors in the universe of civil organisations in

32 Besides approaching several aspects of those associations – such as foundation, mission, level of formalisation, working issues, members and/or beneficiaries – interviews collected the strongest links of those associations to other civil organisations as well as with government institutions. That relational information served as a basis to assemble the networks analysed here. Only data on the existence of links between civil organisations is addressed here; the analysis does not consider the links with State actors, such as government agencies, or relations with classic political actors such as parties and unions.

33 Lists have serious restrictions since by definition they are based on criteria of inclusion/exclusion, thus introducing unavoidable biases into the analysis. Furthermore, they imply the acceptance of definitions and fields established prior to the empirical universe of civil organisations – thus assuming an implicit concept of ‘civil society’. Case studies provide nuanced reconstruction of processes, but their inherent difficulties for generalisation are one of their weaknesses.

the city of São Paulo. Each standpoint presents specific contributions for understanding the dynamics of functioning of civil organisations.

Next, we examine those findings, starting by general characteristics of the network of civil organisations analysed here – size, density, and cohesion. Afterwards, we present findings regarding the more central actors and the more peripheral ones, followed by the analysis of relations among the entities of each type of civil organisation covered here; we also show the preferential links between civil organisations. As it will be seen, the integrated analysis of the three analytical standpoints allows a more complex view of the *modus operandi* of civil organisations. It is important to stress that such findings refer to a general description of structural positions of civil organisations in the network; however, actors might be equally central or peripheral due to distinct reasons. The general description that follows will open the way, in the following section, to analysing the meaning of structural positions of each type of civil organisation.

5.1 A single, complex, and thin network

From the point of view of network theory, there is an assumption that low density of relations is common in very large networks, since not all possible interactions are present, that is, the larger the network, the higher the difficulty for each actor to update or take advantage of all potential links. From the point of view of the literature on civil society, low thickness of connections should be expected between civil organisations, even though for other reasons related to the logic of collective action: civil society, as a category of social and political theory redefined in the 1990s, covers the sparse, decentralised, and plural action of a myriad of entities whose nature is more or less diverse.

The findings of the research confirm such predictions. Examining the relations of civil organisations approached here, we see that they make up a quite complex and thin network, in spite of being totally integrated.³⁴ At that level, many of the possible relations are not effectively present between civil organisations, and a large part of those organisations cannot be reached by its peers, generating several specific niches within the network. Despite reach possibilities being unequal, it should be stressed, there are *no* separated components, that is, it is a *single network*, which integrates all civil organisations. The existence of a single component or a *single network* is not a result of the snowball method used, since, as already explained, 16 entry points were ‘opened’.³⁵

34 Visualising that set is extremely difficult: since it includes 741 actors and 1,293 direct relations, it is useless to present here the sociogram of that network as it was done for the case of the specific fields defined by type of civil organisations.

35 For a detailed presentation of the criteria followed for controlling the chain referrals triggered by snowball as well as the test carried out in order to validate the reliability of the sample of civil organisations thus raised, see the work of Houtzager *et al.* (2003). We considered it relevant to keep directed relations and distinguish those entities that send links from those that receive them, thus avoiding to assume that relations are reciprocal. To assume that relations in a network are not reciprocal – that is, that directionality is relevant – is the pertinent option for hierarchical networks, which is the case of the networks of São Paulo-based civil organisations analysed here.

The findings not only show low general centrality in the network – that is, low integration of the network around a few central actors – but also allow us to measure how thin it is, providing a clear indicator of the dispersion of the logic of collective action present in the universe of civil organisations. In that universe made up of over 700 civil organisations, of a hypothetical total of over 500,000 possible links, only 1,293 are really present, which means a density that does not even reach 1 per cent of possible relations – only 0.24 per cent. Besides the low total density, the thin nature of the network of São Paulo-based civil organisations was confirmed through other measures of centralisation of the network, which point out the existence of several diffuse centralities and reinforce the assessments about the plurality of the universe of civil organisations.³⁶ As will be seen in the next section, even those entities that stand at the ‘top’, in the more central positions, enjoy different types of centrality and play distinct specific roles within the network. In sum, it is a complex and thin network, marked by hierarchy between civil organisations and by the presence of multiple centralities. In turn, and despite their low density, the existence of a single network with such dimensions underscores the diffuse connectivity of civil organisations in São Paulo.

5.2 Central and peripheral civil organisations

When analysing the ways each type of civil organisation is situated in the network described above, despite its low general centrality, the main result to be pointed out refers to the strong stratification between civil organisations. There are entities that occupy highly central positions, while others are in peripheral positions, indicating dependence on the former.

Data presented in Table 5.1 allow a general characterisation of the position of each type of entity: darker grey indicates entities with more central positions while lighter grey indicates more peripheral ones, dependant on the former; figures express the relative position of each civil organisation in that centrality or cohesion measure.³⁷ The measures presented indicate a number of direct links of each type of civil organisations, the degree of intermediation exerted by them, their proximity to other organisations, as well as possibilities for information flows, the establishment of dependence relations (power), and the balance between sending and receiving relations (influence). Besides those measures, which capture centrality situations of civil organisations, Table 5.1 presents some measures of cohesion, such as the distances covered by the distinct types of entity (geodesic distance or shortest path, and number of geodesics), and the number of actors that can be reached. It is important to remember once again that relational patterns of civil organisations are obtained by combination, that is, after the joint analysis of their relative positions in different measures.

36 All measures of centralisation of the network computed based on distinct parameters (degree, betweenness, geodesic distance, etc.) resulted in a total centralisation lower than 5 per cent.

37 All measures presented here were computed in relative terms or normalised in order to control the effects of the weight of distinct types of civil organisations in the sample. Only the ranking made after normalised measures is presented.

Table 5.1 Centrality and cohesion of types of civil organisations in the network – SP^a

Typology of entities	Centrality								Cohesion		
	Sent links ^b	Received links ^c	Betweenness	Closeness of referred ^b	Closeness of referrers ^c	Information ^b	Power ^b	Influence ^b	Shortest paths ^b	No. of shortest paths ^b	Reachable actors ^c
Popular organisations	3	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	5	2	3
Coordinating bodies	2	2	2	5	2	3	3	3	3	4	5
NGOs	1	3	3	2	4	2	7	7	6	3	1
Fora	5	4	6	6	3	5	5	2	2	6	6
Service non-profits	7	5	5	4	6	4	1	4	4	5	4
Neighbourhood associations	4	6	4	1	5	6	6	5	7	1	2
Community associations	6	7	7	7	7	7	4	6	1	7	7

^a Directed or asymmetric relations.
^b Average and ranking computed only for interviewed entities (n=202)
^c Average and ranking computed for the whole sample (n=829)

At the ‘top’ of the universe of civil organisations are popular organisations, coordinating bodies, and NGOs, occupying the most central positions and benefited by a favourable balance between sent and received relations (influence). As a result of their patterns of relations, those entities present the best performance in virtually all measures of centrality and cohesion, that is, they have higher number of direct links, higher intermediation power as well as privileged access to information flows. Findings point consistently to the protagonist role played by those three kinds of entities within the universe of São Paulo civil organisations – protagonism that could be performed either in aggregating interests, either in the coordination of collective action or in defining symbolic references. In any case, organisations at the top have several alternatives for connecting through the network, which makes access and interlocutions to other entities easier besides giving them control over the flows coming from more peripheral entities.

Below the types of entities located at the ‘top’ or of higher centrality in the network of civil organisations, there are civil organisations located at the intermediate levels such as fora and service non-profits (Table 5.1). In spite of not being included in organisations with more central positions, fora differ from peripheral entities in the network for their closeness to several actors and for having a significant number of links, as well as a set of relations that allow access

to information and to several actors indirectly. With slightly inferior results, service non-profits are relatively sought after and do some intermediation.

Finally, at the ‘periphery’ of the network are neighbourhood associations and community associations. Peripheral civil organisations do not have a thick web of relationships, they are not key players for the other players, they have relatively limited access to and control of network flows, and they are strongly dependent on entities with more central positions to be able to reach players or places in the network – that is, they only reach very specific niches directly. Their low results in terms of centrality are partly explained by their horizontal and close relations, largely marked by community or local logics as will be seen later. Community associations occupy the worst positions in nearly all measures, showing strong dependence upon links established with more central entities. However, neighbourhood associations are, in principle, closer to the profile of entities of intermediate condition, since they are averagely active players in the construction of relations and are close to the entities to which they establish connections. Some of those associations also stand out for their intermediation between their peers, connecting them to more central entities. Our choice was to classify neighbourhood associations together with community associations because, as will be seen, despite their activism, the mediating role they play, and their medium closeness, they lack importance for the other actors of the universe of civil organisations.

5.3 Internal dynamics of the types of civil organisations

The second analytical standpoint focuses on internal relations among civil organisations of each type. By and large, results produced from that viewpoint can be summarised in the following terms: the types of organisations characterised by having more cohesive and organised internal networks correspond precisely to those that occupy more central positions in the network as a whole; the types with less thick and more fragmented networks coincide with those that tend to occupy peripheral positions in the network. That result seems to point out a narrow relation between the ways the distinct types of entities are organised internally – patterns of relations, degree of cohesion, and internal hierarchy – and the roles they play in the universe of civil organisations.

Table 5.2 reinforces that information, by presenting data related to the way the distinct actors established relations of centrality, betweenness, dependence, etc. in their internal networks; that is, these time measures were computed by type of civil organisation, without the links to other types of entity. Figures represent the ranking of civil organisations in each of the measures already presented and grey shades once again underscore the best and worst positions in each measure.

As pointed out, the types of entities that occupy more central positions in the network also present more organicity and complexity in their internal relations or with entities of the same type, both in terms of density (high number of links) and in terms of information flows, paths available, and speed of contact to other actors. The internal network of popular organisations is the thickest one in terms of number of links, the one with more internal betweenness – some popular organisations act as necessary passage points for all others – and where actors are relatively closer between themselves. With networks that are considerably larger,

Table 5.2 Centrality and cohesion among entities of each type of civil organisation – SP^a

Typology of entities	Centrality ^a						Cohesion ^a		
	Number of links	Betweenness	Closeness	Information	Power	Influence	Shortest paths	No. of shortest paths	Reachable actors
Popular organisations (n=20)	1	1	1	3	7	5	4	2	2
Coordinating bodies (n=104)	2	3	4	2	6	4	5	3	3
NGOs (n=187)	3	2	5	1	3	2	7	1	1
Fora (n=165)	7	6	6	7	5	6	3	7	5
Service non-profits (n=76)	6	7	3	5	2	1	2	5	7
Neighbourhood associations (n=203)	5	4	7	4	4	3	6	4	4
Community associations (n=74)	4	5	2	6	1	7	1	6	6

^a Non-directed or symmetrised relations.
^b The computation of measures considered all entities present in the sample. However, the size of the networks varies according to the type of civil organisations analysed.

coordinating bodies and NGOs also present similar features in their internal networks, although at slightly lower levels. It should be said that the absence of dependence is a complementary trait of more organicity and horizontality of internal links of popular organisations and coordinating bodies; however, differently from those types of civil organisations, there is a significant asymmetry or dependence in the case of NGOs. The subject will return in the next section.

In the opposite end are fora and service non-profits, with the worst results, followed by community and neighbourhood associations. Those entities have internal networks that are not very cohesive, low efficiency to reach actors of their same type, and they simultaneously tend to occupy the most peripheral positions in the network as a whole. The lower capacity for internal organisation and mobilisation, typical of such type of civil organisations, seemingly entails restriction to their possibilities of action in the universe of civil organisations as a whole.

5.4 From periphery to centre and from centre to centre

The third analytical standpoint elucidates preferential links between civil organisations, dealing with relations established not between entities in the network as a whole or among the entities of internal networks, but rather between distinct types of

organisations. The analysis takes place through the definition of sub-networks that join types of civil organisations in pairs – NGOs with coordinating bodies, NGOs with neighbourhood associations, NGOs with fora and so on – so as to verify both the most ‘valuable’ links or those that are sought after by several actors and the most ‘efficient’ relations in terms of increasing the capacity for action of the types of organisations involved with them. In broad terms, findings show that more central civil organisations are sought after as preferential links, especially by grassroots or peripheral entities, which clearly privilege central actors when building and maintaining relations. In turn, central organisations themselves tend to keep privileged relations to each other.

Table 5.3 summarises the patterns of preferential links.³⁸ Firstly, it presents the number of *new links* that emerged in the networks for each paired combination by types of civil organisations – without considering those that existed previously in internal networks; secondly, the increment in intermediation resulting from new relations between types of entities, that is, the *intermediation gains* – also excluding possibilities for intermediation within the network of each type of civil organisation. Finally, the third measure assesses *integration* or the degree of utilisation of relations hypothetically available due to crossing between networks of two types of civil organisations; that is, it shows how much of the relations that could potentially exist in each crossing is effectively present. Each type of civil organisation (lines) should be considered as a focal point for reading the table: for instance, the relations that popular organisations establish with the other types of associations should be read in order to see the gains and utilisation of each crossing (rows).

The search for more central organisations by peripheral entities as a dominant pattern becomes patent when it is seen, for instance, that neighbourhood associations keep privileged relations with coordinating bodies and community associations sustain preferable relations to popular organisations. It is also interesting to note that fora – entities with intermediate positions in general networks – are also often sought after by the other entities. On the other hand, and counterintuitively, the pattern just described is complemented by the fact that neighbourhood and community associations do not establish relations with one another. In fact, there is no significant thickness of relations between peripheral entities.

Not surprisingly, central entities not only cultivate preferential links with equally central players, but also develop a wider integration between themselves – with the highest number of potential links effectively present. Therefore, popular organisations are more integrated or take more advantage of the potential of relations they establish with coordinating bodies and NGOs; coordinating bodies keep more integration to NGOs and popular organisations; and, in turn, NGOs do that with popular organisations and coordinating bodies. However, when figures related to new links created in networks between types of civil organisations are analysed, as well as intermediation gains, what emerges are the relations between central entities and those with medium and peripheral centrality – for instance the relevance of fora and service non-profits to popular organisations, coordinating bodies, and NGOs.

38 Only gains obtained in each of the crossings between two types of civil organisations were considered, thus cancelling the results from internal networks. In other words, only the balances of the intersection between the two networks were considered.

Table 5.3 Networks of preferential links – SP^a

		Organisations to which relations are established						
Typology of entities	Intersection gains ^b	Pop. orgs.	Coord. bodies	NGOs	Fora	Service non-profits	Neigh. assoc.	Comm. assoc.
Popular organisations	New links		3	2	1	5	6	4
	Intermediation gains		2	4	3	1	6	5
	Integration		2	1	3	4	6	5
Coordinating bodies	New links	5		1	2	4	3	6
	Intermediation gains	2		1	5	3	4	6
	Integration	2		1	4	3	5	6
NGOs	New links	3	1		2	4	5	6
	Intermediation gains	3	1		5	2	4	6
	Integration	2	1		3	4	6	5
Fora	New links	4	3	2		1	5	6
	Intermediation gains	1	2	4		3	5	6
	Integration	3	2	1		4	5	6
Service non-profits	New links	6	2	4	1		3	5
	Intermediation gains	1	3	2	4		5	6
	Integration	2	3	1	5		4	6
Neighbourhood associations	New links	6	1	4	3	2		5
	Intermediation gains	6	1	2	4	3		5
	Integration	6	1	3	4	2		5
Community associations	New links	5	6	3	1	4	2	
	Intermediation gains	1	2	5	3	6	4	
	Integration	1	3	2	5	4	6	

^a Directed or asymmetric relations.
^b Average and ranking computed only for interviewed entities (n=202)

6 Protagonisms of civil organisations

Civil organisations' central or peripheral condition in the network as a whole, their internal links' high or low density, as well as their patterns of preferential links, hide distinct meanings, depending on the type of civil organisation being considered. In other words, it is possible to occupy the same positions in the network and present the same relational features for different reasons. The integrated examination of the findings of the three analytical fields for each type of organisation will allow us to elucidate those reasons and to show the distinct protagonisms and roles that characterise civil organisations in São Paulo.

6.1 Popular organisations

Despite their relative 'disappearance' from literature, those popular actors have the highest centrality among all those analysed here, especially due to the fact that they are often sought after and, to a lesser degree, that they develop active strategies for building relations (Table 5.1).³⁹ Their privileged position and, to some degree – as will be seen – the existence of links with the more peripheral type of entity make those organisations stand out for sustaining particularly imbalanced relations in the universe of civil organisations as a whole.

Comparatively, the coordination of popular organisations between themselves seems to be more relevant for their strategy of action – centred on protest – than the connection to other types of entities.⁴⁰ The internal network of those organisations is the most cohesive of all that were analysed and presents a notable density of relations, actors with strong intermediation power and high proximity between its members, whose positions in the network are the least dependent or the most balanced ones (Table 5.2).⁴¹ Furthermore, popular organisations reach one another in a very efficient way, with a comparatively quite low number of isolated actors, i.e. popular organisations that do not maintain links with their peers, although they do maintain them with other types of entities.⁴² Such characteristics can be better understood based on Sociogram 6.1. That network is clearly bi-nuclear, since virtually all existing links are constituted in relation to two central actors, *Movimento dos Sem-Terra (mst)* and *Movimento dos Sem-Teto do Centro (mstc)*. MST is the 'bridge' that links all national movements such as *Movimento Nacional de Luta pela Moradia (mnlm)*, and rural movements such as the *Movimento dos Pequenos Agricultores (movpeqagri)* e dos *Atingidos por Barragens (moab)*, to local urban movements, that is, in the city of São Paulo, grouped around the second actor,

39 See the differences between 'Sent links' and 'Received links', as well as the 'Closeness of referred' and 'Closeness of referrers' (Table 5.1).

40 As it will be seen in the case of assistance entities and forums, it is possible to keep thicker networks with other types of actors that are not peers.

41 Although normalised, in this case the results express, to a certain degree, the low number of actors in the networks of popular organisations.

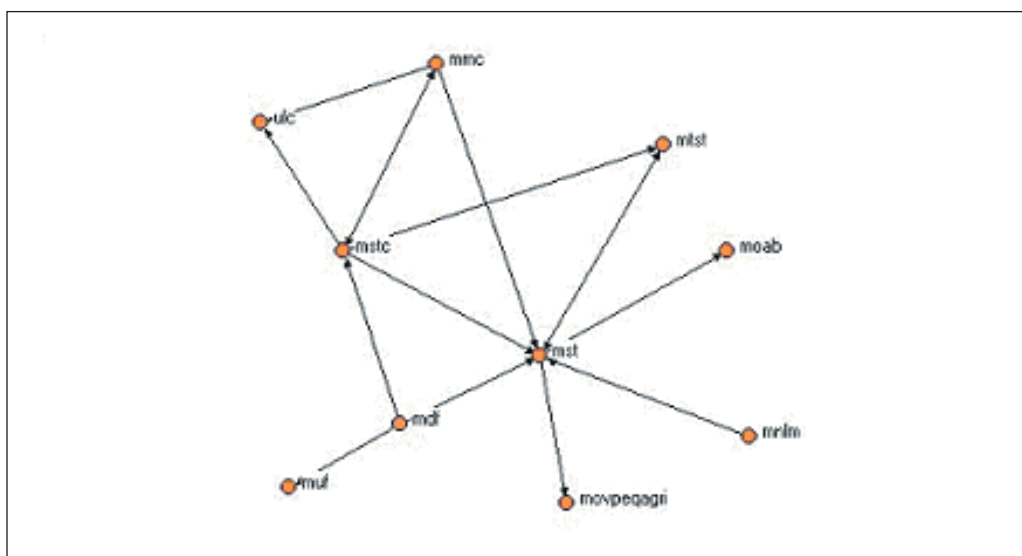
42 The number of isolated elements will be reported in the lower right corner of each sociogram.

Movimento de Moradia do Centro (mmc) or *Defesa do Favelado* (mdf), for instance. The central reference in this case falls on the actors with more capacity for mobilisation and public visibility, MST, rather than on actors that deal with local demands or have clear issue-based or thematic affinities as is the case with virtually all types of civil organisations.

The selective logic of building relations to more central actors or to those with more capability for action also applies – although somehow more moderately – to the links privileged by popular organisations to other civil organisations (Table 5.3). The closeness to NGOs is marked by NGOs' very origin as advisers of social movements, but the closeness of popular organisations to coordinating bodies is a more recent fact that has not been pointed out in literature. In turn, in accordance with the general patterns described in the previous section, most civil organisations resort to the popular organisations as privileged links. There are, however, unexpected results: popular organisations confer minimal importance to relations with neighbourhood associations and, by the way, it is a totally reciprocal 'indifference'. In other words, the construction of relations with entities that present local, urban and low-visibility demands seems to be fruitless for the actor examined. Paradoxically, among the three types of more central entities, popular organisations present relatively more links to community associations, which contributes to the understanding of the imbalanced character of their relations within the universe of civil organisations as a whole – first standpoint.

The history of popular organisations fighting social exclusion based on socio-economic factors, would suggest more (or at least some) closeness to popular-based entities such as neighbourhood associations, especially when considering that a large part of popular organisations deals with the issue of housing – half of them in the case of Sociogram 6.1.⁴³ Even though relational analysis shows that popular

Sociogram 6.1 Popular organisations' internal network



43 See Annex 1 for organisations' names.

organisations still occupy a protagonist position in the universe of civil organisations – in spite of the dominant focus of civil society literature on other types of players – the loss of relevance by those organisations to neighbourhood associations and vice-versa suggests unprecedented displacements in the level of collective action during the post-transition years – displacements that would gain more precise contours through the interpretation of other types of civil organisations.

6.2 Coordinating bodies

Even though the high centrality of coordinating bodies (Table 5.1) is not surprising, given their character as entities whose public includes other entities, results show how successful efforts by NGOs and other civil organisations have been to create this new kind of actor in recent years. Relational analysis points out some features of their character as organisations of institutional members: they are relatively distant from the larger universe of entities to which they maintain relations and have limited capability of reaching other actors – seemingly beyond their own members. As with popular organisations, and for similar reasons – high centrality followed by links to some type of peripheral civil organisation – coordinating bodies sustain relations marked by asymmetry.

Coordinating bodies' internal relations elucidate more precisely the way they operate. On the one hand, they sustain highly balanced relations between themselves, configuring a remarkably thick network, with 54 per cent of isolated actors; on the other hand, their internal patterns of relationship follow clear cleavages, reducing the closeness of its internal links (Table 5.2).⁴⁴ Sociogram 6.2⁴⁵ allows such patterns to be visualised. It is possible to see that coordinating bodies order their strategies of relationship by thematic, functional, and programmatic affinities, often partially overlapped. The niche of entities that deal with gender issues is a case of eminently thematic affinity and that of coordinating bodies of neighbourhood associations presupposes a clear functional affinity. However, the subnetworks of popular movements, third-sector funding entities, and religious coordinating bodies combine more than one kind of affinity. In the last three cases, coordinating bodies of each niche work for specific actors and dispute and represent distinct conceptions of the meaning of collective action in Brazilian society at once. In fact, given their importance and the high costs to create and maintain entities with such a profile, the makeup of the set of coordinating bodies projects, as in a game of shadows, the constellation of actors with more strength in the dispute for meaning in collective action before the State and among social actors themselves: church-related organisations, private sector ones, and the leftist field of mass organisations. Finally, despite the thickness of coordinating bodies' internal relations, the relative distance and difficulty to reach actors are a result of the fact that each niche depends on bridging entities or gatekeepers to link to their peers oriented by other affinities; notably, the *União Brasileira de Mulheres* (ubm) for gender issues, the *Confederação*

44 See the measures 'Closeness' and 'Shortest paths', which are negatively contrasting in relations to the broader pattern of coordinating bodies (Table 5.2).

45 See Annex 2 for organisations' names.

This is clear when considering both coordinating bodies' centrality within the universe of civil organisations and their relevance for each type of entity, and specially, for peripheral actors such as neighbourhood associations. The absence of relations between popular organisations and neighbourhood associations and the aforementioned findings point out not only the existence of relevant changes in collective action, so far unnoticed by literature – coordinating bodies are usually classified as NGOs and have not been studied often – but also the plasticity of collective action itself and the capability for institutional innovation in terms of civil organisations to scale up as well.

6.3 NGOs

Relational analysis reveals that NGOs' advocacy activities are related to a form of centrality that can be opposed to that of popular organisation and coordinating bodies: the centrality of the latter has a passive component, that is, they are sought after more often than they seek and they find themselves close to entities that come their way. NGOs' centrality, instead, follows an active profile: it is the type of civil organisation that builds the most links – it seeks more than it is sought – besides not being close to referrer organisations that cited NGOs as partners, but rather to those with which it actively establishes relations (Table 5.1). The idea that NGOs function as a network is widely present in literature; however, given the assumptions of network analysis about the world's relational character, such assertion becomes a truism. Our findings allow specifying the profile of NGOs as builders of links or central active actors – by the way, the most efficient ones in terms of reaching other entities or places in the network. Another distinctive feature of NGOs, whose meaning will become clear thanks to other analytical standpoints, is the strongly symmetric character of the relations they build. They are entities that create the lowest dependence in their relationships within the universe of civil organisations as a whole.

NGOs' internal network is remarkably cohesive, despite its high amount of entities (Table 5.3). Their profile as builders of relations and advocacy entities acquires concreteness, at the level of their internal or inter-peer relations, as a strong thematic specialisation that nevertheless comes once again with the highest efficiency to reach certain actors, but now with more short paths to reach them as well.⁴⁶ In spite of internal cohesion, it is a relatively decentralised network with the lowest number of isolated actors in all internal networks examined – only 36 per cent. Sociogram 6.3⁴⁷ shows precisely that the specificity of relations between NGOs is in the constitution of multiples links, always driven by a thematic logic, that is, towards civil organisations that work for the same issue: the niches made of entities dedicated, for instance, to education, gender and race, housing, handicapped children, or violence.⁴⁸ Despite organising themselves in thematic

46 Position in the ranking of the measures 'No. of shortest paths' and 'Reachable actors' (Table 5.2)

47 See Annex 3 for organisations' names.

48 Only the largest thematic niches were highlighted in order to allow visibility of the information presented.

sub-networks, the construction of multiple links inhibits, with few exceptions, the presence of unavoidable gatekeepers – such as in the case of coordinating bodies.⁴⁹ On the other hand, there are sub-networks that do not present interaction with the other niches as well – for instance, entities that deal with the issue of violence or handicapped children. Therefore, the thematic logic both restrains and allows the interaction of some niches within the larger NGO network. An emblematic case is that of entities dedicated to the issue of homosexuality, whose actors are able to establish relations to other niches only through gender organisations.

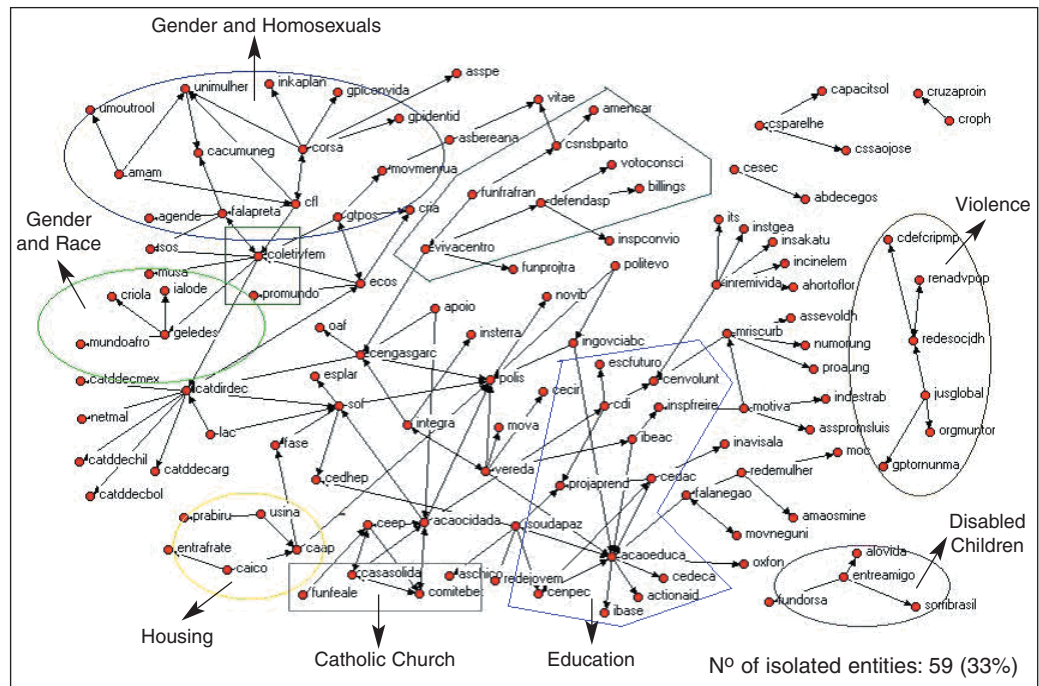
To cohesiveness, density, and thematic profile of this network we must add two other features. Partly due to the high number of entities in NGOs' internal network, the closeness between their members is low and, differently from what happens in the relations of those entities to other civil organisations, internal links are strongly imbalanced, that is, relations between NGOs are considerably hierarchical. The combination between the symmetry of NGOs to the network as a whole and the dependence generated by the links among their peers contrasts with the inverse pattern of the other types of central civil organisations – popular organisations and coordinating bodies, whose case combines balanced internal relations with sharp asymmetry in the links they established within the universe of civil organisations as a whole. Such contrast does not seem to be only the effect of larger size and thickness of the internal networks of civil organisations, but rather of the active and passive profiles that distinguish the centralities of those three types of actors.

When observing the links privileged by NGOs with other types of civil organisations (Table 5.3), the first to emerge is its *alliance* to coordinating bodies – already mentioned – as well as, secondly, the links established with popular organisations and, at a lower level, with fora and service non-profits. As should be expected from the more general patterns, relations with associations that follow the logic of specific popular demands, such as neighbourhood and community associations, prove to be of little importance. In turn, NGOs are links aimed at and cultivated by all types of entities.

In sum, NGOs are notorious not only for being the main builders of relations in the universe of civil organisations studied, but also for having contributed decisively to the creation of a new type of entity with remarkable capacity for action, coordination, and aggregation. The alliance between NGOs and coordinating bodies signals emblematically the history of the former and the consolidation of their protagonism in the post-transition context: created originally as advisors to popular movements (popular organisations), they eventually disengaged from that initial mission, taking up their own functions disputing the public agenda and the formulation, supervision, and sometimes, implantation of public policies. Nowadays, coordinating bodies such as UBM, CONAM, CMP, REBRAAF or the Brazilian NGOs Association (ABONG) are the ones that make up the strategic repertoire of relations of NGOs, rather than social movements. Functions assumed and politically built along that history by NGOs run in parallel to their strong thematic specialisation and their internal differentiation and hierarchisation.

49 To mention only two examples, essential actors connecting distinct niches are: Collective Feminist – *Coletivo Feminista* (coletivfem) and Citizen Action – *Ação Cidadã* (acaocidadã).

Sociogram 6.3 NGOs’ internal network



6.4 Fora

The fora are not distinguished only by their low general centrality; rather, when observed closely within the total set of actors analysed (Table 5.1), an interesting contrast is seen. While they do not direct their action to the construction of links and do not exercise intermediation – besides being the actors with the lowest reach to other civil organisations – they receive links and stand out by their accessibility or closeness to those actors that seek them⁵⁰ – hence their condition of intermediate centrality.

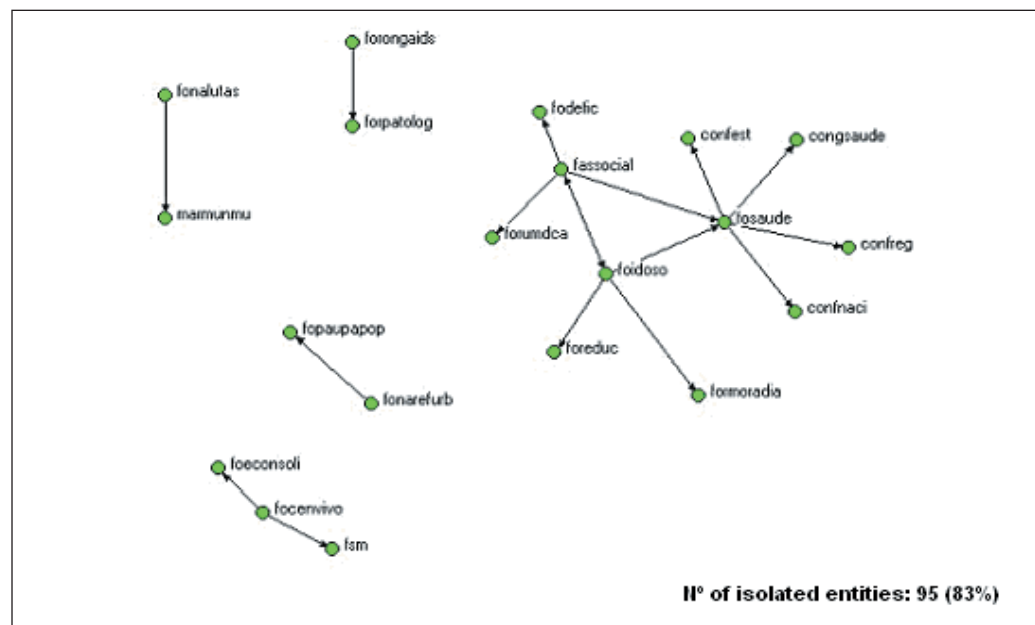
Precisely for being thematic meeting instances that include other types of civil organisations (accessibility), fora do not tend to establish links between themselves, except in the rare case of working with common issues. Therefore, the pattern of internal connections within the network of that type of actor is the most unconnected and the least centralised one of all the internal networks presented here (Table 5.2). Sociogram 6.4⁵¹ illustrates clearly the magnitude of the disconnection: 83 per cent of those entities are isolated from their peers, that is, they do not relate to other fora. It is by far the type of civil organisations with less links among themselves. The sociogram also allows appreciating the case of partially common issues that drive the construction of small subnetworks: the *Fórum ‘ONGs Aids’*, for instance, maintains a relationship with the *Forum de Patologias* (Pathologies); the *Forum do Idoso* (Elderly), in turn, sustains links with those of *Assistência Social and Saúde* (Welfare and Health). It should also be stressed that the Forum of Health has the highest capacity of coordination and intermediation in the network.

50 ‘Closeness’ regarding actors that cite fora, high number of ‘Shortest paths’ and favourable balance between links sent and received (‘Influence’).
 51 See Annex 4 for organisations’ names.

In accordance with their roles as meeting instances for thickening of common discourses, agendas, and interaction among different types of civil organisations, fora are mainly link receivers. Links with them are cultivated by most of the organisations studied, although never in a privileged position, that is, never preceding the three types of central entities examined above (Table 5.3). Even though the reciprocal assertion is also true – fora privilege links with central civil organisations – a closer look reveals that, in fact, fora privilege relations with central entities with a thematic profile, that is, with coordinating bodies and NGOs. Popular organisations and service non-profits, in turn, are at a lower level, with importance similar to foras, and neighbourhood and community associations are irrelevant.

Fora embrace civil organisations' concerns and issues, and provide a space for formulating consensus about them; however, they do not constitute the channel for spreading such consensus, since, once they are thickened, they are publicised and, as far as possible, implemented and/or disputed over in practice by the civil organisations that take part in the respective forum. Their functions draw them away from active strategies in building relations, but, as they are attended equally by central and peripheral civil organisations, they represent an instance for approximation between civil organisations that are unequal in terms of their capability for action and their relational repertoire. Even though fora could be thought of as occupying a position similar to that of coordinating bodies, since both types of actors work for civil organisations, they have clearly distinct features and functions.

Sociogram 6.4 Fora internal network



6.5 Service non-profits

The service non-profits present the worst result of all types of entities in establishing links, and medium positions regarding their proximity to other types of actors and their capacity to reach and intermediate. However, and despite their inexpressiveness in the construction of relations, the links they establish tend to become essential to a large part of the entities to which they are related (Table 5.1). In other words,

service non-profits sustain the most imbalanced or asymmetrical repertoire of relations in the sample, connecting associations that are poorly provided of relations to others that are thickly connected.⁵²

Service non-profits present a contrasting combination between secondary – sometimes peripheral – positions in the network as a whole and a remarkable availability of power, which means a high degree of dependence on civil organisations linked to them. Such combination can be interpreted in the light of the role they play as mediators for fund raising and fund channelling, connecting organisations that finance, sustain and donate – which are well equipped in relational terms – to peripheral actors close to the publics targeted for assistance. In fact, the relations they establish tend to be punctual and vertical, with limited ramifications. Therefore, the connections with their own peers not only have little importance for service non-profits – 60 per cent of them are isolated or do not keep any link among themselves – but also preserve the markedly dependent profile that characterises their relations with other types of civil organisations (Table 5.2). Sociogram 6.5⁵³ shows the pattern of connection among service non-profits. Besides the fragmentation in eight components or subnetworks, the structure of part of those components reveals itself to be highly imbalanced and based on the flow of budgetary resources: the *Associação Evangélica Beneficente* (AEB), the *Associação Brasileira de Resgate e Ação Social* (ABRAS), the *Instituto Teu Sonho Meu Sonho* (inteusonho) and the *Ação Comunitária Brasil* (ACAOCOMUN), central actors of their respective subnetworks, are coincidentally funding service non-profits whose main functions include transfer of resources to other service non-profits. The internal logic of subnetworks is different, sometimes following the similarities according to their publics or beneficiaries (e.g. children), sometimes alignments under strong ideological-institutional affinities as is the case with the religious niches, or yet of territorial proximity – as occurs with Grajaú-based civil organisations (a neighbourhood located in South São Paulo). By the way, it seems reasonable to expect that these findings would be reinforced if the Sociogram included other funding entities outside of the non-profit networks.

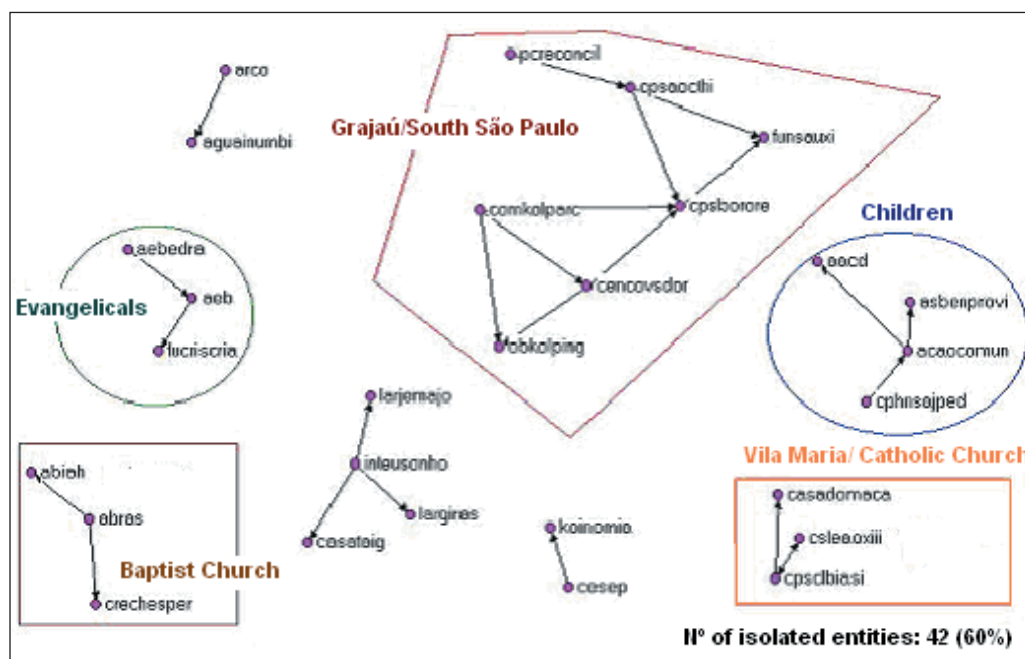
Service non-profits do not establish a privileged link to any type of organisation, but, in a way that is parallel to fora, they are sought after by all civil organisations, particularly by neighbourhood associations (Table 5.3). Reciprocally, neighbourhood associations have some importance for service non-profits, confirming the profile designed above, namely, their character of restricted mediators between organisations for material and/or financial support – thanks to which they are able to serve their target-public – and actors working directly with those targeted beneficiaries. The remaining preferential links of service non-profits follow the more general pattern, that is, they privilege central civil organisations.

Despite statements pointing out an ongoing process of ‘NGOisation’ of service non-profits, results examined seem to point out that such eventual change should be happening at the level of discourse and negotiation of identities. However, relational patterns are similar to some sort of fingerprint that identifies and clearly distinguishes NGOs from service non-profits.

52 According to results of the measure ‘Power’ in Table 5.1.

53 See Annex 5 for organisations’ names.

Sociogram 6.5 Service non-profits' internal network



6.6 Neighbourhood associations

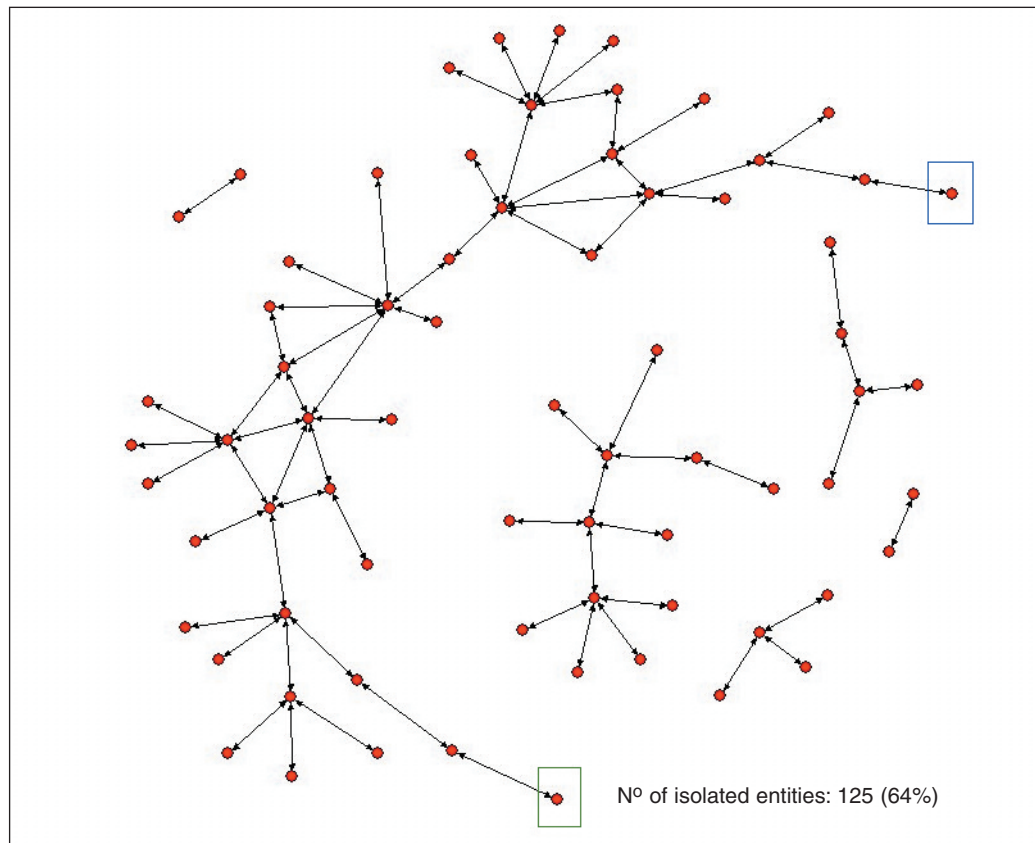
These associations occupy peripheral positions for two reasons: their medium centrality in the network as a whole, with results similar to fora and service non-profits, and their minimal importance as a preferential link for other actors. While they do not stand out as receptors of links and do not have a strong intermediation capacity, neighbourhood associations are particularly close to the actors they build relations with, they have a remarkable capacity to reach other actors and, differently from service non-profits, they do not generate dependence (Table 5.1). As a matter of fact, they are second only to NGOs as the actors with the most balanced or least dependence-generating relations to other types of civil organisations.

Since they are associations that do not establish many links, they have an impressive capacity to reach other organisations. That comes largely from their territorial character whose implications become clearer after an analysis of their internal connections. Judging by the measures (Table 5.2), and despite the percentage of isolated actors (64 per cent) and their fragmentation in six subnetworks, the strategy of building relations with their own peers is sensibly more important to neighbourhood associations than it is to fora and service non-profits. However, such associations are more distant from their peers. In this case, the specificity resides in the fact that neighbourhood associations are connected one on one, building a horizontal network that, 'step-by-step', will eventually reach distinct subsets of actors. Sociogram 6.7 shows only the internal structure of neighbourhood associations and allows an easy perception of linearity or the horizontal shape of the network. The associations marked with squares, for instance, can reach through a long way the opposite end of the network.⁵⁴

54 The fact that they have the largest geodesic distance is not fortuitous (see Table 5.1).

As would be expected, the internal logic of neighbourhood sub-networks is based on territorial proximity. Sociogram 6.7⁵⁵ shows, for instance, that entities in East São Paulo reach a niche of South São Paulo-based entities through relations they establish with entities from North São Paulo. It should be noted that all entities from the Heliópolis neighbourhood make up a separate component, without relations to the other entities from South São Paulo. Even that Heliópolis subset presents a 'line-shaped' general format, without strongly central actors. Contrary to internal networks such as those of the popular organisations or NGOs, in this case there is no 'star' actors that exert by themselves a high degree of intermediation; each association located along the 'line' is important – and a large part of them is essential – to the connection with other segments in the network.

Sociogram 6.6 Neighbourhood associations' internal network I – structure



Neighbourhood associations have some importance as a preferential link for coordinating bodies, service non-profits and, to a lesser degree, for community associations. Alternatively, they clearly privilege coordinating bodies, followed at a lower level by service non-profits and then by NGOs and fora (Table 5.3). The privileged relation to coordinating bodies – with certain reciprocity – is counterintuitive since it would be reasonable to expect that such preferential links

55 See Annex 6 for organisations' names.

feature is the absence of relations (Table 5.1). Since activities are built by and for members of each association, it does not come as a surprise that they have the worst results, except for their ability to rapidly reach other entities and for having moderately imbalanced relations. Both exceptions indicate the effects of the particularly limited number of links available to community associations and the existence of direct, although limited, relations to more central entities.

Similarly to service non-profits, internal relations among community associations are close, remarkably imbalanced and, to a higher or lower degree, irrelevant for themselves – 63 per cent of those associations are isolated, that is, they have no links to their peers.⁵⁷ Sociogram 6.8⁵⁸ shows that such proximity is derived from fragmentation or the existence of small subnetworks – basically dyads and triads – driven by exclusive internal logics, i.e. logics that do not seem to encourage bridging relations to peer associations guided by other concerns. For instance, Mother Groups and hip-hop civil organisations present relations between themselves and no contact with other community associations. Even the niche with the highest number of entities – organisations representing the military police (Brazil's state police) – follows an exclusive internal logic. In that case, all relations are oriented to one actor. Therefore, the rare links established by those entities are usually punctual and non-diversified, making the positions of actors in their own network imbalanced.

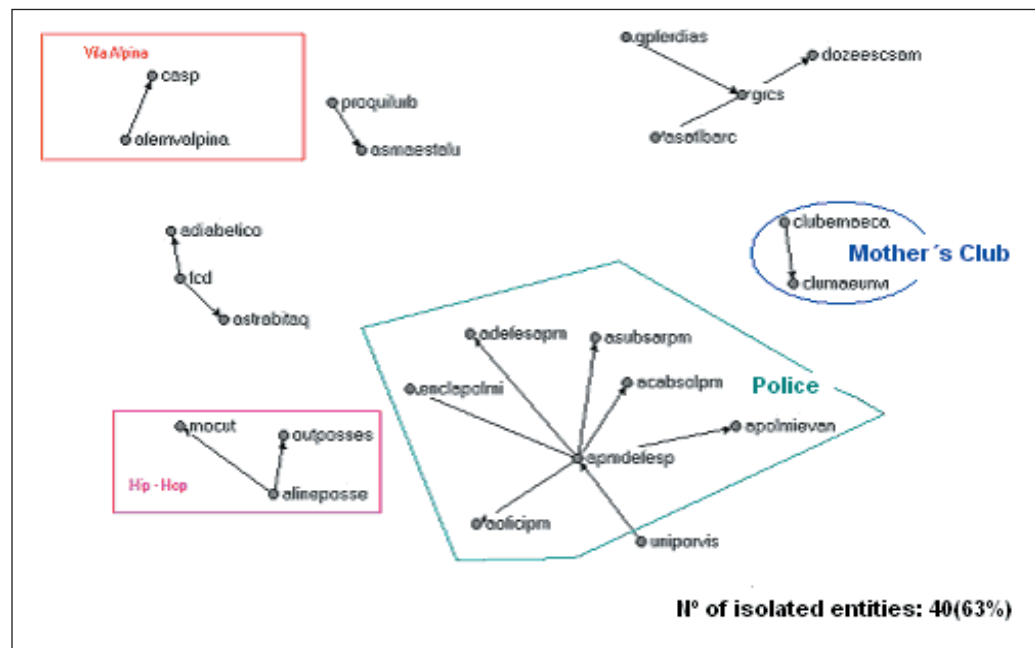
According to the characterisation above, community associations occupy, by far, the most peripheral positions in relation to other types of civil organisations. In other words, and in spite of the reciprocal indifference between popular organisations and neighbourhood associations, those entities are the least important for the other actors of the universe of civil organisations studied (Table 5.3). It seems that their very local and self-oriented profile makes them strategically uninteresting to the logics of action of the other civil organisations. Community associations, in turn, although privileging links to popular organisations, not even present a clear hierarchy of preferential relations regarding other entities – whether central or not.

Community associations are built by and for their members, and that has a close connection to the exclusive character of their pattern of relations or the absence of those relations as their most distinctive feature. On the one hand, they seem to entertain very restrictive expansion purposes; on the other, their self-help functions place them at a really secondary level for the other organisations. Of course they keep relations, but these are punctual and driven by exclusive affinities. In that respect, it should be remembered that, in spite of their peripheral condition, neighbourhood associations stand out for the extensive network they establish.

57 Close according to measures of 'Closeness' and 'Shortest paths', and asymmetrical according to the measure 'Power' (Table 5.2).

58 See Annex 7 for organisations' names.

Sociogram 6.8 Community associations' internal network



7 Towards a research agenda

The findings presented in these pages elucidate from distinct standpoints the action of civil organisations and point out gaps in the state of the knowledge about those actors. To cope with such gaps demands collective construction of a vast research agenda in which relational approaches and, more specifically, network analysis, constitute highly valuable conceptual and methodological strategy. In the following paragraphs, the main findings are synthesised so as to extract their consequences for the state of the knowledge about the so-called civil society.

São Paulo's civil organisations contained in the sample are connected in one single network that, while it is thin, presents remarkable dimensions and indicates the potential of a diffuse connectivity in the universe of those collective actors. Similar relational data about Mexico City, for instance, reveal not only lower density, but also fragmentation, that is, the configuration of a segmented universe of civil organisations, which is ordained in several smaller networks with no contact between themselves. That is in accordance with the existing consensus about the sparse and fragmented collective action that distinguishes the so-called civil society, besides reinforcing the few international comparative characterisations available on the considerable connectedness of civil organisations in Brazil, when compared to civil organisations from other national contexts (Albuquerque 2006; Gurza Lavallo *et al.* 2005).

Tocquevillian, pluralist, or empirically sensible understandings of civil organisations could intuitively anticipate some of the findings presented in these pages. However, the dominant understanding on civil society has made use of such stylised – often idealised – formulations that one of the more visible recent displacements within civil society literature has been towards granting analytical status to the idea of

heterogeneity of civil society (Olvera 2003b; Encarnación 2006, Dagnino *et al.* 2006). From conceptual perspectives that are normatively less overloaded, heterogeneity places itself as a starting point and it is up to the analysis to elucidate the ways in which such heterogeneity is organised. While the universe of actors comprised under the idea ‘civil society’ neither is ordered nor behaves as prescribed by theory – guided by a unifying logic and by normative shared commitments about democracy or good society – there is certainly fertile ground to formulate positive and empirically based analytical distinctions that might contribute to the understanding of the logics that drive the *modus operandi* of civil organisations.

The relational approach shows that – at least in São Paulo – the universe of civil organisations is hierarchical and unequal regarding capabilities for action and interlocution, and it operates according to specialisation and functional differentiation cleavages as well as other affinities that hamper or facilitate contact between entities.

Popular organisations, coordinating bodies and NGOs are the network’s major protagonists, that is, the referential actors for less central entities such as service non-profits and fora, and for peripheral ones as neighbourhood and community associations. In turn, more central civil organisations are simultaneously those with higher investments in building internal relations or relations with their own peers, and those most sought after by peripheral and intermediate entities, as well as central entities themselves.

Hierarchisation and structural inequalities in the capabilities for action and communication – but, above all, the cumulative character of structural advantages – suggest criticisms and raise a series of problems for civil society theory, as well as its linking with ongoing debates in the field of democratic theory – not addressed in these pages.⁵⁹ On the one hand, how corrosive these findings might be will depend to a large extent on the level of normative expectations introduced by the theory as well as the role that those expectations play in the assessment of the world. On the other hand, the functional and hierarchical differentiation of civil organisations, when seen from less idealised perspectives, points out the capacity to scale up interests and aggregate demands.

In any case, results are persuasive about two aspects that can be interpreted from distinct perspectives and theoretical stances. Firstly, the reach of the action of civil organisations can barely be understood without considering the processes of functional differentiation intentionally encouraged by those actors in order to increment their chances of influencing relevant decision-making bodies or the definition of the public agenda. Secondly, collective action in the context of post-transition shows major changes; however, without systematic and comparative approaches to the universe of civil organisations, the treatment of the subject lacks parameters and risks establishing ‘anecdotal’ formulations. More precisely, in these pages there is evidence both of major changes that are not properly addressed in literature and, on the other hand, of minor changes seen as consensual and unduly overemphasised.

59 Notably in what respects the interface of deliberative and participatory theories of democracy.

In respect to intentional processes of functional differentiation, there are remarkable developments in the universe of São Paulo-based civil organisations analysed. The existence of civil organisations committed to distinct purposes and activities is obviously related to the level of societal pluralism or heterogeneity of collective action, but the presence of complementary functions implies something else: complex processes of division of labour, whose crystallisation confirm the degree of complexity and capability for action of collective actors located within the universe of civil organisations. Actor-centred (or non-relational) approaches, by the way, tend to lose such 'division of labour' and the relational and structural bases underlying the possibilities for action of the civil society in distinct contexts.

Therefore, the presence of central protagonists in the network does not mean the absence of protagonism in the types of intermediate and peripheral civil organisations; rather, the *modus operandi* differs clearly for each type, often following a sort of division of labour within the universe of actors studied. In fact, only peripheral actors – neighbourhood and community associations – play self-referential roles where beneficiaries and members are the same. Thus, from the point of view of preferential links, both types of civil organisations tend to be irrelevant for the other actors. In the case of community associations, to self-reference we must add an exclusive working logic that makes establishing or diversifying relations with other types of organisations or even with their own peer organisations irrelevant. The profile of neighbourhood associations, in principle self-referenced, requires the projection of demands to state agencies and public administration. While internally the links among neighbourhood associations follow a territorial logic of contiguity, thus been restricted in scope, the search for channels to influence public power seems to foster the construction of links with central entities – mostly coordinating bodies. Therefore, some neighbourhood associations present capability for intermediation and extraordinary reach when it comes to peripheral actors.

Central and intermediary civil organisations work, by and large, for third parties or to the benefit of publics that are not restricted to local domains. Findings show that service non-profits sustain the most imbalanced links, intermediating flows of benefits between rich and well-connected funding organisations and peripheral receiver organisations working directly with the beneficiaries targeted by service nonprofits. Thus, they display a pattern of fragmented and vertical linking, of punctual relevance in the network as a whole. Symptomatically, their best channel for connection with other entities – the fora – presents unrestricted selectivity criteria. Fora themselves, despite being in equally intermediary positions, emerge with broader functions: they are spaces for thickening thematic agendas in order to influence policies. Accordingly, fora present a passive or link-receiving profile. Among central entities, two share such passive profiles: popular organisations and coordinating bodies are, in the whole of the network, more sought after than seeking out other actors. The former, oriented to mobilisation and protest as action strategies, strongly cultivate internal links and are the main channel for community associations to reach central positions, but their importance for neighbourhood associations is surprisingly negligible. Coordinating bodies, in turn, represent by far the most privileged channel for neighbourhood associations and today emerge as more central entities than most of their creators – NGOs – with which they preserve the only strategic *alliance* found in the universe of organisations analysed. Such alliance is reciprocal and shows NGOs' active centrality as relation builders.

As for the findings that elucidate changes, the consensual background in literature should be made explicit. The most accepted narrative about changes in the field of the main collective actors along recent decades can be summarised in the following formulation: social classes economically driven by the structure of capitalist societies would have given way in the 1970s and 1980s, to the emergence of social movements – new actors and new identities not subordinated to the script prescribed by theory according to class cleavages. A decade later, with the end of the transition cycle, new actors would have left the scene, eclipsed by the multiplication of a myriad of entities unified under the category of civil society, emblematically represented in NGOs' work style and action strategy. The halo of legitimacy and prestige imbued in that signature (NGO) would be promoting the non-differentiation of the universe of civil organisations under a 'NGOisation' process of civil organisations with distinct and sometimes irreconcilable action principles.

Outside to the 'novelty' and 'disappearance' effects generated by the replacement of 'old' analytical categories with 'new' ones – discussed elsewhere (Gurza Lavalle *et al.* 2004a) – the results examined here suggest, within the limits inherent to evidence circumscribed to São Paulo, the introduction of corrections to such narrative. Firstly, social movements still enjoy prominent positions – with the highest centrality in the sample – so statements denouncing their decline seem to have been heedless, perhaps partly due to the relative loss of visibility of that type of actor after the troubled years of transition, perhaps partly due to the disenchantment, frustration, and 'hangover' due to the 'inflation' of expectations. Secondly, movements share their once hegemonic position in the universe of civil organisations with newer entities, but not only or fundamentally with NGOs, as pointed out in literature, but rather with coordinating bodies – more recently created and whose pattern of relationship is similar to that of popular organisations or movements. The centrality vertiginously acquired by those third-tier entities, created to represent interests of second-tier organisations and to coordinate and encourage the construction of common agendas, shows both the malleability of institutionalised collective action and the strength of NGOs to shape it in their own issue oriented image. In fact, building coordinating bodies while keeping its central positions shows that NGOs have been remarkably skilful for taking advantage of a juncture marked by State reform and the implementation of focalisation, decentralisation, participation, and pluralisation of public service providers. In other words, coordinating bodies follow NGOs' thematic logic and orient a considerable part of their work towards influencing public policies, but have simultaneously become a reference and a privileged channel for neighbourhood associations, which then abandoned their old alliance with social movements, seemingly replacing action strategies centred on mobilisation and protest to develop skills in the management of public benefits based on public private partnerships. Thirdly, concerns about 'NGOisation' of civil organisations – notably service non-profits – supposedly responsible for overshadowing relevant distinctions to the cleavages and disputes between distinct conceptions on the meaning of collective action, make up an assessment that is at least imprecise. If the 1988 Constitution and public policies of the last two decades have been encouraging semantic displacements in the discourse of actors towards a language of citizenship and rights, network analysis reveals more permanent elements in their practices. Some sort of 'relational DNA' clearly identifies types of civil organisations and shows, in the case of service non-profits, the presence of their traditional profile.

Network analysis applied to civil organisations is still incipient in Brazil; however, it is not necessary to use much imagination to realise the broad set of questions that can be addressed and systematically assessed based on an agenda of relational research. Two fronts should be pointed out briefly. In the most obvious front of the limits and capabilities of the actors analysed, relational approaches would help to understand their embedded conditions for action as a collective set of actors, as well as allow carrying out systematic comparative studies on the historical construction of those limits and capabilities. In the front of public policies and institutional innovations as public private partnerships, network analysis is a promising strategy to advance in understanding the effects of societal management of public resources, since they are channelled and applied through networks, thus favouring certain actors and their publics rather than others. To explore these and other sets of questions is a medium-term collective task that may be crystallised in the development of research agendas. These pages, by offering an overview on the *modus operandi* of civil organisations, are only one step in the first front. It would be desirable that such a step be rapidly corrected, improved and criticised by the accumulation of evidence resulting from other urban contexts and new relational studies on the logics that animate the universe of civil organisations.

Annex

1 Popular organisations

mdf	Movimento de Defesa dos Favelados	Movement of Defense of the Favelados
mmc	Movimento de Moradia do Centro	Movement of Housing of the Center
mnlm	Movimento Nacional de Luta pela Moradia	National movement of Fight for the Housing
moab	Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens	Movement of Reached for Barrages
movpeqagri	Movimento dos Pequenos Agricultores	Movement of the Small Agriculturists
mst	Movimento dos Sem Terra	Movement of the ones Without Land
mstc	Movimento dos Sem Teto do Centro	Movement of the ones Without Ceiling of the Center
mtst	Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Teto	Movement of the Workers Without Ceiling
muf	Movimento de Unificação das Favelas	Movement of Unification of the Slum quarters
ulc	Unificação de Lutas de Cortiços	Unification of Fights of Tenement houses

2 Coordinating bodies

abong	Associação Brasileira de Ongs	Brazilian Associations of NGOs
abrinq	Fundação Abrinq	Abrinq Foundation
ammrs	Associação dos Movimentos de Moradia da Região Sudeste	Association of Housing Movements of Southeast Region
artmubr	Articulação de Mulheres Brasileiras	Joint of Brazilian Women
artmusp	Articulação de Mulheres de São Paulo	Joint of Women of São Paulo
caricanduva	Câmara do Vale do Aricanduva	Chamber of the Valley of the Aricanduva
ccngo	CCNGO	CCNGO
ceaal	Conselho de Educação de Adultos da América Latina	Advice of Education of Adults of Latin America
ceres	CERES	CERES
cladem	CLADEM	CLADEM
cmp	Central de Movimento Populares	Central office of Popular Movement
cofrebasgo	Comissão do FREBASGO	Commission of the FREBASGO
comsolidar	Comunidade Solidária	Supportive community
conam	Confederação Nacional de Associações de Moradores	National confederation of Residents' associations
consabesp	Conselho Coordenador das Sociedades Amigos de Bairro, Cidades e Vilas do Estado de São Paulo	Coordinating council of the Societies Friends of District, Cities and Towns of the State of São Paulo
cooperapic	Cooperapic	Cooperapic
correviva	Corrente Viva	Lively current

efc	European Foundation Center	European Foundation Center
espforasse	Espaço Formação e Assessoria	Formation and advisory body out Space
ethos	Ethos	Ethos
facesp	Federação das Associações Comerciais do Estado de São Paulo	Federation of the Commercial Associations of the State of São Paulo
facm	Federação de Ass. Cristãs de Moços	Federation of Younger' Christians Associations
fecoc	FECOC	FECOC
fedinterdh	Federação Internacional de Direitos Humanos	International federation of Human rights
fmsp	Fórum dos Mutirões de São Paulo	Forum of the Joint efforts of São Paulo
forempresa	Fórum Empresa	Forum Enterprise
gife	GIFE	GIFE
inantenass	Instituto Antenas	Institute Antennas
infonte	Instituto Fonte	Institute Fountain
isynergos	Instituto Synergos	Institute Synergos
lope	Lope – Rede Latino-Americana	Lope – Latin-American Net
maeb	MAEB	MAEB
movespnac	Movimento Espírita Nacional (órgão)	Spiritualistic National Movement (organ)
movnacdhum	Movimento Nacional de Direitos Humanos	National movement of Human rights
polonorte	Pólo Norte	North Pole
poloregion	Pólo Regional	Regional Pole
rdnacparte	Rede Nacional de Parteiras	National net of Midwives
rebraf	REBRAF	REBRAF
redegri	Rede GRI	Global Reporting Initiative
redelatsau	Rede Latino Americana de Saúde	Latin American Net of Health
refemsaude	Rede Feminista de Saúde	Feminist net of Health
ubm	União Brasileira de Mulheres	Brazilian union of Women
umm	União dos Movimentos de Moradia	Union of the Movements of Dwelling
unamovpop	União Nacional de Movimentos Populares	National union of Popular Movements
use	União das Sociedades Espíritas	Union of the Spiritualistic Societies
wings	Wings	Wings

3 NGOs

abdecegos	Ass. Brasileira de Desporto para Cegos	Brazilian Ass. of Sport for Blind men
acaocidada	Ação da Cidadania	Action of the Citizenship
acaoeduca	Ação Educativa	Educative action
Actionaid	Action Aid	Action Aid
Agende	Agende	Schedule
ahortoflor	Associação Horto Florestal	Association Forest Truck farm

alovida	Alô Vida	Hello Life
amam	Associação das Mulheres que Amam Mulheres	Association of the Women who Love Women
amaosmine	Associação Mãos Mineiras – MG	Association Mining Hand – MG
amencar	AMENCAR	AMENCAR
apoio	APOIO	SUPPORT
asbereana	Associação Bereana	Bereana Ass.
aschicomem	Associação Chico Mendes	Chico Mendes Ass.
assevoldh	Ass. Evoluir e Desenvolvimento Humano	Evolve and Human Development Ass.
asspe	Associação Santista para Prevenção a Educação	Association from Santos for Prevention to Education
asspromsluis	Associação Pró-Moradia do Jd. São Luis	Association Pro-dwelling of the Jd. Saint Luis
billings	Billings que eu te quero Viva	Billings that I want you Cheers
caap	Centro de Assessoria à Auto-Gestão Popular	Centre of Advisory body to the Popular Auto-management
cacumuneg	Casa da Cultura da Mulher Negra	House of the Culture of the Black Woman
caico	CAICO	CAICO
capacitsol	Capacitação Solidária	Supportive Capacitation
casasolida	Casa da Solidariedade	House of the Solidarity
catddecarg	Católicas pelo Direito de Decidir Argentina	Catholics for the Right of Deciding on Argentina
catddecbol	Católicas pelo Direito de Decidir Bolívia	Catholics for the Right of Deciding on Bolivia
catddechil	Católicas pelo Direito de Decidir Chile	Catholics for the Right of Deciding on Chile
catddecmx	Católicas pelo Direito de Decidir México	Catholics for the Right of Deciding on Mexico
catdirdec	Católicas pelo Direito de Decidir	Catholics for the Right of Deciding
cdefcripmp	Centro de Defesa da Criança Pe. Marcos Pordrini	Centre of Defense of Childish Marcos Pordrini Priest
cdi	CDI	CDI
cecir	CECIR – Centro Cidra Romano	CECIR – Center Citron Roman
cedac	CEDAC	CEDAC
cedeca	Centro de Defesa dos Direitos da Criança e do Adolescente	Centre of Defense of the Rights of the Child and of the Adolescent
cedhep	CEDHEP – Centro de Direitos Humanos de Educação Popular	CEDHEP – Centre of Human rights of Popular Education
ceep	CEEP	CEEP
cengasgarc	Centro Gaspar Garcia	Center Gaspar Garcia
cenpec	Cenpec	Cenpec
cenvolunt	Centro de Voluntariado	Centre of Volunteers
cesec	CESEC	CESEC
cfl	CFL	CFL

coletivfem	Coletivo Feminista	Feminist Colective
comitebet	Comitê Betinho	Committee Betinho
corsa	CORSA	CORSA
cria	Cria	Cria
criola	CRIOLA (RJ)	CRIOLA (RIO DE JANEIRO)
croph	CROPH – Centro de Promoção Humana	CROPH – Centre of Human Promotion
cruzaproin	Cruzada Pró-Infância	Crossed Pro-childhood
csnsbparto	Centro Social Nossa Senhora do Bom Parto	Social centre Our Lady of the Good Childbirth
csparelhe	Centro Social de Parelheiros	Social centre of Parelheiros
cs Sãojose	Centro Social São José	Social centre Saint José
defendasp	Defenda São Paulo	Defend São Paulo
ecos	ECOS	ECOS
entrafrate	Entraide et Fraternité (Belga)	Entraide et Fraternité (Belgium)
entreamigo	Entreamigos	Between Friends
escfuturo	Escola do Futuro	School of the Future
esplar	ESPLAR	ESPLAR
falanegao	Fala Negão	Black speaks
falapreta	Fala Preta	Black speech
fase	Fase	Phase
fundorsa	Fundação Orsa	Orsa Foundation
funfeale	Fundação Fé e Alegria	Faith and Joy Foundation
funfrafran	Fundação Francisca Franco	Francisca Franco Foundation
funprojtra	Fundação Projeto Travessia	Project Journey Foundation
geledes	Geledés	Geledés
gpicenvida	Grupo de Incentivo à Vida	Group of Incentive to the Life
gpidentid	Grupo Identidade	Identity Group
gptornunma	Grupo Tortura Nunca Mais	Group Tortures Never again
gtpos	GTPOS	GTPOS
ialode	IALODE (BA)	IALODE (BA)
ibase	IBASE	IBASE
ibeac	IBEAC	IBEAC
inavisala	Instituto Avisa Lá	Institute Warns There
incinelem	Instituto 5 Elementos	Institute 5 Elements
indestrab	Instituto de Desenvolvimento do Trabalhador	Institute of Development of the Worker
ingovciabc	Instituto de Governo e Cidadania do ABC	Institute of Government and Citizenship of the ABC
inkaplan	Instituto Kaplan	Institute Kaplan
inremivida	Instituto Recicle milhões de Vidas	Institute Recycles million Lives
insakatu	Instituto Akatu	Institute Akatu

inspconvio	Instituto São Paulo contra a Violência	Institute São Paulo against the Violence
inspfreire	Instituto Paulo Freire	Institute Paul Freire
insterra	Instituto Terra	Institute Land
instgea	Instituto GEA	Institute GEA
integra	Integra	It integrates
isoudapaz	Instituto Sou da Paz	Institute I Am of the Peace
its	ITS (Instituto de Tecnologia Social)	ITS (Institute of Social Technology)
jusglobal	Justiça Global	Global justice
lac	LAC – Liga de Assessoria Comunitária	LAC – League of Communitarian Advisory body
moc	MOC – Movimento de Organização Comunitária – BA	MOC – Movement of Communitarian Organization – BA
motiva	Motiva	Motiva
mova	MOVA	MOVE
movmenrua	Movimento de Meninos e Meninas de Rua	Movement of Boys and Girls of Street
movneguni	Movimento Negro Unificado	Black Unified movement
mriscurb	Movimento de Prevenção aos Riscos Urbanos	Movement of Prevention to the Urbane Risks
mundoafrro	Mundo Afro (Uruguai)	World Afro (Uruguay)
musa	MUSA (Belo Horizonte)	MUSE (Belo Horizonte)
netmal	NETMAL – Núcleo de Estudos Tecnológicos da Mulher na América Latina	NETMAL – Nucleus of Technological Studies of the Woman in the Latin America
novib	Novib	Novib
numorong	Núcleo Morungaba	Nucleus Morungaba
oaf	OAF – Organização do Auxílio Fraternal	OAF – Organization of the Fraternal Help
orgmuntort	Organização Mundial Contra a Tortura	World-wide organization Against the Torture
oxfon	OXFON	OXFON
polis	Pólis	Pólis
politevo	Politevo	Politevo
prabiru	Prabirú	Prabirú
proaung	Pro Aung	Pro Aung
projaprend	Projeto Aprendiz	Apprentice Project
promundo	Pró-Mundo	Pro-world
redejovem	Rede Jovem	Young net
redemulher	Rede Mulher	Woman net
redesocjdh	Rede Social de Justiça e Direitos Humanos	Social net of Justice and Human Rights
renadvpop	Rede Nacional de Advogados e Advogadas Populares	National net of Popular Lawyers
sof	SOF – Sempre Viva Organização Feminina	SOF – Always Lively Feminine Organization
sorribrasil	Sorri-Brasil	Brazil Smile

sos	SOS	SOS
umoutrool	Um outro olhar	Another glance
unimulher	União de Mulheres	Women's union
usina	USINA	USINA
vereda	Vereda	Vereda
vitae	Vitae	Vitae
vivacentro	Viva o Centro	It cheers the Centre
votoconsci	Voto Consciente	Conscious vote

4 Fora

Confest	Conferências Estaduais	State conferences
confnaci	Conferências Nacionais	National conferences
confreg	Conferências Regionais	Regional conferences
congsaude	Congresso da Saúde	Health Congress
fassocial	Fórum de Assistência Social	Forum of Social Assistance
focenvivo	Fórum Centro Vivo	Forum Center Living
fodefic	Fórum de Deficientes	Forum of Disabled
foeconso	Fórum da Economia Solidária	Forum of the Supportive Economy
foidoso	Fórum do Idoso	Forum of the Elderly
fonalutas	Fórum Nacional de Lutas	National Forum of Struggles
fonarefurb	Fórum Nacional de Reforma Urbana	National Forum of Urban Reform
fopaupapop	Fórum Paulista de Participação Popular	São Paulo's Forum of Popular Participation
foreduc	Fórum de Educação	Forum of Education
formoradia	Fórum de Moradia	Forum of Housing
forongaid	Fórum Ongs Aids	Forum HIV Ngos
forpatolog	Fórum de Patologia	Forum of Pathology
forumdca	Fórum dos Direitos da Criança e do Adolescente	Forum of the Rights of the Child and of the Adolescent
fosaude	Fórum de Saúde	Forum of Health
fsm	Fórum Social Mundial	Social World-wide forum
marmunmu	Marcha Mundial de Mulheres	World-wide march of Women

5 Service non profit

aacd	AACD	AACD
abiah	ABIAH	ABIAH
abras	ABRAS	ABRAS

acaocomun	Ação Comunitária	Communitarian action
aeb	AEB – Associação Evangelista Beneficente	AEB – Evangelical Association
aebedra	Aebedra	Aebedra
aguainumbi	Associação Guainumbi	Association Guainumbi
arco	ARCO	ARCH
asbenprovi	Associação Beneficente Provisão	Association Provision
casadomaca	Casa Dom Macária	Dom Macária House
casataig	Casa Taiguara	Taiguara House
cencovsdor	Centro de Convivência Santa Dorotéia	Centre of Holy Familiarity Dorotéia
cesep	CESEP	CESEP
comkolparc	Comunidade Kolping Arco-Íris	Community Kolping Arco-Íris
cphnsajped	Centro de Promoção Humana Nossa Senhora Aparecida do Jd. Pedreira	Centre of Human Promotion Saint Aparecida of the Jd. Quarry
cp Sãocthi	Centro de Promoção Social São Caetano Thiene	Centre of Social Promotion Saint Caetano Thiene
cpsborore	Centro de Promoção Social Bororê	Centre of Social Promotion Borore
cpsclbiasi	Centro de Promoção Social Cônego Luis Biasi	Centre of Social Promotion Cônego Luis Biasi
crechesper	Creche Esperança	Hope Primary School
csleaoxiii	Centro Social Leão XIII	Social Centre Lion XIII
fucriscria	Fundo Cristão para Criança	Christian bottom for Child
funsauxi	Fundação Nossa Senhora Auxiliadora	Foundation Saint Auxiliadora
inteusonho	Instituto Teu Sonho Meu Sonho	Institute Your Dream My Dream
koinomia	Koinomia	Koinomia
largiras	Lar Girassol	Home Sunflower
larjemajo	Lar Jesus Maria José	Home Jesus Maria José
obkolping	Obra Kolping do Brasil	Work Kolping of Brazil
pcreconcil	Programa Comunitário Reconciliação	Communitarian Program Reconciliation

6 Neighbourhood associations

abastatere	Associação do Bairro Amigos de Santa Terezinha	Neighborhood Ass. of the District Saint's Friend Terezinha
abcocai	Associação do Bairro Cocaia	Neighborhood Ass of the District Cocaia
abelc	ABELC	ABELC
abjeliana	Associação do Bairro Jardim Eliana	Neighborhood Ass of the District Garden Eliana
abj Sãobern	Associação do Bairro Jardim São Bernardo	Neighborhood Ass of the District Garden Saint Bernard
abmontever	Associação do Bairro Monte Verde	Neighborhood Ass of the District Monte Verde
acachoeir	Associação Cachoeirinha	Cachoeirinha Association

achabelavi	Associação Chácara Bela Vista	Association Chacara Bela Vista
acingapsjo	Associação Cingapura Parque São João	Association Singapore Park Saint John
acomnovama	Associação Comunitária Nova Marilda	Communitarian association Nova Marilda
acomucelii	Associação de Construção por Mutirão Jd. Celeste II	Association of Construction for Joint effort Jd. Celeste II
amai	AMAI – Associação dos Moradores de Vila Arco Íris	AMAI – Association of the Residents of Arco Iris Village
ambrcavlimi	Associação de Moradores do Bairro Rita Cavernaqui e Vl. Missionária	Residents' association of the District Rita Cavernaqui and Vl. Missionária
amem	AMEM – Associação dos Moradores de Ermilino Matarazzo	AMEN – Association of the Residents of Ermilino Matarazzo
amjideal	Associação de Moradores do Jardim Ideal	Residents' association of the Ideal Garden
amomvirgem	Associação de Moradores de Mata Virgem	Residents' association of Virgin forest
amnovomun	Associação de Moradores de Parque Novo Mundo	Residents' association of Park New World
amtiete	Associação de Moradores Tietê	Residents' association Tietê
amvmissio	Associação de Moradores da Vila Missionária	Residents' association of the Town Missionária
amvnasce	Associação de Moradores de Vila Nascente	Residents' association of Nascent Town
amvpedrei	Associação dos Moradores da Vila Pedreira	Association of the Residents of the Town Quarry
apedrasped	Associação Pedra sobre Pedra	Association Stone on Stone
arcavc	Associação Recreativa Comunitária Amigos de Vila Carmem	Recreational Communitarian association Friend of Town Carmem
asmjlucl	Associação dos Moradores do Jardim Lucélia	Association of the Residents of the Garden Lucélia
asscmheli	Associação Central dos Moradores de Heliópolis	Central association of the Residents of Heliópolis
asunisapo	Associação Unidas Beneficiante de Sapopemba e Vilas Adjacentes	Association United of Sapopemba and Adjacent Towns
avalheliop	Associação pela Valorização de Heliópolis Heliópolis	Association for the Increase in value of Heliópolis
avalmulher	Associação de Valores da Mulher	Valuable association of the Woman
avidanova	Associação Vida Nova	Association New Life
avnosjoao	Associação Vila Nova São João	Association Town Nova São John
avnotiete	Associação Vila Nova Tiête	Association Town Nova Tiête
avnovacuru	Associação Vila Nova Curuça	Association Town Nova Curuça
cdm	CDM – Vila Darli	CDM – Town Darli
cecomvilacr	Centro Comunitário da Vila Cristália	Communitarian Centre of the Town Cristália
cencidnova	Centro Social Cidade Nova	Social Centre New City
cslartreze	Centro Social Largo Treze	Social Centre Largo Treze
mpmzn	Movimento Popular de Moradia Zona Norte	Housing Popular movement of Northern District
pcleitonzi	Pequeno Cleiton da Zona Leste	Boy Cleiton of the Eastern Zone

sabajideal	Sociedade Amigos do Bairro Jardim Ideal	Society Friends of the District Ideal Garden
sab Sãomate	Sociedades Amigos do Bairro de São Mateus	Societies Friends of the District of Saint Mateus
sabvindust	Sociedade Amigos de Bairro Vila Industrial	Society Friends of District Industrial Town
sacresjau	Sociedade Amigos Conj. Residencial Jaú	Society Friends Conj. Residential Jaú
saem	SAEM – Sociedade Amigos de Ermilino Matarazzo	SAEM – Society Friends of Ermilino Matarazzo
sajacana	Sociedade Amigos de Jaçana	Society Friends of Jaçana
sajacol	Sociedade Amigos do Jardim Colorado	Society Friends of the Garden Colorado
sajagrim	Sociedade Amigos do Jardim Grimaldi	Society Friends of the Garden Grimaldi
sajapao	Sociedade Amigos do Jardim Japão	Society Friends of the Garden Japan
sajasapo	Sociedade Amigos do Jardim Sapopemba	Society Friends of the Garden Sapopemba
sajauverde	Sociedade Amigos do Jd. Aury Verde e Adjacências	Society Friends of the Gardem Aury Verde and Adjacencies
sajbrasil	Sociedade Amigos do Jardim Brasil	Society Friends of the Garden Brazil
sajindep	Sociedade Amigos do Jardim Independência	Society Friends of the Garden Independence
sajtulipas	Sociedade Amigos Jardim das Tulipas	Society Friends Garden of the Tulips
samorheli	Sociedade Amigos Moradores de Heliópolis	Society Friendly Residents of Heliópolis
samvarpqfo	Sociedade Amigos da Vila Arapuá e Parque Fongar	Society Friends of the Town Arapuá and Park Fongar
sapeduchav	Sociedade Amigos do Parque Edu Chaves	Society Friends of the Park Edu Chaves
sapsamsfra	Sociedade Amigos do Parque Santa Amélia e Balneário São Francisco	Society Friends of the Park Holy Amelia and Balneal Saint Francisco
sarsi	SARSI – Sociedade Amigos de Bairro da Região de Santa Inês	SARSI – Society Friends Saint's Inês Region
sasapopem	Sociedade Amigos de Sapopemba	Society Friends of Sapopemba
sava	SAVA – Sociedade Amigos de Vila Alpina	SAVA – Society Friends of Town Alpina
savalp	SAVALP – Sociedade Amigos de Vila Alpina	SAVALP – Society Friends of Town Alpina
savclamor	Sociedade Amigos de Vila Cristália, Vila Lalá e Jd. Morgado	Society Friends of Town Cristália, Town Lalá and Jd. Morgado
savdarli	Sociedade Amigos de Vila Darli	Society Friends of Town Darli
savema	Sociedade Amigos de Vila Ema	Society Friends of Town Ema
soravi	SORAVI – Sociedade Amigos de Vila Medeiros	SORAVI – Society Friends of Town Medeiros
sovisabri	Sociedade Vila Sabrina	Society Town Sabrina
umocjulia	União dos Moradores da Cidade Júlia	Union of the Residents of the City Júlia
umpbrijssa	União dos Moradores do Parque Bristol e Jardim São Savério	Union of the Residents of the Park Bristol and Garden Saint Savério
umvasa	UMVASA - União de Moradores de Antonio dos Santos e Adjacentes	UMVASA – Union of Antonio dos Santos and Adjacent ones
unas	UNAS	UNAS
unimorsete	União dos Moradores da Comunidade de Sete de Setembro	Union of the Residents of the Community of Seven of September

7 Community associations

acabsolpm	Associação de Cabos e Soldados da Polícia Militar	Association of Ends and Soldiers of the Military police
adefesapm	Associação de Defesa do Policial Militar police one	Association of Defense of the Military police
adiabetico	Associação dos Diabéticos	Association of the Diabetics
afemvalpina	Associação Feminina de Vila Alpina	Feminine association of Town Alpina
alineposse	Aliança Negra Posse	Black alliance Possession
aoficipm	Associação de Oficiais da Polícia Militar	Association of Officials of the Military police
apmdefesp	Ass.da Polícia Militar dos Deficientes do Estado de SãoPaulo	Military police Association of the Deficients of the State of SãoPaulo
apolmievan	Associação de Policiais Militares Evangélicos	Association of Evangelic Military police ones
asatlbarc	Associação Atlética Barcelona	Athletic association Barcelona
asmaestalu	Associação de Mães de Santa Luzia	Mothers Association of Saint Luzia
astrabitaq	Associação dos Trabalhadores de Itaquera	Workers Association of Itaquera
asubsarpm	Associação de Subtenentes e Sargentos da Polícia Militar	Association of Sub-lieutenants and Sergeants of the Military police
casp	CASP – Centro de Ação Social de Vila Alpina	CASP – Centre of Social Action of Town Alpina
clubemaeca	Clube de Mães Coração do Amor	Mothers' club Heart of the Love
clumaeunvi	Clube das Mães Unidas para a Vitória Victory	Club of the Mothers Joined for the Victory
dozeescsam	12 Escolas de Samba do Grupo Especial	12 schools of Samba of the Special Group
enclapolmi	Entidades de classe da Polícia Militar	Entities of class of the Military Police
fcd	FCD – Fraternidade Cristã de Doentes e Deficientes	FCD – Christian Fraternity of Patients and Deficients
gpferdias	Grupo de Senhoras Unidas Fernão Dias	Group of Ladies United Fernão Dias
grcs	Grupo Recreativo Cultural e Social Escola de Samba Acadêmicos do Tucuruvi	Recreational Cultural group and Social School of Samba Academic of the Tucuruvi
mocut	MOCUT – Movimento Cultural da Cidade Tiradentes	MOCUT – Cultural Movement of the City Tiradentes
outposses	Outras Posses (organizações de Hip Hop)	Other Possessions (organizations of Hip Hop)
proquilurb	Projeto Quilombos Urbanos	Urban Hiding-places Project
uniporvis	União dos Portadores de Deficiência Visual do Estado de São Paulo	Union of the Bearers of Visual Deficiency of the State of São Paulo

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